

2004

Hou Han Shu, Chapter 40a

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Clark, Anthony E. , "Hou Han Shu, Chapter 40a" Whitworth University (2004). *History Faculty Scholarship*. Paper 23.
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Anthony B. Clark - Draft translation of Hou Hanshu 40
HHS 40 (2604) 1

40 (A).1

Ban Biao's style was Shu Pi, and he was from Anling in Fufeng.¹ His ancestor (grandfather) was Ban Kuang, and during the time of Chengdi he became the Head-of-the-Left-of-the-Mounted-Calvary. His father, Ban Zhi, was the Grand-Protectorate of Guangping during the time of emperor Aidi.²

班彪字叔皮，扶風安陵人也。祖況，成帝時爲越騎校尉。父稚，哀帝時爲廣平太守。

40 (A).2

Biao, by nature, was greatly fond of antiquity. When he was just over twenty years old, Wang Mang was defeated and there was the rebellion among the Sanfu [Three Adjuncts].³ During that time, the supporters of Wei Ao amassed followers at Tianshui.⁴ Biao then fled from the difficulties [at the capital] and followed him. Wei Ao said to Ban Biao: 'Nearing the defeat of the Zhou, the Warring States all contended, the kingdom was split apart, and it was not settled for several generations. Do you suppose that the works of the Diplomats will again rise today? Does the Mandate repeatedly arise for one man? May you, sir, try and explicate this.' Ban Biao replied, saying: 'The rise and fall of the Zhou dynasty is not like the

¹ Anling安陵 is the name of the ancient tomb of the Han emperor, Huidi 漢惠帝 (also Liu Ying 劉盈, r. A.D. 194-188). The tomb was located in modern Shanxi 陝西, near the city of Xianyang 咸陽. Thus, the tomb was conveniently constructed near to the Western Han capital, Chang'an. See HSCD, 275. Fufeng 扶風 was a governmental Commandery located in the northwest of modern Shanxi, and contained the ancient capital Chang'an. See HSCD, 303. Fufeng was the home region of several Ban family clansmen.

² HHS, 1323. Guangping 廣平 was a Commandery located in modern Hebei 河北, and southeast of the city Jize 雞澤. See HSCD, 879.

³ The Sanfu 三輔 are the Three-Adjuncts, three officers of the Court assigned to the administration of three regions. The three official posts that oversaw these regions were the Governor-of-the-Capital 京兆尹 and his two subordinates, the Eastern-Supporter 左馮翊 and the Western-Sustainer 右扶風. Together, these three comprised the Sanfu; all three officials resided in the capital, Chang'an. See Bielenstein, 87.

⁴ Tianshui 天水 was a Prefecture in what is modern Gansu 甘肅. It is also called Tianshuijun 天水郡. See HSCD, 45.

Han. Formerly, there were the five noble ranks in the Zhou, and the feudal lords accordingly governed. The root (king) was weak, whereas the branches and leaves (ministers) were strong. Thus, during the [dynasty's] final years, there were the affairs of the Diplomats. [Political] power was divided in this way. The Han inherited the [political] system of the Qin, [but] it changed how the Prefectures and Commanderies were set up. Lords were empowered by specializing themselves and ministers were powerless for a hundred years. Once we arrive to the reign of Chengdi, he borrowed [political power] from the families related to him by marriage; Aidi and Pingdi's imperial tenures were truncated. The state was disrupted three times, and so Wang Mang arrogated [the power of] the court, and accordingly took the imperial prerogative. Crisis arose from the top and harm did not reach [those] below. After this was realized, there was no-one who was not caused to sigh. Within ten years, those within and outside [of the state] were restless and disturbed, and everyone near and far expressed [their feelings]. Those with borrowed titles gathered like clouds, and everyone acclaimed the Liu clan, [although] they did not scheme with the same words (i.e., their accolades were a pretense). Presently, of all the heroic gentlemen who are led to the regional towns, none avail themselves to the occupations of Warring States period. The people all extol and lift their thoughts to the virtue of the Han. 'This is indeed obvious!' Ao said, 'Sir, your disquisitions regarding the Zhou and Han are reasonable. 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 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?⁵

彪性沈重好古。年二十餘，更始敗，三輔大亂。時隗囂擁眾天水，彪乃避難從之。囂問彪曰：「往者周亡，戰國並爭，天下分裂，數世然後定。意者從橫之事復起於今乎？將承運迭興，在於一人也？願生試論之。」對曰：「周之廢興，與漢殊異。昔周爵五等，諸侯從政，本根既微，枝葉彊大，故其末流有從橫之事，孰數然也。漢承秦制，改立郡縣，主有專己之威，臣無百年之柄。至於成帝，假借外家，哀、平短祚，國嗣三絕，故王氏擅朝，因竊號位。危自上起，傷不及下，是以即真之後，天下莫不引領而歎。十餘年閒，中外搔擾，遠近俱發，假號雲合，咸稱劉氏，不謀同辭。方今雄桀帶州域者，皆無七國世業之資，而百姓謳吟，思仰漢德，已可知矣。」囂曰：「生言周、漢之孰可也；至於但見愚人習識劉氏姓號之故，而謂漢家復興，疏矣。昔秦失其鹿，劉季逐而羈之，時人復知漢乎？」

40 (A).3

Biao was angered by what Wei Ao's said, and moreover was hurt by the difficulties of his era. He thus wrote the, 'Essay on the Kingly Mandate,' which stated that the virtue of the Han was inherited from Yao, and that [the Han] had the contract of the sacred Mandate. The arisal of the kingly Mandate is not attained by connivance or force. Desire deluded him, and in the end Wei Ao was unenlightened. Accordingly, [Biao] absconded to West of the Yellow River. Once there, the Great-General, Dou Rong, considered him to be employable, and he respectfully entertained [Ban Biao] according to the way he would a teacher or friend. Biao then plotted on Rong's behalf a service for the Han, in which they would gather [troops] at the area West of the Yellow River in order to repel [the advance] of Wei Ao.

⁵ Ibid., 1323-1324. My translation of the final line of this passage remains tentative.

After [he had assisted the Han], Rong was summoned to return to the capital.⁶ [The emperor] Guangwu asked him, ‘Who was it that submitted the memorial [regarding this military assistance]?’ Rong replied, ‘It was all the work of Ban Biao.’ The emperor marveled at what he had heard regarding Biao’s talents. Accordingly, he summoned him to enter for an audience, whereupon he elevated him to the post of Minister-of-Education [an account of his] great skill. He was then promoted the Prefect of Xu. Ban Biao departed from his post on the pretext of illness. He later received several dictates from the Three Dukes, and each time [he received the order] he went off.⁷

彪既疾囂言，又傷時方艱，乃著王命論，以爲漢德承堯，有靈命之符，王者興祚，非詐力所致，欲以感之，而囂終不寤，遂避河西。河西大將軍竇融以爲從事，深敬待之，接以師友之道。彪乃爲融畫策事漢，總西河以拒隗囂。及融徵還京師，光武問曰：「所上章奏，誰與參之？」融對曰：「皆從事班彪所爲。」帝雅聞彪才，因召入見，舉司隸茂才，拜徐令，以病免。後數應三公之命，輒去。

40 (A).4

Ban Biao was highly talented and fond of textual transmission, and so he specialized his mind in the area of historical texts. During the reign of Han Wudi, Sima Qian wrote the *Shiji*. The period after the *taichu* era (104-101 B.C.) is deficient and without records. Later, many of those who were fond of affairs collected [records of] the events of their times; several of these [works] were vulgar and common, not worthy to follow in the tracks of Sima Qian’s work. Ban Biao, accordingly, continuously collected the historical records of

⁶ The term for “capital” used here is *jingshi* 京師, which can additionally be translated as “Court” 朝廷. The *Han shu cidian* draws from the *Gongyang zhuan*, which explicates the term as, “What is the ‘jingshi’? It is the residence of the Son of Heaven. What is ‘jing’? It is great. What is ‘shi’? It is the multitudes. Regarding the residence of the Son of Heaven, the words ‘multitudes’ and ‘great’ describe it” 京師者何?天子之居。京者何?大也。師者何?衆也。天子之居必以衆大之辭言之 (*Han shu cidian*, 413).

⁷ HHS, 1324.

forgotten events, while on the side linking together what he had heard, and he produced the *Later Biographies* in several tens of chapters. He thus poured over former histories, critiquing and rectifying their strengths and failures. He summarized his discussions, saying:⁸

彪既才高而好述作，遂專心史籍之間。武帝時，司馬遷著史記，自太初以後，闕而不錄，後好事者頗或綴集時事，然多鄙俗，不足以踵繼其書。彪乃繼採前史遺事，傍貫異聞，作後傳數十篇，因斟酌前史而譏正得失。其略論曰：

40 (A).5-6 [略論]

40 (A).7

Ban Biao was summoned to the estate of the Minister-of-Education Yu Kuang.⁹ At that time, the construction of the Eastern palace had begun, all of the kings' ~~states~~ *kingdoms* were being opened (i.e., the kings were being enfeoffed at their respective ~~states~~), the official posts had not been completed (filled), and there were many weaknesses in the militia's protection [of the restored empire]. Ban Biao said to the emperor [in a memorial]:¹⁰

彪復辟司徒玉況府。時東宮初建，諸王國並開，而官屬未備，師保多闕。彪上言曰：

deficiencies

40 (A).8-9 [彪上言]

40 (A).10

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ This line is tentatively translated. I have taken *bi* 辟 to mean "summon," and am following the commentary, which suggests that Yu Kuang 玉況, or Su Kuang, was the Minister-of-Education during the twenty-third year of the *jianwu* era (A.D. 47). Ban Biao himself is also known to have held the post of Minister-of-Education.

¹⁰ HHS, 1327.

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[Ban Biao's] memorial was presented, and the emperor accepted it. Later, the Minister-of-Education [Biao] was found to be upright and was made the Chief of Wangdu, and the minor officials and people loved him.¹¹ During the *jianwu* thirtieth year (A.D. 54), Ban Biao was fifty-two, and ~~retired from~~^{died} office. He authored rhyme-prose, disquisitions, memorials, records; and he rendered a total of nine chapters of memorials.¹²

書奏，帝納之。後察司徒廉爲望都長，吏民愛之。建武三十年，年五十二，卒官。所著賦、論、書、記、奏事合九篇。

40 (A).11

[Ban Biao] had two sons, Gu and Chao; Chao is treated in a biography elsewhere. In discussing [Ban Biao], it can be said that he was highly talented because of his understanding of Confucianism. During an era of perversions and dangerous rebellions, Biao's behavior did not transgress against the Way, and there were no improprieties in his speech. In his service [to the State], he was not anxious for advancement, his [moral] virtue did not offend [other] people, he made manifest his literary brilliance to produce appendices for the national classics, and he maintained poverty without a depressed countenance. Others, [however], did they not express their shame over their poverty while the era had not yet changed for the better? How could he have maintained the Way with such peaceful resolve?¹³

二子：固，超。超別有傳。論曰：班彪以通儒上才，傾側危亂之間，行不踰方，言不失正，仕不急進，貞不違人，敷文華以緯國典，守賤薄而無悶容。彼將以世運未弘，非所謂賤焉恥乎？何其守道恬淡之篤也！

¹¹ Wangdu 望都 was located in modern Hebei 河北.

¹² HHS, 1329.

¹³ Ibid., 1329-1330.

40 (A).12

Gu's style was Mengjian. When he was nine he could write prose, and recite poems and rhyme-prose. Once he had grown, he acquired a broad understanding and respect for textual works, the sayings of the Nine-Philosophical-Schools and Hundred-Schools, and he never ceased to study.¹⁴ He did not [acquire] what he had learned from a steady teacher. He did not write in the 'chapter and verse' style, [but rather] brought forth the greater meaning, and that is all. Ban Gu was by nature magnanimous, accommodating, and accepting of all. And, he did not elevate himself above others based on his talents. Because of these things, all of the Confucians admired him.¹⁵

固字孟堅，年九歲，能屬文誦詩賦，及長，遂博貫載籍，九流百家之言，無不窮究。所學無常師，不爲章句，舉大義而已。性寬和容衆，不以才能高人，諸儒以此慕之。

40 (A).13

During the beginning of the *yongping* era (A.D. 50), King Cang of Dongping was made the General-of-the-Agile-Calvary because he was related [to the emperor], and he assisted in governance. He opened the eastern portal and sent a wide invitation to good men.¹⁶ At that time Ban Gu ^{was young} ~~was capped~~, and he proffered a memorial to Cang, stating:¹⁷

¹⁴ The "Nine-Philosophical-Schools" are: (1) Daoism 道, (2) Confucianism 儒, (3) Sophistry 名, (4) Legalism 法, (5) Yin Yang-ism 陰陽, (6) Agriculture 農, (7) Miscellany 雜, (8) Mohism 墨, and (9) Diplomacy 縱橫. The problem of who, precisely, were the "Hundred-Schools" is one I will not take up here.

¹⁵ HHS, 1330. It is noteworthy that Fan Ye specifically identifies the Confucians as the group who admired Ban Gu, as many of the descriptions here of Gu are somewhat unorthodox, for example, his eclectic acquisition of knowledge and his disuse of the "chapter and verse" style already employed by Mencius.

¹⁶ The eastern portal 東閣 was a small doorway wherein special guests were welcomed. King Cang of Dongping is Liu Yu 劉宇, a son of the emperor Xuandi. According to Michael Loewe, Liu Yu was enfeifed at Dongping in the Year 52.

¹⁷ Yan Shigu's commentary on the line in the *Han shu* which states, "Ban Gu was capped and then orphaned" 弱冠而孤, he explains, "This says that he was twenty" 謂年二十也 (HS, 4213).

永平初，東平王蒼以至戚爲驃騎將軍輔政，開東閣，延英雄。時固始弱冠，奏記說蒼曰：

40 (A).14-15 [彪奏記說蒼]

40 (A).16

Cang accepted Ban Gu's memorial.

Ban Gu's father, Biao, died and he returned to his home village. ^{(Gu considered his father's}
 continued [work] on former histories to be shoddy. He applied his energy and concentrated
 his thoughts with the desire of completing his father's work. After he had begun, someone
 presented a memorial to Mingdi, accusing Gu of privately altering and producing a national
 history. Someone summoned him down to the Commandery to be received into custody at
 Jing Zhao prison, and [Ban Gu's] entire family library was confiscated. It was a man from
 Feng Fu named Su Lang who had falsely implicated [Gu] in an affair involving charts and
 prophecies. Gu was sent down to prison to be executed, and his younger brother, Chao,
 feared that when Gu was being investigated in the Commandery, he would be unable to
 explain himself. Thus, Ban Chao hastened to the palace and submitted a memorial. He
 obtained an audience and explained completely the meaning of what Ban Gu had written,
 and his works were then submitted from the Commandery to the emperor. Mingdi
 marveled at them and summoned Ban Gu to the Textual Editing Bureau, where he was
 appointed Historian-of-the-Orchid-Terrace.¹⁸ ^{(He worked along with the} ^{former 前} Prefect of Sui
 Yang, Chen Zong, the Prefect of Zhang Ling, Yin Min, and the Assistant-of-the-Director-

include this page in the biographical section of Chapter 3 - Check my accuracy

¹⁸ Hans Bielenstein translates the term, *lantai lingshi* 蘭臺令史, as "Foreman Clerk of the Orchid Terrace." This post was not a very high one, and earned only a small salary of 600 piculs. However, to hold this post one was required to first pass a "9000-character test" and other literary examinations. See Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 58. Also, according to the *Han guan yi*, this post was held by six people. They were petty officials earning a salary of 100 piculs, who managed texts of accusation (HHS, 1334).

shizu

of-Retainers, Meng Yi, and they together completed the ~~Shi zong benji~~.¹⁹ Ban Gu was promoted to Gentleman, working as the Director-of-Editing-in-the-Imperial-Library. Gu, moreover, wrote of the affairs of meritorious officials such as, Ping Lin, Xin Shi, and Gongsun Shu. He produced biographies and wrote records in twenty-eight chapters, and submitted them to the emperor. The emperor then ordered him complete his former writings.

蒼納之。父彪卒，歸鄉里。固以彪所續前史未詳，乃潛精研思，欲就其業。既而有人上書顯宗，告固私改作國史者，有詔下郡，收固繫京兆獄，盡取其家書。先是扶風人蘇朗偽言圖讖事，下獄死。固弟超恐固為郡所覈考，不能自明，乃馳詣闕上書，得召見，具言固所著述意，而郡亦上其書。顯宗甚奇之，召詣校書部，除蘭臺令史，與前睢陽令陳宗、長陵令尹敏、司隸從事孟異共成世祖本紀。遷為郎，典校祕書。固又撰功臣、平林、新市、公孫述事，作列傳、載記二十八篇，奏之。帝乃復使終成前所著書。

40 (A).17

Ban Gu believed that the Han continued the Mandate of Yao in order to establish its imperial occupation. After six generations [Gaozu, Huidi, Shaodi Gong, Shaodi Hong, Wendi, and Jingdi], the minister of history [Sima Qian] thereupon transmitted their meritorious virtue, privately producing annals and editing in the ends of reigns of the various kings. On the side he included [into his writings] the likes of Qin Shihuang and Xiang Yu. After the *taichu* era (104-101 B.C.) [of Wudi], there were omitted records and events left unrecorded, accordingly he selected from what had been written in previous records and collected what he had heard to produce the *Han shu* (*Records of the Han*). It commences from

¹⁹ Chen Zong's biographical details are unavailable. Yin Min was a scholar who was given the post of Gentleman by Guangwudi. He is said to have been an intimate friend of Ban Gu's father, Ban Biao. See Loewe, 164. The details of Meng Yi's life are unknown.

the beginning of Gaozu's reign and ends with Xiaoping and the punishment of Wang Mang. It covers twelve generations, two-hundred and thirty years, and summarizes their actions and affairs, while on the side it runs through the Five-Classics. Connecting high and low, he produced historical records to complete twelve annals, eight charts, ten treatises, and seventy biographies, equaling one-hundred chapters. Ban Gu began to receive imperial summonses during the *yongping* era (A.D. 58-75) [of Mingdi]. Applying his strength and gathering his thoughts for more than twenty years, he completed his work during the *jianchu* era (A.D. 76-83) [of Zhangdi]. His text was deeply valued in that generation, and all learned people recited it.

固以爲漢紹堯運，以建帝業，至於六世，史臣乃追述功德，私作本紀，編於百王之末，廁於秦、項之列，太初以後，闕而不錄，故探撰前記，綴集所聞，以爲漢書，起元高祖，終于孝平王莽之誅，十有二世，二百三十年，綜其行事，傍貫五經，上下洽通，爲春秋考紀、表、志、傳凡百篇。固自永平中始受詔，潛精積思二十餘年，至建初中乃成。當世甚重其書，學者莫不諷誦焉。

40 (A).18

After Ban Gu had become a Gentleman, he accordingly saw the emperor himself in close proximity. At that time, the palaces and estates in the capital were being restored and heightened, and a dry mote was being dug around the city walls. An elderly gentleman from Guan Zhong, however, wished the Court to be moved back to the west.²⁰ Ban Gu, inspired by [the literary styles] of the former generation [of poets] such as Sima Xiangru, Shou Wang, and Dongfang Shuo, produced and selected from verse in order to complete [a poem] to use as a critical exhortation. He then proffered his, 'Two Capitals Rhyme-Prose' to the emperor,

²⁰ Ancient Guan Zhong 關中 was located in what is now Shanxi 陝西. This area was, after all, the home region of the elderly interlocutor in this passage, and it is natural that he would desire the Court to return to his homeland.

extolling the excellent political system of Luoyang in order to defeat the extravagant disputations of the western guests.²¹ His work stated:

自爲郎後，遂見親近。時京師脩起宮室，濬繕城隍，而關中耆老猶望朝廷西顧，固感前世相如、壽王、東方之徒，造構文辭，終以諷勸，乃上兩都賦，盛稱洛邑制度之美，以折西賓淫侈之論。其辭曰：

40 (A).19-24 [兩都賦]

40 (B).1-10 [兩都賦]

40 (B).11

Once we arrive to the reign of Jingdi, the [emperor] was quite fond of literature, and Ban Gu continued to obtain favor. Several times, he entered and read texts within the forbidden palace, sometimes [remaining] for days and nights. Every time the emperor went on an imperial tour, Ban Gu always submitted *fu* Ryhmprose and *song* Hymns to him. During great deliberations in Court, Gu rendered difficult questions to the Dukes and Chamberlains, discoursed before the emperor, and was [thus] rewarded with imperial favors. Taking his talents and skills to be collectively [derived] from both his father and himself, Ban Gu did not surpass the rank of Gentleman. [Because of an accusation made against him], Ban Gu relied upon the [literary styles] of Dongfang Shuo and Yang Xiong to explain himself in order avoid such calamities as those during the eras of Su Qin, Zhang Yi, Fan Sui, and Cai Ze.²² He wrote his [Reply] to a Guest's Mockery that he might be understood. He was

to the ?
use the same
are used
elsewhere

²¹ The capital of the Western Han was Chang'an, and the new capital of the Eastern Han was Luoyang 洛陽, referred to as Luoyi 洛邑 in this passage. Modern Luoyang, located in Henan 河南, is very near the ancient site of the Eastern Han capital.

²² For a more complete account of this accusation, see HS, 4225.

later transferred to the post of Major-of-the-Black-Tortoise.²³ The emperor had a meeting at which all of the Confucians held disquisitions regarding the Five-Classics. The *Baihu tong de lun* was produced, and Ban Gu was commissioned to (write the collected) account of the events [at the meeting].

及肅宗雅好文章，固愈得幸，數入讀書禁中，或連日繼夜，每行巡狩，輒獻上賦頌，朝廷有大議，使難問公卿，辯論於前，賞賜恩寵甚渥。固自以二世才術，位不過郎，感東方朔、楊雄自論，以不遭蘇、張、范、蔡之時，作賓戲以自通焉。後遷玄武司馬，天子會諸儒講論五經，作白虎通德論，令固撰集其事。

40 (B).12

40 (B).13

Ban Gu, moreover, wrote the 'Dian Yin Pian' to transmit the virtue of the Han. He considered it so that the "Fengshan" by Sima Xiangru was extravagant while not classical, and the "Mei xin" by Yang Xiong was classical while not true. More or less, he stated that he had accomplished what he had set out to.²⁴ Ban Gu said [in his 'Dian Yin Pian']:

固又作典引篇，述敘漢德，以爲相如封禪，靡而不典，楊雄美新，典而不實，蓋自謂得其致焉。其辭曰：

40 (B).14-21 [典引篇]

40 (B).22

[Later, Ban Gu departed from his official post in order to mourn his mother's death. During the first year of the *yongyuan* era (A.D. 89), the General-in-Chief, Dou Xian, departed to go on a putative expedition against the Xiongnu. He employed Ban Gu to act as the Commissioner-Over-the-Army-of-the-Center and took counsel with him.] The Northern

²³ This post was one of many positions expected to guard the palace. The Major-of-the-Black-Tortoise was stationed at the Gate of the Black Tortoise, along with two minor officials and 38 guards. See Bielenstein, 33.

²⁴ The translation of this line remains tentative.

Xiongnu heard that the Han general had left, and dispatched an emissary to arrive at Juyansai.²⁵ The [Shanyu] wished to renew the old protocol like that of Huhanye Shanyu, have a Court audiences with the emperor, and request a Grand Emissary.²⁶ [General] Xian dispatched Ban Gu to carry out the duties of Leader-of-the-Gentlemen-of-the-Place.²⁶ Leading several hundred cavalry and the Barbarian emissary, they all were set out to Juyansai to welcome the [Shanyu]. Then, the Southern Xiongnu mounted a surprise attack and defeated the Northern [Xiongnu] Court. Ban Gu arrived at Siquhai, heard that there was a rebellion among the Northern barbarians, and withdrew to a distance.²⁷ When Dou Xian suffered a defeat, Ban Gu was tried first and dismissed from his office.²⁸

固後以母喪去官。永元初，大將軍竇憲出征匈奴，以固為中護軍，與參議。北單于聞漢軍出，遣使款居延塞，欲脩呼韓邪故事，朝見天子，請大使。憲上遣固行中郎將事，將數百騎與虜使俱出居延塞迎之。會南匈奴掩破北庭，固至私渠海，聞虜中亂，引還。及竇憲敗，固先坐免官。

40 (B).23

Ban Gu did not offer instruction on the various philosophers as ^{several} philosophers did not abide by laws and measures, and the local functionaries ^{had been} were embittered by this.²⁹ ^{offer?} (Formerly, the Prefect of Luoyang, Chong Jing, was out traveling. One of Ban Gu's servants was attending to his chariots and horses. The petty official [Chong Jing] happened to bump into

²⁵ Juyansai 居延塞 was an area with irrigation channels built, located in what is today Inner Mongolia 內蒙古. See HSCD, 433. This area was one often in need of a defensive military presence, as the Xiongnu were located to the northwest. It also would have acted as a convenient meeting place for Ban Gu and the Xiongnu emissary, as it is directly between the Han capital and the tribal areas of the "Barbarians."

²⁶ Huhanye 呼韓邪 was a Shanyu of the Xiongnu tribe during the reign of Xian 宣帝 (r. 73-49 B.C.), who fostered peaceful relations between the Han state and his own people, often visiting the Han capital of Chang'an. Huhanye died in 31 B.C.

²⁷ Siquhai 私渠海 is the name of a lake in what is now western Mongolia. See HSCD, 203.

²⁸ My translation of this passage has benefited significantly by the extensive advice of Professor Stephen Durrant.

²⁹ This line appears to be an awkward insertion. It remains unclear to me how this statement about Ban Gu's sentiments towards the philosophers relates to the rest of the passage (nor to the previous one for that matter).

As have many of my translators, the interest over and more.

Fan Ye's Companion to Shu
Final Summary of BB
BB's essay
Fr.

upbraided

deliberations

him, whereupon [Ban Gu's] servant, who was drunk, ~~scolded~~ him. Jing was infuriated, but since he was intimidated by Dou Xian he did not dare to give vent to his anger, and so he harbored his resentment [against Ban Gu] in his heart. When the guests of the Dou family were all arrested for investigation, Chong Jing used the occasion as an opportunity to implicate Ban Gu. Afterward, Ban Gu died in prison. At that time he was 61. Chong Jing was [accordingly] summoned to be punished for the crime of being a petty official who had opposed his superior.) The writings of Ban Gu include the 'Dian Yin,' 'Bin Xi,' 'Ying Ji' poems, rhymprose, stele inscriptions, prayers, hymns, memorials, essays, records, disquisitions, deliberations, and 6-character line poems, all equaling 41 chapters. It has been said that Sima Qian and Ban Gu [are as] father and son; their words are [such as] those produced in texts in the Office of the Historian. They have grand meanings and splendid are their works. All appraisals declare that they were two masters with the skills of excellent historians. Sima Qian's writing is direct and the affairs [discussed] deeply, whereas Ban Gu's writing is abundant and the affairs [discussed] precisely. As Ban Gu presents events, he does not raise slander, nor does he promote or repress [the subjects of his records]. [His writing] is abundant without being vulgar; it is exacting and systematic; and thus one reads his work continuously without growing tired. True indeed, he was able to become famous. Ban Biao and Ban Gu criticized Sima Qian for incorrectly [representing] right and wrong in regards to [the standards] of sagely men. Being thus, Sima Qian discussed and made a practice of relaying [the tales] of martyrs who were not upright, rather than good men who committed suicide in order to attain benevolence. Accordingly, he lightens [the virtues of] benevolence and righteousness; the lowly are protected whereas martyrs increase [in number]. Ban Gu was critical towards Sima Qian for being unable to employ his wisdom to escape the extreme

here is on evidence the 92 write for Gu's death.

punishment [of castration], [even though] he had learned and consulted broadly. Thus, he moreover fell into bodily harm; arriving at wisdom, he still could not protect himself. Alas! Men in antiquity were able to discuss eyebrows, [whereas Ban Gu only discussed the hair he could see].³⁰

固不教學諸子，諸子多不遵法度，吏人苦之。初，洛陽令种兢嘗行，固奴干其車騎，吏椎呼之，奴醉罵，兢大怒，畏憲不敢發，心銜之。及竇氏賓客皆逮考，兢因此捕繫固，遂死獄中。時年六十一。詔以譴責兢，抵主者吏罪。固所著典引、賓戲、應譏、詩、賦、銘、誄、頌、書、文、記、論、議、六言，在者凡四十一篇。論曰：司馬遷、班固父子，其言史官載籍之作，大義粲然著矣。議者咸稱二子有良史之才。遷文直而事覈，固文贍而事詳。若固之序事，不激詭，不抑抗，贍而不穢，詳而有體，使讀之者蹙蹙而不默，信哉其能成名也。彪、固譏遷，以為是非頗謬於聖人。然其論議常排死節，否正直，而不敘殺身成仁之為美，則輕仁義，賤守節愈矣。固傷遷博物洽聞，不能以智免極刑；然亦身陷大戮，智及之而不能守之。嗚呼，古人所以致論於目睫也！

40 (B).24

The historian comments: Ban Biao and [his son] Gu esteemed literature and regulated and ~~completed the imperial tombs~~^{completed the imperial tombs}. Their excellence is comparable to that of Sima Qian and Dong Gu, and they were as elegant as Sima Changqing and Yang Ziyun (i.e., Yang Xiong).

Ban Biao understood the imperial Mandate and Gu was rapt by the disorder of the generation.

贊曰：二班懷文，裁成帝墳。比良遷、董，兼麗卿、雲。彪識皇命，固迷世紛。

³⁰ This final exclamation alludes to a Qi 齊 emissary mentioned in the *Shiji* who went to Yue 越. The emissary laments his lack of discerning wisdom, stating, "I can see fine hair, but I cannot see my own eyebrows" 見豪毛而不見其睫也. See the commentary in the HHS, 1387. The line implies that Ban Gu critiqued Sima Qian's misfortune, but did not possess the wisdom to foretell his own calamity in prison.

Outline of HHS 40

Introduction to Ban Biao

- Biao's dealing w/ Wei Ao, & a description of his dialogue including the "王命論" antecedents
- Biao writes the WML & joins the party of Dou Peng. He assists the repulsion of Wei Ao & earns the emperor's notice.
- Biao's literary / historical works. Biao writes the "略論"
- 5-6. "略論"
7. Biao is summoned by an official & he writes a memorial.
- 8-9 Memorial
10. He is Minister of Education. He retires and devotes himself to literature.
11. Ban & Chao are born. Biao is described / summarized.
- ~~* King is introduced~~
12. Ban Gu is introduced
13. Gu is capped & responds to a summons. He ~~then~~ offers a memorial.
- 14-15 Memorial
16. Biao dies. Ban Gu resumes his father's work. Ban Gu's incrimination and vindication.
17. description of Ban Gu's process of writing the HS.
18. Antecedents of Gu's authorship of the "兩都賦"
- 19-24 (Part I) "兩都賦"
- 25-35 (Part II) "兩都賦"
36. Gu gains promotions, intimacy w/ the emperor, and is asked to record the events / discussions of White Tiger Hall.
37. Ban Gu takes part in a discussion on court on how to deal w/ ~~the~~ a Tribute emissary from the AC 單于. (國's response is highly Confucian)

Pan Gu's life chronology

Hou Han Shu:

40.11 - Pan w/ Zhao (Zhao is not mentioned here)

40.12 - style was 子真

- precocious (9)

- mastered 九流 & 百家

- did not have a steady teacher

- did not produce 章句

- was magnanimous. & the 侯 admired him.

40.13 (30 年) - submitted a memorial to 桓帝

- His father died & he returned to his village.

- Continued his father's shabby work

- Someone submitted an accusation to 桓帝 that he was producing a private history

- He was summoned to be received into custody @ Ding Zhao Prison & his family library was confiscated.

- He was ~~the accusation~~ accused by a man from Feng Pu named Su Lang of an affair involving charts and prophecies.

- he was sent to prison to be executed, but 桓帝 learned he would be unable to explain himself & submitted a memorial in order to explain his meanings.

- His works were submitted to the emperor from the commandary. ①

* 明帝 marvelled @ Cui's work & employed him
in the Textual Editing Bureau, and was
(he was thus a good editor)
appointed Historian of the Orchid Terrace.

- He worked w/ various men their & completed the 世祖本紀
- Cui was promoted to 郎, and worked as the Director of Editing -
in the Imperial Library.

* He wrote about meritorious officials such as Pinglin,
Lin Shi, & Gong sun Shu.

* He produced biographies in 26 chapters

→ And, submitted them to the emperor.

- The emperor then had him complete his former writings,
i.e. those he had begun to finish his father's work.

- Fan Cui followed his father's ideological views outlined in the
“子令” — (festival outline)

- during the 永平 period, Cui began to receive summons.

- Worked on the HS for more than 20 years, completing it
during the Jianchu period.

* Everyone loved his work.

- After he became a 郎, he was in the presence of the
emperor.

- The capital was being improved, and a man from Luoyang
wanted the capital to be moved back to the west.

→ * Cui wrote his 兩都賦 to dispute the propositions
of those
(The 兩都賦 is here)