

4. from among the literary officials: remonstrator Liu Jui;
5. of the speaking officials:(56) supervising secretaries T'ang Li-ching, Ch'en T'ing, Hsü Ang, T'ao Hsieh, Liu Chu, Ai Hung, Lü Ch'ung, Jen Hui, Li Kuang-han, Tai Hsien, Hsü Fan, Mu Hsiang, Hsü Hsien, Chang Liang-pi, Ko Sung, Chao Shih-hsien, censors Ch'en Lin, Kung An-fu, Shih Liang-tso, Ts'ao Min, Wang Hung, Jen No, Li Hsi, Wang Fan, Ko Hao, Lu K'un, Chang Ming-feng, Hsiao Ch'ien-yüan, Yao Hsüeh-li, Huang Chao-tao, Chiang Ch'in, Po Yen-hui, P'an T'ang, Wang Liang-ch'en, Chao Yu, Ho T'ien-ch'ü, Hsü Chüeh, Yang Chang, Hsiung Cho, Chu T'ing-sheng, Liu Yü and others.

These men were all called loyal and forthright everywhere in the empire.(57)

Furthermore, in order to harass them, Liu ordered [officials in] the six Offices of Scrutiny(58) to report in at the third watch

(56) *yen-lu*; see "Govt. Organ.," p. 50. Also Hucker, *Cens. Syst.* in general for the historical development of speaking officials outside the censorate, and how they came to assume some of the duties of vocal censorship. This was somewhat different from previous dynasties.

(57)

KEYED READING: MS 188, p.5004
Notice the historian's attitude toward what the role of good officials should be in disruptive times.

RESEARCH TOPIC: Translate the incident at the Chin shui bridge as given in MSL, "Wu-tsung," 24, pp. 661-62. It is a much fuller speech, and is read in the name of the emperor himself.

(58) Liu-k'o; "Govt. Organ.," p.52 defines *k'o* alone as Offices of Scrutiny. Hucker, *Cens. Syst.*, describes these in detail (pp.

[from 3-5 AM] and leave at the tenth [from 5-7 PM], making them unable to rest. He ordered that civilian statesmen not be awarded patents so readily, and he harshly restricted the civil officials.

[Chu] Ch'en-hao, Prince of Ning, was planning treason. He bribed Liu Chin and then requested the restoration of his bodyguard. Liu granted him his request. That allowed Ch'en-hao to complete his preparation for the rebellion.

Liu Chin was unschooled; in preparing [the emperor's] rescripts to memorials he would regularly take them back to his private residence. There he would come to a decision [about the imperial response] together with his younger sister's husband, Sun Ts'ung -- office manager in the Ministry of Rites, -- and the notorious scoundrel from Hua-t'ing, Chang Wen-mien.(59) Their language was always vulgar and redundant. Chiao Fang would gloss it over for them, and Li Tung-yang could do nothing but hang his head [helplessly].

During this period Liu's power was unchecked throughout the whole empire. He followed his whims in [dispensing] terror and favor. There was a case of a convicted man who drowned himself;

52-53, and 16 ff. for background). These officials were rather autonomous supervising secretaries, charged with reviewing each of the six ministries. (For more description see note #17.) Why does the possible emendation given in *K'ao-cheng*, p. 28b, seem unlikely?

(59) This is another case of alternate listings for the same place. According to Aoyama, p.145 Hua-t'ing could be in Shensi (near P'ing-liang in modern Kansu) or Kiangsu. (See MS 40, p.920 & 42, p. 1004.) There are no biographical notices for Chang.

thereupon Liu [went so far as to] make the censor K'uang Yi guilty for it. Once he sought bribes from the Hanlin chancellor(60) Wu Yen, but did not get any. Furthermore, heeding slander from censor-in-chief Liu Yü,(61) he became enraged at censor Yang Nan-chin, so he demoted both [Wu and Yang] on the basis of something in the reports of the provincial officials during the Great Triennial Evaluation.(62) He appointed the aboriginal officer(63) Yang Pin of Po-chou [modern Tsun-yi, in Kweichow] to be surveillance commissioner(64) of Szechwan. He ordered his slave's son-in-law,

(60) *hsüeh-shih*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 37. They supervised the Hanlin Academy, which provided literary and scholarly services, political documents, histories, and explanations of the classics. Not to be confused with the *ta hsüeh-shih*, who rose out of the Hanlin to assume high executive roles.

(61) *tu yü-shih*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 49. There were two censors-in-chief heading the surveillance wing of the Censorate.

Liu Yü subsequently was punished for collaboration with Liu Chin; see MS 306, p. 7837-39. Wu Yen's biography is in MS 184, p. 4888, but Yang Nan-chin appears to have no biographies in the standard sources.

(62)

KEYED READING: MS 16, p.201 and 72, pp. 1737-38
The term *ta-chi wai-li* refers to the "outer evaluations" held every three years. (See Hucker, *Cens. Syst.*, pp. 95-97 and "Govt. Organ.," p. 16.)

(63) *t'u-kuan*; a generic title referring to aboriginal leaders chosen to be local agents of the Ming government. See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 20. (Sometimes rendered "tribal chieftain.")

(64) *an-ch'a shih*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 54 and his *Cens. Syst.*, p. 54. The official was head of a provincial surveillance office.

Lü Chieh, to supervise the government educational establishment in Shantung. (65) No one from [the rank of] duke, marquis or honored member of the empresses' families on down dared to treat him as an equal. Each time they went to visit him in private, they would always have to kneel and bow.

Drafts and memorials were written out first in red-inked summaries and sent to Liu: these were called red copies. After that they were sent to the Office of Transmission: (66) these were -----

KEYED READING: MS 312, pp. 8039 f.

This reading describes the Po-chou local chieftainship. Of course, the historian wanted his readers to be shocked, but note how the Yangs had been hereditary chieftains for centuries and claimed Han forebears. This Yang is described as "crafty and ruthless," manipulating even Liu Chin quite well, and leading a rich life past the downfall of Liu. The Yangs led a major insurrection in the 1590s; see *Ming shih chi shih pen mo*, ch. 64.

In the role of editor, the MS compiler has certain prerogatives. What would you call the one operating here? In using MS internal "references" one must always maintain a skeptical eye toward any drama being purveyed and the a priori judgments that stimulated narrative tone.

(65) Again there is an important fact left out, perhaps purposefully. It is that Lü was a legitimate *chin-shih*; he is listed with the new degree holders of 1493. (See *Ming Ch'ing chin shih t'i ming pei lu so yin*, 3 vol., Shanghai, 1980.) The fact of his appointment in Shantung thus becomes less shocking to us since he was technically qualified, but in the eyes of the historian and other scholar-officials at that time it became all the more shocking.

(66) T'ung-cheng ssu; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," pp. 36-7. The Office had a central role in the distribution and coordination of both incoming and outgoing documents in the capital. Both the emperor's edicts, orders, injunctions, etc., and the ministers' remonstrances and memorials had to be checked for various formal criteria. Also, Hucker, *Cens. Syst.*, pp. 100-02.

called the white copies. In both cases Liu would be referred to as "grand director Liu" [his official title as director in the Directorate of Ceremonial], rather than by his personal name. In reporting a verdict, the Chief Surveillance Office(67) in the capital censorate mistakenly referred to [him as] "Chin;"(68) Liu Chin scolded them furiously. Censor-in-chief T'u Jung had to lead his staff to kneel and offer apologies before [the matter] was ended.

Liu sent [his] agents out to investigate the border granaries. Censors-in-chief(69) Chou Nan, Chang Nai, Ma Chung-hsi, T'ang Ch'üan and Liu Hsien; provincial officers(70) and below: Sun Lu, Mao Cheng, Fang Chü, Hua Fu, Chin Hsien-min, Liu Sun, Kuo Hsü and Chang Yi; and bureau directors Liu Yi, Wang Chin and others, on account of [having benefited from] amnesties in previous infractions, were [now] imprisoned and [made] to repay retroactively the garrison grain deficiencies; Liu Hsien starved to death.(71) Furthermore, Liu Chin had the Salt Distribution

(67) Tu ch'a-yüan; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p.49 and his *Cens. Syst.*

(68) This would have been customary usage by a department like Chief Surveillance in referring to all officials.

(69) The *tu yü-shih*, listed above in note 62 as having only two representatives (left and right) under the Peking Censorate, has this long string of names listed here. It is possible that some of them were already deceased, or former censors-in-chief, whose families now were being made culpable.

(70) *pu-cheng*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," pp. 42-3.

Intendancy(72) investigated, had salt censorial commissioner(73) Wang Jun beaten, and arrested former transport officers Ning Chü, Yang Ch'i and others. He also investigated Storehouse A in the imperial treasuries(74) and punished 173 officials from minister Wang Tso on down.

Liu further instituted a grain-levy punishment;(75) every time someone aggravated him, he selected him for listing into the border grain transport. Former ministers Yung T'ai, Ma Wen-sheng, Liu Ta-hsia, Han Wen, Hsü Chin; censors-in-chief Yang I-ch'ing, Li Chin, Wang Chung; vice-minister Chang Chin; supervising secretaries Chao

(71) His death occurred while he was waiting for his family to pay his fines. The amnesty for previous infractions was probably the formal Act of Grace issued by Wu-tsung when he acceded to the throne. (See MS 16, p. 199.) The grace seems especially to have applied to older tax evasions.

(72) Yen-k'o (short for Yen-k'o t'i-chü ssu); See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 46.

(73) *hsün-yen yü-shih*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 52.

(74) *nei chia-tzu k'u*; MS:1832 and TMHT 30:570 ff. describe the Five Storehouses (A,B,C,D & E), listed under the Ministry of Finance. Each provincial office had to collect various goods for these treasuries, which came under the direct supervision of the eunuchs. "A" was especially reserved for substances used in the preparation of much-desired elixirs. (See MS: 1821 and Ting, pp. 19-20.)

(75)

KEYED READING: MS 16, p.202

DMB:944 says that this punishment called for "cutting the rations." In the keyed reading the wording of this punishment is different, and expresses more clearly that grain shipments to a border garrison were required. "Cutting rations" was an older punishment, and not a severe one. The DMB is probably wrong.

Shih-hsien, Jen Liang-pi; censors Chang Chin, Ch'en Shun, Ch'iao Shu, Nieh Hsien, Ts'ao Lai-hsün and others, numbering several tens, all were bankrupted; the wives and children of those who had died were made to bear their responsibility.

In the summer of the third year [1508],(76) along the private imperial causeway there was found an anonymous letter criticizing Liu Chin's management of [state] affairs. Liu forged an edict summoning the entire bureaucracy [at the capital] to kneel before the Feng-t'ien gate.(77) He stood at the left and chastized them; by sundown he had rounded up and imprisoned all officials from the fifth rank on down. The next day grand secretary Li Tung-yang made an effort to rescue them, but Liu in the meantime had heard through his secret channels that the letter was actually written by a eunuch, and thus began to release all the officials. Nevertheless, bureau secretary Ho Yi, officer-designate in Peking prefecture Chou Ch'en and *chin-shih* Lu Shen had already died of thirst. It had been torturously hot that day, and the eunuch Li Jung gave iced melon to the imprisoned group of officials to drink. Liu Chin hated him [for that]. The eunuch Huang Wei became extremely roiled

(76) The text in MS:7789 says "... summer of the same year." However the emendation as supplied by the the editors of the modern edition seems reasonable. See the appropriate textual note at MS: 7798.

(77) This was the main gate to the main audience palace, situated inside the Wu Gate at the south end of the Forbidden City. See Map #2. Since the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) it has been known as T'ai-ho Gate. See Palaces. See also Chu Hsieh, *Pei-ching kung ch'üeh t'u shuo*, Ch'ang-sha, 1938.

and told the officials:

What the letter says is completely for the sake of the state and the people. If we pull ourselves up straight and take responsibility, even should we die we would not have failed to be true men 好男子. Why [should one] deviously implicate others?

Liu was enraged and on that day forced Li Jung to retire, and exiled Huang Wei to Nanking.

At this time the Eastern and Western Depot investigators were being sent out everywhere -- there was panic in the streets. Liu Chin moreover established the Palace Depot;(78) it was especially brutal. No eunuch guilty of even a minute infraction was able to escape harm. Also Liu drove out of the capital every itinerant laborer [i.e. those registered in other provinces], ordered all widows to remarry, and those mourning someone not [yet] interred to burn [the corpse]. The clamor in the imperial capital bordered on rebellion. Peking supervising secretary Hsü T'ien-hsi wanted to impeach Liu Chin, but was afraid that it would not succeed, so he put the memorial in the breast-[fold of his robes] and hanged himself.(79)

(78) Nei-hsing ch'ang; This was an internal investigative organ for within the palace and eunuch bureaus themselves. It was first established in Liu's regime. See Wei and Ting, pp. 33-34. Crawford, p. 132 does not attach much importance to it.

(79)

KEYED READING: MS 188, p. 4988
Here is another example of a MS reference that fills out an otherwise brief account. Many of the facts in this case are much more complicated than indicated in the Liu Chin biography.