

## THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF CHINA

General Editors

Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank

Volume 7
The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I



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# THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF CHINA

Volume 7
The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part I

edited by

FREDERICK W. MOTE and DENIS TWITCHETT





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#### GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

When The Cambridge History of China was first planned, more than two decades ago, it was naturally intended that it should begin with the very earliest periods of Chinese history. However, the production of the series has taken place over a period of years when our knowledge both of Chinese prehistory and of much of the first millennium B.C. has been transformed by the spate of archeological discoveries that began in the 1920s and has been gathering increasing momentum since the early 1970s. This flood of new information has changed our view of early history repeatedly, and there is not yet any generally accepted synthesis of this new evidence and the traditional written record. In spite of repeated efforts to plan and produce a volume or volumes that would summarize the present state of our knowledge of early China, it has so far proved impossible to do so. It may well be another decade before it will prove practical to undertake a synthesis of all these new discoveries that is likely to have some enduring value. Reluctantly, therefore, we begin the coverage of The Cambridge History of China with the establishment of the first imperial regimes, those of Ch'in and Han. We are conscious that this leaves a millennium or more of the recorded past to be dealt with elsewhere, and at another time. We are equally conscious of the fact that the events and developments of the first millennium B.C. laid the foundations for the Chinese society and its ideas and institutions that we are about to describe. The institutions, the literary and artistic culture, the social forms, and the systems of ideas and beliefs of Ch'in and Han were firmly rooted in the past, and cannot be understood without some knowledge of this earlier history. As the modern world grows more interconnected, historical understanding of it becomes ever more necessary and the historian's task ever more complex. Fact and theory affect each other even as sources proliferate and knowledge increases. Merely to summarize what is known becomes an awesome task, yet a factual basis of knowledge is increasingly essential for historical thinking.

Since the beginning of the century, the Cambridge histories have set a pattern in the English-reading world for multivolume series containing chapters written by specialists under the guidance of volume editors. The



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#### GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

Cambridge Modern History, planned by Lord Acton, appeared in sixteen volumes between 1902 and 1912. It was followed by The Cambridge Ancient History, The Cambridge Medieval History, The Cambridge History of English Literature, and Cambridge histories of India, of Poland, and of the British Empire. The original Modern History has now been replaced by The New Cambridge Modern History in twelve volumes, and The Cambridge Economic History of Europe is now being completed. Other Cambridge histories include histories of Islam, Arabic literature, Iran, Judaism, Africa, Japan, and Latin America.

In the case of China, Western historians face a special problem. The history of Chinese civilization is more extensive and complex than that of any single Western nation, and only slightly less ramified than the history of European civilization as a whole. The Chinese historical record is immensely detailed and extensive, and Chinese historical scholarship has been highly developed and sophisticated for many centuries. Yet until recent decades the study of China in the West, despite the important pioneer work of European sinologists, had hardly progressed beyond the translation of some few classical historical texts, and the outline history of the major dynasties and their institutions.

Recently Western scholars have drawn more fully upon the rich traditions of historical scholarship in China and also in Japan, and greatly advanced both our detailed knowledge of past events and institutions, and also our critical understanding of traditional historiography. In addition, the present generation of Western historians of China can also draw upon the new outlooks and techniques of modern Western historical scholarship, and upon recent developments in the social sciences, while continuing to build upon the solid foundations of rapidly progressing European, Japanese, and Chinese studies. Recent historical events, too, have given prominence to new problems, while throwing into question many older conceptions. Under these multiple impacts the Western revolution in Chinese studies is steadily gathering momentum.

When The Cambridge History of China was first planned in 1966, the aim was to provide a substantial account of the history of China as a benchmark for the Western history-reading public: an account of the current state of knowledge in six volumes. Since then the outpouring of current research, the application of new methods, and the extension of scholarship into new fields have further stimulated Chinese historical studies. This growth is indicated by the fact that the history has now become a planned fifteen volumes, but will still leave out such topics as the history of art and of literature, many aspects of economics and technology, and all the riches of local history.

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#### GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

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The striking advances in our knowledge of China's past over the last decade will continue and accelerate. Western historians of this great and complex subject are justified in their efforts by the needs of their own peoples for greater and deeper understanding of China. Chinese history belongs to the world not only as a right and necessity, but also as a subject of compelling interest.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK DENIS TWITCHETT





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#### PREFACE TO VOLUME 7

The Chinese is romanized according to the Wade-Giles system, which for all its imperfections is employed almost universally in the serious literature on China written in English. There are a few exceptions, which are noted below. For Japanese, the Hepburn system of romanization is followed. Mongolian is transliterated following A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos* (Peking, Catholic University, 1941), as modified by Francis W. Cleaves, and further simplified as follows

č becomes ch š becomes sh γ becomes gh q becomes kh j̇̃ becomes j

The transliteration of other foreign languages follows the usage in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming biography* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976).

Chinese personal names are given following their native form—that is with surname preceding the given name, romanized in the Wade-Giles system. In the case of Chinese authors of Western-language works, the names are given in the published form, in which the given name may sometimes precede the surname (for example, Chaoying Fang). In the case of some contemporary scholars from the People's Republic of China, we employ their preferred romanization in the Pinyin system (for example, Wang Yuquan), and for some Hong Kong scholars, we follow the Cantonese transcriptions of their names under which they publish in English (for example, Hok-lam Chan, Chiu Ling-yeoung).

Chinese place names are romanized according to the Wade-Giles system with the exception of those places familiar in the English-language literature in nonstandard postal spellings. For a list of these, see G. William Skinner, *Modern Chinese society: A critical bibliography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), Vol. I, Introduction, p. iix. The two areas around Peking and Nanking under the direct control of the court are referred to in



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#### PREFACE TO VOLUME 7

Chinese as Pei Chih-li and Nan Chih-li respectively, and in English as the Northern and Southern Metropolitan Regions. And finally, although Peking should properly be referred to as Pei-p'ing (The North is Pacified) from 1368 to 1420, in the interest of clarity it is anachronistically referred to as Peking throughout the text, except in those places where the history of the city's name is under discussion.

Ming official titles generally follow those given in Charles O. Hucker, A dictionary of official titles in imperial China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), with the following modifications regarding the terms Secretariat and grand secretariat. For the period until 1380, the term "Secretariat" is employed. After that date, we employ consistently the form "grand secretariat" to translate nei-ko, to underline the unofficial character of that institution. Its members are referred to with the title "grand secretary." Charles O. Hucker's earlier translation of "National University" for Kuo-tzu chien has been preferred over "Directorate of Education," and the translation "Protector of the State" has been preferred over "Regent" for the term chien-kuo, since the Ming dynasty did not strictly speaking institute any provisions for a regency. An exception is made in the case of the short-lived provisional regimes of the Southern Ming (see Chapter 11), when normal government was no longer feasible.

Emperors are referred to by their temple names during their reign and by their personal names prior to their accession. The reign title of "Ch'eng-tsu" is romanized in the form "Yung-lo," which has become conventional in English-language literature, rather than in the form "Yung-le." The dates for an emperor's reign refer to the years when the regnal title was formally instituted. Because the regnal title remained in use after an emperor's death until the end of the lunar year in which he died, in most cases, emperors ascended the throne during the year prior to the institution of their regnal titles. For example, the Ch'eng-hua emperor ascended the throne in February 1464, but his regnal title was not used until the beginning of the next lunar year, and hence the first year of his reign is traditionally given as 1465.

Dates have been converted to their Western equivalents in the Julian calendar until 1582 and the Gregorian calendar thereafter, following Keith Hazelton, A synchronic Chinese-Western daily calendar 1341–1661 A.D., Ming Studies Research Series, No. 1 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984). The reader should remember that when Chinese sources refer to a year alone, this year does not correspond exactly to its Western equivalent.

The ages of individuals are sometimes cited in the Chinese form of sui. Conventionally a person was one sui at birth and became two sui on the



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New Year following. Thus in Western terms a person was always at least one year younger than his Chinese age in *sui* and might be almost two years younger if he were born at the end of the Chinese year. In attempting to give dates for individuals where birth or death dates are not available, the form cs. (*chin shih*) is used to indicate the year in which the individual passed the highest civil service examination.

The maps are based on the recent historical atlas of Yüan and Ming China, which appears as Vol. 7 of the series *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi* (Shanghai: Chung-hua ti-t'u hsüeh-she, 1975).



#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The editors of this volume owe thanks first of all to the worldwide community of Ming scholars, a large percentage of whom attended the Ming History Workshops held at Princeton through the summers of 1979 and 1980, where planning and writing for this volume and Volume 8 were begun. All of us who have written chapters here have benefited from all those other colleagues not present as authors in ways that go well beyond the debts acknowledged in the footnotes. The National Endowment for the Humanities generously supported those workshops and subsequent coordination of the work on this volume and the forthcoming Volume 8. The Mellon Foundation through the Committee on Studies of Chinese Civilization of the American Council of Learned Societies provided grants to students attending the two summer workshops; their presence added much to the quality of those exploratory activities. We are grateful for those kinds of support, as for that generously provided by the Program in East Asian Studies of Princeton University.

Foremost among individuals who must be accorded special words of gratitude here is Dr. James Geiss, who has coordinated the Ming History Project through the years. In addition to writing two chapters in the present volume, his scholarly editing has contributed substantially to the continuity and quality of the volume as a whole. Others whose help has proved invaluable are Professors Wang Yuquan (Peking) and Hsü Hong (Taipei), who during periods of residence at Princeton and since have given generously of their extensive knowledge and their critical advice; Professor Ray Huang, who throughout all stages of the work has contributed stimulus and wise counsel, drawing on his penetrating analyses of Chinese civilization; Dr. Philip de Heer, who offered invaluable advice on mid-fifteenth-century political history; Dr. Keith Hazelton, who devised the computer supports and ensured that they worked; Nancy Norton Tomasko, whose considerable command of Chinese language and scholarship has contributed to her meticulous editing and skillful indexing; and Dr. Howard Goodman, who prepared the drafts for all the maps and



#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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tables in this volume. Cooperative scholarship has never been better served. For all the delays in completing this volume and for its shortcomings, we of course are alone responsible.

F.W.M. D.C.T.



#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

BIHP Chung yang yen chiu yüan li shih yü yen yen chiu so (Bulletin of

the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica)

BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

CKL Cho keng lu

CNW Chung-kuo nei luan wai huo li shih ts'ung shu (alternately

Chung-kuo chin tai nei luan wai huo li shih ku shih ts'ung shu)

CSL Ta Ch'ing li ch'ao shih lu

DMB Dictionary of Ming Biography

ECCP Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period HJAS Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JAS Journal of Asian Studies

KC Kuo ch'üeh MC Ming chi

MCSYC Ming Ch'ing shih yen chiu ts'ung kao

MHY Ta Ming hui yao MS Ming shih

MSCSPM Ming shih chi shih pen mo

MSL Ming shih lu
MTC Ming t'ung chien

MTCTS Ming tai chih tu shih lun t'sung

MTSHCCS Ming tai she hui ching chi shih lun ts'ung

TMHT Ta Ming hui tien

TW T'ai-wan wen hsien ts'ung k'an

YS Yüan shih



#### MING WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

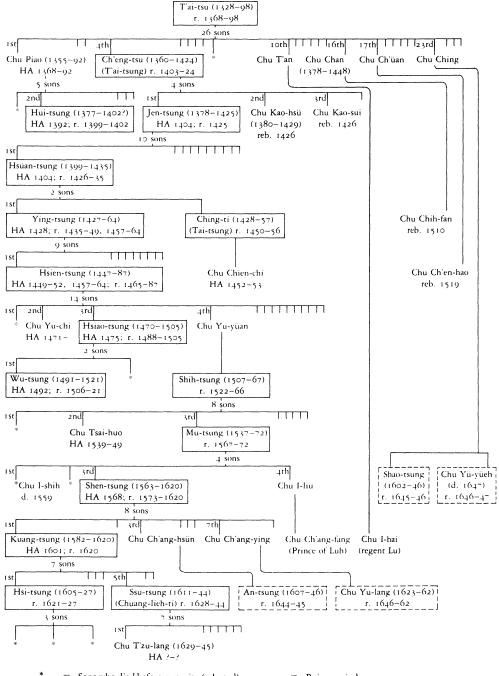
| I. Length     | 1 ch'ih             | = | 10   | ts'un            |
|---------------|---------------------|---|------|------------------|
| _             |                     | = | 12.3 | inches (approx.) |
|               | 1 pu (double pace)  | = | 5    | ch'ih            |
|               | 1 chang             | = | 10   | ch'ih            |
|               | 1 <i>li</i>         | = | 1/3  | mile             |
| II. Weight    | 1 liang (tael)      | = | 1.3  | ounces           |
|               | 1 chin (catty)      | = | 16   | liang            |
|               |                     | = | 1.3  | pounds (approx.) |
| III. Capacity | 1 sheng             | = | 0.99 | quart (approx.)  |
|               | 1 tou               | = | 10   | sheng            |
|               | 1 shih/tan (picul)* | = | 10   | tou              |
|               |                     | = | 99   | quarts           |
|               |                     | = | 3.1  | bushels          |
| IV. Area      | 1 mou (mu)          | = | 0.14 | acre             |
|               | 1 ch'ing            | = | 100  | mou              |

Note: The Chinese measurements sometimes mentioned in these chapters derive from a bewildering variety of sources and from regions where standard units varied. They do not imply a dynasty-long or empirewide standard and are to be treated only as approximations.

<sup>\*</sup>The shihltan was properly a measure of capacity. It is, however, frequently used also as a measure of weight equivalent to 100 chin.



#### GENEALOGY OF THE MING IMPERIAL FAMILY



\* = Sons who died before maturity (selected). r. = Reign period as emperor.

HA = Male heir apparent. reb. = Rebelled. Dashed box = Southern Ming emperors

Note: Table shows only male members of the Chu imperial family who were significant in the line of imperial succession, who were important rebels, or who were forebears of such men. The numbers of sons and generational placement of certain individuals follow data in the "Pen chi" and "Chu wang hsi piao" sections of the Ming shih, corroborated closely in DMB and ECCP. Other sources may vary on account of criteria for establishing "legitimate" sons, etc.



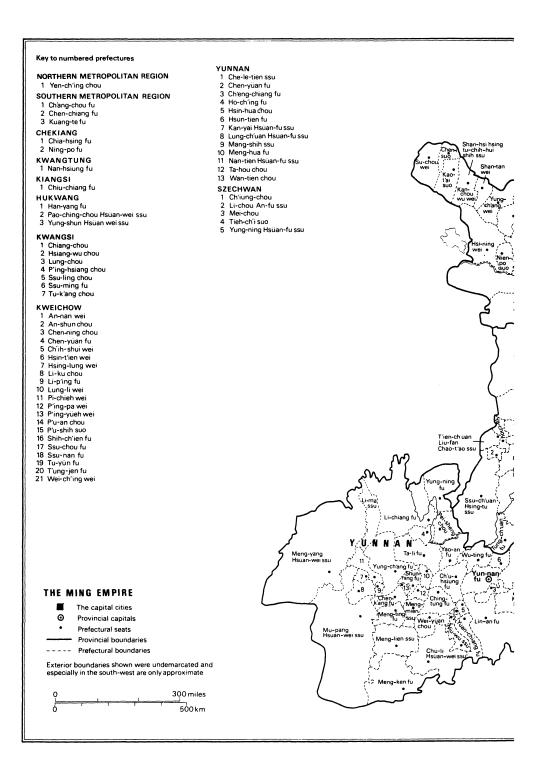
#### MING DYNASTY EMPERORS

Temple name Given name Reign name Chu Yüan-chang Hung-wu (1368–98) T'ai-tsu Chu Yün-wen Chien-wen (1399 - 1402)Hui-ti, Hui-tsung Chu Ti Yung-lo (1403–24) T'ai-tsung, Ch'eng-tsu Chu Kao-chih Hung-hsi (1425)Jen-tsung Chu Chan-chi Hsüan-te (1426-35)Hsüan-tsung Chu Ch'i-chen Cheng-t'ung (1436–49) Ying-tsung Chu Ch'i-yü Ching-t'ai (1450-56) Tai-tsung, Ching-ti Chu Ch'i-chen T'ien-shun (1457-64) Ying-tsung Chu Chien-shen Ch'eng-hua (1465–87) Hsien-tsung Chu Yu-t'ang Hung-chih (1488-1505) Hsiao-tsung Chu Hou-chao Cheng-te (1506–21) Wu-tsung Chu Hou-ts'ung Chia-ching (1522–66) Shih-tsung Chu Tsai-hou Lung-ch'ing (1567–72) Mu-tsung Chu I-chün Wan-li (1573-1620) Shen-tsung Chu Ch'ang-lo T'ai-ch'ang (1620) Kuang-tsung Chu Yu-chiao T'ien-ch'i (1621-27) Hsi-tsung Chu Yu-chien Ch'ung-chen (1628–44) I-tsung, Ssu-tsung, Huai-tsung, Chuang-lieh-ti

#### Southern Ming

| Chu Yu-sung     | Hung-kuang (6.1644–6.1645) | An-tsung   |  |
|-----------------|----------------------------|------------|--|
| Chu Yü-chien    | Lung-wu (8.1645-10.1646)   | Shao-tsung |  |
| Chu Ch'ang-fang | regent Luh (6.1645)        |            |  |
| Chu Yu-lang     | Yung-li (12.1646–1.1662)   |            |  |
| Chu Yü-yueh     | Shao-wu (12.1646)          |            |  |
| Chu I-hai       | regent Lu (8.1645-1653)    |            |  |
|                 |                            |            |  |





Map 1. Political divisions of Ming China



