Confucian Image Politics
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INTRODUCTION

1. In this book, years and dates are indicated in the following format: reign title and year/Chinese lunar month and day. For a long time scholars believed that Gujin tan’gai was the original title of this book, and that because the book did not attract enough attention, the title was changed to Gujin xiao. However, recent scholarship has demonstrated that the title Gujin xiao appeared first and then Feng also published it under the title of Gujin tan’gai. For a review of these various editions and titles, see Guo Jianping, “Gujin tan’gai xiaohua yanjiu.” The edition referenced by this book is titled Gujin tan’gai.

2. Feng Menglong, Gujin tan’gai, 49. The Cheng Brothers refer to Cheng Yi (1033–1107) and Chen Hao (1032–1085).

3. I thank Maiwfen Lu for helping me investigate the references to this anecdote in Ming-Qing publications. I also thank her and Beverly Bossler for a very helpful discussion about the invention of the anecdote.

4. Wu Yuancui, Linju manlu, 695. In most of the extant editions, including the editions I referenced in this book, Linju manlu is printed together with Manlu pingzheng, a commentary on Linju manlu by He Canran, Wu’s contemporary. The same editions also include Wu’s counter-commentary, Bo Manlu pingzheng, and He’s response, Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng. Unless otherwise noted, the edition used in all the footnotes in my analysis of Wu’s Linju manlu and Bo Manlu pingzheng as well as my examination of He’s Manlu pingzheng and Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng refers to the Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan edition.

5. Feng Menglong, preface to the chapter “Yufu” 迂腐, Gujin tan’gai, 7.

6. Feng Menglong, “Zixu” 自敘, Gujin tan’gai, appendix, 7–12. The rhetoric clearly demonstrates the influence of the radical thinker Li Zhi. On Li Zhi and the ethics of genuineness, see Pauline Lee, Li Zhi, chap. 5.

7. Chen Jiru (1558–1639), whose commercial success and celebrity status were built on xiaopin writing, composed a preface for the first volume of Zuofei’an ri zuan and thought highly of it. For scholarship on xiaopin literature and Chen Jiru as a xiaopin writer, see Greenbaum, Chen Jiru, 143–50;


9. This phrase comes from the title of Brook’s monograph, *Confusions of Pleasure*.

10. Feng Menglong’s *Gujin xiao* continued to be printed in different forms and with different titles. Zheng Xuan rolled out three volumes of *Zuofei’an ri zuan* within the span of a few years.


12. For discussion of Huang Zongzhou’s criticism of the popular genre of “ledgers of merit and demerit” and his own ledger technique in *Renpu*, see Brokaw, *Ledgers of Merit and Demerit*, 121–25 and 128–38 (on the section that includes the evil of mingling with courtesans, see 134).


14. Wu Yuancui claims it must have been Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101, the Shu faction) who made up the story. For a discussion about Su Shi, Cheng Yi, and Song factionalism, see Levine, *Divided by a Common Language*, chap. 5.


16. Ibid.; He Canran’s comment is on the upper margin of the page, 695.

17. See chap. 1 in this book for more analysis of Wu Yuancui’s publications.

18. It is important to note that the term *gonglun* can be interpreted in different ways. I translate it as “public opinion” in this book. Harry Miller, in his work on late Ming political history, has rendered it “public consensus.” Miller, “Opposition to the Donglin Faction,” 58.

19. Wu, conclusion of *Leaving for the Rising Sun*.


22. I use the word *image* metaphorically here. In both premodern and modern times, moral-political images have always been transmitted in nonvisual media, including not only texts but also what scholars of political behavior call “image attributes” stimulated mentally by political materials (Shyles, “Defining Images of Presidential Candidates”). W. J. T. Mitchell offers an excellent discussion on the multiple meanings of “image,” in particular the problem of dichotomizing “image” and “word,” in his classic *Picture Theory*, esp. 83–110. For a literature review on image and politics, see Khatib, introduction to *Image Politics in the Middle East*.


27. For reservations about this interpretation, see Chow, *Rise of Confucian Ritualism*, 15; Handlin-Smith, *Art of Doing Good*, 163.
28. Mark Elvin discusses the Confucian moral meteorology in *Retreat of the Elephants*, chap. 12. Frederic Wakeman, in his monumental work on the Ming-Qing transition, also situates this dynastic change in the context of climate change. See Wakeman, *Great Enterprise*, vol. 1, 7. For the latest, most comprehensive discussion of the “seventeenth-century global crisis,” see Parker, *Global Crisis*. In this book, Parker offers a sophisticated account of the seventeenth-century crises resulting from both climate change and human activities related to it.


30. Ibid., 175. See also Chen Baoliang, “Wan Ming rujia chuantong”; Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*.


32. Wang Hung-tai, “Ming-Qing de zixun chuanbo.”

33. Ibid.

34. Miller, “Opposition to the Donglin Faction.” Other explorations include the special issue on the “public sphere” and “civil society” in *Modern China* (1993); Brook, introduction to *Praying for Power*. Wakeman proposed examining the boundaries between “public” and “official” in late imperial China instead of those between “public” and “private.” See Wakeman, “Boundaries of the Public Sphere.”

35. For example, He Zongmei, concluding chapter of *Ming mo Qing chu wenren jieshe*.

36. The Five Cardinal Relationships refer to the proper relationships between the ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and friends.

37. For a discussion on the special status of friendship in the Five Cardinal Relations, see Kutcher, “The Fifth Relationship.” See, in addition, Martin Huang, “Male Friendship in Ming China” and “Male Friendship and Jiangxue”; McDermott, “Friendship and Its Friends.” Stressing “syncretism,” Vitiello offers an excellent analysis of how the idealization of male-male friendship informed new understandings of the ideal male-female relationship and also exposed the conflict between the ethics of fufu and pengyou in the wulun system. Vitiello, *Libertine’s Friend*.


40. For a comprehensive and insightful review of the Ming-Qing transition sources, see Struve, *Ming-Qing Conflict*.

41. Crossley, *Translucent Mirror*.

42. In the concluding section of each chapter in *Women and National Trauma*, Wai-yee Li offers a succinct but insightful review of how particular seventeenth-century tropes and issues were remembered, reimaged, and appropriated in later periods. For a detailed case study of late-Qing imagination of the late Ming, see Qin, *Qing mo Min chu*. Harry Miller offers an excellent case study of this issue in his research on the oblivion of the late-Ming official Tang Binya. Miller, “Opposition to the Donglin Faction.”
43. Wang Hung-tai, “Ming-Qing de zixun chuanbo,” 60; Han Li, introduction to “News, Public Opinions, and History.” Fei, Negotiating Urban Space, 46–51. “Public opinion” has multiple context-specific meanings. In most cases in seventeenth-century China, it refers to views shared and voiced by the literati.
44. Han Li, introduction to “News, Public Opinions, and History.”
46. Chen, introduction to Chen and Schaberg, Idle Talk, 4.
47. Siyen Fei cites this example to emphasize the impact of “news-based vernacular novels” (Negotiating Urban Space, 198–99). But in the text, Qian Daxin seems to refer to novels in general.
48. Chen Longzheng 陈龍正, Jiting wai shu 幾亭外書, cited in Chen Wanyi, Wan Ming xiaopin, 38. See also Liu Yongqiang, “Xiaoshuo qiyuan wenti.” “Petty discourse” is a translation by Graham Sanders in “I Read They Said He Sang What He Wrote,” 91.
49. Fei, Negotiating Urban Space, 202.
51. Sun Chuanting, preface to Jianlao lu, 193–94.
52. Ibid., 210–11.
54. Weijing Lu, True to Her Word, 36.
55. Jimmy Yu offers a number of case studies in Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence.
59. See some well-known examples in ibid.
60. Some Chinese scholars have named this genre jiaying xiaoshuo. I dub it “family romance.” I use “family” here to refer broadly to any of the following concepts: family, household, clan, and lineage. I thank Dorothy Ko for helping me explore this concept and translation. This translation is also inspired by Lynn Hunt’s examination of power struggles before and after the French Revolution through the lens of “family romance” in The Family Romance of the French Revolution. For a critical review of the complicated history of Romance, see James Grantham Turner, “‘Romance’ and the Novel in Restoration England.”
61. For a comprehensive study of this genre, see Liang Xiaoping, Ming-Qing jiazuo xiaoshuo. A more focused analysis of familial ethics in such fictions is Duan Jiangli, Lifa yu renqing.
62. Struve, Ming-Qing Conflict, 640.
63. Levine, Divided by a Common Language, 2–3.
64. Ibid., chap. 7.
67. Bossler, Courtesans, Concubines, and the Cult of Female Fidelity, 42–43.
68. For a discussion on late-Ming factionalism and its connection to East Asian trade, war, and diplomacy, which had now become an
integral part of the globalized networks, see, e.g., Yang Haiying, *Yuwei Changcheng*.

69. In this book I use the term *turncoat* to refer to former Ming officials who surrendered to and/or served the Qing. The other common term applied to such officials, *erchen*, implies as much moral bias as “turncoat.” I do not use the term *erchen* in this book because it would become an extremely important political tool the Qing Qianlong emperor used to rewrite seventeenth-century political history. For discussion of the Qianlong emperor and the discourse on *erchen*, see Crossley, *Translucent Mirror*.


73. Michael G. Chang, *A Court on Horseback*.

74. Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*.

75. Debates about sinicization and the Manchu Way in the past two decades have produced important insights. See, e.g., Rawski, “Presidential Address”; Ping-ti Ho, “In Defense of Sinicization”; Ding Yizhuang, “Reflections on the ‘New Qing History’ School”; and Yang Nianqun, introduction to *Hechu shi Jiangnan*. Two recent anthologies have summarized and advanced this debate: Liu Fengyun, Dong and Liu Wenpeng, *Qingdai zhengzhi yu guojia rentong*; Liu Fengyun and Liu Wenpeng, *Qingchao de guojia rentong*.

76. Guy, *Qing Governors*. Miller, from the perspective of “state versus gentry,” makes similar observations in *State versus Gentry in Early Qing Dynasty China*.

77. Scholars generally agree that *xiao* had appeared by the Western Zhou (1045–771 BCE), and *zhong* by the Spring and Autumn period (770–221 BCE). Questions related to their earliest forms, meanings, and implications are still being debated. Chan and Tan, introduction to *Filial Piety*, 1; Sato, *Zhongguo gudai de zhong lun yanjiu*, esp. 36–49; Wang Zijin, “Zhong” guannian yanjiu, chaps. 1 and 11.

78. Some scholars identify the *Han Feizi* as presenting the earliest textual appearance of the word *zhongxiao* (Nuyen, “Filial Piety as Respect for Tradition,” 204). “Zhongxiao” is the title of the fifty-first section of the *Han Feizi*, but this word does not appear in the main text of the section. The complete compilation of the fifty-five sections in the *Han Feizi* existed by the first century BCE. Zhang Jue, *Han Feizi jiaoshu*, preface and chap. 20, 1261–62. It is possible that the use of the term *zhongxiao* in *Lüshi chunqiu* predates that in the *Han Feizi*. The passage in which *zhongxiao* appears is in book 4, section “Quan xue” 勸學. See Sato, *Zhongguo gudai de zhong lun yanjiu*. But some also question if *Lüshi chunqiu* was actually produced during the pre-Qin period (see, e.g., Wang Zijin, “Zhong” guannian yanjiu, 328).
80. Holzman, “Place of Filial Piety,” 192.
82. For a comprehensive introduction to this text and a brief account of the historical background for its emergence, see Rosemont and Ames, The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence.
85. Crossley, Translucent Mirror; Wakeman, Great Enterprise, vol. 2.
86. Meyer-Fong, Building Culture, 23.
87. For example, chapter 14 of this classic discusses the connections between loyalty and other virtues such as filial piety, fraternal love, and gender distinction.
88. Scholars have recently explored a local term, nan/nü, and its analytical potentials. See Hershatter and Wang, “Chinese History”; Liu, Karl, and Ko, Birth of Chinese Feminism. As Lisa Raphals has shown, the nuanced but significant differences between usages of gendered binaries in Chinese history often get obscured in linguistic continuity. Raphals, Sharing the Light.
89. For discussion of “Confucian gender system,” see Ko, Teachers of the Inner Chambers.
90. For discussion of the Song period, see Davis, Wind against the Mountain.
91. Ko, Teachers of the Inner Chambers. For analysis of access to women during the Song-Yuan period, see Bossler, Courtesans, Concubines, and the Cult of Female Fidelity; Birge, “Women and Confucianism from Song to Ming.”
92. Brokaw, Ledgers of Merit and Demerit, 18.
93. Pauline Lee, Li Zhi. On how late imperial fiction and drama engaged authenticity and sincerity, see, e.g., Epstein, Competing Discourses; Owen, “I Don’t Want to Act as Emperor.”
94. Chow, Rise of Confucian Ritualism; Brook, Praying for Power; Brokaw, Ledgers of Merit and Demerit; Lu Miaw-fen, Xiaozihi tianxia; and Wang Fansen, “Ming mo Qing chu de yi zhong yange daode zhuyi.”
95. As scholars in various disciplines have pointed out, the term moralism is inadequately defined and theorized. When theorized in modern Western contexts, it is often discussed as the opposite of “morality”; the two concepts form a “fake” versus “genuine” binary. Coady, “Preface” and “The Moral Realism in Realism,” in Coady, What’s Wrong with Moralism?
CHAPTER 1: LISTS, LITERATURE, AND THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY OF FACTIONALISTS

1. Lucille Chia’s review of the use of print in the Ming dynasty points to the significance of the Wanli reign in the history of print culture. Chia, “The Use of Print in Ming Dynasty China.”

2. Brokaw, Ledgers of Merit and Demerit, 23–24. Historians have defined the Donglin differently in different research projects. For a summary of various usages of and approaches to “the Donglin” in extant scholarship, see Ying Zhang, “Politics and Morality,” esp. 17–23. John Dardess points out that “Donglin” “stood for an ethical revitalization movement; it referred to a national Confucian moral fellowship; and it also labeled a Beijing political faction.” Dardess, Blood and History, 1. For a careful analysis of the early stage of Donglin as an intellectual group but not a political party, see, e.g., Fan Shuzhi, “Donglin shuyuan.” Ding Guoxiang argues that the Donglin was not a political party but was heavily involved in politics, whereas the Fushe was closer to becoming a “party” than the Donglin. Ding Guoxiang, Fushe yanjiu, esp. 17–25.


4. Miller has probed a couple of cases in his “Opposition to the Donglin Faction” and “Newly Discovered Source.”

5. See Wu Yuancui’s short biography in Li Guangzuo, Changzhou xian-zhi, 290, and in Liu Tenglong, Suzhou fuzhi, 30.35b and 65.38a–39b. Liu’s edition of Suzhou fuzhi also lists some of his publications (45.47a).


7. The small project was titled Yanzhong jiwen燕中紀聞.

8. He Canran, postscript to Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng, and He’s notes, 760. The first volume is called qianji and the rest bieji, duoji, jiji, yuji. In most of the extant editions, including the editions I referenced in this book, Linju manlu is printed together with Manlu pingzheng, a commentary on Linju manlu by He Canran, Wu’s contemporary. The same editions also include Wu’s counter-commentary, Bo Manlu pingzheng, and He’s response, Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng. Unless otherwise noted, the edition used in all the footnotes in my analysis of Wu’s Linju manlu and Bo Manlu pingzheng as well as my examination of He’s Manlu pingzheng and Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng refers to the Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan edition.

9. Although Wu Yuancui downplayed the fact that he gave copies of the book to prominent figures, the responses from these men clearly indicate that he was keen to seek their comments and recognition. See Wu Yuancui, appendix (“Fu zhugong ping Manlu” 附諸公評漫録) to Wu Yuancui, Bo Manlu pingzheng, 756–60.

10. He Canran, postscript to Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng, 761–62.

11. “Literary commentaries” refers to printed commentaries for readers of the Classics (for examination purposes) and vernacular novels.
12. For a discussion of the literary commentary format and the development of commentary editions of vernacular novels since the sixteenth century, see Rolston, *How to Read the Chinese Novel*.

13. These publications include *Yi’antang gao*, which devotes many entries to clarifying Wu’s position, and *Tanyuan zazhi*, a compilation of memorials on the Li Sancai controversy. For an insightful analysis of the case and the relationship between the Donglin and Li Sancai, see Miller, “Newly Discovered Source.”


15. He Canran, postscript to *Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng*, 761. *Yi’antang gao* was also published and reprinted multiple times. The earliest preface is dated Wanli 38 (1610), and the latest Tianqi 1 (1621).


17. He Canran, preface to *Bo Bo Manlu pingzheng*.


19. See the official Ni Yuanlu’s recollection of the persecution of Donglin officials in Jin Risheng, *Song tian lu bi*, 508–9, 514.

20. Ono, *Mingji dangshe kao*, 94. The compilation seems to have been completed around Wanli 37 (1609), but it continued to be edited and augmented. The latest memorial included is dated Wangi 42 (1617).

21. Ibid. For a discussion about Li Sancai and the Donglin defense of him, see Miller, “Newly Discovered Source.”


23. Ibid.


25. Wu Liang, “Huai fu bu tan qingyi zizai shu” *Zhiyuan ji*, 8.35a. I believe the list he mentions refers to the Donglin because this sentence immediately follows his definition of the Donglin faction in the memorial.


28. Ibid.

29. He Canran, commentary section in *Manlu pingzheng*, 584.

30. For a detailed analysis of these struggles, see Dardess, *Blood and History*.

31. Xia Xie, *Ming tongjian*, 2220. The List of Notorious Donglin Fighters is attributed to the official Wang Shaohui.

32. Xue Cai’s comments on his friend Chen Zhenhui’s essay, “Shu Jiazi huitui” 書甲子會推, in Chen Zhenhui, *Shu shi qi ze*, 1b–2a.

33. Qian Renlin, *Donglin biesheng*, 14b, 29b. Qian compares the various versions of this list, including those recorded in titles such as *Bofu lu* 剝復錄, *xian bo zhi shi* 先撥志始, and *Zhuozhong zhi yu* 酌中志餘.

34. Qian Renlin, *Donglin biesheng*, 13a and 16a–b.
35. Wuyue Caomang Chen, Wei Zhongxian xiaoshuo chijian shu, 165.
36. The Qing literatus Qian Renlin offered a brief analysis of how some names and sobriquets are matched in his introduction for Donglin dianjiang lu when he compiled it into Donglin biesheng (14b–16a).
37. This is in chapter 33 of the novel Water Margin.
38. See, e.g., Ji Liuqi, Ming ji bei lue, 263.
39. Wang Shaohui, Donglin dianjiang lu, 922. The translations of these sobriquets adopt those in Pearl S. Buck, All Men Are Brothers, 1266–72.
40. Qian Renlin points out that one of the lists, Donglin pengdang lu 東林朋黨錄, brought in Qian Shouyi and Huang Yuansu because they resembled the names of Qian Qianyi and Huang Zunsu, two Donglin-identified officials. Qian Renlin, Donglin biesheng, 1a.
41. For example, see Donglin pengdang lu and Donglin jiguan 東林籍貫, in Qian Renlin, Donglin biesheng.
42. Wuyue Caomang Chen, Wei Zhongxian xiaoshuo chijian shu, 163.
43. Qian Renlin, Donglin biesheng, 32a. This official was Zhou Shunchang, one of the famous Donglin martyrs.
44. For a comprehensive list of Donglin-identified officials who have appeared on major Donglin blacklists, see Ono, Mingji dangshe kao, 377–402.
45. I thank Ari D. Levine for pointing out this similarity.
46. Cited in Jin Risheng, Song tian lu bi, 170.
47. CMMYL, 272–75.
49. Ni Yuanlu’s memorial (CZ 1/2), in Jin Risheng, Song tian lu bi, 512.
50. Ibid., 514.
51. Ibid., 512.
52. Ibid., 256, in the record of the Chongzhen emperor’s audience with his grand secretaries.
53. Its long-lasting impact on late-Ming politics is evident in another list that was compiled at the Southern Ming Hongguang court. See “Interlude” in this book.
54. See chap. 2 in this book. A literatus at the time, widely known for his pro-Donglin stance, observed that although some officials had legitimately challenged Donglin factionalism, the Donglin’s suffering changed its image. See Zhang Shiwei, “Ji Jiongqing Wu Yinzhi xiansheng wen” 祭冏卿吳因之先生文, in Zhang Yidu xiansheng Ziguangzhai ji shi liu juan fu Zhou libu jishi yi juan, 262.
55. Ni Yuanlu was accused of illegitimately obtaining an honorary title for a concubine after he abandoned his wife in clear violation of the Five Cardinal Relations. Zheng Man certainly recognized the connection between his case and Ni’s. TSZXNP, 493.
57. Jie Zhao, “A Decade of Considerable Significance.” Translation by Zhao, n. 45.
59. Wu Liang clearly and specifically criticized Zhu Geng and his followers at court. He believed in his position so deeply that he admitted to the emperor that he was even willing to impeach some fine officials in order to “cut off the factional network surrounding Grand Secretary Zhu.” Wu Liang, “Huai fu bu tan qingyi zizai shu,” 8.35a–b.
60. Jin Risheng, Song tian lu bi, 435.
61. Wu Liang, “Song Zheng libu Taichu yanshi zuoqian” 送鄭禮部太初言事左遷 and “Zai yong qianyun shuhuai si shou” 再用前韻書懷四首, Zhiyuan ji, 2.21a–22b.
63. See, e.g., Ye Xianggao, Qu bian, 2.46–48. Grand Secretary Ye Xianggao (1559–1627) was respected for his nonpartisan stance. He included this incident in his documentation of government affairs but was careful not to explicitly discuss his own judgment; instead he puts “it is said” or “someone said to someone that . . .” before those passages about Zheng. The contemporary author Shen Defu briefly documented Zheng’s case. He suggested that Zheng fabricated accusations against colleagues in order to present himself as a courageous official. Shen Defu, Wanli ye huo bian, 233–34.
64. Wu Yuancui documented former colleagues’ conversations about Zheng in several places in his work Yi’antang gao, jin ji, 67b and shi ji, 59a, 65a. Although Wu Yuancui strongly disliked Wu Liang, he never endorsed the theory that Zheng, Wu’s in-law and ally, faked political integrity. Rather, he was suspicious of the attacks on Zheng.
65. Shen Defu, Wanli ye huo bian, 234.
67. Xia Xie, Ming tongjian, 2074; Xie Guozhen, Ming-Qing zhiji dangshe yundong kao, 3–5, 10–30.
68. Fan Shuzhi, “Dangzheng xuanwo.”
69. Daobing Donglin huo 盜柄東林夥, in Qian Renlin, Donglin biesheng, 39a.
70. Zheng had retired in the late Wanli reign and played no role at court in the anti-eunuch protests of the Tianqi reign. Various contemporary sources suggest this was Zhe faction’s work, among them Jin Risheng’s Song tian lu bi. On the collaboration between the eunuch faction and the other factions, see Xie Guozhen, Ming-Qing zhiji dangshe yundong kao, 31–47.
71. Qian Qianyi, “Feng anren Wu shi muzhiming” 封安人吳氏墓誌銘, Chu xue ji, 1427–29.
73. TSZXNP, 483.
74. Ibid.
75. Chun-fang Yu, Renewal of Buddhism in China.
76. For more on Yunqi Zhuhong’s interactions with the gentry of the late Ming, see ibid.; Brook, Praying for Power. On the couple’s influence among gentry men and women, see Jian Ruiyao, Mingdai funu fojiao.


80. For a detailed discussion of these misrepresentations in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literati works, see Ying Zhang, “Confucian Principles.”


83. For an account of Zheng Man’s arrest, see Xia Xie, Ming tongjian, 2239.

84. TSZXNP, 494; “Chongzhen 11 nian Jinyi Wu Mengming hui zou Zheng Man zhang mu shu” 崇禎十一年錦衣吳孟明回奏鄭鄤杖母疏, CMMYL, 730.

85. Xia Xie, Ming tongjian, 2776–78.

86. This exchange was well documented in many contemporary sources. Sun Chengze’s Chunming meng yu lu (392–94) probably provides the most detailed account. More on this in chap. 3 in this book.

87. Ji Liuqi’s documentation of the execution, though not completely accurate, nonetheless reflects the sensation caused by Zheng Man’s case at the time. Ji Liuqi, Ming ji bei lue, 258.


89. One of Zheng Man’s uncles, Zheng Zhenyuan 鄭振元, raised specific examples in his testimony, “Bian yuan jie” 辯冤揭, in Tang Xiuye, Zheng an chuanxin lu yuangao, no page number. CMMYL, 394.

90. Zheng Zhenyuan, “Bianyuan jie,” in Tang Xiuye, Zheng an chuanxin lu yuangao. Zhang Xia compiled a few such biographies in Yuqiao hua. The term xiaoshuo is translated here as “vernacular novels” for two reasons:
first, in the Zheng Man case, vernacular novels indeed appeared; second, the other meaning of this term, “petty discourses,” is covered by the other term, xiaoshi. See the introduction to this volume for scholarship on gossip, anecdote, and related terms.

92. Sun Kaidi, Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo shumu, 85.
95. They were given titles such as mengzhu and hufa.
96. Titles of chapters 36–38.
97. See Wen Tiren’s biography in MS, 7931–37.
98. Liang Xiaoping, Ming-Qing jiazu xiaoshuo, esp. chaps. 3–5. For the meaning of the term and this genre, see the introduction to this book.
99. I use the term authors here because multiple sources suggest that the attacks on Zheng Man’s sexual immorality put forth in these literary accounts were coauthored. For example, see Gu Yanwu, “Lu gongshi Laifu shu xi nian dai Xu sheren Xi cao shu gong Zheng Man shi” 陸貢士來復述昔年代許舍人曦草疏攻鄭鄤事, in Tinglin shiji huizhu, 806–10.
100. Lu Shiyi, Fushe jilue, 100.
101. Ibid.
103. Richard Wang, Ming Erotic Novellas, esp. 134–44.
104. Again, the text has not survived. See chapter titles of Da yingxiong zhuan 大英雄傳, in Tang Juanshi, Zheng Man shiji 4, 3a–4b.
105. Titles of chapters 19 and 22 in Da yingxiong zhuan.
106. Yujing xin tan, one of the early Chongzhen publications on the yan-dang atrocities, named Song tian lu bi as one of the sources to which readers could resort for biographical details of the persecuted officials. Zhu Chang-zuo, Yujing xin tan, “Fanli” 凡例, 2.
108. Xie Guozhen, Ming-Qing zhiji dangshe yundong kao, 54.
109. TSZXNP, 495. Dao ming lu was compiled by a Song scholar-official, Li Xinchuan (1166–1243). A collection of sources concerning Daoxue scholars, it reflects Li’s particular understanding and representation of the history of Daoxue. On the nature, contents, and agenda of Dao ming lu, see Chaff, “The Historian as Critic”; Hartman, “Li Hsin-ch’uan.” The latter also provides a detailed discussion of Li’s representation of Zhu Xi in Dao ming lu, 344–49. Again, I thank Ari D. Levine for citations and for pointing out the crucial linkage between this text and Zheng’s mention of it.
111. TSZXNP, 495.
112. Ying Zhang, “Politics and Practice of Moral Rectitude.”
113. For a discussion of Zheng Man’s identification with Su Shi as an official and a man, see Ying Zhang, “Politics and Morality,” chap. 2.
114. Zheng Man, “Zheng Miyang xia shi die wu jie” 鄭峚陽下石疊誣揭, in Tang Xiuye, *Zheng an chuaxinxin lu yuangao*, no page number. At least two pamphlets drafted by Zheng have survived. His uncle and Huang Daozhou have also left us with at least one pamphlet each. Both can be found in Tang Xiuye, *Zheng an chuaxinxin lu yuangao*.

115. Zheng Man, “Zheng Miyang duibu jietie” 鄭峚陽對簿揭貼, in Tang Xiuye, *Zheng an chuaxinxin lu yuangao*, no page number. Wu Zongda was the disciple of Shen Yiguan 沈一貫, the former leader of the Zhe faction.

116. *TSZXNP*, 485, 490. For a discussion of this particular autobiography and Zheng’s depiction of the *zhongxiao* tradition of his family, see Ying Zhang, “Confucian Principles.”

117. *TSZXNP*, 491.


119. *TSZXNP*, 482.


122. MS, 332–33, 6524.


124. Ibid.

125. Lu Miaw-fen, *Xiaoqhi tianxia*.

126. Huang Zongxi, “Zheng Miyang xiansheng mubiao,” *Nanlei wen ding*, 8b. For more discussion on this question, see Ying Zhang, “Confucian Principles.”

127. See chap. 2 in this book.

128. Still, women themselves had to walk a fine in pursuing Buddhism without looking un-Confucian. Zhou, “Hearth and the Temple.”

129. Ying Zhang, “Li Zhi’s Image Trouble.”

130. *TSZXNP*, 486.

131. Ibid.

132. *TSZXNP* documents these daughters under the years of Tianqi 1 (1621), Chongzhen 3 (1630), Chongzhen 6 (1633), Chongzhen 7 (1634), and Chongzhen 9 (1636).

133. Zhang Xia, “Yuqiao hua Zheng Man benmo” 漁樵話鄭鄤本末, in Tang Juanshi, *Zheng Man shiji* 3, 4b. This view was quite influential before and after the fall of the Ming. For a discussion of representations of Zheng Man in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Ying Zhang, “Confucian Principles.”


137. Ibid.


139. Chen Zilong, *Chen Zilong zizhuan nianpu*, 656.
140. For the same reason, some literati writers of later periods were critical of how Zheng Man had been depicted by contemporaries such as Chen Zilong. For instance, see Quan Zuowang’s postscript to Li Qing, San yuan biji, 251; Xiao Mu, “Ba Chen Zhongyu zizhuan nianpu” 跡陳龍裕自撰年譜, Jingfu leigao, 125.

141. A revealing example can be found in the writings of the early Qing official Wang Shizhen 王士禎, who was familiar with both Wu’s publications and He Canran’s criticisms. He points out that Wu Yuancui had attacked Li Sancai and praised a few officials who would later become members of the eunuch faction. But he does not acknowledge Wu’s friendships with Donglin-identified officials at the time. Wang Shizhen, “Wu Ningfang zhu shu” 伍寧方著書, Chi bei ou tan, 189–90.

CHAPTER 2: DISPLAYING SINCERITY

1. Peterson argues that they were not motivated by moral considerations and this defined the difference between the Fushe and the Donglin. Peterson, Bitter Gourd, 99.

2. Wakeman, “Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs.”

3. MS, 6336.

4. Sima Qian, Shi ji, 427, 2795.

5. Wei Xueyi, “Da guren shu” 答故人書, Maozhan ji, 8.10b.


7. Wei Xueyi, “Ci lizhong fulao shu” 辭里中父老書, Maozhan ji, 8.14a–b.

8. Ibid., 8.15a.


10. Ibid.


13. Wei Xuelian was listed as a Fushe member from Jiayi County. Lu Shiyi, Fushe jilue, 58.

14. Jimmy Yu has discussed blood writing related to the Classic of Filial Piety, pointing out that it shows the ultimate filial sacrifice and devotion in the Confucian sense. Yu, Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence, 38–39.

15. Fang Yizhi, “Xieshu Xiaojing tici” 血書孝經題辭, Fushan wenji, 487. For Wei Xuelian’s original blood memorial, see Jin Risheng, Song tian lu bi, 630.


17. Chen Liang 陳梁, “Dahui tongnan xiongdi yu Pijiang yuguan jishi” 大會同難兄弟於辟疆寓館紀事, included in Mao Xiang, Tongren ji, 211. Wei Xuelian’s brother, Xueyi, had been close to Chen Liang, too. See, e.g., Wei Xueyi’s letters in Maozhan ji, 8.18b–19b.


19. Wei Xuelian passed the examinations in Chongzhen 16 (1643).
21. Ibid.
22. The other three are Hou Fangyu, Chen Zhenhui, and Mao Xiang.
23. These are recorded in the biographies of Yang Sichang and Xiong Wencan in MS, 6515 and 6737–38.
25. Fang Yizhi, “Qing dai fu zui shu” 請代父罪疏, Fushan wenji, qian bian, 519.
27. Weijing Lu, “Reviving an Ancient Filial Ideal.”
28. He Ruchong 何如寵, preface to Fang Yizhi’s Jigutang chu ji 稽古堂初集, in Fang Yizhi, Fushan wenji, 455; Ren, Fang Yizhi nianpu, 72–73.
29. The title “Jichu” is not translated here because it has multiple meanings. It is an ancient song name. Literally, the word jichu refers to indignant, sad sounds. In this particular case, the word chu also implies the Chu region where Fang Yizhi’s father led the Ming army in the military campaigns against the rebels.
31. Ibid.
34. Yan Hun, “Jichu xu” 激楚序, in Fang Yizhi, Fushan wenji, qian bian, 514. See also Huang Jingfang, “Jichu xu,” in Fang Yizhi, Fushan wenji, qian bian, 513.
36. See the emperor’s comment on Zhou Maolan’s “blood memorial” in Jin Risheng, Song tian lu bi, 635. Zhou Maolan’s father, Zhou Shunchang, was one of the Donglin martyrs.
37. Ren, Fang Yizhi nianpu, 105. Peterson (Bitter Gourd, 116–17) cites the emperor’s response but points out that this story is likely “apocryphal” (chap. 6, n. 67).
38. Qian Chengzhi, a Ming loyalist, in his work Tianjian wenji, documents that the former governor-general of Henan, a certain Chen during the Chongzhen reign, was imprisoned, but his son donned his nice, scented robes to perform his duties at court as if nothing had happened. The Chongzhen emperor reportedly said: “How can I expect such an unfilial son to be loyal!” And he praised Fang Yizhi’s expression of sincere filiality at the same time as a contrast. The emperor thus ordered Fang Kongzhao released from prison and Chen severely punished. See Qian Chengzhi, “Changgansi yu jiu zhongguan shu wangshi ji” 長干寺遇舊中官述往事記, cited in Ren, Fang Yizhi nianpu, 105. The imprisoned governor-general of Henan in this record apparently referred to Chen Biqian, who led successful campaigns against rebels in Chongzhen 8–9 in Henan, until he lost a battle and was
replaced. Chen’s defeat took place more than a year before Fang Kongzhao was arrested. Later, Chen was promoted to president of the Board of Works (MS, 3502). All these suggest that the story about the emperor’s condemnation of Chen’s son is untrue.

39. Dennerline, *Chia-ting Loyalists*.
41. Ibid., 139.
42. Ren, *Fang Yizhi nianpu*, 87–95.
44. For a military-historical analysis of the literati’s interests and limitations regarding military theories and actions, see Yimin Zhang, “The Role of Literati in Military Action.” On the seventeenth-century Chinese literati’s debate about the need to acquire military skills and knowledge, and its gendered implications, see Martin Huang, *Negotiating Masculinities*, chap. 4.
47. Zuo Fu et al., *Hefei xianzbi*, 978. Gong Dingzi’s official writings (memorials, essays, legal judgments, etc.) from this period are compiled in a volume titled *Xichuan zheng pu*. For an example of local appreciation of Gong’s performance during his tenure as magistrate, see Gu Jingxing’s poems “Wei Gong Duanyi qingsi Xichuan ci Zixing yun si shou” 為龔端毅請祀浠川次子星韻四首 and “Hengdu dashi ta zhi ming” 恆度大師塔誌銘, in Gu Jingxing, *Baimaotang ji*, 119 and 356.
49. The late-Ming official and loyalist Li Qing has written about Gong Dingzi in his historical work, *San yuan biji*, in multiple places, quite negatively. I will discuss this source in a different work. It suffices here to point out that there are contradictions among Li’s claims about his former colleagues. His apparent bias also undermines his self-proclaimed anti-factionalist objectivity. Therefore I choose not to rely too much on his portrayal of Gong in this book.
50. Yan Zhengju, “Dazongbo Gong Duanyi gong zhuan,” in Gong Dingzi, *Hefei Gong Duanyi gong zoushu*, 4b–5a. Almost all the officials named by Gong were identified as Donglin-Fushe figures by their contemporaries.
51. This memorial attempted to persuade the emperor to tolerate two imprisoned officials, the most recent objects of the emperor’s wrath and recipients of severe punishment for having personally provoked him. Gong Dingzi, “Qing ba zhaoyu tingzhang shu” 請罷詔獄廷杖疏, CMMYL, 715–16. For the controversial arrest and imprisonment of Jiang Cai and Xiong Kaiyuan, see Xia Xie, *Ming tongjian*, 2449–51.
52. There were several officials on the list of the Grand Secretariat in this year. It is very likely that he memorialized against Chen Yan.
Notes to Chapter 2

54. Gong Dingzi, “Ti hua ji Fang Haiwei zhongcheng” 題畫寄方孩未中丞, DSTWJ, 6.31a; Gong Dingzi, footnote to “Ku Fang Haiwei xiansheng” 哭方孩未先生, Gong Dingzishi, 1094.


56. Gong Dingzi’s bond with Fang Kongzhao and Fang Yizhi was formed on the battlefield. During his tenure as magistrate of Qishui, he worked closely with Kongzhao, then governor of Huguang, in military campaigns against the rebels. Yizhi became close to Gong when he joined his father briefly in the fall campaigns of Chongzhen 12 (1639). See, e.g., Fang Yizhi, “Huai Gong Xiaosheng Qi ling” 懷龔孝升薊令, Fang zi liuyu cao, 692. In addition, Gong claimed that his uncle Gong Cuisu had been a strong supporter of Fang Zhenru in the Wanli reign. Dong Qian, Gong Zhilu nianpu, 4. Gong Cuisu was included in the list of the Traitors’ Case, for unknown reasons. Li Qing included in his work a conversation between Gong and a colleague, reporting that Gong publicly denounced his uncle Gong Cuisu for associating with the eunuchs. Li Qing, San yuan biji, 53–54. Because of the biased nature of Li’s account, and also because there are multiple poetic exchanges in Gong’s collections between Gong and his uncle, I question its reliability.


60. Gong Dingzi, “Han shen Shanchi jun song bei ye wo bu cheng mei kou zhan da zhi” 寒甚善持君送被夜臥不成寐口占答之, Gong Dingzhi shi, 1125.


63. Zhang Zilie, “Yu youren lun yuan shengji shu” 與友人論遠聲伎書, Qishan wenji, 113–15. For a discussion of the addressee, see Luo Jizu, “Sun Lin Siya ji,” 199–201. Peterson points out that later historians have tried to paint a “good” image of Sun Lin by interpreting Sun’s indulgence in courtesans as self-consolation at a time of crisis. Peterson, Bitter Gourd, 142–43 (n. 85). Wai-ye Li also observes that “accounts of the late Ming courtesan as heroic loyalist” and an inspiration for loyalist literati during the Ming-Qing transition were mostly written in the twentieth century. Wai-ye Li, “Late Ming Courtesan,” 70.

64. Zhang Zilie, “Yu youren lun yuan shengji shu,” Qishan wenji, 113–15. Zhang’s work was heavily edited for this particular edition, which was published in the early Qing. The Yuzhang congshu edition of this collection of works seems to be less censored, but it is different from other editions in many places. Xie Canglin has explained the differences between the two major versions of Zhang Zilie’s collection of works, in Xie, “Yuzhang congshu.”

65. Three of these names were excised from this publication. Those names are omitted in the most common editions of this book. The edition included in Yuzhang congshu (8.8b–11a), however, shows these names. They include Wu Yingji and Zhou Lixun.


68. Ibid.; emphasis added.

69. Xia Yunyi died in 1645 as a martyr. Xie Canglin has pointed out that parts of Zhang’s collection had already been printed and circulated around 1644. Xie Canglin, “Yuzhang congshu,” 61. For a brief biography of Xia Yunyi, see *MS*, 7098.


71. Ibid., 114–15.

72. This is evident in Zhang Zilie’s correspondence with many friends and is confirmed in his notes to a series of autobiographical essays. He emphasized that he deliberately omitted many details and names in the sections about Nanjing in order to comply with this Confucian principle. Zhang Zilie, notes to “Lü ji” 旅記, *Qishan wenji*, 268.

73. For an examination of the first group of printed literature on yandang atrocities, see H. Laura Wu, “Corpses on Display.”


75. Ibid.


86. For a review of the interpretations of the discourse of friendship in the late Ming, see Martin Huang, “Male Friendship in Ming China.”
During Chongzhen 11/2–5 (1638), Shen Shoumin submitted three memorials on this issue. See Shen Shoumin, “He Yang Wuling shu” 劉楊武陵疏, “Zai he Yang Wuling shu” 再劾楊武陵疏, and “San he Yang Wuling shu” 三劾楊武陵疏, *Gushan yiji*, 28–34. The original titles of the memorials could be found in the text of these memorials.

Some scholars have pointed out the deep divides among Fushe activists regarding their political strategy and message in this case. See, e.g., Wang Enjun, “Shilun Fushe neibu.”

For more on this, see chap. 3 in this book.


The dominant revisionist view is that although Wu Bing authored the extant play, it was not necessarily meant to ridicule anyone as claimed by some sources. See Ding Guoxiang, *Fushe yanjiu*, esp. 204–6. Recently Lin Zhiying has suggested that the characters and plot of *The Green Peony* we have today might have been changed from those in the original precisely because Wu was a Fushe sympathizer and did not want to see the parody of Fushe scholars circulating in society. Lin Zhiying, “Yi ju wei ge.”

Lu Shiyi, *Fushe jilue*, 68.

These authors include Lu Shiyi, who was a friend of many Fushe members but kept a distance from the Fushe because he did not appreciate its pragmatic networking. Modern historians argue that Lu’s stance ensures the relative reliability and objectivity of his documentation of Fushe activities. See Ge and Wang, *Lu Shiyi pingzhuan*, 23–24. Other friendly contemporary accounts of the incident include Wu Weiye’s *Fushe jishi* 復社紀事 and Du Dengchun’s *She shi shimo*.

Here, the records show contradictions. The memorial by Zhang Guowei in Chongzhen 11 (1628) included in *Fushe jilue* does not really support the account in *juan* 2 of the same book.

Zhou’s mother was a concubine, and he was the eldest son of his father and this concubine. The “elder brother” mentioned refers to the son of his official mother, his father’s wife. See Zhou Zhikui, “Shengmu Wu Ruren
Notes to Chapter 2

104. Lu Shiyi, *Fushe jilue*, 73. Also see Zhou Zhikui’s memorial to the Chongzhen emperor, cited in ibid., 103–6.

105. Zhou Zhikui, “Shang Xu Shimen laoshi shu” 上許石門老師書 and “Da libu Xu Yuqiu shu” 答吏部徐虞求書, in *Qicao shiji qi juan wenji ba juan Qicao erji* (SKJH-jii 113), 45 and 46. Lu Shiyi (*Fushe jilue*, 73) confirms that because Zhou Zhikui had not served long enough in office, he was disqualified from requesting the honors for his parents.


108. Zhou’s biological mother had died many years before. He maintained a warm relationship with his official mother. Zhou once mentioned his former superiors’ memorial, which cited a precedent for allowing such leave for Qi Jiazhi, a recent jinshi, to support their petition for Zhou. Zhou Zhikui, “Shang Xu Shimen laoshi shu” (CZ 10/1), *Qicao shiji qi juan wenji ba juan Qicao erji* (SKJH-jii 113), 45. Qi Jiazhi’s tongxiang Wu Ganlai had also obtained a zhongyang leave in spite of the fact that he had an older brother. See Wu Ganlai’s biographies in Yang Wenfeng et al., *Xinchang xianzhi*, juan 14 and juan 20.


111. Qian and Qu were attacked by a certain Zhang Hanru, arrested, and imprisoned before the charges were dropped. Xu Shirou, after standing up to Wen Tiren in court, almost lost his job but eventually left to serve in Nanjing as director of the Imperial Academy of Learning there. See Xu Shirou’s biography in MS, 5719–21.


115. Zhou Zhikui, “Shang Susong fuyuan Zhang Yusi zhongcheng di er shu” 上蘇松撫院張玉笥中丞第二書 (CZ 10/1) and “Shang Xu Shimen laoshi shu,” (CZ 10/1), *Qicao shiji qi juan wenji ba juan Qicao erji* (SKJH-jii 113), 36 and 43–45.


117. Ibid.


121. Zhou Zhikui, “Shang Chen Shengreng shiyu shu” (CZ 10/1), *Qicao shiji qi juan wenji ba juan Qicao erji* (SKJH-ji 113), 43.
123. Ibid., 48.
124. Ibid.
128. Ma Shiqi, “Xuyu Zhang gong muzhiming” 虛宇張公墓誌銘, *Danningju wenji*, 236. Ma Shiqi was one of the Fushe scholars who came to be identified as members of the Donglin faction in the late Ming after they had passed the examinations and became officials. He has been included on both Fu She and Donglin lists. See, e.g., Wu Shanjia, *Fu She xingshi zhuanlue*, 3.16a; Gao Tingzhen et al., *Donglin shuyuan zhi*.
131. Ibid.
132. Dennerline, *Chia-ting Loyalists*. Dennerline focuses on analyzing the contradictions between Fushe scholars’ pursuit of moral integrity and political networking.

**CHAPTER 3: A ZHONGXIAO CELEBRITY**

1. Fei, *Negotiating Urban Space*.
3. Ibid.
5. Greenbaum, introduction to *Chen Jiru*.
6. Ibid., 54; Chen Wanyi, *Wan Ming xiaopin*, chap. 3.
7. See, e.g., Wang Enjun, “Shilun Fushe neibu.”
9. Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuan*, chap. 4. In fact, it was the fall of Beijing and the establishment of the Southern Ming in Nanjing that gave Qian Qianyi an opportunity to reenter official politics.

11. Kutcher offers detailed accounts of the best-known *duoqing* cases in the Ming in his *Mourning in Late Imperial China*, chap. 2.


15. For a discussion on this question, see Chow, *Rise of Confucian Ritualism*.

16. Zheng Chenyin, “Huang Daozhou xiaoti shixing kao.” Zheng’s depiction of how meticulously Huang Daozhou carried out the teachings of the *Classic of Filial Piety* throughout his life is useful, but it also risks oversimplification. First, by the late Ming, many of the ideas and ideals laid out in this classic had become social and cultural norms and been articulated in other didactic texts as well. Second, many of the historical sources were produced to retrospectively represent Huang Daozhou as a *zhongxiao* exemplar. The authors might have consciously created the connections between his life trajectory and this classic.

17. Lu Miaw-fen, “Zuowei yishixing wenben de Xiaojing.” Lu devotes one section to Huang Daozhou’s hand copying of this text in prison.

18. This will be discussed later in this chapter.


20. A good example can be seen in Huang’s poem “Upon Leaving the Mountain” (Chushan shi), in Liu Zhengcheng, *Zhongguo shufa quan ji*, vol. 56, 317–18.


22. Zhuang Qichou, *Zhangpu Huang xiansheng nianpu*, 414–15. Huang’s biography in the *Ming shi* inaccurately states that Huang returned home to mourn the death of his mother. In fact, his mother did not pass away until a year after he returned to Fujian.


24. This letter was composed in Chongzhen 13.

25. Ibid., 414.


27. Zhuang Qichou, *Zhangpu Huang xiansheng nianpu*, 413.

28. For a discussion of Huang Daozhou’s approach to this tension within the *zhongxiao* discourse, see Zheng Chenyin, “Xiaojing ‘yi xiao wei zhong’ shuo.”


32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.
34. Zheng Man documented this episode later in a poem “Huang Shizhai huan chao guofang” 黃石齋還朝過訪, MYCTSJ, 595.
35. Ibid.
36. MS, 6485–86.
37. For a detailed examination of these exchanges, see Ying Zhang, “Politics and Practice of Moral Rectitude.”
38. Huang Daozhou, “Jiu Qian Longxi” 救錢龍錫 (Chongzhen 4/1/18), HZPWX, 4.
39. Ibid. (Chongzhen 4/1/27), HZPWX, 6.
40. Huang Daozhou, “Ni tai rong lan qing su yi zu junxu shu” 擬汰冗濫清蠹以足軍需疏, HZPWX, 16.
41. Ho Koon-piu, “Should We Die as Martyrs?”
42. Wen Zhenmeng’s diary shows a strong sense of alarm and urgency. Soon afterward, he left the capital and never returned to the court. Wen Zhenmeng, Wen Wensu gong riji, entries for Chongzhen 8/8–11 (1635), no page number.
43. Xia Xie, Ming tongjian, 2352–53; MYCTSJ, 632.
44. Yang Sichang’s father died in Chongzhen 8 (1635); his stepmother died in Chongzhen 9 (1636). Yang Sichang, “Jing wen zhaoming feichang lixie kong ci shu” 竅聞詔命非常瀝血恐辭疏, Yang Sichang ji, 194.
46. Ibid. Chen Xushan has argued that Huang’s opposition to new taxes represented the popular view that the taxes would worsen peasants’ poverty and increase local uprisings. But Chen points out that Huang’s proposed alternative measure, reallocating funds from other battlefronts, was impractical. Chen Xushan, “Li chao wu bai tian,” 249. See also Ju Mingku, Zaihai yu Mingdai zhengzhi, chap. 5.
47. Ju Mingku, Zaihai yu Mingdai zhengzhi, chap. 5.
50. For an example, see Huang Daozhou, Xiaoqing ji zhuang, juan 2.
51. CMMYL, 389.
52. Ji Liuqi, Ming ji bei lue, 222.
53. CMMYL, 431.
54. Li Xunzhi, Chongzhen chao jishi, 516.
55. Ibid.; statement made by Feng Yuanbiao (d. 1644), an official identified as a Donglin partisan.
56. Chen Xinjia’s biography in MS, 6636.
57. Huang Daozhou, “Lun Yang Sichang shu” 論楊嗣昌疏 and “Lun Chen Xinjia shu” 論陳新甲疏 HZPWX, 52–54 and 54–57. Yang Sichang’s ties to some members of the former eunuch faction might have contributed to efforts by Huang’s cohort to remove him. See Xin Deyong, “Ji Nan Ming keben Xicao qiu si,” 75–81. The Fushe activist Huang Zongxi implies this


59. By the time Yang Sichang recommended Chen Xinjia, Chen had already mourned for twenty-five months, two months short of the required twenty-seven months. See Chen Xinjia’s biography in *MS*, 6636.


61. Ibid.

62. Cui Chengxiu, a former associate of Wei Zhongxian’s, continued to serve as president of the Board of Works after his mother’s death. *MS*, 7848.

63. For a discussion of Huang Daozhou’s use of *Zhou Yi*, see Zheng Chenyin, “Shiguan yishi.”


66. See Yang He’s biography in *MS*, 6725–27.


69. *CMMYL*, 392.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., 435.

72. Ibid., 435–36.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid., 394.

75. In fact, this claim is not true. In “My Seven Defects,” Huang Daozhou praises Zheng Man for both his literary skills and his moral character.

76. *CMMYL*, 434.


78. Ibid., 1231–40.

79. *CMMYL*, 436. Shaozheng Mao’s death is mentioned in *Xunzi*.


81. Ibid., 434.

82. Ibid., 433; see also “Zhu xian yi shi” 諸賢軼事, in Gao Tingzhen et al., *Donglin shuyuan zhi*, juan 22.


84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., 106.

86. Ibid., 123.

88. See Lu Miaw-fen’s publications on this topic: “Religious Dimensions of Filial Piety,” “Wan Ming shiren lun Xiaojing yu zhengzhi jiaohua,” Xiaozhi tianxia, and “Zuowei yishixing wenben de Xiaojing.”

89. Lu Miaw-fen, “Zuowei yishixing wenben de Xiaojing.” For discussion of the spiritual connotations and religious functions of the text, see Lu’s Xiaozhi tianxia, esp. chaps. 4 and 5, and “Religious Dimensions of Filial Piety.” She discusses the revival of literati interest in the Classic of Filial Piety in Xiaozhi tianxia, chaps. 3 and 4.

90. Zheng Chenyin has argued that Huang Daozhou’s metaphysical discussion of the meaning of huishang, the damage of one’s body, in his comments on the Classic of Filial Piety, was inspired by his own prison experience and that Huang continued to hand copy the classic as a zhongxiao practice. It indicates a solution to, and transcendence of, the tension between loyalty and filial piety. Zheng Chenyin, “Xiaojing ‘yi xiao wei zhong’ shuo,” 61. However, it should be noted that there had been historical precedents. Also, for a brief discussion of the significance of using blood to write for Huang in the cultural context of the late Ming, see Jimmy Yu, Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence, 60.

91. Weiijing Lu discusses this phenomenon in her book True to Her Word.


93. For a discussion of Huang Daozhou’s calligraphic experiments in this broad cultural context, see, e.g., Bai Qianshen, Fushan de shijie, 71, 73.

94. See, e.g., Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe, Huang Daozhou Xiaojing.

95. Cai Yuqing’s poems show that she was well informed about contemporary politics, partly through correspondence with her husband. For example, “Shang shi” 傷時 and “Man yi tiaoliang younian wei fu tianzhu quenchun fuguo ye” 滿夷跳梁有年未伏天誅群臣負國也, in Huang Daozhou and Cai Yuqing, Huang Shizhai kangli wei ke gao, 35–36.

96. Lai Xiaoyun, “Cong Huang Daozhou shu Xiaojing.”

97. It has been argued that Cai Yuqing used Huang’s signature partly because she could sell such pieces and make enough money to get by. Ibid, 126; Fu Hongzhan, “Cai Yuqing ji qiqi xiaokai Xiaojing.”

98. Ko, “Pursuing Talent and Virtue.”

99. Bai Qianshen, Fu Shan de shijie, 77.

100. CMMYL, 396. This well-known story has been mentioned by many scholars. See two works by Lu Miaw-fen, “Zuowei yishixing wenben de Xiaojing,” 29–34, and Xiaozhi tianxia, 196–201. See also Zheng Chenyin and Tang Yunzhu, “Huang Daozhou yu Xiaojing de lishi yuhe”; Lai Xiaoyun, “Cong Huang Daozhou shu Xiaojing”; and Jimmy Yu, Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence, 60.

101. For example, Cao Rong, “Huang Shizhai xiansheng cihuan jisheng” 黃石齋先生賜環紀盛, Jingtitang shiji, 261; Du Jun, “Wen Huang Shizhai xiansheng cihuan tong zhuyou yong hun zi” 闊黃石齋先生賜環同諸友用魂字, Chachun shichao 茶村詩鈔, in Du Jun, Bianyatang quanji, 3.2b.

102. See the imperial edict issued on Qianlong 41/11/17 (1776), in Wenyuange Siku quanshu, 1.8.
2. Dennerline, *Chia-ting Loyalists*, esp. the introductory chapter. Chen Yongming has pointed out that early Qing literature questioned the narrow concept of “blind loyalty” (*yuzhong*). They reoriented their perspectives toward a practical view of morality and instead emphasized turncoat officials’ participation in stabilizing the empire. Chen Yongming, “Xiang Qing Mingchen.”

3. MS, 333.
4. Ibid.
5. For discussion of the “seventeenth-century global crisis” and climate change, see Parker, *Global Crisis*, chap. 5; Liu Zhigang, *Tianren zhiji*.
7. MS, 335.
9. Many sources printed and circulated in the early Qing documented such deeds by the martyrs. For a comprehensive account, see Xu Zi, *Xiaotian jinian fu kao*, 96–97.
18. Gong Dingzi, “Qishou baoan shu” 祈壽保安疏 and “Luanhou de jiashu wei shuangqin qifo shu” 順後得家書為雙親祈佛疏, in *Dingshantang guwen xiaopin*, 1.5a–5b and 1.7a; “Huanyuan lifo shu” 還願禮佛疏, “Qizi shu” 祈子疏, and “Qisi wen” 祈嗣文, in *Dingshantang xiaopin xuji*, 31a–32b,
Notes to Interlude

33a–b, and 37a–38b. Xiong Wenju’s commemorative essay of 1668 recalls that Gu Mei fearlessly followed her husband and jumped into a well upon the fall of Beijing. Xiong Wenju, “Ji Xu furen wen” 祭徐夫人文, Lüouge jin ji, 116.

19. See Ho Koon-piu’s extensive study of the question of death and loyalty during the Ming-Qing transition, in “Ming-Qing zhiji shengsi nanyi shuo,” “Should We Die as Martyrs?” and Sheng yu si.


25. Feng Menglong heard about this from an official and documented it in Shen zhi lue, 24b–25b.

26. Gong Dingzi, “Huai Fang Mizhi shi” 懷方密之詩, Gong Dingzi shi, 545–47. According to some witnesses, servants of metropolitan officials quickly switched sides. When the rebel army took over the capital, these servants told the soldiers where the officials were hiding in order to get rewards. Zhang Yi, Sou wen xu bi; Feng Menglong, Jiashen jiwen, 5b.

27. Xiong Wenju, “Yu Menren Han Shengqiu zhonghan” and “Tu dazhongcheng zhuanlue,” Xuetang xiansheng wenji, 535 and 543–44. The funeral for the late Chongzhen emperor was staged by the Qing as a means of tricking the officials into returning to the capital. See documentation in Peng Sundai, Liukou zhi, juan 12.

28. Wei Xuélian, who surrendered to the rebels but committed suicide later, is a good example. On the competing documentation and comments on his suicide, see Huang Yi-nong, “Zhongxiao paifang yu shizijia.”

29. Kishimoto Mio has reconstructed the timeline for the dissemination of news of the Chongzhen emperor’s suicide in Jiangnan. According to her study, the process took more than a month. Kishimoto, “Chongzhen shi qi nian de Jiangnan.” But according to the Fushe literatus Chen Zhenhui’s documentation, by Chongzhen 17/4/17 many in Nanjing had learned about the emperor’s suicide. Chen Zhenhui, “Shu jiashen nanzhong shi” 書甲申南中事, Shu shi qi ze, juan 2a–3a.


31. Ibid.


33. In the List of Notorious Donglin Fighters, Chen was matched with a rebel character from Water Margin as the “Courageous Star among the Stars of Earth called The Eye of Heaven.”

34. Qian Haiyue, Nan Ming shi, 4164–65.
36. Li Qing, *Nandu lu*, 224.
39. Ibid.
41. Feng Menglong mentioned this in his documentation of the charges against the above-mentioned Yang Rucheng in *Shen zhi lue*, 23b.
43. Ying Zhang, “Confucian Principles.”
44. The main author of the Wu County proclamation was Yuan Lianbi, a Fushe activist and Suzhou native. He had garnered quite some fame in the area and within the Fushe-Donglin community. “Wujun gongtao xiangzei weiguan” 吳郡公討降賊偽官, in Feng Menglong, *Zhongxing shilu*, 594–95.
45. Li Qing, *Nandu lu*, 177.
47. For a good summary of the Hongguang regime, see Struve, *Southern Ming*, chap. 1.
48. A lot of under-the-table discussions and negotiations were happening at the time among various groups of officials in different locales. See Xia Xie, *Ming tongjian*, 2526.
49. For a review of the controversies, see Wakeman, *Great Enterprise*, vol. 1, 331–46.
50. See, e.g., Peng Ershu, *Mingshi duan lue*, 646.
54. It has been argued that the Hongguang emperor was not as morally corrupt as the widespread image has suggested. Li Qing (*San yuan biji*) probably has provided the most important testimony in his account of the Southern Ming court. See Zhang Yuxing, “Nan Ming Hongguang di ‘shide’ boyi.”
55. Whereas in political history, the term “pure element” often refers to officials who refused to overlook their colleagues’ moral defects, in this particular context, “pure element” was not only a self-proclaimed label but, more importantly, a sarcastic usage applied to certain officials by their opponents.
56. Li Qing, *Nandu lu*, 165. *Shun* literally means “compliance,” but it was also the name of the short-lived regime established by the rebels, the Shun.
57. “Qing zhu nichen shu” 請誅逆臣疏, in Li Qing, *Nandu lu*, 165. The same text is included in Huang Zongxi, *Hongguang shilu chao*, 209.
However, not all sources mention Gu Mei; see, for example, Feng Menglong, *Zhongxing shilu*, 648.

58. Gu Jingxing, “Xuezhong de dibao Hefei Gong gong chu xingbu shilang” 雪中得邸報合肥龔公除刑部侍郎, Bai maotang ji, 666. Gu notes that Ma Shiying entered Gong’s name into the Donglin list. From a very different perspective, the literatus Lin Shidui documents that Gong was an evil figure within the Donglin faction. Lin Shidui, “Pengdang dalue” 朋黨大略, in *He cha dui tan*.

59. Li Qing, *Nandu lu*, 237; emphasis added.
62. These officials supposedly submitted the memorial at Ruan Dacheng’s instruction. Lin Shidui, *He cha dui tan*, 4.16a–19a. Yu Huai’s famous *Banqiao zaji* has recorded the Jiangs’ sexual adventures.

63. Li Qing, *Nandu lu*, 224.
64. Huang Zongxi, *Hongguang shilu chao*, 204.
66. Ruan Dacheng, “Buzhong buxiao dani yuanxiong shu” 不忠不孝大逆元凶疏, in ibid., 543.

67. Li Shiqia et al., *Taihu xianzhi*, 7.14a. Taihu County was repeatedly attacked by rebels, in 1638, 1641, and 1643. The one in 1643 was especially brutal and cost a lot of lives. The Lei family lost many members, including Lei’s sister-in-law. I was not able to consult the Lei family genealogy.

68. Ibid.


70. Yuan Kai’s memorial, recorded in Huang Zongxi, *Hongguang shilu chao*, 211–12.

71. This is most obvious in the censor Xiong Rulin’s comments on the impeachments of Jiang Yueguang and Lei Yanzuo. See Li Qing, *Nandu lu*, 224.

72. Tan Qian, *Zhao lin zazu*, 129.

73. For example, in his documentation at the time, Feng Menglong acknowledged Madam Wang as Ni’s concubine but not as his official wife. Feng Menglong, *Shen zhi lue*, 3b.

74. Tan Qian, *Zhao lin zazu*, 129.

75. Xu Zi, *Xiaotian jinian fu kao*, 223. This categorization meant that the court needed more time to consider specific circumstances and determine the nature of cases such as Gong’s.

CHAPTER 4: MORALIZING, THE QING WAY

2. Li Wen, “Da fa ze wen” 答髮責文, *Liaozhai hou ji*, 690–91. In Chinese sources, the act of shaving the forehead to adopt the Manchu hairstyle is referred to as *tifa* and often translated as “head shaving” in English scholarship.
3. For a discussion of the question of “generation” during the Ming-Qing transition, see Struve, “Chimerical Early Modernity.”


5. “Li Ruolin bei Zhao Kaixin can qiu bazhi ben” 李若琳被趙開心參求罷職本, Zhanggu congbian, vol. 3, no page number.

6. Jin Zhijun, “Qing le zhuchen sheng yilun xi fenhiao shu” 請勒諸臣省議論息紛囂疏, Xizai ji, Shucao疏草, 1.17a–18b.

7. Ibid., Dorgon’s response cited after the text of the memorial by Jin Zhijun.


9. Zhao Erxun, Qing shi gao, 9620.


11. Jiang Liangji, Shi er chao Donghua lu, 47.

12. Ibid., 48.


18. Qing shilu, vol. 3, 221. Grand Secretary Feng Quan was one of the Grand Examiners that year and hence the junior Sun’s official mentor. See Jiang Qingbo, Qingchao jinshi timing lu; Zichuan xianzhi (Qianlong 8 and Qianlong 41 eds.).


20. Li Yuanding was the son of a locally prestigious family. It is not clear why Zhu Zhongmei’s father, Prince Zhu Yiwen, let her become Li’s concubine. I thank Grace Fong and Wang Yizheng for a very helpful discussion about this couple via e-mail in spring 2012.

21. The prince is also known as Zhu Yile. Yang Haiying, Hong Chengchou, 160–69. For Zhu Zhongmei and Li Yuanding’s marriage, see Zhao Xuepei, “Qingshu kuangfang.”

22. Qing shilu, vol. 3, 214. The instability in the region escalated into a full-fledged rebellion led by Jin Shenghuan, who had surrendered to the Qing. See Struve, Southern Ming, chap. 5. Jin was the most powerful official in the area in the years before he switched his allegiance and became an anti-Qing leader again. Sun Poling argued that Jin’s impeachment of his father cost the latter his job. See the junior Sun’s memorial (Shunzhi 9/7), Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yanjiusuo shuwei diancang yu shuwei xuexi lianhe mulu, http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/Exhibition/Detail.jsp?OID=2598707 (accessed Nov. 8, 2011). For a discussion of Sun’s death in Shandong, see Chang and Chang, Redefining History, esp. 11–22.

23. Scholars have pointed out the prominent presence of turncoats of Shandong origin—the Suns among them—at court during these years.


26. For instance, see “Like Tachiha deng guanhuashang deng jin jie wei zhai can furen weixian guanyuan shi” 吏科他赤哈等官花上等謹揭為摘參赴任違限官員事, *ZYYMQDA*, vol. 8, A8–40 (4-1)–(4-4).

27. See Luo Xiujin’s memorial cited in n. 24.


30. “Chen Diaoyuan ti wei zhai can Song Quan suo chen san kuan zhishi hanhu ben” 陳調元題為摘參宋權所陳三款支飾含糊本, *QDDASLCB*, vol. 13, 111–12.


32. “Mandahai deng ti wei huiyi kechen can kuan shushi ying zhun Song Quan zhishi ben” 滿達海等題為會議科臣參款屬實應准宋權致仕本 (Shunzhi 3/16), *QDDASLCB*, vol. 13, 114–16.

33. *Qing shilu*, vol. 3, 334.

34. The Shunzhi emperor’s strong desire to claim authority was explicitly reported by the Korean mission to Beijing in Shunzhi 8/2 (1651). Wu Han, *Chaoxian Li chao shilu*, vol. 9, 3809.


37. “Mandahai deng ti wei huiyi Zhang Xuan jiucan Chen Mingxia bushi ben” 滿達海等題為會議張煊糾參陳名夏不實本 (Shunzhi 8/5/23), in *QDDASLCB*, vol. 13, 116–22.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. *Qing shilu*, vol. 3, 485. For the opinions written by Tantai and other Manchu officials on the board, see “Mandahai deng ti wei huiyi Zhang Xuan jiucan Chen Mingxia bushi ben,” *QDDASLCB*, vol. 13, 121–22.
41. “Shaanxi dao jiancha yushi Luo Guoshi ti wei libu Han guan xunsi wangfa qing chi bu yanjiu ben” 陝西道監察御史羅國士題為吏部漢官徇私枉法請敕部嚴究究，QDDASLCB, vol. 13, 133–34. The two cases mentioned here—those of Gong Dingzi and Hao Jie—took place during Chen Mingxia’s term as president of this board. The current president Gao Eryan had only recently replaced Chen and had all along been a close friend to both Hao and Gong. See Zhao Erxun, Qing shi gao, 6333.


43. This particular observation draws upon Ning Wanwo’s report to the emperor that Chen had told him the only way to ensure a peaceful dynastic transition would be to drop the head shaving policy and allow the Han to resume their traditional dress code. But it is not clear when this conversation occurred. Chen could have said this at the very beginning of the Shunzhi reign, when the Manchus did not fully enforce the head shaving policy anyway.

44. Miller, State versus Gentry in Early Qing Dynasty China, esp. 56–63.
45. Qing shilu, vol. 3, 640.
46. Ding Yizhuang, Manzhou de funü, 331.
47. Ibid., 326.
48. Yang Haiying, Hong Chengchou, 100–102; Ding Yizhuang, Manzhou de funü, 326–27.

49. Ding Yizhuang, Manzhou de funü. Hu Shi’an’s poems congratulating this marriage contain a note indicating the ceremony took place around the time of the fifteenth of the first month. Hu Shi’an, “He yuanfu Feng Lu’an xiansheng cihun er shou” 賀元輔馮鹿蓭先生賜婚二首, Xiuyan ji, 513. See also Yang Haiying, “Hong Chengchou Liu shi furen kao,” 262–71.

50. Yang Haiying, Hong Chengchou, 100–102.

51. Wang Dafeng, “Feng Quan nianpu” (entry Shunzhi 2), in “Jidu fengyun,” 269. It is not clear if this woman was given the title of “secondary wife” (ciqi), or if at the time she was considered to be one. I was not able to consult the Feng family genealogy, which is in the possession of the National Library of Beijing but is currently unavailable.

52. Tan Qian, Beiyou lu, 381.
53. Mann, Precious Records, chap. 2.
54. Kutcher, Mourning in Late Imperial China, esp. 79–119.
55. Yang Haiying, Hong Chengchou, 64–65.

56. Yang Haiying examines Hong’s complicated relationships with other military personnel, turncoats, and Ming loyalists in Hong Chengchou, chap. 4. Miller discusses Hong’s complicated relationship with local literati during the pacification campaign in State versus Gentry in Early Qing Dynasty China, 68–77.

57. Yang Haiying, Hong Chengchou, chap. 4.

59. For more analysis of the Manchu woman, Madam Liu, and Hong’s Han wife, Madam Li, see Yang Haiying, *Hong Chengchou*, 95–102. Yang Haiying points out that Madam Li did not go to Nanjing probably because of this, and that careful planning must have been done beforehand by Hong and his family.

60. The imperial order is attached to Hong Chengchou’s memorial in this collection of documents.

61. *Qing shilu*, vol. 3, 272.

62. Later he signed as *jin hou dai shouzhi* 今候代守制 and *jin jiaodai shouzhi* 今交代守制 when he was transferring the job to his successor. Hong Chengchou, “Jiangnan zhaofu Hong Chengchou jietie” 江南招撫洪承疇揭貼 on Shunzhi 4/6/22, 8/6, 9/14, 9/27, 10/23, and 11/18, Shunzhi 5/1/14 and 1/28 (dates indicate when they were received in Beijing) and “Jiangnan zhaofu Hong Chengchou tiben” 江南招撫洪承疇題本 (Shunzhi 5/2/26 and 2/29). Memorials in *Ming Qing shiliao*, bing bian, vol. 2., 113–29.


64. *Qing shilu*, vol. 3, 507.

65. Ibid., 429; Guoshiguan, *Erchen zhuan*, 599.


67. A sample celebratory essay can be found in Tan Qian, “Rong ming chi shou xu” 荣命驰寿序, *Beiyou lu*, 232–33. The essay praises the spirit of “governing by filial piety” in Feng Quan’s request for leave and the emperor’s approval.


69. *Qing shilu*, vol. 3, 703.

70. Feng Quan retired in Shunzhi 13/2 (1656). Zhao Erxun, *Qing shi gao*, 144–45.

71. Tan Qian, “Rong ming chi shou xu,” *Beiyou lu*, 232–33. Tan notes that this essay was written on behalf of someone else but eventually was not adopted.

72. The term *qifu* in earlier periods referred to the practice of officials resuming office without completing the mourning term. But in Ming-Qing times, it also meant returning to office after a full mourning term. Tan Qian in this case uses it to refer to *duoqing*, which is reflected in this translation.

73. Tan Qian, *Beiyou lu*, 412. Interestingly, the “book project” might have been a commentary on the *Classic of Filial Piety*, which was made an officially commissioned work by the Shunzhi emperor but put aside when Feng Quan retired. The project, titled *Yuzhi Xiaojing yanyi*, was commissioned in Shunzhi 13/1 (1656) but was not finished until Kangxi 21 (1682). It took the court another few years to officially publicize it throughout the empire (in Kangxi 29 [1690]). See Lu Miaw-fen, *Xiaozhi tianxia*, 216–17.
74. Miller discusses this question in chapter 1 of State versus Gentry in Early Qing Dynasty China, though not through examining officials’ personal virtues.

75. Qing shilu, vol. 3, 210; emphasis added.

76. Yang Nianqun has discussed similar moves on the part of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors but still emphasizes the Han literati-officials’ attempt to “educate and transform” the Shunzhi emperor. Yang Nianqun, Hec hu shi Jiangnan?, 80–102.


78. The first mention of this concept by the Shunzhi emperor occurred in Shunzhi 11/11 (1654). Yao Nianci, Qing chu zhengzhi shi, 411–14. Yao suggests that the emperor “proposed” this term.


80. Deng Zhicheng, Qing shi jishi chu bian, 490.

81. Yang Haiying, Hong Chengchou, esp. 266–69; Yao Nianci, Qing chu zhengzhi shi, esp. 408–19.


83. Qing shilu, vol. 3, 616.

84. Ibid.

85. The Shunzhi emperor’s response to Ji’s memorial claimed that the eunuchs were not sent out to recruit Han girls from Jiangnan for the palaces but for other buying missions. Kan Hongliu suggests Ji Kaisheng believed the rumors passed on by his family and analyzes his severe punishment in the context of the early Qing regime’s attempt to control rumors. Kan Hongliu, “Qing chu shehui chuanwen.”

86. That the censor Li Senxian was severely punished for petitioning for leniency on behalf of Ji Kaisheng in Shunzhi 15 (1658) clearly reveals how deeply Ji’s rather conventional Confucian moral remonstration had annoyed the emperor.

87. Yang Zhen, Qingchao huangwei jicheng zhidu, 76; Michael G. Chang, A Court on Horseback, 380–91, 403–9.

88. Wang Yongji, Yuzhi renchen jingxin lu, 761–72, and Shunzhi’s preface to the book, 761–62. The most severely prosecuted and politicized cases include the Case of Ren Zhen (Shunzhi 10 [1653]) and the Case of Gu Ren (Shunzhi 12 [1655]). For a good discussion about these cases, see Yao Nianci, Qing chu zhengzhi shi tanwei, 404–17.

89. Ibid., vol. 3, 729.

90. Ibid., 809.

91. Yang Xin, Cheng Zhengkui, 7–8; Cheng Dagao, “Qimeng lu” 奇夢錄, cited in Cheng Zhengkui, Qingxi yigao, 375.


93. For a summary of this case, see Elman, A Cultural History of Civil Examinations, 204–5; Wakeman, Great Enterprise, vol. 2, 1004–5, esp. nn. 38–39.

94. Qing shilu, vol. 3, juan 121.
95. Ibid., *juan* 117. This proposal was accepted.
96. Ibid., 1038. For a biography of Dai Mingyue, see Guoshiguan, *Erchen zhuan*, 743.
100. Ibid., 1038.
101. Ibid., 1037–39.
102. Ibid., 1038.
103. Miller, *State versus Gentry in Early Qing Dynasty China*, 63–68.
104. Guy, *Qing Governors*, 330–31. One example Guy analyzes is how, in the sensitive environment during the years leading up to the Three Feudatories Rebellion, the emperor allowed Bian Sanyuan to remove himself from the governor’s position using his mother’s illness and old age as an excuse.
105. Here I focus only on Wu Sangui and Geng Jingzhong because the Shangs’ case was much more complicated and Shang surrendered early.
106. *Qing shilu*, vol. 4, 588.
107. Ibid., 605–6.
108. Ye Mengzhu, *Yue shi bian*, 260–62. The fact that this was not printed or circulated much in manuscript suggests that the author personally believed in that image of Wu Sangui.
110. *Qing shilu*, vol. 4, 624–25.
111. Ibid., 627.
114. Ibid., 1038.
115. *Qing shilu*, vol. 4, 586. For a study of the Manchu practice of observing the mourning term, see Huang Lijun, “Qing chu manren shouzhi.” This was by no means a top-down policy. Some Manchu literati had been observing the twenty-seven-month mourning period since the early Shunzhi reign. The Manchu rulers had issued an imperial edict demanding that the Eight Banners identify and honor filial sons and chaste wives in the same way as did the Han. The censor Chen Jitai, a Han-bannerman official, memorialized and asked the emperor to consider requiring Manchu bureaucrats to follow the same norms, that is, resigning for twenty-seven months to mourn a deceased parent. What is striking here is that Chen Jitai’s memorial confirms the impression that most Han officials were expected to follow the rule and that they indeed conformed to it. Chen Jitai, “Qing xing tongzhi yi zhong dalun shu” 請行通制以重大倫疏 (Shunzhi 10 [1653]), in *Huang Qing zouyi*, 6.9a–10a.
116. For a critique of this moral contrast, see Kahn, “The Politics of Filiation.” Guo Chengkang offers a balanced and concise overview of how the Manchu rulers “criticized, rebuilt, and modified” Han practices in “Ye tan Manzu Hanhua.”

117. For discussion of the Shunzhi emperor as a “passive figure” in the state-versus-gentry struggles over sovereignty, see Miller, State versus Gentry in Early Qing Dynasty China, chap. 2.

118. Ibid., chap. 4.


CHAPTER 5: CONQUEST, CONTINUITY, AND THE LOYAL TURNCOAT

1. Hu Shi’an, “He xiangguo Feng Lu’an yugao guixing xu,” 賀相國馮鹿菴予告歸省序, Xinyan ji, 599. Based on this essay and the one composed by Tan Qian on behalf of his official patron (see chap. 4 in this book), we can tell that many metropolitan officials were involved in the celebration.

2. Ibid., 598; Tan Qian, Beiyou lu, 412.


4. Definition of “ethno-dynastic rule” from Michael G. Chang, introduction to A Court on Horseback.


6. Cao Rong, “Tongshe guoji er shou” 同社過集二首, Jingtitang shiji, 265.

7. Li Wen, “Baishi zi nan lai beixi jiaoji er fu” 百史自南來悲喜交集而賦, Liaozhai hou ji, 672–73.


9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 514.

11. Feng Menglong, Shen zhi lue, 25b.

12. For a brief review of Gong’s and Cao’s official careers in the early Qing, see Guoshiguan, Erchen zhuan, juan 6 and 12.


14. The orchid as a metaphor for loyalty has a long history, probably since the time of Qu Yuan (ca. 343–277 BCE). In his chuci-style poems, the orchid symbolizes gender- and status-specific manly virtues. Geng, The Fragile Scholar, chap. 2.

15. Yu Xin was an official in the Liang (502–57) and was sent to the Western Wei (535–56) as an envoy but retained there against his will. During this time, the Western Wei conquered the Liang. He was forced to serve the new ruler and given high positions, but he was ashamed of having served two dynasties and lamented that he could not return to the south. See Graham, “The Lament for the South.”

16. For example, Xie Zhengguang, “Qing chu erchen Cao Rong jiqi yimin menke” 清初貳臣曹溶及其遺民門客, Qing chu shiwen, 261.
17. Liu Li, “Lun Qing chu erchen shiren shige.”
18. For instance, see Jiang Cai’s poem cited in ibid., 19.
20. “Chrysanthemum of the East Bamboo Fence” is an allusion to Tao Qian of the Eastern Jin dynasty. “Thornferns of the Western Mountains” refers to Bo Yi and Shu Qi, who upon the fall of their state, protested against the succeeding regime (the Zhou) and refused to serve.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
27. Song Quan, preface to Baihuatang shi, 2a–b; Song Quan, “Ding taifuren xingshi”丁太夫人行實, Wenkang gong yiji, 26b–32b; Song Luo, “Wenkang gong jiazhuan”文康公家傳, 33a–37b, and “Wenkang gong nianpu”文康公年譜, appendix 8b, in Song Quan, Wenkang gong yiji; Song Luo, “Ji renwu tuonan shimo”記壬午脫難始末, Xibe lei gao, 26.1a–3a.
28. Song Quan, preface to Baihuatang shi, 2a, and “Ding taifuren xingshi,” Wenkang gong yiji, 29a–b; Song Luo, “Wenkang gong jiazhuan,” in Song Quan, Wenkang gong yiji, 33a. The three memorials are included in Song Quan, Wenkang gong yiji, juan 2.
29. Song Quan, preface to Baihuatang shi, 2a.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 2a–b.
32. Song Luo, an earlier preface to Shangqiu Song shi jia sheng, 7a.
33. “Daxueshi nianbiao”大學士年表, MS, 6093.
34. Song Quan, “Ding taifuren xingshi,” Wenkang gong yiji, 30a–b; MS, 9494. Also see Song Luo, “Ji Wenkang gong Zunhua ping wei shimo”記文康公遷化平偽始末, Xibe lei gao, 3a–6a. The turncoat Wu Weiyi includes this event in “Tongcheng ji”通城擊 in his historical work Sui kou jilue, 268–69.
It is very similar to Song Luo’s documentation, with a few differences. Some historical records show that Song Quan surrendered to Li Zicheng’s rebel regime. Duan Yubin, “Ming-Qing shiqi Shangqiu Song shi,” 17–18.
35. Zhao Erxun, Qing shi gao, 9494.
36. Song Quan, “Ding taifuren xingshi,” Wenkang gong yiji, 30b.
37. Ibid., 27a.
38. Ibid.
39. “Yu ji Ding taifuren wen” 諸祭丁太夫人文, included in Song Luo, Shangqiu Song shi jia sheng, 3.49a–b. A year later the court granted Song Quan a six-month leave to go back to his hometown and properly bury his mother. Song Luo, “Wenkang gong nianpu,” in Song Quan, Wenkang gong yiji, appendix 18b.
40. Song Quan, “Ding taifuren xingshi,” Wenkang gong yiji, 31a; Song Luo, “Wenkang gong nianpu,” in Song Quan, Wenkang gong yiji, appendix 17b–18b; Liu Yuyou 劉餘祐, “Huang Qing taizi taibao nei Hanlin
Guoshiyuan daxueshi zeng shaobao jian taizi taibao guanglu dafu shi Wen-kang Song gong muzhiming” 皇清太子太保內翰林國史院大學士贈少保兼太子太保光祿大夫謚文康宋公墓誌銘, in Song Luo, Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng, 11.25b.


42. Feng Quan and Song Quan, “Ti wei zhi jiu beiluan fangke yi zheng renxin shi” 題為直糾悖亂坊刻以正人心事 (Shunzhi 5/1648), ZYYMQDA, vol. 8, A8-5 (2-1)–(2-2).

43. For a discussion of this resemblance, see Shelley Hsue-lun Chang, History and Legend, 34.

44. Liu Yuyou, “Huang Qing taizi taibao nei Hanlin Guoshiyuan daxueshi zeng shaobao jian taizi taibao guanglu dafu shi Wenkang Song gong muzhiming,” in Song Luo, Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng, 11.27a.

45. Ibid., 11.25b.


47. “Gaozeng Wenkang gong guanglu dafu ji Liu furen yi pin furen yi dao” 詔贈文康公光祿大夫暨劉夫人一品夫人一道 and “Chifeng Zhao tai ruren yi dao” 敕封趙太孺人一道, in Song Luo, Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng, 1.2a–3a. Both were issued on Kangxi 6/11/26 (1667).


49. Song Quan, “Miyun shu zhong” 密雲署中, Baihuatang shi, 14b.

50. Liu Wanhua. “Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng bianzuan.” The earliest print was made in Kangxi 14 (1675).

51. Song Luo, the earlier preface to Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng, 7a.

52. Song Luo, “Ding furen zhuang” 丁夫人傳, Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng, 6.2a–b.

53. The traditional Chinese way of counting age includes the year of birth.

54. Song Luo, Mantang nianpu 漫堂年譜, in Xibei leigao, 47.3b–4a.

55. Michael G. Chang, A Court on Horseback, chap. 2.

56. Ibid., 77–78.

57. Qing shilu, vol. 4, 1194.

58. Wang Shizhen, “Huizhong ji xu” 回中集序, in Song Luo, Xibei leigao, jiu xu (‘earlier prefaces’), 10a. See also Wang’s documentation of this event in Wang Shizhen, Chi bei ou tan, 70.


60. Zhang Zilie, “Jialetang gao xu” 嘉樂堂稿序, in Song Luo, Xibei leigao, jiu xu, 3a–4a. For a brief account of the Song men’s political careers in the late Ming and early Qing, see Des Forges, Cultural Centrality and Political Change, 80–85.

61. Wei Xi 魏禧, “Shu Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng hou” 書商丘宋氏家乘後, in Song Luo, Shangqiu Song shi jiasheng, 14.5b.

63. Gong Dingzi, “Ti hualan yu Xiaoji di” 题画兰与孝积弟, DSTWJ, 6.35b.

64. Ibid.

65. Yan Ermei, “Xuzhou xiaolian Yan Gugu ming Ermei yi Wu Su shi” 徐州孝廉閻古古名爾梅貽武愫詩, in Gu Yanwu, Ming ji shi lu, 1. Another rejection letter, from Yan to Qing governor Zhao Fuxing, that circulated in the early Qing literati community sounded very similar to one that had been written by the loyalist Xia Yunyi. It might have resulted partly from literati imagination. Yan Ermei’s reproach of Zhao Fuxing is recorded in multiple sources as well. For example, Zhang Xiangwen, Baida shanren nianpu, in Yan Ermei, Yan Gugu quanji, 9a (entry Shunzhi 2 [1645]). See also Yan Ermei’s own poetic documentation, “Man caofu Zhao Fuxing jianzhao que zhi” 滿漕撫趙福星見招卻之, Nan Zhili ji 南直隸集, in Yan Ermei, Yan Gugu quanji, vol. 3, 1.5a. The poems were written in Shunzhi 2/run 6.

66. Zhang Xiangwen, Baida shanren nianpu, in Yan Ermei, Yan Gugu quanji, entries Shunzhi 3 (1646) and Shunzhi 4 (1647).

67. Ibid., 6a, 14a.

68. Yan Ermei, “Da Gong Xiaosheng wu shou” 答龔孝升五首, Nan Zhili ji 南直隸集, in Yan Gugu quanji, 1.5a–b.

69. Ibid.

70. See chap. 4 in this book.

71. This account of Gong Dingzi’s career draws on Dong Qian, Gong Zhilu nianpu.

72. For a concise description of these attacks on gentry interests, see Wakeman, Great Enterprise, vol. 2, 1067–73.

73. See Gong’s memorial cited in Dong Qian, Gong Zhilu nianpu, 31.


75. See Yan Ermei’s notes to his poem, “Gong sikou wei yu tishu de yun xiji yi shi bao yu yiyun da zhi” 龔司寇為余題疏得允喜極以詩報余依韻答之, Bei zhili ji 北直隸集, in Baida shanren shi, in Yan Gugu quanji., vol. 4, 2.3a. Wei Yijie, then grand secretary, and a couple of friends also made efforts. For a careful discussion of Gong’s role in this case, see Zhao Yu, “Gong Dingzi jiaoyou,” 23–27.

76. See, e.g., Bai Qianshen, Fu Shan de shijie, chap. 2; Xie Zhengguang, Qing chu shiwen.

77. Zhao Yu mentions many of Gong Dingzi’s contemporaries—inside and outside the government, including Buddhist masters—who praised Gong’s public virtues. Zhao Yu, “Gong Dingzi jiaoyou.”


79. Yan Ermei, “Wen liang shiren lie si ku zhi” 閒兩室人烈死哭誌, ibid., 428. Yan’s meaning in using the word zhong in this poem is ambiguous. It could refer to the women’s devotion to him, which supported his loyal commitment, or perhaps he is implying these women were “loyal” to the fallen Ming. For a careful examination of Wen Tianxiang, masculinity, and political culture in the Southern Song, see Davis, Wind against the Mountain.
270 Notes to Chapter 5

80. Zhuo Erkan was considered one of the few who held very strict criteria for the category *yimin* (Ming loyalist). For a detailed analysis of Zhuo and the *yimin* poetry collection he compiled, see Pan Chengyu, *Qing chu shitan*. The compiling of this book and its gradual publication took place in Kangxi 20–30. Many contemporaries had heard about its earlier partial, gradual publication and sought to see a copy.


82. For the details, see Ying Zhang, “Politics and Morality,” chap. 6.


85. The family genealogy records that Madam Tong was given the honor of the first rank; so was Gong Dingzi’s second official wife, Madam Shi. This took place in Kangxi 7 (1668). Gong Zhaoxin, *Hefei Gong shi zongpu*, juan ci, “fengzeng biaob” 封贈表. For sources that mention her different names, see Meng Sen, “Hengbo furen kao.”

86. Many years ago, Gong Dingzi’s father was buried in a new family cemetery here. Later Gong and his brothers were all buried nearby. Gong Zhaoxin, *Hefei Gong shi zongpu*, juan 1.

87. Yan Zhengu, “Ji Gong dasikou yuanpei Tong furen wen” 祭龔大司寇元配童夫人文, *Sheyuan ji*, 25.18b–20b. Gu Mei died in the seventh month of the same year (Kangxi 3 [1664]).


90. Ibid.

91. Yan wrote these lines for Gong: “President of the Board (Gong Dingzi) can be seen as the Big Dipper / Lujun (Gong’s hometown) is the Donglin.” Yan Ermei, “Lujun xia qiu shi san shou wei Gong Xiaosheng zuo” (no. 25), *Baida shanren shiji shi juan wenji er juan*, 432.

92. Yan Ermei, “Lujun xia qiu shi san shou wei Gong Xiaosheng zuo.” This set of poems contains a note explaining that Yan came to mourn Gong Dingzi’s wife, Madam Wang, But this appears to be an error. According to the historical allusions in this poem, Yan meant to write “Dingzi’s mother, Madam Wang.”

93. Ibid.

94. See, e.g., Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture*; Xie Zhengguang, *Qing chu shiwen*.

95. Early Qing literati created an extremely complicated discourse surrounding the *yimin* identity. See Zhao Yuan, *Zhidu, Yanlun, Xintai*; Pan Chengyu, *Qing chu shitan*; Struve, *Ming-Qing Conflict*; Wai-ye Li, *Trauma and Transcendence*, ed. Idema, Li, and Widmer.

96. In contrast to my analysis, Wing-ming Chan argues the turncoats’ self-justification and their moral claims did not have much effect on the early-Qing discourse of loyalty. Chan, “Early-Qing Discourse on Loyalty.”
CONCLUSION

1. For a discussion of contemporary multimedia image politics, see Khatib, *Image Politics in the Middle East*, 7.
3. Fei, “Writing for Justice.”
5. I thank Robert Hymes for his insightful comments and questions when I presented part of this research as “Friendship in the Shadow of Factionalism and Loyalism in the Early Qing,” at AAS 2013 in San Diego.
8. Jiang Wu, conclusion to *Leaving for the Rising Sun*.
10. Ibid., esp. chaps. 1–2. See also Thorton, *Disciplining the State*, esp. chaps. 1–3.
14. Ng, “The Epochal Concept of ‘Early Modernity.’”
15. For a good example, see Kevin Sharpe’s analysis of early modern England and monarchs’ image-making efforts in *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*. Parker’s *Global Crisis* looks at the phenomenon of the “public sphere” in various parts of the world, including China. The similar tendencies pointed out by Parker were indeed the conditions for the emergence of image politics in China and elsewhere.
17. Liang, *Ming-Qing jiazhu xiaoshuo*.
18. Goldman, “Coda,” in *Opera and the City*.
20. Wai-yee Li offers an excellent analysis of the early Qing construction of late-Ming courtesans as heroes. She asserts that the literati imagined the late-Ming courtesan figure to express their mixed feelings of self-reproach and self-justification. Wai-yee Li, “Heroic Transformations.” For a discussion of the early Qing literati’s invention of the courtesan as a cultural ideal, see Wai-yee Li, “The Late Ming Courtesan.”
21. For discussion of historical reflections on the late Ming, see Qin, *Qing mo Min chu de wan Ming xiangxiang*; Chen, Wang, and Shang, *Wan Ming yu Wan Qing*; Idema, Li, and Widmer, *Trauma and Transcendence*; and Wai-yee Li, *Women and National Trauma*. 