

Li Tung-yang all requested to resign. The emperor retained only Li; he ordered Chiao to enter the Grand Secretariat. He had Wang Yüeh and Fan Heng pursued on their way to Nanking and murdered; Hsü's arms were broken in his beatings. This was in the tenth month of the first year of the Cheng-te reign [mid-October to mid-November 1506].

Now that Liu Chin had got his way, he proceeded to cashier Han Wen on some pretext, and had beatings administered to or charges placed against those who had petitioned to retain Liu Chien and Hsieh Ch'ien: supervising secretaries Lü Ch'ung, Liu Chu,(31) Nanking supervising secretary Tai Hsien and others, totaling six, and censors Po Yen-hui and others, totaling fifteen. The Nanking

(30) Court rituals were quite formal in regard to the physical positioning of the participants in relation to the Son of Heaven. Probably Liu Chin, newly appointed to the influential post of chief eunuch in the Directorate of Ceremonial, now assumed a prominent place in the emperor's immediate proximity. See Map 6.

(31)

KEYED READING: MS 188, pp. 4972-73

In what ways does this reading help to fill out the account, specifically the last steps in the rise of Liu Chin?

RESEARCH TOPIC: 1) The Chinese character 濼 in this man's name is not found in any of the large dictionaries. The MJCC index, however, gives the pronunciation used here, perhaps without good reason other than an assumption about its phonetic element. Could this word have been a personal creation? Or was it merely an alternate writing or a mistake? How would one go about solving this problem? 2) These biographies are linked together. Add them to the Liu Chien bloc (see note #15) and try to determine any substantial connections. Make second-level keyed readings based on other names mentioned in the two biographies. (See the "k'ao-yi" to the MTC:1569-70.)

grand commandant(32) Chao Ch'eng-ch'ing, who was Earl of Wu-ching,(33) the metropolitan prefectural governor(34) Lu Heng and minister Lin Han all, because they had forwarded Lü and Liu's memorials, were deemed guilty and Lu and Lin were forced to retire; the earl's emolument was cut in half. The Nanking vice censor-in-chief(35) Ch'en Shou, censors Ch'en Lin and Wang Liang-ch'en and secretary Wang Shou-jen,(36) were exiled and/or beaten, in varying degrees of punishment, since they had renewed the drive to save Tai

(32) *shou-pei*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," pp. 25, 61. For most of the dynasty Nanking was a secondary capital, fully staffed and always ready to receive the emperor. After mid-Ming the Nanking grand commandant was often held by a eunuch. (See DMB:1456 & 656, the editor's note appended to the biography of Huang Fu.)

(33)

KEYED READING: Like the case in note #23, there is no official biography for Chao. His father was a famous general (see Chao Fu in MS 155, p.4264); but the son is only mentioned in passing. However, one should be attentive to the helpful notes in the modern Chung-hua shu-chü edition. See the note on p. 7797-98.

(34) *fu-yin*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p.45. Both imperial capitals had a governor, equivalent to a prefect (*chih-fu*) in the other prefectures, plus a vice-governor (*fu-ch'eng*).

(35) *fu-tu yü-shih*; See Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 49 and Hucker, *Cens. Syst.*

(36)

KEYED READING: MS 195, pp. 5160-61
This last is the famous intellectual, Wang Yang-ming [1472-1529]. In this keyed reading the biographical information related to the Liu Chin years is sparse. What different aims might the compiler of Wang's biography have had in contrast to others? Are there other data there that could engender a research topic relevant to Liu Chin? (See DMB:1409-10 for a mention of Wang's punishment.)

Hsien and the others.

Liu Chin's power expanded more every day. He brought up the tiniest errors on the part of the officials and dispersed officers of the Palace Guard to spy all over, so that no one dared to propose that defects be reformed.(37) Because Liu had singlehandedly usurped the [dispensation of] intimidation and favors,(38) he would always send out the eunuchs of his clique to manage each of the "nine border garrisons."(39) When [they]

(37) This last is a particularly difficult phrase to render into English. Getting into the habit of utilizing the *P'ei wen yün fu*, however, pays off. The phrase *chiu kuo* is listed there (p. 3155, middle), but not in *Dai Kan Wa*. The primary allusion is from *Shih chi*, 122, p.3154. Burton Watson, in *The Grand historian's remarks*, v. 2, p. 451, translates as follows: "The high ministers went about their duties meekly and quietly, and gave no thought to reforming defects (*chiu kuo*) in government policy."

(38) *wei-fu* 威福; Traditionally, the phrase came to be applied to the actions of the emperor. Thus anyone arrogating the powers to punish and reward was a traitor or a usurper. (See its use later on in the translation.)

(39) This phrase, *fen chen ko pien* 分鎮各邊 (p. 7787), literally means "allotting [to them] the garrison [command] for the various border [defense areas]." See MS 304, p.7766 for the verb phrase "*fen-chen*" used as one among a list of eunuch jobs. *Ko-pien* is a shorthand for the nine main garrisons which the Ming instituted along the northern and northwestern boundaries of Chinese jurisdictional territory. As part of the *wei-so* system in general, these garrisons had already become eunuch-administered. The Ming considered the Mongols who lived beyond these outposts to be their chief defense problem; and indeed Mongol raiding was commonplace for much of the dynasty.

KEYED READING: MS 91, pp. 2235-38; 74, pp. 1821-22
MS 76, pp. 1866-70

RESEARCH TOPIC: There are constant discrepancies as to the

reported their [military] achievements at Ta-t'ung(40) he promoted more than 1,560 guard officers. Furthermore he transmitted imperial edicts granting several hundred appointments to the Palace Guard offices.(41)

actual number of these special border units. (See Pokotilov/Franke, Notes, pp. 17-18; and on p. 98 we learn that the borders were witnessing an unusually bad period of Mongol raiding at this time. For more on the "nine border garrisons" see the works cited in A. Waldron's, "The problem of the Great Wall in China," *HJAS*, 43.2 (1983) and Crawford, pp. 127-28.) Read Ting, pp. 292-300, Wu pp. 92-141, and MHY 42. Try to formulate an introductory essay on the relation between eunuch usurpers and the Nine Garrisons. How does this fit into the question raised in note #9? Are the MS readings above particularly helpful for a synthetic investigation? If not, where else may one turn in the Ming historical materials?

- (40) This was one of the "nine garrisons." It was located in Shansi province. Pokotilov/Franke, p. 100 informs us that Ta-t'ung was eventually overrun in 1514.

NOTE: How does one determine that of the two "Ta-t'ung chen" listed in Aoyama (the other located in Hukwang), this is the correct one? Is it simply by deducing that Hukwang's geographical position eliminates it from the category of "border defense?" Do the keyed readings in the previous note help in this case?

- (41) Chin-i [wei]; Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 60, translates it as "Embroidered-uniform Guard." This was the emperor's personal bodyguard, controlled by eunuchs. "Transmitted" (*ch'uan* 傳) implies that he did this on his own authority. Read Ting, pp. 34-41 and incorporate information on the Palace Guard into the study suggested in note #9.
- (42) *T'ung chien tsuan yao*; This work consisted of selections from Ssu-ma Kuang's famous *Tzu chih t'ung tien*, and was designed for easy reference and for study by the emperor and the heir apparent.

When the *Abridged Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Governing*, (42) was completed, Liu Chin falsely accused all of the Hanlin compilers(43) of being "slack" in copying [the texts]. They were all reprimanded, and he had issued(44) an order for recopying by Chang Chün and other copyists attached to the Wen-hua Palace, who were jump-promoted in official rank. Chang Chün was promoted from minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainment to minister of rites(45) and there were several others who were given posts as -----

(43) *tsuan-hsiu kuan*; see Franke, pp. 8 ff. for the mention of this office within his cogent discussion of the structure and developments of the Ming historiography offices. Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 37 lists the term *hsiu-chuan*, and says "compiler in the Hanlin Academy." The epithet used by Liu, "slack" (*pu chin* 不謹), was a formal evaluative term used in the regular bureaucratic reviews (Hucker, p.16).

(44) The text (p. 7787) says exactly "And [there was] issued an order..." in which case the usual assumption is that the emperor issued it. But by this time Liu Chin was in strong control of the reins of government. Further on in the biography we are given a strong indication by the compiler as to the point at which Liu assumed full power. Where is that? (See Wang Shih-chen, p. 4156 and Ting, pp.6 ff.)

KEYED READING: browse MS *ch.* 12 - 16.

Compare terms of imperial pronouncement here (*ch'ih* 勅, *chih* 制, *ming* 命, *ling* 令, etc.) with those found in non-eunuch biographies to see if any distinct patterns emerge that reveal the historiographer's attitude toward this usurpation. Note also the use of such terms as *ch'uan*, (see note #41); do they also fit this category?

(45) Kuang-lu [ssu]; see Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p.34. Also TMHT 217:2891 and MS:1798. This was a Ministry of Rites service agency in the palace which supplied food and drink at imperial banquets.

KEYED READING: 1) MS 72, p. 1745 & 74, p. 1798.

2) MS 111, pp. 3438-40

That is to say they were promoted to a rank much higher than

chief ministers in the capital. Even all of the artisans who did the scroll-mounting were made officials.(46)

Further, [Liu Chin] devised [certain] uses of the cangue punishment. Supervising secretary Chi Shih, censor Wang Shih-chung, bureau directors Liu Yi and Chang Wei, minister of the Seal Office,(47) Ku Hsüan, surveillance vice commissioner(48) Yao Hsiang, assistant administration commissioner(49) Wu T'ing-chü and -----

their current positions and *p'in* (rank) would normally have allowed. How much of a "jump" was this? If but a small one, then was there something else about the difference in the two posts that is important? Furthermore, what deduction from the second keyed reading suggests that in this case the "jump" promotion was nominal (*ad hominen*), not substantive.

- (46) *chuang-huang chiang* 裝潢匠; the artisans who applied mounting silk to manuscripts and paintings. The Chinese term brings to mind the swirling patterns usually present on the material. The job had been a regular administrative office in the T'ang, listed in the "Treatise on Officialdom" in the *Chiu t'ang shu* (Chung-hua edn., ch. 43, p. 1848). Apparently it was made official only once in the Ming, i.e. this very incident.

R. van Gulik, *Chinese pictorial art as viewed by the connoisseur*, (Rome, 1958), p. 52 explains that the term *chuang-huang*) actually is generic, covering: 1) bookbinding; 2) album covering; and 3) scroll-mounting. (See his p. 70 for a snippet from Fang I-chih's *T'ung ya*, and pp. 136 ff. for the translation of a late Ming treatise, *Chuang huang chih*, by Chou Chia-chou.)

- (47) Shang-pao ssu; see Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p.25 and MS:1803 ff. This office took charge of imperial seals, tallies, imprimaturs, etc. Some of these had been handed down from earlier dynasties.
- (48) *fu shih*; see Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 54. He was, unlike the commissioner, sent out from Peking on specific tasks. See Hucker, *Cens. Syst.*, pp. 70 ff.
- (49) *ts'an-i*; see Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 43.

others were all apprehended for trivial offenses and only after they were near death in the cangue were released and exiled to frontier garrison duty.(50) There were countless others who died in the cangue. In the Palace Guard prison, [officials] were roped together in piles.(51) [Liu Chin] resented the assistant commander of the Palace Guard(52) Mou Pin for managing the prisoners with concern; so he had him beaten and manacled. The vice-governor of [Peking] prefecture(53) Chou Hsi and the calendrist Yang Yüan were beaten to death. Yang was the one who previously had charged that Liu Chin was culpable when reporting to the emperor about the stellar aberrance.

(50)

RESEARCH TOPIC: Find biographical information on all the above officials (from Chi Shih to Wu T'ing-chü). Can legitimate connections be made between them in order to explain their being grouped together here? (Check MS biographies and MTC chronology.) Or is the MS shorthand style merely making it appear that they were a bloc?

(51) *Hui-mo* 徽纆 are prison ropes. The *Yi Ching*, last line of "Abysmal" says, "Bound with cords and ropes,/ Shut in between thorn-hedged prison walls:/ For three years one does not find the way./ Misfortune." (See R. Wilhelm & C. F. Baynes, trs., *The I Ching, or Book of Changes*, Princeton, rev. 1967 edn, p.534.) There are other ancient references to *hui-mo* roping of prisoners, thus one senses it as a metaphor for danger, especially political. The commentary of Wang Pi (226-249 AD) reads: "It is the extreme of danger. One cannot rise. Severe laws and cruel strictures are difficult to oppose" (*Chou-i Wang Han chu*, Ssu-pu pei-yao edn, ch. 3, 11b).

(52) *ch'ien-shih*; see Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p. 59.

(53) *fu-ch'eng*; see Hucker, "Govt. Organ.," p.45.

Whenever Liu Chin memorialized about something, he would make sure to spy about for the moments when the emperor was engaged in pleasures. The emperor grew tired of this, and waved him off saying, "What do I employ you for, that you should bother me [with such routine matters!]"(54) From this point on [Liu] decided everything by himself, and never again reported to the emperor.

In the third lunar month of the second reign year [mid-April to mid-May 1507] Liu ordered all of the court ministers to kneel south of Chin-shui bridge(55) and he proclaimed to them a list of treasonous partisans:

1. from among the highest officials: grand secretaries Liu Chien and Hsieh Ch'ien;
2. from the ministers: Han Wen, Yang Shou-sui, Chang Fu-hua and Lin Han;
3. from among officials in the ministerial departments: director Li Meng-yang, secretaries Wang Shou-jen, Wang Lun, Sun P'an and Huang Chao;

(54)

RESEARCH TOPIC: This aspect of the relationship between Liu Chin and the emperor, and the emperor's speech of frustration are slightly different in MTC:1571. Find other recensions, if possible, in MSL ("Wu-tsung"), MSK and Wang Shih-chen. Comment on the differences in reportorial and editorial style. Is there any particular reason why the MS text here seems to be more dramatic than the MTC?

(55) Chin shui (Gold River) was man-made, running east to west in the southernmost courtyard of the imperial palace, just inside Wu Gate. See Palaces, p.11, and Map #2.