





## Notes to Chapter III

1. The surname Mu was first used by a Han period prefect, Mu Ch'ung . A descendant of Confucius' student, Tzu-kung , Mu Ch'ung changed his original surname "to avoid disaster." Wang Su-ts'un, Chung-hua hsing fu (Peking, 1969), p. 314. A similar explanation is offered by Mu Ying's present-day descendants who claim that the addition of the water radical to their original surname, , protected their ancestors from being subdued by the fires of battle. Correspondence with Dr. K.H. Siu, native of Yunnan and intimate of Mu clan members, January 1976. In only one source known to me is it stated that Mu was not Mu Ying's original surname at birth, but rather a bestowed surname. Shang-kuan Chou, Wan-hsiao t'ang hua chuan (Peking, 1959), p. 166.

2. Ting-yüan county, Anhwei province. Aoyama Sadao, Shina rekidai chimei yoran (Tokyo, 1932), p. 447 (hereafter cited as Aoyama).


3. Mu Ying's father's taboo name, probably posthumously bestowed, was Ch'ao . An anonymous biography. "Mu Ying," in Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, ed. Chiao Hung (Taipei, 1965), p. 146 (hereafter cited at KCHCL). It is likely that Chiao Hung did not know the author's name; it is also possible that the author died in one of the great purges, e.g. 1392, 1402,

etc. Even if Chiao had an idea who wrote the piece, it might still not have been publishable in the 1590's, when Chiao compiled the KCHCL. See Huang Chang-chien's preface, especially pp. 5-7.

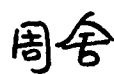
4. Mu Ying's mother's surname was Ku 顧. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

5. 1337-1382. The foster daughter of Kuo Tzu-hsing 郭子興, she later became Ming T'ai-tsu's Exalted Empress. Romeyn Taylor, trans. Basic Annals of Ming T'ai-tsu (San Francisco, 1975), pp. 32, 181. See Chou Tao-chi, "Empress Ma," DMB, pp. 1023-1026.

6. Mu Ying attached himself to the future emperor at Hao-liang 濠梁 (Hao-chou 濠州, Feng-yang 鳳陽 prefecture, Anhwei province, Aoyama, p. 80). Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146. Though eschewed by most historians, the legend persists that an illegitimate paternity for which the future emperor may have been responsible accounts for the lacuna in Mu's early biography. But, Mu Ying's adoption at eight sui by Chu Yüan-chang, coming in 1352, made him an unlikely sire; during 1344-45, the year of Mu's birth, Chu, a seventeen year old mendicant, was wandering about Huai-hsi 淮西. Moreover, since one of Mu Ying's own sons, Mu Hsin 昕, later married Chu Ti's daughter, the Princess Ch'ang-ning 常

 , both fathers were obviously confident that they were not sanctioning what, according to Chinese law and morality, would have been an incestuous betrothal.

Chu's own rootless background led him to use adoption, also practiced by other contemporary leaders, to widen his circle of individuals committed to him by irrevocable ties. During his rise to power, he bestowed his surname on more than twenty minor boys, hoping to insure their loyalty to reinforce a network of support. As they grew older, they were dispatched with Chu's generals throughout the empire.

Not only did Mu Ying, one so adopted, carry the surname Chu; he was known in the family by a nickname, Chou She  .

Chao I, Nien-erh shih cha-chi (Peking, 1963) p. 681, Ming-shih, 134/3897-3898 (hereafter cited as MS). Evidently a forthright child, he was likened to that Warring States minister whose blunt and honest remonstrances immortalized him in history.

7. Chu Yüan-chang assumed the title Duke of Wu in the seventh month of 1356 (28 July - 26 August). Under the authority of the Kiangnan Branch Secretariat of the Great Sung government, his new government included a "commandery before the tent in charge of the personal guard." Romeyn Taylor, "Yüan Origins of the Wei-so System," in Chinese Government in Ming Times - Seven Studies, ed. Charles O. Hucker, p. 33. Evidently, in 1363, Mu Ying was appointed to this commandery.

8. Chen-chiang county, Kiangsu province. Aoyama, p. 441.
9. Charles Hucker, "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 21 (1958), 59 (hereafter cited as Hucker, "Governmental Organization").
10. Kuang-hsin prefecture, Shang-jao 上饒 county, Kiangsi province. Aoyama, p. 164. He was serving in a guard in this area. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.
11. Military activity in Fukien began in 1365. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 49.
12. Fen-shui ling 嶺, located seventy li northwest of Ch'ung-an 崇安 county, Fukien province. Aoyama, p. 577. This pass was a link to Ch'ien-shan county 鉛山, seven li southwest of Ch'ien-shan county, Kiangsi province. Aoyama, p. 43. Mu Ying, along with Chin Tzu-lung 金子隆, later attacked Ch'ien Mountain, 10 July 1368. Ku Ying-t'ai. Ming-shih chi shih pen-mo. (Taipei: San-min shu-chu, 1968), I:6/62 (hereafter cited as CSPM).
13. Ch'ung-an county, Fukien province. Aoyama, p. 321. Mu Ying first followed the army that campaigned into Ch'ung-an during the second month of Hung-wu (19 February - 18 March 1368). Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.
14. Feng Ku-pao was captured on 12 July 1368. CSPM, I:6/62.
15. The emperor instructed Mu Ying to resume using his original surname in the third month of the first year of

his reign (19 March - 17 April 1368); and that command reflected the ethical and legal prescriptions structuring a neo-Confucian society. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146. Mu's biography included in the Ming T'ai-tsu Shih-lu ("Veritable Record of the Reign of Ming T'ai-tsu") ch. 218, 25/VI, day ting-mao, Taipei ed., 1963, pp. 3205-09, adds that the Emperor explained: "You must not cause your own ancestors to be without descendants."

16. Chien-ning prefecture, Chien-ou 建畝 county, Fukien province. Aoyama, p. 189. At this time, 10 July 1368, he was a Guard Commander. CSPM, I:6/62.

17. Shao-wu prefecture, Shao-wu county, Fukien province. Aoyama, p. 355.

18. Yen-p'ing guard, in Nan-p'ing 南平 county, Fukien province, was established 9 February 1368. CSPM, I:6/62, Aoyama, p. 41.

19. T'ing-chou prefecture, Ch'ang-t'ing county, Fukien province. Aoyama, p. 41.

20. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," p. 58.

21. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," p. 58.

22. 30 January 1377. MS, 2/32.

23. The purposes of his visit to the area, roughly modern Shensi, in Hung-wu 9 (22 January 1376 - 8 February 1377) were two-fold: to inspect and to reward the troops. Anon., "Mu Ying,"

KCHCL, p. 146. Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu, Hung-wu 9, twelfth moon, day yi mao, ch. 110, p. 1836, reports the command to go to Shansi; but, that is not the source of the sentence that follows here. The Shih-lu biography, ch. 218, p. 3206, does indicate what sorts of things he was doing there. The repair of walls and earthen ramparts were his primary concern.

24. 9 May 1377. MS, 2/32.

25. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," p. 60.

26. 1337-1377. See MS, 126/3748-3751, Edward L. Dreyer and Hok-lam Chan, "Teng Yü," DMB, pp. 1277-1280.

27. The object of this mission was to campaign against the Hsi-jung 西戎, Tibetan peoples of the Northwest border zone. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

28. During this campaign, supplies to the army were interrupted by rains lasting ten days. Despite hardship, Mu Ying shared the adversity of the campaign with the troops, and treated them medically when they fell ill. Such concern inspired these soldiers to feel great loyalty toward Mu Ying. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

29. Mu Ying opened up several thousand li of territory. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

30. 14 November 1377. MS, 2/32.

31. The text gives the full titles, literally: "Military servant in founding the state, comrade in good fortune, exerting sincerity ∩this title was given those distinguishing

themselves in service to Chu Yüan-chang while he established the empire. MS, 76/1855.7 and spreading strength, grand officer in an honorable position, pillar of state."

Following the translations of such titles as given in Henry Serruys, "The Mongols in China During the Hung-wu Period (1368-1398)," Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques 11 (1959), 254.

32. Mu Ying also received distinguished service medals 鐵券 Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

33. 21 November 1368. Mu Ying led Lan Yü and Wang Pi on this campaign. Ming-shih, 2/33.

34. In Hung-wu 11 (29 January 1378 - 18 January 1379), Mu Ying was placed in charge of forces from the capital, Honan, Shensi and Shansi in this campaign against the Tibetans. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

35. T'u-men mountain is four li southeast of Yao county, Shensi province. Aoyama, p. 466.

36. Lin-t'an 臨潭 county, Kansu province. Aoyama p. 409. Mu Ying was ordered to move troops and take the field against the eighteen tribes of T'ao-chou on 3 February 1379. MS, 2/34. These tribes were called Ch'iang 羌, another generic designation of Tibetans on the western borders of Shensi, Kansu and Szechuan. MS, 132/3869. Following this campaign, T'ao-chou guard was established. MS, 330/8540.

37. Lung-shan ward was north of former Wei-chou 威州,

550 li northwest of Ch'eng-tu county, Szechwan province.  
Aoyama, pp. 704, 711.

38. Ying-su-tzu, a tribal chieftain, was captured in a campaign beginning 16 October 1379. T'an Ch'ien, Kuo-ch'üeh (Peking, 1958), 6/575. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146, MS, 2/34.

39. A title in use among post-Yüan Mongols. Serruys, "Mongols in China," 288. One thousand Tibetans were captured and beheaded. MS, 132/3864.

40. To-kan is an abbreviation for To-kan-ssu. 思, found in the border area between Kansu and Tibet. To-kan-ssu, in the Wu-sa tsang 烏撒藏 area, where many Mongols lived, was made a commandery under the name To-kan on 23 February 1373. Serruys, "Mongols in China," 193. This same area was called Na-lin-ha 納弄哈, MS, 130/1654.

41. The captured were sent to the capital. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146. Several tens of thousands were beheaded. MS, 330/8540.

42. Toghochi. A Yüan imperial clan scion, originally named Hsüeh Kuei 薛貴 and titled Duke of Yüan. Toghochi was noted for his valuable service to the Prince of Yen, during the latter's rise to power. Serving in various capacities, Toghochi was named Earl of An-shun in Yung-lo 20, and a marquis in Hsüan-te 1. Serruys, "Mongols in China," 193, 216, 244, MS, 156/4272.



43. Mu Ying was ordered to attack Toghochi and the more than fifty thousand followers that had assembled at Qaraqorum on 17 March 1380. Kuo-ch'üeh, 7/585.

44. Western part of Ning-hsia province. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 146. In the spring of Hung-wu 13 before reaching I-chi-nai circuit, Mu Ying and his forces stopped at Ling-chou 靈州 (Ling-wu 靈武 county, Ning-hsia province, Aoyama, p. 691) where he dispatched spies to determine the whereabouts of Toghochi. Kuo-ch'üeh, 7/586, MS, 327/8465. Mu Ying attacked on 26 April 1380. MS, 2/34.

45. Sixty li west of Ning-hsia county, Ning-hsia province. Aoyama, p. 58.

46. After arriving in this area, Mu Ying and his troops went to a place forty li from Ch'iung-lu 窮廬. Prior to the attack, Mu Ying gagged his soldiers to insure a stealthy attack. Kuo-ch'üeh, 7/586.

47. One wing was directed at the enemy's rear; two covered Mu Ying's left and right flanks; Mu Ying himself commanded a fourth. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

48. By the end of the Yüan period, there were six chih-yüan, rank 16. Yüan-shih, 86/2155. The Yüan's highest central military agency was the Bureau of Military Affairs 樞密院, which directed all units except the qan's personal guard. Taylor, "Yüan Origins," p. 27. Hucker renders Shu-mi Yüan as Chief Military Commission. "Governmental

Organization," 57-58. See Kuo-ch'üeh, 7/585.

49. According to Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 149 and Kuo-ch'üeh, 7/601, Mu Ying was subordinate to Hsü Ta.

50. Mu Ying passed Sung-kao 嵩高 (ten li north of Teng-feng 登封 county, Honan province, Aoyama, p. 322) and T'ung-ning 全寧. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 156.

51. Kung-chu ling 嶺, south of Ch'ih-feng 永峯 county, Jehol province. Ch'ang-chai was probably a stockade in this area. Kuo-ch'üeh, 7/601.

52. In Jehol province, near the convergence of the Hsi-la-mu-lun 西喇木倫 and Ch'a-ha-mu-lun 察哈木倫 Rivers. Aoyama, p. 380. Ch'uan-ning is also mentioned in Serruys, "Mongols in China," 227.

53. Also titled shao-chien 少監. MS, 306/7841.

54. 18 September 1381. CSPM, I:12/117, MS, 2/36, Tai-tsu Kao-huang-ti shih-lu, 139/1, from Ming shih-lu yu-kuan Yun-nan li-shih tzu-liao tse-ch'ao, reprinted by Center for Chinese Research Materials (hereafter cited as SL).

55. d. 1393. See Edward L. Dreyer, Hok-lam Chan, "Lan Yü," DMB, pp. 788-791. MS, 132/3863-3866.

56. d. 1394. See F.W. Mote, "Fu Yu-te," DMB, 466-471.

57. En route to Yunnan, the Ming army advanced to P'u-ting 普定 (P'u-ting county, south of An-shun 安順 county, Kweichow province. Aoyama, p. 563) on 26 December 1381, and subdued it. Realizing the might of the oncoming forces, several tribes

surrendered without doing battle. It was the victory at P'u-ting that prompted the Prince of Liang to dispatch Ta-li-ma with troops to defend Ch'ü-ching. CSPM, I:12/117.

58. Basalawarmi, a descendant of Cogachin, Qubilai's fifth son. MS, 124/3719-3720. Yunnan could be held by the prince because of the area's hospitable terrain and distance from the court. The emperor was provoked into dispatching 300,000 troops because the prince had maltreated imperial emissaries; but more importantly, Ming T'ai-tsu feared Mongol resurgence in the steppe in alliance with hold-out bases such as Yunnan on the other frontiers.

59. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," 38. See MS, 132/3865, 134/3898, CSPM, I,117 for further references to Ta-li-ma.

60. Ch'ü-ching county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 126.

61. Mu Ying planned the strategy for the campaign against Ta-li-ma. Calculating that the enemy would not anticipate his arrival from so great a distance in so short a time, he chose a forced march for his troops in order to catch Ta-li-ma unawares. Mu Ying postulated that such a bold attack would impress other rebels with the Ming's might, leading them simply to capitulate in order to avoid conflict. Fu Yu-te agreed to Mu Ying's plan. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 146.

62. The fog set in when the troops were still several li from Ch'ü-ching. CSPM, I, 117, 31 December 1381.

63. This river, flowing from Ma-lung **馬龍** county southward into Ch'ü-ching, Yunnan province, lay athwart their route of advance. Aoyama, p. 532.

64. Though recognizing the value of a swift attack, Mu Ying feared that this army could easily be held by Ta-li-ma's troops as it tried to cross the river. CSPM, I:12/117. 31 December 1381.

65. More than 20,000 prisoners were taken. CSPM, I:12/117. 31 December 1381.

66. Hearing of Ta-li-ma's defeat, the Prince of Liang fled to Lo-tso **羅左** mountain (sixty li south of T'eng-ch'ung **騰衝** county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 638). Realizing just how desperate the situation was after Lü Erh **蘆兒**, a Commissioner of the Right, reported on the fall of Ch'ü-ching, the Prince of Liang burned his imperial robes and found his way to Tien Lake, where he committed suicide by drowning, along with consorts and family members. CSPM, I:12/117. 6 January 1382.

67. Lan Yü and Mu Ying went to Pan-ch'iao **板橋** in Yunnan where Kuan-yin-pao and others came to capitulate. SL, 140/8b-9a. 8 November 1381. Kuan-yin-pao, later called Li Kuan **李觀**, became Guard Commander at Chin-ch'ih on 30 March 1383. Serruys, "Mongols in China," 229.

68. See Wiens, p. 154.

69. West of Ta-li county, Yunnan province, this rugged high range, a barrier shielding the narrow Ta-li plain, rose steeply from the lake shore to its east. Aoyama, p. 464.

70. See Wiens, p. 154. The long and narrow Ta-li plain lies to the east of the Erh Lake.

71. Dragon's Head barrier was also known as Stone Gate barrier 石門關 and Upper Barrier 上關. Seventy li north of Ta-li county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 671. Dragon's Tail barrier was also known as Lower barrier 下關. They controlled the northern and southern points of entry into the Ta-li plain.

72. Both were built by P'i-lo-ko, the T'ang period leader of the Nan-chao kingdom. MS, 313/8068, SL, 143/3. 7 April 1382.

73. Called a local tribal chieftain, he is a scion of the Ta-li kingdom's ruling family. See MS, 132/3863, 313/8068, CSPM, I:12/119, 121.

74. Lan Yu and Mu Ying advanced soldiers and attacked Ta-li on 7 April 1382. SL, 143/3. See CSPM, I:12/119.

75. d. 1395. MS, 132/3862-3863.

76. d. 1391. MS, 130/3830-3832.

77. Sixty li north of Ta-li county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 365.

78. In Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147, Ch'ang Mao 常茂 is named as having carried out these duties rather than Hu Hai.

79. See MS, 3/39.

80. See CSPM, I:12/119, Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147, for further details.

81. Sixth month of Hung-wu 15 (11 July - 9 August 1382). SL, 146/3, or seventh month (10 August - 7 September 1382), CSPM, I:12/120. Tien-ch'ih, south of Kunming county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 464.

82. Mu Ying took to the field on 5 November 1382. SL, 148/11. In the attack against the Wu-sa, Ming forces beheaded more than thirty thousand, and captured ten thousand head of livestock. SL, 146/7b.

83. The Wu-sa, Tung-ch'uan and many tribes rebelled during the fourth month of Hung-wu 15 (14 May - 11 June 1382). On 25 July, T'ai-tsu ordered Fu Yu-te, Mu Ying and Ch'en Huan 陳桓 to suppress the rebellious Tung-ch'uan tribes. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 103. In the attack, Ming forces beheaded 30,000 and captured several tens of thousand head of livestock. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147. The victory over the rebels took place on 17 August 1382. MS, 3/40. The area was pacified on 5 November 1382. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 103. See CSPM, I:12/123, MS, 3/45. These tribes, in the Kweichow area, were then administered under the jurisdiction of Szechuan's Provincial Administration Office. CSPM, I:12/119, Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147.

84. Wei-ning 威寧 county, Kweichow province. Aoyama, p. 21.

85. Pi-chieh county, Kweichow province. Aoyama, p. 554.

From this time on, Yunnan was listed as having chün and i, or Prefectures and Counties, numbering 108 prefectures, subprefectures, counties, and pacification offices, with a registration of more than 74,600 households. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147.

86. Despite Feng Ch'eng's brave defense against the barbarian onslaught, Mu Ying hurried his troops to offer assistance. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147, SL, 148/11. 5 November 1382.

87. Hoping that the difficult topography would protect them, they went to An-ning 安寧, Lo-tz'u 羅次, Shao-tien 邵甸, Fu-min 富民, Chin-ning 晉寧, Ta-ch'i 大棋, and Chiang-chou 江州, Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147.

88. Four thousand prisoners were taken alive. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147.

89. Second month of Hung-wu 2 (14 February - 15 March 1382). CSPM, I:12/121.

90. An-po 安伯. MS, 313/8083.

91. North of Lo-p'ing 羅平 county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 39. See Huang K'ai-hua, p. 280.

92. Kuang-nan prefecture, Kuang-nan county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 165. See Huang K'ai-hua, p. 285.

93. One hundred li east of Po-se 百色 county, Kwangsi province. Aoyama, p. 464.

94. Mu Ying memorialized the throne giving details of the campaign. The emperor responded by saying that "with Mu Ying able to do things such as this, I do not feel anxiety in looking after the south.: SL, 169/4. 1 February 1385.

95. Erh-yüan 洱源 county. Yunnan province, Aoyama, p. 644. See Huang K'ai-hua, p. 289. Mu Ying sent Cheng Hsiang 耿祥, a Guard Commander of Ta-li, to take advantage of the barbarians' disorganization to destroy them. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147. See MS, 313/8081.

96. North of Kuan-ling 關嶺 county, Kweichow province. Aoyama, p. 33. Military farming colonies (chün-t'un-t'ien) were a feature of early Ming military administration. See Wang Yü-ch'üan 王毓銓, Ming-tai chün-t'un chih-tu ti li-shih yüan-yüan chi ch'i t'e-tien 明代軍屯田制度的歷史淵源及其特點, Li-shih yen-chiu 歷史研究 (Peking) 1959/6, pp. 45-55, among other writings on the subject.

97. Ssu-lun-fa was the father of Ssu-jen-fa 思任發, Thonganbwa, the Sawbwa of Lu-ch'uan, who led the Maw Shans against the Chinese in the mid-fifteenth century. See Lo Jung-pang, pp. 60-62, Ray Huang, "Ssu-jen-fa," DMB, p. 1209.

98. The pai-i 擺夷, a tribe in Southwest China, called itself Tai; the Burmese name for the tribe was Shan. Ruey Yih-fu, China: The Nation and Some Aspects of its Culture -



A Collection of Selected Essays with Anthropological Approaches  
(Taiwan, 1968), p. 404. See H.R. Davies, p. 377.

99. Probably located near Mo-sha-le River, also called the Ma-lung 馬龍 River, in Lin-an 臨安 prefecture, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 613.

100. d. 1396. MS, 134/3905-3906.

101. About 1500 of the enemy were beheaded. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147. SL, 188/2. 13 February 1388. CSPM, I:12/123.

102. Third month of Hung-wu 21 (7 April - 6 May 1388). Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 147.

103. Southeast of Meng-hua 蒙化 county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 449. See Huang K'ai-hua, p. 287.

104. According to Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, pp. 147-148, Mu Ying led twenty thousand troops to requite the battle of Mo-sha-le. He sent out three hundred light cavalry to provoke the enemy. In response they sent out ten thousand men and twenty elephants to join in battle. Mu Ying captured one elephant and killed more than one hundred rebels. Confident after this initial success, Mu Ying opted for an immediate all-out attack; after all, if only a few of his horsemen were able to capture one elephant, the enemy, relying on these elephants to frighten the Ming army, could easily be defeated. His plan for the following day was to set out artillery and power arrows, and deploy forces in three units. The forward unit's arrows would be loosed when the elephants

approached; if the elephants did not withdraw, both the armies of the two flanks would then continue to assault. Mu Ying was sure that the elephants would be startled and flee.

105. MS, 129/3796, 3799.

106. Mu Ying's forces beheaded thirty thousand of the enemy, taking ten thousand prisoners. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148, SL, 218/2-4 (Mu Ying's obituary, 7 July 1392).

107. SL, 218/2-4, supports the MS figure of thirty seven elephants, but Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148, claims that forty-seven were captured alive.

108. Mu Ying killed an enemy chieftain; Ssu-lun-fa, hearing of the defeat, sent men to present local produce, rhinoceros and elephants as a gesture of capitulation. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148. Tao-ssu-lang 刀思郎 was probably the chieftain killed. SL, 218/2-4.

109. The Tung-ch'uan aborigines occupied Wu-lu 烏路 mountain during the eighth month of Hung-wu 21 (1 September - 30 September 1388). Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148. According to MS, 311/8004, Wu-shan 烏山 circuit was occupied. Despite the area's treacherous terrain, Mu Ying dispatched Ning Cheng to lead forces and unite with Fu Yu-te's army to campaign against the rebels. Envoys came from as far away as Siam, offering thirty elephants, local produce, and sixty-eight native servant women. SL, 193/1a. 1 September 1388. CSPM, I:12/123. The Tung-ch'uan aborigines were pacified 5 November

1388. MS, 3/45. That Fu Yu-te had to be sent back to Yunnan in 1386-88, two years after being withdrawn, and that he was sent to the Kweichow-Yunnan region, assisting to suppress the Tung-ch'uan revolt of 1388, show the seriousness of the aborigine pacification problem. It also shows that Mu Ying could not quite handle the situation on his own. Only by reading Fu Yu-te's biography does one get this implicitly negative information on Mu Ying.

110. A-tzu was formerly with the K'u-ma <sup>苦麻</sup> Lolos. CSPM, I:12/123. Ninth month of Hung-wu 21 (1 October - 29 October 1388). MS, 3/45. 22 October 1388. See MS, 313/8083. A-tzu was defeated during the first month of Hung-wu 22 (28 January - 25 February 1389). CSPM, I:12/124; but SL, 195/76-8, 27 March 1389, states that Mu Ying dispatched Ning Cheng to attach himself to Fu Yu-te for an attack on A-tzu during the second month of Hung-wu 22 (26 February - 27 March 1389).

111. The chieftain of the A-ch'ih tribe was Man-i-ch'ing <sup>满矣情</sup>. Mu Ying himself attacked this tribe, scoring a decisive victory. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148. Tenth month of Hung-wu 21 (30 October - 28 November 1388).

112. 10 November 1389. SL, 197/76.

113. In addition, Mu Ying was given another one thousand measures of cash; but, of greatest significance was T'ai-tsu's direction to his adopted son to build a residence in Feng-yang, Anhwei, a city set apart as the ancestral home of the imperial

family. SL, 218/2-4. In another entry, SL, 197/7b, Mu Ying was given paper currency to the value of five thousand strings of cash, plus extra paper currency to the value of ten thousand strings of cash. According to Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148, Mu Ying was given 25,000 "strings of cash," plus an extra fifty-thousand. Tenth month of Hung-wu 22 (20 October - 17 November 1389).

114. Mu Ying stayed in the countryside for ten days before returning to Yunnan. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148.

115. Ching-tung prefecture, Ching-tung county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 179. See Huang K'ai-hua, p. 288.

116. Owing to the Ming army's might, various tribes surrendered. Only A-tzu, relying on Yunnan's treacherous terrain, rebelled once again. Mu Ying and his soldiers set out against him. Though A-tzu's band was wiped out, he managed to escape. Evidently realizing that he could not hold out against Mu Ying, A-tzu sent his son to propose surrender. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 148. Fourth month of Hung-wu 24 (5 May - 2 June 1391). The Yüeh-chou guard was established at Lu-liang subprefecture 陸涼州 (Lu-liang county, Yunnan province, Aoyama, p. 661), to cope with the unrest. SL, 214/3b-4a. 27 December 1391. See SL, 200/5. 16 March 1390.

117. Chu Piao 朱標, the heir apparent, died on 17 May 1392. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 111.

118. The empress died on 17 September 1382. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 92.

119. His feet became numb and he was unable to move. SL, 218/2-4.

120. 7 July 1392. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 111, SL, 218/2-4, 7 June 1392. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 149, F.W. Mote, "Mu Ying," DMB, II, 1079.

121. Furthermore, the emperor shed tears in sorrow, suspended court activity and ordered sacrifices offered on behalf of Mu Ying, Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 149.

122. The emperor ordered Mu Ying's eldest son, Mu Ch'un, to the capital for his father's rites. 24 October 1392. SL, 218/2-4. He was buried at Ch'ang-t'ai north village 長泰北鄉, Chiang-ning: 江寧 county (Kiangsu province, Aoyama, p. 68). SL, 218/2-4.

123. 6 November 1392. SL, 218/2-4.

124. Anon., "Mu Ying," KCHCL, p. 149, names five sons, rather than four. Mu Ch'ang 昶 is the fifth.

125. He served as Nanking's Chief Military Commissioner and lived a long life. See MS, 76/1856.

126. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," 9.

127. His youngest daughter died at twenty two sui in Yung-lo 6 (28 January 1408 - 15 January 1409). MS, 121/3670.

128. On 21 November 1378, Mu Ying led Lan Yü and Wang Pi

on this campaign. MS, 2/33. Mu Ch'un served at T'ao-chou ~~冰~~ and participated in the capture of three Mongol junior chiefs. In 1380, he followed the campaign to I-chi-nai where Toghochi was captured. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150.

129. In 1381, he followed the campaign to Yunnan. "In successive achievements, he outdid the soldiers' successes. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150.

130. Prior to his participation in the Kiangsi campaign, in 1383 he returned to the capital and was in a position of command over the imperial troops. A Kiangsi bandit calling himself the Prince of Shun-t'ien ~~順天王~~ rebelled. Mu Ch'un took part in the battle against him, braving arrows and rocks in the forefront of the assault. The government's troops succeeded in stamping out the rebellion. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150.

131. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," pp. 58, 59. He was also appointed General of the Cavalry ~~驃騎將軍~~. The rear army was in charge of the northern section of the empire. Serving in this difficult area, Mu Ch'un was decisive, facilitating the smooth running of affairs. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150.

132. Kiangsu province. Aoyama, p. 695.

133. Yü county, Chahar province. Aoyama, p. 715.

134. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, does not distinguish between Mu Ch'un's investigative and military duties; thus, the details of each are confused in the following two accounts. Mu Ch'un acted as a judge and made inquiries into the situation. He reported to the emperor that he had freed several hundred men. In 1386, Na-hai ~~那海~~ and others rebelled. Na-hai might be Noqai, descended from Mongol nobility, who later served the Chinese, distinguishing himself under Chu Ti. The emperor ordered Mu Ch'un to travel there swiftly. Arriving on the scene, he inspected the city wall and made military preparations. Attacking the rebels, he then captured them. He keenly appraised the situation, obtained reliable testimony from prisoners, and was thereby able to "debunk fabrications." See Hok-lam Chan, "Mao Sheng," DMB, p. 1049. Mu Ch'un was also involved in a northern campaign not mentioned in the Ming-shih. In 1387, Mu Ch'un joined Feng Sheng's campaign of 300,000 soldiers northward, entering the Gobi desert to exterminate Mongol scions unwilling to present themselves at court. The army brought Naghachu to terms, causing him to pay respects at the capital. See Hok-lam Chan, "Naghachu," DMB, p. 1084.

135. 12 November 1392. MS, 3/50. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 112. The deed of enfeoffment read: "In the past, I the emperor ordered your father to be second in command to campaign in Yunnan, leaving him to garrison that territory,

where he dispensed benevolence and virtue. The aborigines, in accordance, yielded. I have not felt anxiety over the southwest for twelve years. Now, I order you to assume your fathers rank of nobility. You ought to reflect upon the mutual benefits to your father's and my relationship. You should be loyal and sincere on behalf of the state, with fervor in your heart; the spirits and gods will get wind of it, and happiness, wealth and eternal prosperity will be bountiful." The emperor ordered the cavalry be under Mu Ch'un's command, and directed that all affairs and responsibilities to be handled in memorials must pass through Mu Ch'un's hands on their way to the court. T'ang Yu-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150.

136. Wei-mo subprefecture, seventy li northwest of Ch'iu-peï <sup>沱</sup>北 county. Aoyama, p. 634.

137. d. 1400. Liu Lin-sheng, "Shen Tu," DMB, 1191. More than ten stockades rebelled in this area. Ch'ü Neng captured 1119 of the enemy and beheaded 654. The fifty-two horses and more than four thousand head of livestock which he seized were all given to his soldiers. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150.

138. Yüeh-sui county, Szechwan province. Aoyama, p. 717.

139. Within Yung-peï <sup>沱</sup>北 county. Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 653. In the spring of 1394, Mu Ch'un requested



that the Lan-ts'ang guard be set up in order to fill a void in this area left by the defeated Yueh-sui aborigines and Tibetans. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150.

140. MS, 3/50 ff., 313/8085, SL, 235/4b. The unrest began when Lung Hai-tzu 龍海子, a Yüeh-sui aborigine, allied with A-tzu and seized Lung-wo 龍窩. Their ferocity prevented various generals sent by the emperor from pacifying the area. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151. According to CSPM, I:12/124, A-tzu rebelled during 22 January - 19 February 1395.

141. d. 1410. See MS, 144/4071 - 4073.

142. It was not until 19 February 1395 that Mu Ch'un captured and beheaded A-tzu. SL, 236/3, Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 115, CSPM, I:12/124, MS, 3/52. According to T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151, Mu Ch'un's forces arrived at Ch'ih-wo 未窩 on 27 January 1395 and captured A-tzu. His henchmen, Sha-t'o 沙陀 and P'u-ye 普也 and others, totalling 241, were executed. When the news of Mu Ch'un's victory over the cruel and crafty A-tzu reached the court, the emperor was delighted. According to CSPM, Ho Fu is to be credited with capturing and beheading A-tzu at Yüeh-chou.

143. According to T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 150, in the fall of 1395 Mu Ch'un sent Wang Chün 王俊

to attack them. 2170 rebels were captured and beheaded, 488 horses and cows, and 21,640 piculs of grain were seized.

144. South of K'un-ming ward, Southwest of Yen-yüan 鹽源 county, modern Hsi-k'ang province; Aoyama, p.507.

145. The unrest was initially caused by Meng Ch'iu 猛丘, the chieftain of Shun-ning, allied with other aborigines. Mu Ch'un sent Cheng Hsiang 鄭祥 to pacify the area. Evidently, Meng Ch'iu died out of fear, and many Ch'iang 羌 tribesmen were killed. Cheng Hsiang set up Meng Ming 猛明 and Tuan Hai 段海 to obtain revenue from this territory. Near Ning-yüan 寧遠 was a strategic pass linking the area to Annam; its dangerous terrain left government troops prey to aborigine attack. Mu Ch'un ordered Ho Fu to lead soldiers into this area. In one battle with aborigines at T'ai-chiang 台江, he captured and killed 2450 men and women, took their elephants and military stores. Upon hearing of these successes, Tao-pai-lan sued for peace. In response, Mu Ch'un requested that the chieftain be officially recognized by the court. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151.

146. According to T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151, Ssu-lun-fa was governing poorly, incurring the hostility of his underlings. He was expelled 10 October 1397. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 119, CSPM, I:12/124.

147. Mu Ch'un sent Ssu-lun-fa back to Yunnan and, in turn, was ordered by the emperor to demand Tao-kan-meng's allegiance. CSPM, I:12/124.

148. 14 December 1397. SL, 255/76-8a, Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 120. In the summer of 1398, Mu Ch'un advanced his forces and attacked P'ing-mien 平緬. It was from here that he was dispatched to Chin-ch'ih. See CSPM, I:12/125, SL, 255/7b-8a for details of this military operation.

149. Also known as Kao-li-kung 高黎共 mountain, 120 li northeast of T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝 county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 77.

150. Seven li east of Wu-ting 武定 county. Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 498. Mu Ch'un attacked the rebel Tao-kan-meng on 17 May 1398, scoring a great victory. Taylor, Basic Annals, p. 120.

151. See CSPM, I:12/125.

152. Southwest of Pao-shan 保山 county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 178. According to T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151, Mu Ch'un cautioned Ho Fu and Ch'ü Neng to lead eight thousand gagged soldiers, double time, to attack Tao-ming-meng's stockade. The attack was met by rebel leaders riding elephants. The government troops managed to kill them. In a great attack, imperial forces defeated more than forty thousand of the enemy; 3600 were

beheaded, and forty elephants and 150 horses were captured. Following this battle, government forces did not only attack Ching-han, but also K'ung-p'eng 空蓬, taking both.

153. According to T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151, Mu Ch'un, in accordance with Ssu-lun-fa's plan, stationed the army at the Salween River, ordering Tao-kan-meng, in vain, to lay down his arms during 7 April to 5 May 1399.

154. 30 li west of P'ing-liang 平涼 county, Kansu province. Aoyama, p. 215.

155. According to T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151, Mu Ch'un put a halt to wanton slaughter. "Kill and bring [the rebels] to terms; but to kill those who cannot resist is not correct.... Kill the ringleaders and release the others."

156. The seal of Forward General of Attack and Capture was conferred on Mu Ch'un by the emperor upon hearing of his victories. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151. Tao-kan-meng was captured by Ho Fu following Mu Ch'un's death, CSPM, I:12/125.

157. Following his last military exploit, Mu Ch'un became exhausted. When he heard of Ming T'ai-tsu's death, he wailed until he grew very ill. He assured those around him, though, that he would campaign again soon. At midnight on 11 October 1399, a comet from the east sank into the western sky, visible and audible to many. On 16 October, Mu Ch'un died. T'ang Yü-shih,

"Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151.

158. In Ch'eng-chiang; 澄江 county, Yunnan province.  
Aoyama, p. 458.

159. I-liang county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 106.

160. T'ang Yü-shih, "Mu Ch'un," KCHCL, p. 151, offers many details concerning Mu Ch'un's achievements. He increased and developed 305, 984 mou of land, increased grain provisions by 435,800 piculs, restored 5705 families totalling 52,424 people to the area, dredged thirty six li of bodies of water, and irrigated and fertilized several ten thousand mou of barren fields.

161. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," 58.

162. He was ordered to assume his military duties in Yunnan on 10 September 1402. Yung-lo SL, 11/5.

163. Ming T'ai-tsu had Ssu-lun-fa in his debt. The Shan chieftain had been returned to Lu-ch'uan in 1398 under the protection of the Chinese and was required to make an annual payment to the court. Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, p. 1209.

164. Late 1399 or early 1400. Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, p. 1209.

165. The three prefectures: Meng-yang 孟養, Mu-pang 木邦, Meng-ting; the two subprefectures: Chen-yuan 鎮沅, Wei-yüan 威遠; the five native chieftainships: Kanyai 干崖, Lu-chiang 潞江, Wan-tien 灣甸, Ta-hou 大侯, Che-yüeh

者樂 . In addition, a yearly levy of tribute was to be exacted from this region. Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 152.

166. The battalion was established at T'eng-ch'ung. Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 152.

167. 1379-1450. See Chaoying Fang, "Chu Su," DMB, p. 351.

168. On 4 July 1399, Chu Pien was ordered held under house arrest in Yunnan. The Chien-wen emperor sought to reduce the power of his uncles, and was apparently successful until Chu Ti rose in rebellion in August 1399. After deposing his nephew following a three year long civil war, the Yung-lo emperor released the confined princes and restored them to their former ranks. Chaoying Fang, "Chu Su," DMB, p. 351, F.W. Mote, "Chu Yun-wen," DMB, p. 399.

169. 8 September 1402. See Yung-lo SL, 11/3b-4a.

170. 27 December 1405. Yung-lo SL, 39/5.

171. Located within the borders of modern Thailand, this tribe fell under a native pacification office during the Ming. Aoyama, p. 541.

172. Ch'e-li county. Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 266.

173. Mong-kawng is located near Hsenwi in Burma. Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, p. 1209.

174. Mu Sheng had first become involved in the affairs of this area when he was ordered to dispatch men to

accompany Yang Hsüan <sup>楊瑄</sup> and others on an expedition to control the border region, 11 September 1403. Yung-lo SL, 21/6b. On 27 September 1403, Mu Sheng memorialized the emperor requesting the authority to raise soldiers to campaign against Tao-hsien-ta <sup>刁星答</sup>, the Pacification Officer of Ch'e-li, who was plundering Wei-yüan. On 8 October 1403, the emperor, reminding Mu Sheng of mobilization's gravity, urged a policy of restraint, with military action to be taken only as a last resort. Evidently, the threat of arms was sufficient to bring Tao-hsien-ta to terms; he eventually dispatched envoys acknowledging his submission to the imperial court. Yung-lo SL, 22/5, 22/6, 28/10.

175. Prior to the Annam campaign, an incident occurred illustrating the Mu mystique. Ch'eng Ta <sup>程達</sup>, Commissioner-in-chief of a Chief Military Commission, guilty of a capital offense and pardoned by the emperor, was consigned to Mu Sheng's care, with the hope that Ch'eng would heed the example of Mu Sheng's merit and humility. 25 May 1406. Yung-lo SL, 43/2.

176. From 1404, Ming Ch'eng-tsu was determined to control Vietnam. Sparked by an alleged Vietnamese seizure of villages under Chinese control in the upper reaches of the Black River, the emperor sought to set up a puppet government headed by a

bogus Trãn陳 family claimant. The ruling Ho胡 dynasty (set up by Lê Qui-ly黎季犛), usurpers of Tran power, feigned acceptance. In the spring of 1406, the Chinese army of five thousand men and its charge, the Trãn pretender, en route to Hanoi, were wiped out by the Vietnamese. Only after the emperor had failed to settle the Vietnam problem through non-military means did he opt for outright conquest. Woodside, pp. 7-11.

177. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," 62. Mu Sheng, along with Chang Fu, were placed under Chu Neng's command on 18 February 1406. Yung-lo SL, 44/2-4a, CSPM, I:22/245.

178. 1375-1449. See Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, pp. 64-67. Chang Fu took command of the invasion forces on 1 December 1406, after Chu Neng, the emperor's first choice as the expedition's leader, died unexpectedly while still in Kwangsi.

179. The invasion was two pronged, with one army coming from Kwangsi, and another, from Yunnan. Woodside, 11.

180. Meng-tzu county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 623.

181. Part of late Ch'ing P'u-erh普洱 circuit, south of Mo-chiang墨江 county.

182. Mu Sheng's forces went to the river's north bank during 11 November - 10 December 1406. CSPM, I:22/245,



Emile Gaspardone, "Lê Lo'i," DMB, p. 795. Prior to Mu Sheng's arrival here, his forces had marched with Li Pin's 李彬 to Pai-ho 白鶴. Apparently, they were joined here by Chu Jung 朱榮, a general of the cavalry, who had led an attack on a rebel bank at the Chia-lin 嘉林 River. Yung-lo SL, 46/5b-6, CSPM, I:22/246.

183. This river begins in Yunnan and flows into southeast Asia. Aoyama, p. 562. It seems that the Fu-liang River was more than a point of rendezvous. Troops were dispatched to attack rebels here. Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 152.

184. The fort at Da-bang, west of the eastern capital at Thăng-long 昇龍, was attacked on 19 January 1407. Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, p. 65, Yung-lo SL, 47/7-8a. Chang Fu had led his troops north of Da-bang's walls to Sha-t'an 沙灘, joined forces with Mu Sheng's, and from here, launched the attack on Da-bang. CSPM, I:22/246.

185. Hanoi and Tây-dô 西都. Woodside, 20, Emile Gaspardone, "Lê Lo'i," DMB, p. 794.

186. The first Annam campaign ended on 17 June 1407. Lê Qui-ly and his son, Lê Hán-thu'o'ng, were trapped near Mt. Hatinh 高聖山. For details of the event leading up to the conclusion of the campaign, see Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, p. 65.

187. See Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, pp. 64-67.

188. Mu Sheng was instrumental in the capture of forty-eight commanderies, 186 counties, with a population of 3,125,000 households, countless elephants, horses, cattle, domestic animals, and military equipment. F.W. Mote, "Mu Ying," DMB, p. 1082, Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 153. See Woodside, 13-14, for discussion of military and civil bureaucracy.

189. Mu Sheng returned to Nanking on 3 July 1408, and was enfeoffed on 29 July 1408. Yung-lo SL, 56/8, CSPM, I:22/248. According to Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 153, Mu Sheng's stipend amounted to two thousand piculs, he was given a jade girdle and gold standard and feted at a banquet. The emperor also composed poetry lauding Mu Sheng's accomplishments. Ch'ien refers to Kweichow and not Yunnan.

190. Trần Nguy, d. 1410, son of emperor Nghe-tông 藝宗, r. 1370-1372. Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, p. 66.

191. 9 January 1409. Mu Sheng commanded 40,000 soldiers drawn from Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechwan. Three senior military officials were killed in this battle: Lü I 呂毅, Liu Chün 劉儔 and Liu Yü 劉昱. Yung-lo SL, 60/11, MS, 321/8316-7, CSPM, I:22/249.

192. Chang Fu left for Annam on 23 February 1409. In the meantime, another Trần pretender had appeared on the scene - Qui-khoáng. A grandson of emperor Nghe-tông, he

joined forces with his uncle, Gian-dinh, near Thanh-hoá 清化. Rejecting both their claims of legitimacy, Chang Fu pursued the duo south of Thanh-hoá where, on 16 December 1409, he captured Gian-dinh. Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, pp. 65-66.

193. Chang Fu probably left Annam in February 1410. Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, p. 66.

194. Trần Qui-khoáng, after being pursued as far as Laos, surrendered on 30 March 1414. Wang Gungwu, "Chang Fu," DMB, p. 66.

195. Fu-chou county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 561. This group's chief was Chi-pu 積浦. Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 153.

196. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," 17. 12 September 1424. Hung-hsi SL, 1/4.

197. 18 February 1425. Hung-hsi SL, 7/1. On 9 September 1425, Mu Sheng was given one hundred taels of silver as well as other rewards. Hsüan-te SL, 6/16b-17a.

198. When Mu Sheng and his younger brother Mu Ang had come to court earlier, the former was given five herd of sheep and fifty jars of wine, and the latter, three herd of sheep and thirty jars of wine. 19 January 1425, Hung-hsi SL, 5/11.

199. Ca. 1385-1433. See Emile Gaspardone, "Lê Lo'i," DMB, pp. 793-797.

200. During 29 March - 26 April 1427, 33,000 men were under the command of Liu Sheng and Mu Sheng on their campaign.

Emile Gaspardone, "Lê Lo'i," DMB, p. 795, MS, 321/8322-8323.

201. Though Mu Sheng in Yunnan and Liu Sheng in Kwangsi had received orders to campaign in Annam against Lê Lo'i in the winter, they nonetheless stalled long enough to allow the rebel to evacuate large numbers of people and render those supporting the Chinese along the two routes of invasion ineffective. Liu Sheng died at either Lang-so'n 諒山 at Chi-lǎng pass or at Da'o-mã pho 倒馬坂 in either September-October or May 1427. Mu Sheng, frightened by the crafty insurgent, withdrew and was defeated at Láo-kay 梨花. Emile Gaspardone, "Lê Lo'i," DMB, p. 795.

202. Hsü Heng 徐亨 and T'an Chung 譚忠 were also impeached. MS, 321/8325.

203. 18 July 1428.

204. Fl. 1400-1445. See Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, pp. 1208-1214.

205. The rebel had seized T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝 and Nan-tien 南甸. Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 153.

206. Later Yung-ch'ang 永昌 prefecture, present-day Pao-shan 保山. Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, p. 1210. Mu Sheng met up with his troops at the Salween, and advised restraint. In light of the oncoming malaria season and their great numbers, Mu Sheng hoped that a mere show of force would suffice to bring the rebels to terms. Only when this strategy did not work did he resort to a military advance.

207. With the help of Wang Cheng 王整, whose troops had reached the enemy's rear, Fang Cheng was able to ford the Salween River. One of the stockades to which the rebels were pursued was Ching-han 景罕. Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 153.

208. A mountain 120 li northeast of T'eng-ch'ung county Aoyama, p. 77.

209. Apparently, Fang Cheng's move reflected his impatience with the court's indecisive policies. On this last campaign, he crossed the Salween River without authorization, became surrounded northeast of T'eng-ch'ung, and was killed along with ten thousand men. His loss was acknowledged at court on 22 August 1440. Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, p. 1210.

210. 30 May 1439. Mu Sheng was buried in the family Mausoleum at Kuan-yin 觀音 mountain, Ch'ang-ning north village 長寧北鄉 thirty li northeast of Chiang-ning 江寧 county seat, i.e. Nanking, Kiangsu province. Thus, the Mus not only lived near the imperial family in life, having a home at Feng-yang, but also had their tombs near the imperial burial grounds in the environs of Nanking. Yang Shih-ch'i, "Mu Sheng," KCHCL, p. 152, Aoyama, p. 68.

211. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," 59.

212. During 15 January - 13 February 1439, Mu Ang, along with Mu Sheng and Fang Cheng were ordered to campaign

against Ssu Jen-fa. CSPM, I:30/320.

213. During 12 June - 10 July 1439, Mu Ang, as Left Commander-in-Chief and General of the Southern Campaign, along with Vice General Wu Liang 吳亮, Left Local Commander Ma Hsiang 馬翔, and Right Local Commander Chang Jung 張榮 advanced and took the field against Ssu Jen-fa. During 4 March - 1 April 1440, Mu Ang campaigned in Lu-ch'uan. CSPM, I:30/320.

214. Chang Jung first ordered Lu Yüeh 盧鉞, a Regional Military Commissioner, to attack the rebels. During 29 July - 26 August 1440, Ssu Jen-fa, camping at Meng-lo 孟羅 and Ta-lüeh 大掠, occupied the Chang-ying 章硬 stockade. Mu Ang, leading Regional Commissioner Fang Ying 方瑛, Liu Ying 柳英, and others, advanced and subdued the rebels. CSPM, I:30/320.

215. CSPM, I:30/321.

216. 1378 - 1460. Since he was closely associated with Wang Chen, Wang Chi's victories against Ssu Jen-fa in the southwest reflected favorably upon the powerful court eunuch. In fact, Ts'ao Chi-hsiang 曹吉祥, a eunuch protégé of Wang Chen, was, at times, in charge of firearms on these campaigns. Lienche Tu Fang and Chaoying Fang, "Chu Ch'i-chen," DMB, I, 290, Edward Dreyer, "Ts'ao Chi-hsiang," DMB, II, 1298.

217. 1380-1449. Lienche Tu Fang and Chaoying Fang, "Chu

Ch'i-chen," DMB, I, 290.

218. During 2 March - 30 March 1443, Mu Ang was involved in a campaign to order Burma's submission. Wang Chi, Chiang Kuei and Mu Ang separated, but planned to advance simultaneously. CSPM, I:30/322.

219. Originally named Yen 嚴, tzu K'o-kuan 可權. Residing in Nanking, he was "well educated in the classics, martial tradition and histories. A filial son, he was devoted to his ailing mother, née Ch'eng 程, and grandmother, née Keng 耳火. Despite his family's stature, he was modest, treating others in a kindly manner." Prior to assuming his military position in Yunnan, he represented the family there when his father, Mu Sheng, died, bringing the body back to Nanking. In April 1439, though ordered by the emperor to assume the dukedom, Mu Pin remained in Nanking for five years. Military responsibility for Yunnan fell to Mu Ang, Mu Sheng's younger brother. Evidently, the court, aware of the esteem in which the Mu family was held by the tribes of the Southwest, felt it a matter of course that a clan representative hold a prominent military position in the area. After Mu Ang's death, Mu Pin, given his new name, was made General of the Southern Campaign, and ordered to Yunnan. Wu Chieh, "Mu Pin," KCHCL, p. 154.


220. Evidently, Ssu-chi-fa sought to intercept Pu-la-lang-ma-ha-sheng 刺浪馬哈省, a Burmese Pacification Officer

who, during 29 December 1445 - 26 January 1446, was ordered to hold Ssu Jen-fa, his wife and other children - a group totalling thirty-two. Ssu Jen-fa, not eating, was near death. He was then decapitated and his head was sent to the capital in a box. Mu Pin, along with the eunuch Hsiao Pao <sup>蕭保</sup>, Assistant Vice Minister Yang Ning <sup>楊寧</sup>, Local Commander Jan Pao <sup>冉保</sup>, and Mao Fu-shou <sup>毛福壽</sup> fended off the assault. The pleased emperor dispatched Secretary Ho Chan <sup>何瞻</sup> to reward Mu Pin with gifts. Wu Chieh, "Mu Pin," KCHCL, p. 154, CSPM, I:30/323, Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, II, 1211.

221. During 3 April - 2 May 1448, Ssu-chi-fa occupied Meng-yang. Mu Pin was ordered to link up with Grand Defender and Proctor Ho Ning <sup>郝寧</sup>, Commissioner-in-chief Fang Ying, and others to lead troops and seize T'eng-ch'ung. The mission was aborted because of an outbreak of malaria, forcing troops to withdraw. CSPM, I:30/323, Wu Chieh, "Mu Pin," KCHCL, p. 154.

222. Mu Pin was ordered to go to the Chin-ch'ih area, T'eng-ch'ung, Nan-tien, Kan-yai and various other locales to drill local militia and oversee the movement of grain rations. During 28 September - 27 October 1448, Mu Pin, uniting with Vice Minister Chiao Hung <sup>焦宏</sup>, placed a series of encampments along their route from T'eng-ch'ung, as they advanced. Camping at the Chin-sha River, Mu Pin met up with and relieved the Ming army which had arrived during 28 October -



25 November 1448. When these forces had deeply penetrated Meng-Yang, Ssu Chi-fa secretly escaped. In a short while, various government forces gathered together and attacked the gate of the bandit's stockade. Successful in capturing and destroying the bandit pack the Ming troops were withdrawn. Mu Pin remained behind temporarily to deal with continuing resistance. During 18 August - 16 September 1449, the Kweichow Miao united, attacking surrounding cities. Burning walled villages, they slaughtered all in their path. Mu Pin, considering Kweichow and southern Yunnan critical areas, devised strategy in consultation with other important officials. Agreeing that if they waited for troops to be dispatched the border people could suffer extermination, Mu Pin and the others therefore selected and appointed Regional Military Commissioner Liu Yü  to lead light cavalry on a forced march to aid those under seige. Getting wind of this, the rebels scattered. From this time on, P'u-ting, P'u-an and various other guards relied on Ming forces for security. Shortly thereafter, various aboriginal groups attacked and surrounded Pi-chieh and other guards. Mu Pin dispatched a representative to offer an ultimatum to the rebels. In response, the seige was lifted, with the rebels fleeing. People said that if it were not for Mu Pin's stature, the bloodless solution could not have been achieved.

223. Hucker, "Governmental Organization," 17. When the Ching-t'ai emperor ascended the throne, he dispatched Huang Ch'ang 黃裳 bearing an imperial order of praise. "You have diligently tended the affairs of my kingdom—pure and devoted, an upright duke. Having set forth outstanding plans, your efforts are commended and remembered by me. Silver is offered to you. Your outstanding loyalty and efforts bring you a secondary Commission." Wu Chieh, "Mu Pin," KCHCL, p. 154, CSPM, I:30/323, Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, II, 1211.

224. According to Ni Yüeh, "Mu Tsung," KCHCL, p. 155, Mu Tsung was Mu Sheng's grandson and Mu Pin's son; and his mother had the surname of Mei 梅. Because his father had died before he was a year old (Mu Tsung was born 24 February 1450), Mu Tsung's elder brother, Mu Lin, hao Chi-hsüan 繼軒, assumed the duties of military command in Yunnan. He also functioned as guardian, encouraging his young charge in scholarly pursuits. Mu Lin died shortly after Mu Tsung was eight sui. The court appointed Mu Lin's younger brother, Mu Tsan, to fill the vacant position, owing to Mu Tsung's youth. Though coming to garrison command in Yunnan as Chief Military Commissioner, Mu Tsan did not assume the rank of duke. Rather, Mu Tsung visited the court during 27 January 1465 - 16 January 1466 to inherit the title, and was awarded one half the yearly emolument. He assisted Mu

Tsan in overseeing the affairs of the area. In the spring of 1466, he was tapped to supervise the funeral rites of the Prince of Cheng-ching in Honan. As a reward for a job well done, silver and silks were bestowed on the duke by the emperor. During 4 April - 3 May 1467, he was ordered back to Yunnan to assume the full responsibilities of his rank. Despite his elevation, he continued to share his duties with Mu Tsan. The tone of his administration was impressive. A tireless worker, he encouraged those of even lowly rank to present themselves at his court. Accounts of his conduct give the impression that a shadow of capital life was being recreated in Yunnan. Ritual was closely observed; and on the emperor's birthday, the duke "acted with reverence as if in the emperor's presence." Fostering a scholarly ambience, he regularly visited the Confucian temple and promoted education, rewarding eager students. He tended to the management of irrigation projects, military colonies and defense supplies. As an able administrator, he was able to supervise colleagues and efficiently delegate the responsibilities of his station. His well-drilled forces came to command martial authority which spread out along strategic roads which were secured by newly established outposts. It was even said of him that when tribute was offered, rather than accepting it, he would fete the barbarians and send them back to their native areas

laden with gifts.

225. According to Yun-nan t'ung-chih, 1934 reprint of 1576 edition, 9/21, Mu Lin is the son of Mu Hsi 僖. Though there is no mention made elsewhere of such a person, the posthumous honorific of Mu Tsung is Wu-hsi 武僖. Further on in the Ming History biography of the Mu family, Mu Tsung is said to have had no son.

226. The Yun-nan t'ung-chih, 9/21, speaks approvingly of Mu Lin's efforts during his tenure in Yunnan. Aside from diligently attending to the repair of city walls, selection of high calibre officials and observation of rites, he was involved in military skirmishes with various border tribes. Though unsuccessful himself in capturing Ssu Chi-fa, Mu Lin was serving at garrison command when the Burmese handed over the rebel to the Chinese on 26 April 1454. Later on, Mu Lin tangled with Nung Yin-jung 儂胤榮, the local chieftain of Kuang-nan, and T'ao Meng-ssu 陶孟思, a Mu-pang leader. After being promoted to Commissioner-in-chief of the Right Army, he died at twenty eight sui during 22 June - 20 July 1457.

227. The Yun-nan t'ung-chih, 9/22, mentions Mu Hsiang 詳, tzu Tse-ming 擇明, as Mu Tsan's son. Deeply involved in southwestern military affairs, as Assistant Commander of the Embroidered Guard, he campaigned against Ssu-tieh 思楨,

the chieftain of Meng-mi, who had invaded Mu-pang. Successful in his effort, Mu Hsiang forced the chieftain to withdraw and offer tribute.

During 17 January 1485 - 4 February 1486, P'u-a-lin 滿阿林 and Mang Ch'iu 莽丘 joined to make rebellion. It is conceivable that the latter was related to the ruling house of Ava-Burma, since a sixteenth century king of that area was known as Mang Chi-sui 莽紀歲 (Shwenankyswshin). See Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, II, 1213. Mu Hsiang was victorious against them and was rewarded handsomely by the emperor.

During 5 February 1486 - 24 January 1487, Mu Hsiang met with a military threat posed by P'a Yü 怕愈, a Kan-yai Man chieftain. After urgently calling in outside assistance, Mu Hsiang returned to Yunnan in a state of exhaustion. He subsequently died at thirty-two sui.

228. Although Ssu Chi-fa was executed after being delivered to the Chinese, his younger brother, Ssu Pu-fa, paid a tribute call at the capital in 1456. His warm reception at court insured his recognition as the headman of Meng-yang. Ray Huang, "Ssu Jen-fa," DMB, II, 1212.

229. During 3 February 1478 - 22 January 1479, An-sheng 安晟, the Prefectural Aboriginal Official, died. His younger brother, T'ang 倘, planned to kill Hsüan 瑄, his

nephew, in order to assume the dead leaders hereditary function. Mu Tsung, refusing to sanction the intrigue, dispatched troops to capture T'ang and put him to death.

Ni Yüeh, "Mu Tsung," KCHCL, p. 156.

230. Ang-kuei <sup>昂貴</sup>, the Prefectural Aboriginal official, tyrannized the people. Mu Tsung dispatched a representative to investigate the situation and capture the offenders.

Ang-kuei died, and his son was denied hereditary succession.

Ni Yueh, "Mu Tsung," KCHCL, p. 156.

231. Apparently, the Ming-shih has distilled many events over a period of several years into this brief account of revolt and pacification. According to Ni Yüeh, "Mu Tsung," KCHCL, pp. 155-157, the Man tribes in the areas mentioned were put down after Mu Tsung sent in the army to fill a leadership vacuum. Ch'iao-tien and Nan-wo, unrelated to this event, were the sites of later skirmishes. On the heels of this campaign, Mu Tsung ordered a move against Fan-sa <sup>番撒</sup> a bandit from Ch'ang-ming village <sup>昌明</sup>, Shih-p'ing subprefecture <sup>石屏</sup>, Lin-an prefecture <sup>臨安</sup>, whose influence was spreading wildly. Successful in the campaign, government forces killed the dissident leader along with 100 of his band.

In 1479, Ta-li was plundered by K'o-hsi <sup>柯習</sup>, a leader of Lo-lo forces, from T'ieh-ch'ien <sup>鐵箐</sup> and Ch'ih-shih-yai <sup>赤石崖</sup>. Mu Tsung informed the court of the attack and

dispatched Chinese and native forces, cavalry and foot soldiers, government forces and militia to head off the onslaught. He further ordered Regional Military Commissioner Chou Tso 周佐, Guard Commander Ma Chiao 馬鈺, and others pressed into service to take different routes and advance to attack and scatter the rebels. K'o-hsi was beheaded, and more than one hundred men and women were captured. After pacification was complete, Mu Tsung requested to install troops in various subprefectures, along rivers in Ta-lo 大羅, to insure proper defense of the area. His request was approved. In gratitude for his success, the court dispatched a representative bearing a helmet and mail for the duke.

In 1482, Mu Tsung was ordered, along with Censor-in-chief Ch'eng 程, to pacify Meng-mi. In response to a plan which he considered irresponsible, the duke reprimanded the advisor by saying that he "prefers personal criticism to bringing calamity on people through belicose behavior."

During 1483, Shih-wu 師伍, the tribal chieftain of Ch'iao-tien, led a rebellion. More than ten sites, including An-ning 安寧, Chen-nan 鎮南, Huang-t'ung 黃通, and Lu-feng 祿豐 were destroyed by his marauding band. Mu Tsung summoned various prominent officials together in response to the upheaval. He ordered Regional Military Commissioner

Chao Sheng 趙晟 and others to move Chinese, native, governmental forces and militia along different routes to attack. They beheaded more than one thousand rebels and captured Shih-wu, along with his family, alive. The area was then pacified, and word of the military success reached the court. Mu Tsung was made Grand Tutor to the Heir Apparent 太子太傅.

In 1485, Man Ch'iu, a Nan-wo P'u 蒲 bandit, strategically situated, caused disturbances in Yung -ch'ang 永昌 and a series of other places. Travelers in the area were hampered, and great numbers of people were injured and killed. Mu Tsung again directed Chao Sheng to lead troops against the rebel. Mu Tsung warned the departing forces that the mountain roads would be dangerous as would attack and encirclement. The punitive force found the duke's evaluation to be precise. Forewarned, their task was eased; the rebel was captured alive, leniency was shown towards his followers, and the frontier was pacified. When the Hung-chih emperor ascended the throne in 1488, he rewarded Mu Tsung's valuable service by dispatching a representative to bestow silver and silk on the duke.

232. 13 October 1496 at forty seven sui. Ni Yüeh, "Mu Tsung," KCHCL, p. 157.

233. Pieh-hao Yü-kang 玉岡. Born during 19 January 1482 - 6 February 1483, he was the grandson of Mu Tsan and his wife,



nee Chia 賈 (died during 21 January 1490 - 8 February 1491). His father, Mu Ch'eng 誠, died when he was nine months old; evidently, his mother, nee Li 李, did not rear him since his grandmother cared for him during his early years. Chang Mien, "Mu K'un," KCHCL, p. 157.

234. During 9 February 1491 - 28 January 1492. Chiang Mien, "Mu K'un," KCHCL, p. 157.

235. 4 November 1497. Chang Mien, "Mu K'un," KCHCL, p. 157.

236. According to Chiang Mien, "Mu K'un," KCHCL, p. 158, Mu K'un campaigned in these areas, as well as at Prince of Liang mountain, during 31 January 1500 - 18 January 1501.

237. Prior to this encounter, Mu K'un ordered action taken against expansionist Meng-yang tribes during 19 January 1501 - 6 February 1502. During 7 February 1502 - 27 January 1503, Mu K'un, along with a certain Mr. Ch'en of Ying-ch'eng 應城, a Provincial Governor and Censor-in-chief, campaigned in Kweichow against the P'u-an bandit Fu-mi-lu 婦米魯, the Man bandit Fu-yu 福佑, and others. The leaders were killed and their bands pacified. Chiang Mien, "Mu K'un," KCHCL, p. 158.

238. His yearly emolument was increased to one hundred piculs, and he was also given silver and silk. Chiang Mien, "Mu K'un," KCHCL, p. 158.

239. During 3 February 1516 - 21 January 1517. Chiang Mien, "Mu K'un," KCHCL, p. 158.

240. 14 July 1519. Despite the Ming History's negative evaluation of Mu K'un, Chiang Mien sees him as the last Mu of significance. He recounts Mu K'un's request, during 22 January 1517 - 9 February 1518, to accompany his mother's coffin to its final resting place at the family's Nanking burial grounds. The emperor denied the duke's three appeals, citing Mu K'un's essential role in Yunnan's affairs. "Mu K'un," KCHCL, pp. 157-158.

241. During 1 February 1527 - 21 January 1528, An Ch'üan aroused unrest by seizing and plundering Kao-ming 高明, Mu-mi pass 木密關, Yang-lin 楊林 and other areas southwest of Hsun-tien, thereby cutting off Hsün-tien from Kunming. MS, 314/8098.

242. 1462 - 1528.

243. Following this defeat, the fracas spread to Hsün-tien and Sung-ming 嵩明, resulting in the deaths of Wang Sheng 王昇 and T'ang Kung 唐功, along with other officials. The Prefectural Magistrate, Ma Hsing-lu 馬愷魯, abandoned the city and fled. MS, 314/8098.

244. Wu-ting county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 569.

245. When Feng Chao 鳳詔, the aboriginal prefect of Wu-ting and his family, were detained in Yunnan, Feng Ch'ao-wen duped the masses by declaring that the absent Feng had been massacred and that a Ming army had totally

wiped out his tribal followers. As a result, Ou-yang Ch'ung 歐陽重, the Right Assistant Censor-in-chief, managed to route the insurgents. When Feng Chao returned to Wu-ting, his followers were startled; but, his very presence stabilized the situation. Feng Ch'ao-wen, his plan stifled and his options exhausted, was cut off at the P'u-ting River and killed by soldiers. MS, 203/5379-5380, 314/8094-8095.

246. The court ordered an expedition against Yunnan's rebellious tribes in April 1528. Previously, Wu Wen-ting, under Wang Yang-ming's command, had led the successful assault against Nan-ch'ang on 14 August 1515, during the Prince of Ning's rebellion. W.T. Chan, "Wang Shou-jen," II, 1412-1413, Hok-lam Chan, "Liang Ts'ai," I, 903, DMB.

247. While on his rampage, Feng seized the Ch'ang River 敵江 and then returned to attack Wu-ting, where he killed Yuan Feng 袁俸, the Subprefectural Vice Magistrate, Ch'in Chien 秦健, the Subprefectural Magistrate, along with several others. See MS, 314/8094-8095, 8098.

248. 22 January 1528 - 8 February 1529.

249. On the Sino-Burmese border, southwest of K'un-ming county, within Burma. Stanley Y.C. Huang, "Ch'en Yung-pin," DMB, I, 193, Aoyama, p. 615.

250. 180 li southwest of Chien-shui county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 491.

251. Under the Ssu-t'ao Pacification Office, southwest of Chien-shui county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 254.

252. Despite this flattering biography, Mu Shao-hsün's career was evidently less than exemplary. Involved in a conspiracy to gain illicit power along with Tu T'ang 杜唐, a eunuch, Mu was scolded and Tu T'ang was ordered back to the capital by the emperor after being reported by Ou-yang Ch'ung, who had participated in the campaign against An Ch'uan and Feng Ch'ao-wen (see note 245). Seeking vengeance against this diligent public servant, the two conspirators, along with Chang Ts'ung 張璠, devised a plan to frame Ou-yang. Unrest was fostered in the army so Ou-yang would appear remiss in his duties. Regional Inspector Liu, hearing of the situation, impeached Ou-yang, Tu T'ang and Mu Shao-hsun for improper behavior. Chang Ts'ung charged Liu with being partial in his judgment, resulting in Liu's transfer and Tu's and Mu's exoneration. Hsia Yen 夏言 persisted in defending Ou-yang, pointing an accusing finger at the conspirators. Discipline within the army and the rule of law were of primary concern to Hsia. Hsia Yen and Chang Ts'ung, originally known as Fu-ching 孚敬, adversaries at the court level, are here pitted against each other over an issue ostensibly far removed from the capital. Yet such local conflicts reflecting top-level intrigue seem to

illustrate a high degree of integration within the empire.

Though no mention of further action taken against Mu Shao-hsün exists, the historical record clearly has the last word. MS, 203/5369-5370, Chou Tao-chi, "Chang Fu-ching," I, 67-70, Angela Hsi, "Hsia Yen," I, 527-531, DMB.

253. 1505 - 1588, a native of Nan-ch'ang.

254. A crisis over Annam developed in March 1537 when its ruler, Lê Ninh 黎寧, dispatched a mission to the Ming court requesting Chinese intervention against Mac Dang-dung 莫登庸, a usurper. Realizing the dangers of facing a Chinese force, the insurgent offered his submission to the court. In light of this event, Wang Wen-sheng 汪文盛, Governor of Yunnan, and Mu Ch'ao-fu argued that there was no longer cause for a Chinese expedition to the area. Yet Lê Ninh, the deposed ruler, continued to lobby for intervention. A force was sent, but battle was avoided. On 28 April 1541, Mac Dang-dung was invested as commander of the territory, thereby assuring Annam's continued tributary status. MS, 321/8331-8333, CSPM, I:22/259, Benjamin E. Wallacker, "Mao Po-wen," II, 1047-1049, John K. Whitmore, "Mac Dang-dung," II, 1029-1035, DMB.

255. Mu Ch'ao-pi inherited the title of Duke of Ch'ien on 14 April 1554. Robert B. Crawford and L. Carrington Goodrich, "Chang Chü-cheng," DMB, I, 56.

256. 5 February 1551 - 25 January 1552.

257. Yüan-chiang county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 193.

258. Instability began in this area when Na Chien murdered his nephew, Na Hsien 憲, the aboriginal prefect, during 1 February 1546 - 21 January 1547. MS, 314/8108, 198/5244.

259. A native of Ning-hai 寧海, Chekiang, he earned his chin-shih degree during 17 January 1523 - 3 February 1524. As an incorruptible public servant, his influence fostered a selfless spirit among those around him. He died as Provincial Governor, serving in Yunnan. MS, 314/8101, 198/5244.

260. 1 February 1565 - 20 January 1566.

261. A-fang began his rebellion during 14 January 1564 - 31 January 1565, first attacking I-men 易門, and then moving on to plunder Hsi-o 嶧 峽 K'un-yang 昆陽 and Hsin-hua 新化, even daring to assume the title of prince. Allied with two aboriginal officials, A-fang was betrayed by one of them, who offered his services to Lü Kuang-hsün 呂光洵, the Provincial Governor. A-fang's band was captured alive, and two stockades at Ta-mu 大木 and Hsiao-mu 小木 were successfully taken. A-fang was then beheaded. MS, 313/8073.

262. fl. 1571-1625. Ray Huang, "Chou Chia-mu," DMB, I, 264.

263. Evidently, the move taken against the "oppressive and licentious" Mu Ch'ao-pi is indicative of Chang Chü-cheng's growing authority at court. Despite the various charges leveled at Mu, it was popularly considered that the stature

of his cian placed him virtually beyond the ken of civil authority. There was also concern that a challenge to Mu might jeopardize the loyalty of troops under his command. Nonetheless, Chang dispatched representatives to arrest Mu Ch'ao-pi; escorted back to Nanking, he died in prison. Mu neither resisted capture nor did his soldiers countermand Chang's orders. On 27 June 1570, Mu Ch'ang-tso succeeded to the family position. MS, 213/5645, 215/5676, Robert B. Crawford and L. Carrington Goodrich, "Chang Chü-cheng," DMB, I, 56.

264. 2 February 1573 - 22 January 1574.

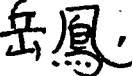
265. A rebel supposedly possessing magic powers, Lo Ssu forged an official seal, thus fomenting the disturbance. MS, 314/8092.

266. Yao-an county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 38.

267. cs. 1556. As a young censor, Tsou was involved in the dismissal of Yen Sung, a grand secretary to Chu Hou-ts'ung, and the exile of his son, Yen Shih-fan for the abuses of power. Kwan-wai So, "Yen Sung," II, 1590, Lienche Tu Fang, "Lin Jun," I, 925, DMB.

268. 24 January 1583 - 11 February 1584.

269. Southwest of T'eng-ch'ung county, Yunnan province. Aoyama, p. 704.

270. Yüeh Feng , a merchant from Kiangsi, by poisoning the sawbwa of Lung-ch'uan, gained backing from the Burmese,

and incited a rebellion that, by 1582, reached T'eng-ch'ung, Yung-ch'ang and Ta-li. Lo Jung-pang, "Liu T'ing," DMB, I, 964-965. According to MS, 247/6410, the Burmese invaded Yunnan during 24 March - 21 April 1583.

271. A native of Feng-ch'eng <sup>豐城</sup>, Kiangsi, Teng, in 1583, collaborated with Liu T'ing in a campaign against the Burmese. Following his participation in the war, he was censored and dismissed in 1592. Lo Jung-pang, "Ch'en Lin," DMB, I, 170.

272. ca. 1552 - 17 April 1619. Known as Big Sword, Liu was transferred to Yunnan in 1582 where he campaigned against the invading Burmese. Lo Jung-pang, "Liu T'ing," DMB, I, 964 - 968.

273. The turning point for the Chinese came after a major battle at Yao pass <sup>姚關</sup> where they successfully prevailed against an elephant charge. Here, Teng Tzu-lung attacked and beheaded Han Ch'ien, 130 of his band were taken alive, and five hundred were beheaded. Lo Jung-pang, "Liu T'ing," DMB, II, 964-965.

274. 1 February 1593 - 19 February 1594.

275. MS, 241/6257 - 6258, Ray Huang, "Chou Chia-mu," I, 264, Mou Jun-sun and L. Carrington Goodrich, "Hsü Hsüeh-chü," I, 582, DMB.

276. On 2 March 1607, Mu Jui, as a regional commander,



replused an attack by invading Annamese. MS, 21/286, Ray Huang, "Chou Chia-mu," DMB, I, 264.

277. MS, 314/8097, 21/286, Stanley Y.C. Huang, "Ch'en Yung-pin," I, 194, Ray Huang, "Chou Chia-mu," I, 264, DMB.

278. On 17 September 1608, Mu Jui and Ch'en Yung-pin were imprisoned. The former died in 1609. MS, 21/286, Ray Huang, "Chou Chia-mu," DMB, I, 264.

279. His funeral took place in a state-erected tomb at the family plot near Nanking during May 1627. Chaoying Fang, "Li Jih-hua," DMB, I, 827.

280. When Sun K'o-wang extended his influence into Yunnan, Mu T'ien-po, though stripped of military authority, was restored to his position owing to the prestige and familiarity with the area's affairs.

281. Mu's wife, feeling at one with dutiful spouses in similar straits, exclaimed, "How can I fall into the hands of bandits!" MS, 303/7763.

282. It is conceivable that the piety and righteousness of his concubine, who tonsured herself, inspired Mu T'ien-po in his continuing service to the deposed Ming Court after it had fled Yunnan. MS, 303/7763.

283. The carnage described-of corpses scattered throughout Kunming, being eaten by dogs - serves as an impressive foil to concubine Hsia's staying power. MS, 303/7763.