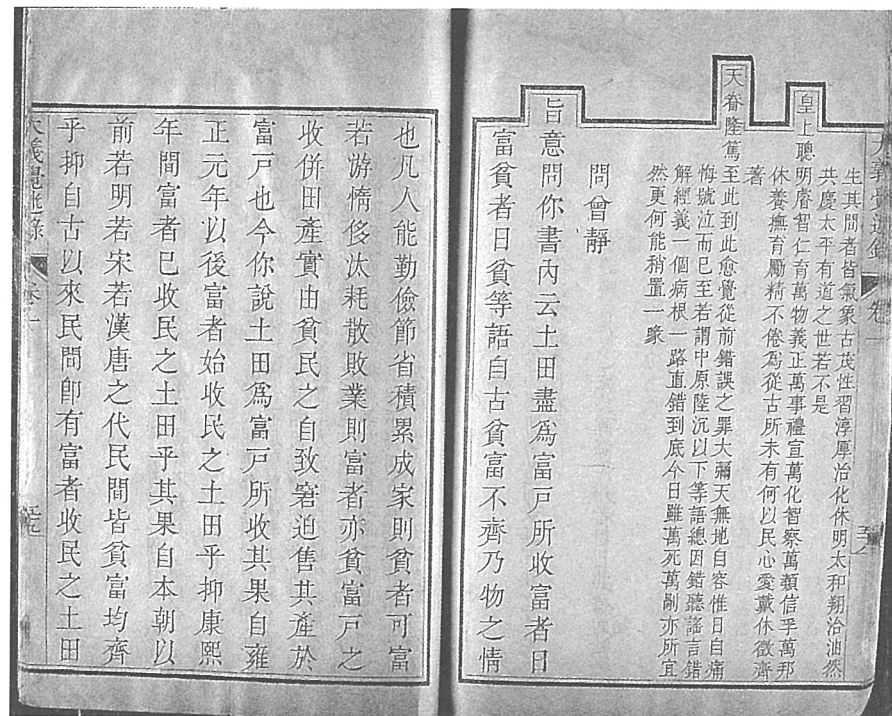


“Historical Sources Used by Tseng Ching in his Take on the Yung Cheng Emperor”



《大義覺迷錄》詳細記載了雍正對曾靜各項指控的駁斥

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Today I wish to present some of my own thoughts on the Emperor Yung Cheng. I would like to open up some ideas and then ask for your help in the discussion. I should also add that in dealing with the Emperor Yung Cheng, I am in quite dangerous territory. I am a Kang Hsi man and I find Kang Hsi very sympathetic whereas I find Yung Cheng very unsympathetic. Yet, as I have begun trying to work for the first time seriously on Yung Cheng I find him infinitely more interesting than I expected. I think probably in the history of Chinese rulers, at least those I have come across, Yung Cheng has perhaps a very special place. This case of the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*, is the focus of this discussion. It is a record of how true virtue can awake people from the error of their ways and bring them back to wisdom.

The case that led to the publication of *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* was sparked by Tseng Ching, and his disciple, Chang Hsi, and occurred in Yung Cheng's sixth year, in ninth month, on the twenty-sixth day. That is in the Western calendar, 28 October 1728. It was on that day that Chang Hsi, acting as an emissary for Tseng Ching, presented a petition to Yüeh Chung-ch'i. Yüeh Chung-ch'i was the Governor-general of Shensi and Szechwan provinces which the Manchus had combined together into a governor-generalship -- the *tsung-tu* of Shensi and Szechwan. On the aforementioned day, Chang Hsi approached the sedan chair of the Governor-general. That morning Yüeh Chung-ch'i had been to a party. All the senior officials had gone to the western suburb of Sian where they had greeted the governor of Kansu who, in another flash in the international political dimension of the Ch'ing, had just been ordered by Yung Cheng to go to Tibet to investigate the Manchu expansion into that area. At the party, Yüeh Chung-ch'i and all the other officials received the governor -- who was a very well-connected, powerful Manchu politician -- and then in the late morning they all returned to their offices for the days work ahead. As he was returning to his office, Governor-general Yüeh saw a man standing across the street who looked unusual. He did not look like a senior scholar but he also did not look like a yamen runner or a staff member. He was holding a letter and when he saw the Governor-general's sedan-chair he began to approach. Quite naturally, as he ran toward it Yüeh's men pushed him away and tried to prevent him from reaching the Governor-general. This is really the moment that sparks the entire case (as an historian I am fascinated by these small moments in which decisions are made). In a split second the Governor-general said, "No, let him come forward." Instead of having him dragged away and never being heard of again, the Governor-general allows this man came to forward. A letter was then handed to the Governor-general who tore it open, looked at it, and then became scared. The letter was an invitation to a rebellion

against the Yung Cheng emperor and the Governor-general Yüeh realized he was instantly implicated as he had opened the letter. That is one of the first crucial moments in the year 1728. In short, the entire background of this letter was investigated and a plot was uncovered to overthrow Emperor Yung Cheng. It was not a very skillful plot and one which did not involve that many people but it was a plot, however, based on a premise that just might have worked for several years the Taiping rebellion movement only had three people in a small village in Kangsi.

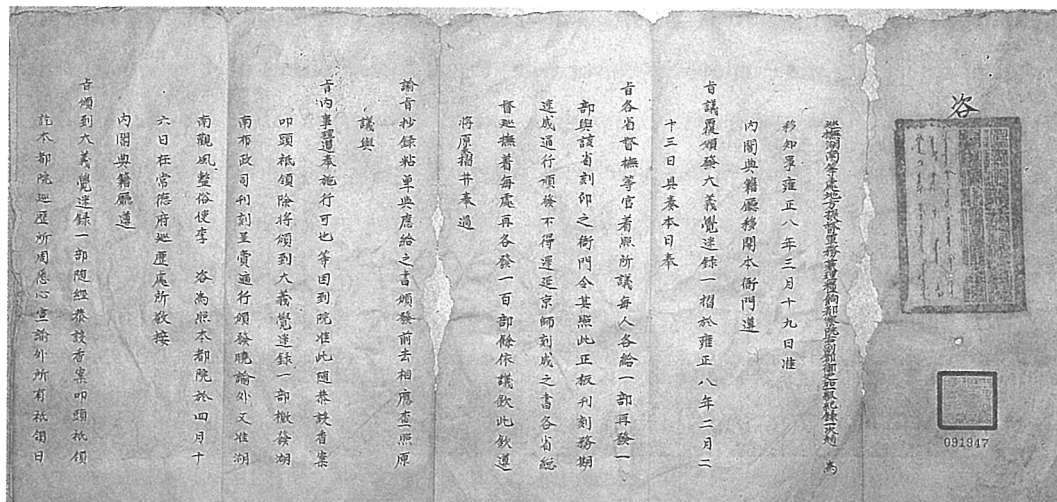
By the time the investigation, spearheaded by Yung Cheng, was completed, about 150 people were implicated in different ways by the various intersections of evidence. Why was Yüeh Chung-ch'i chosen as a key figure? How do you overthrow the Manchus if you are Han Chinese in a small town in Hunan province? The conspirators knew they needed a leader. More specifically, they knew they required a leader who would have what we would now call "resonance" among the people. If you are trying to overthrow the Manchus, the conquerors of China, what greater resonance can you find than the great general, Yüeh Fei, a warrior who withstood the Chin invasion of Sung China. Junior scholars like Chang Hsi and Tseng Ching had learnt that Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i was a direct descendant of Yüeh Fei. Indeed, Yüeh Chung-ch'i had a honorary title, a dukedom, that dignified that lineage. Thus, a high official, a descendant of the famous general Yüeh Fei, was asked to rise up and join the scholars against the Ch'ing state. After the case had been broken, a year and a half of investigations led to the compilation of *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* and its circulation in China.

Now in a very general way, this case reflects the whole political and social life of the time. In a sense it is only about one moment of politics in the Yung Cheng reign, but as the case unraveled, and as it was investigated, it delved into the many levels of Ch'ing political and social life and illuminated many areas. From the mid-seventeenth century until the 1730s, we learn from the text a lot about Tseng Ching's background and his relationship with other students. We can explore the world he inhabited. The text also tells us much about Hunan and about the relationship between Hunan and other provinces. It provides us with great insight into the character of the Yung Cheng emperor. It highlights what I would call the lower educated elite's concerns. There is a lot of information of the higher elite, the more successful scholars. I have great respect for the people who could get the *sheng-yüan* degree. I suppose if you're a *chin-shih* you think they are ridiculous, but to get the *sheng-yüan* took a lot of work, especially for people from rural China with very little money.

Tseng Ching tells us that just in his small rural community alone there would be over two thousand competing students every year or two for just fifteen places of eligibility to take the *sheng-yüan*. This was a very competitive exam. I use the term “lower elite” as someone like Tseng Ching would have been regarded as inconsequential by more senior scholars but highly regarded by local villagers. Tseng Ching is also an example of a group who were re-examined as a *sheng-yüan*. Every three years you had to prove that you were still in command of the classics, at least the Four Books and the one particular classic you had specialized in. Until this case involving Tseng Ching, I had never seen anyone who had been “de-degreed,” who had had their degrees removed. Tseng Ching is part of the world of this lower-educated elite with their own intellectual concerns. It is the world of what we could perhaps call a small-time rural school teacher. But it is the people like Tseng Ching, a rural school teacher, who are of course training the next generation. They are the ones bringing people up into the system although they themselves feel very much on the edge of the system. In much the same manner, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, and of course Mao Tse-tung, are other examples of these “small time rural school teachers” who have this combination of frustration and rural ambition and are both admired and resented at the same time.

The *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* was a four *chüan* publication ordered by the Emperor Yung Cheng emperor. It is a transcription of all the investigations of Tseng Ching and of Chang Hsi and a full account of the case. At the end of the case, the Yung Cheng emperor ordered the text to be printed, published and distributed. The first reference of the publication of the text is in Beijing when it was sent by express to Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i. We know he received a copy of the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* in the eighth year of Yung Cheng, third month, twenty-sixth day, that is 1730 in the Spring, just less than two years after the case broke. We can follow up from other texts, particularly the *Chu-p'i tsou-che*, stored in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. We know that blocks for the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* were being printed by the governor of Hunan in the fifth month of the eighth month of Yung Cheng. By the tenth month the text was also being widely distributed in Taiwan.

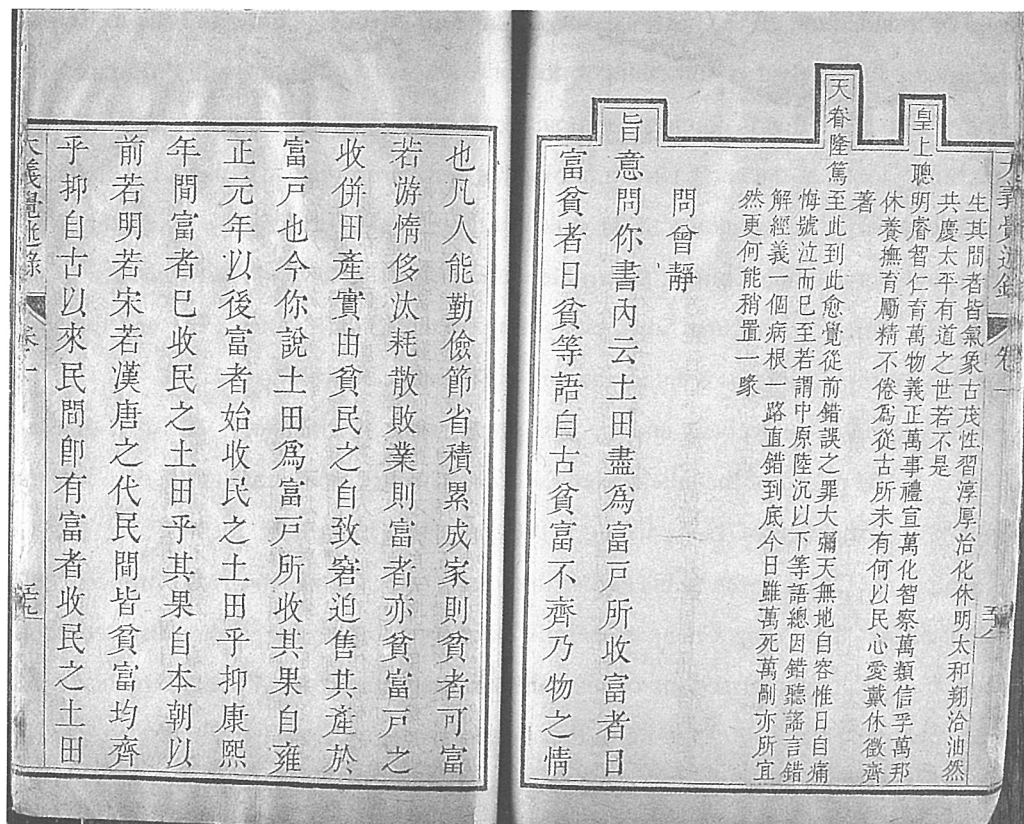
The importance of this redistribution of the case was that Yung Cheng had decided to pardon Tseng Ching, although he had been proved guilty of treason. The *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* was designed to be a propaganda proof of the generous spirit of the Manchu conquerors. So the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* is a testament that “superior benevolence” (*ta-i*) overcomes error and will show the Chinese people how to live correctly under their new dynasty. Thus, Tseng Ching was pardoned by Yung Cheng, the book was circulated, and then was ordered to be



雍正將《大義覺迷錄》頒發給各省督撫，並命各省再自行刊刻流佈，本檔案是湖南巡撫趙宏恩行文內閣，報告辦理經過。

read by all the people who were at Tseng Ching's level; in other words, every *hsiu-ts'ai* candidate for the *sheng-yüan* degree had to read the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*, and they were told that if they did not know its contents they would not get the degree. This did not mean that it was given the same canonical level as the Four Books or the student's specified classic, but it did mean that the students had to know it and be familiar with it.

The distribution of the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* and the discussion of this case presents, for wide distribution throughout China, an extraordinary array of charges and accusations against the Manchus, that is, against the so-called 'barbarians' from a Han point of view. This was a serious matter. Instead of trying to suppress the criticism of the Manchus, Yung Cheng ordered its distribution. From about 1730, we know that blocks were being made in Hunan and students from Taiwan were reading it in that year. Yüeh Chung-ch'i, of course, had his own copies. We also find references to the text distributed in Kwangtung and in Kiangsi. The text became part of the education of young Chinese men in the whole second part of Yung Cheng's reign. Moreover, the reading of the official sacred edict, the *sheng-yü*, or the *sheng-hsun*, which Kang Hsi had circulated, the sixteen ethical maxims of Kang Hsi which Yung Cheng had embroidered, is based on the model. The sacred edict was read along with the discussion of the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*, and in many cases this was linked to the idea of the rural compact, the *hsiang-yüeh*, the famous debates on moral maxims held once or twice a month in rural China. Thus the text circulates widely and Tseng Ching is alive and well and pardoned. Yung Cheng not only pardons Tseng Ching, but there is a thank you



雍正問曾靜土地分配不均的證據何在。

memorial from Tseng Ching to the Yung Cheng emperor. He thanks Yung Cheng for a cash payment of 1,000 taels which he put into real estate in Hunan. So Tseng Ching was living favorably under the emperor's blessing, under the rubric of "superior benevolence" (*ta-i*) which overcomes the error of his ways. There is a sentence in the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* saying that once this book is distributed and studied by every *hsiu-ts'ai* in China and the pardon of Tseng Ching is known as official, none of my (Yung Cheng's) descendants may change my decision.

Yung Cheng dies in the eighth month, thirteenth year of his reign, 1735. Within two months we have a secret edict from the young Ch'ien Lung -- who was to reign the next sixty-three years, or sixty depending how you count it -- in which he orders all the people implicated in the case re-arrested, brought to Beijing, and then executed. We see here the clashes over different approaches to so-called treason, law and order, and the distribution of evidence and as an essential corollary to killing Tseng Ching by *ling-ch'ih*, a slicing method, along with all his relatives and the conspirators. Ch'ien Lung orders all copies of the *Ta-i*

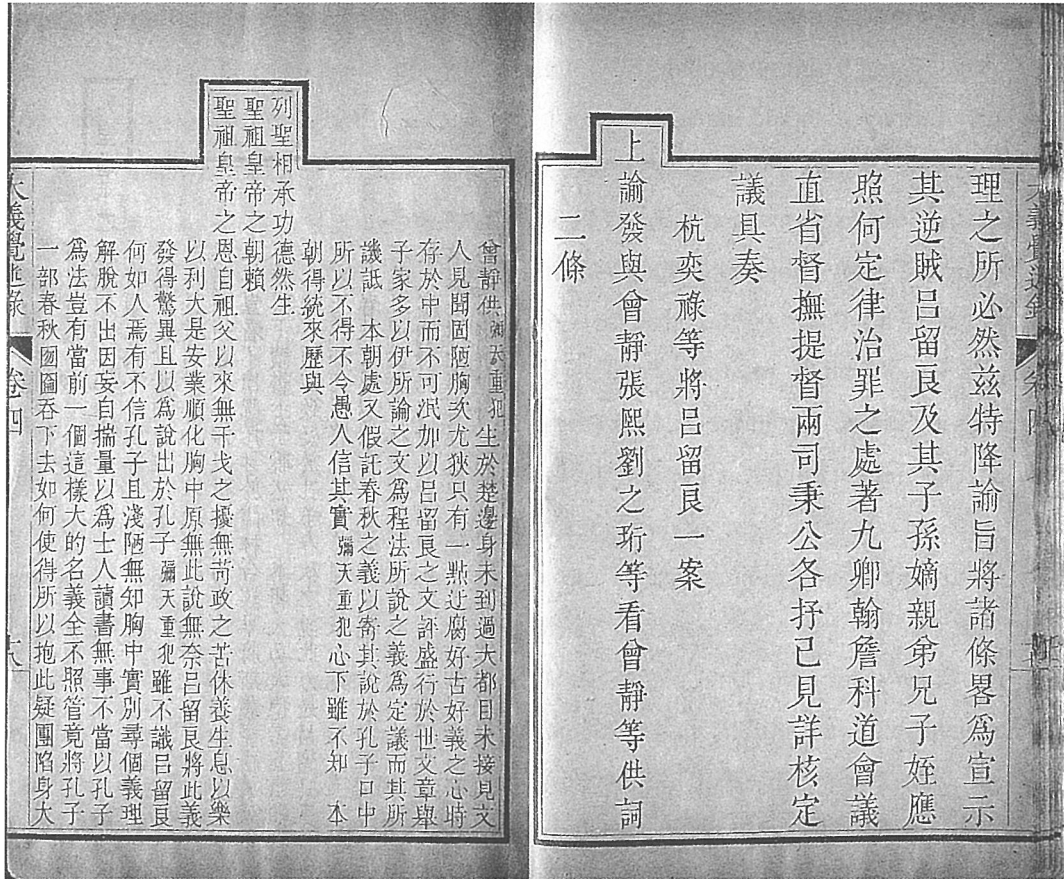
chüeh-mi lu rounded up, all the blocks destroyed, and all the copies brought back to Beijing and shredded. Its survival is something I do not know very much about. Professor Wu Hsiu-liang, in a piece that is coming out in an Academia Sinica publication in honor of Liu Kwang-ching, looks at the early Ch'ing books that were preserved in Japan. His theory is that the Tokugawa, in an exception to the rule, continued to import Chinese books that were important to understanding Chinese government and politics. The *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* was one such text. In short, Ch'ien Lung tidies everything up and goes about his life and the state takes on its new dimensions as it enters the mid-eighteenth century.

I want, however, to go back and try make more sense of this story. Most of the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* is comprised of the edicts from the Yung Cheng emperor about the case and the step by step interrogation of Tseng Ching and Chang Hsi. Each time Tseng Ching made a charge against the Ch'ing, even in his earlier life, every one of those charges is printed in the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*. The Yung Cheng emperor's objections to the charges are also recorded. There are Tseng Ching's retractions of his earlier statements. Yung Cheng explains in his edict accompanying the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* that its purpose is to show the Chinese people the importance of refuting error step by step as opposed to simply cutting off the source of the error. He says that of course he could have executed Tseng Ching but he chose not to do as such. He preferred to rather refute Tseng Ching's errors one by one. This part of the text is an interrogation and rebuttal argument. The last part of the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* is a longer statement, about twenty-five pages, about Tseng Ching. This really constitutes a book in its own right, called *Kui-jen shuo* [Returning to Virtue]. It forms a synopsis of Tseng Ching's regret that he had not understood that Yung Cheng was a wise and virtuous ruler. Instead he, Tseng Ching, mistakenly thought that Yung Cheng was an usurper who had killed his brothers and had been immoral. Wu Hsiu-liang has recently pointed out that the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* is the main source we have for the accusations against the Yung Cheng emperor as being a usurper. Ironically, it was Yung Cheng who chose to publish the charges against himself.

The internal contents of *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* tell us a lot about Ch'ing politics. As mentioned, there is the *Kui-jen shuo*, the "Return to Virtue," *Kui-jen shuo*, and then there are many quotations from other books that have been destroyed. One such text was an original written by Tseng Ching and we know its title must have been *Chih-hsin-lu*, "A Record of Coming to Understand the New (or, of coming to interpret the current world). Tseng Ching tells us that this text is modeled on the Sung scholar, Chang Tsai, who would

always write down thoughts when they occurred to him. This is an important text for Sung historians. Tseng Ching was obviously impressed by this Sung text and he felt that when you had an idea you should immediately jot it down. One of the problems was that many of these ideas were bitterly anti-Manchu and anti-Yung Cheng. So the text itself, the *Chih Hsing Lu*, is very explosive and as far as I know was destroyed.

There are many quotes from the *Chih-hsin-lu* in print. On the one hand Yung Cheng is destroying the book, but on the other he is printing chunks from it. The original letter that Chang Hsi was holding to Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i was of course a top-secret traitorous document, but in the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* we find at least twenty-one passages from that letter scattered all the way through the four *chüan*. I have been trying to reconstruct the letter and one can get a sense of the things that made Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i's hair stand on end and his cap rise in the air, as the famous metaphor goes. I am not surprised; this was explosive material. The ten charges against Yung Cheng are listed one by one. They were in the letter, and as far as we know, the letter was destroyed and these ten charges are all put into the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*. The charges claim to link Yung Cheng to the killing of at least three of his brothers, probably four. They accuse him of filial impropriety against his father and his mother, that is, the Kang Hsi emperor and the Empress Dowager. They accuse him of extreme alcoholism so that he was incapable of conducting audiences very often because he drank so heavily. They accuse him of extensive sexual immorality including taking the concubines of the brothers he had killed into his own family. They accuse him of greed for money, actually running and skimming off the top of customs dues outside Beijing and elsewhere, amassing property and being improperly concerned with money. They accuse him of listening to sycophants and people who would just tell him what he wanted to hear. One might say that the list is a conventional one in some ways in terms of what we know about accusations against the state. Then there are internal contents from the works of Lü Liu-liang, the famous Ming-Ch'ing loyalist, many of whose works were destroyed because Lü was caught up in this purge. Lü's works were destroyed partially by Yung Cheng and then even more by Ch'ien Lung and then even more in the *Ssu-k'u chüan-shu* project at the end of the Ch'ien Lung reign. There is Lü Liu-liang's diary, what we might call his treasonous diary, written in the 1670s and 1680s. I have been able to find at least thirty-two passages from Lü Liu-liang's works many of which have otherwise been destroyed. These texts summarize Lü's anti-Manchu stance. Consequently, Lü Liu-liang's case is often linked to the Tseng Ching case.



曾靜自稱生於湖南，見識狹隘，因而受到呂留良很大的影響。供詞中特別提到呂氏的文章對舉子的影響。

The *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* can be cross-referenced with the *Ch'ingshih-lu*, the "Veritable Records of the Ch'ing," and then the later interpretations of the *Ch'ing-shih kao*, just after the fall of the Ch'ing and the Taiwan production of the *Ch'ing-shih*, the later Ch'ing history, the Yung Cheng compilation called *Yung Cheng chu-p'i yü-chih*, the Imperial Notations on Secret Memorials, the Palace Museum collections from the 1930s and 1920s, and the *Wen- hsien ts'ung-pien* and some of the other archival publications. There is a lot of double-checking possible. Also, there are the collections of palace memorials and *Chu-p'i ts'ou-che* and the imperial comments on the secret memorials of the early Ch'ing in the joint Taipei and Beijing collections. Together with a research assistant we have found one hundred-fifty three back-up documents from the archival collections that relate in various ways to this case. They enable us to verify that the original documents in the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* are indeed accurate. We can see that Yung Cheng in this very strange text was being very faithful to the interrogation texts and the statements made by Tseng Ching and others. What

did Tseng Ching know? What did Tseng Ching draw on as he planned this attack on the Manchus in an attempt to get rid of them?

Lü Liu-liang, the famous philosopher, was seen as typical of the early Ch'ing and Ming loyalists because of his stridency and firmness in being against the Ch'ing. At one level it is obvious when we discover that Tseng Ching was influenced by Lü Liu-liang. Tseng Ching is influenced by the anti-Manchu sentiments of Lü Liu-liang's writings. Tseng Ching, however, said he read Lü Liu-liang as a young man and admired Lü Liu-liang because Lü Liu-liang had written the best primer on how to pass the examination. This awakened me to this huge world which I had known about but which I had never come to grips with at all, that is, the world of the exam primers. We know a lot about Ming-Ch'ing publishing and we know that there were many such primers as guides to every kind of examination. If you wanted to get the *chin-shih* degree, even the *sheng-yüan* degree, you had to know what essays had got in before. Lü Liu-liang was known, according to Tseng Ching's repeated testimony, as the author of the most successful primer on advanced examination taking. This leads to a very interesting twist in Tseng Ching's historical sense. Tseng Ching, under protracted torture and intense interrogation, insists that he admired Lü as an examination teacher. It was because Lu wrote so well about taking exams that Tseng Ching sent of his main disciples, Chang Hsi, to go to Lü's home town in Chekiang and find out more about this scholar. Chang Hsi goes to Chekiang and he meets the Lü descendants. Lü Liu-liang had died in 1683 so he was long since dead but the family are still living in Chekiang. Chang Hsi buys some of Lü's books and brings them back to Tseng Ching who reads them and finds they are treasonous anti-Manchu texts. Tseng Ching always insists that this was the sequence of affairs. The corollary to this rings true. Tseng Ching then says that it is because Lü wrote such a good primer on examinations that I believed him when he was anti-Manchu. In other words, it is Lü's support of the system that made me really believe that the Manchus are as villainous as he said and that then leads Tseng Ching to develop his own procedure. A tantalizing echo of this is that even though Tseng Ching only got the *sheng-yüan* degree, that is the lowest level degree, Chang Hsi, Tseng's disciple, points out that Tseng Ching had his winning essay in a Hunan compendium of the best *sheng-yüan* and *hsiu-ts'ai* essays of the year. This completely exposes my ignorance. I had no idea that local provinces of the early Ch'ing would publish the best *sheng-yüan*. Tseng Ching himself was then a published *sheng-yüan*, and of course the experience of having your degree withdrawn must have been very humiliating. Tseng was published as one of the best young

scholars and then he loses his degree. Tseng admires Lü as a compiler of exams and at the same time he too is admired as a compiler. Tseng Ching thinks of Lü Liu-liang as an ideal scholar and he reads him carefully. Tseng Ching was very excited by Lü Liu-liang's work. Lü was the first scholar that Tseng Ching in rural Hunan had read who claimed that you could restore the ching-t'ien system (well field system) and that China could return to the ideal society -- idealized perhaps from Chou history or earlier -- in which you could reconstruct a different kind of community for China, one which is linked to earlier ideas of *feng-chien*, or fragmentation, or lesser divisions within the Ch'ing states, something that would make the state more humane, more fair-minded. There is a very strong sensibility in Tseng Ching that we find echoes of in Lü Liu-liang. Lü I think is Tseng Ching's primary historical influence and is one of his guides back into the past. Yung Cheng takes this very seriously. In the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*, there are many pages that argue how nowadays we can restore the ching-t'ien system - it is allegory from the past. It is talking about different forms of ideal organization but now we have a different reality, different society, and a different state. We cannot just go back to these forms. Tseng Ching is in a sense struggling with the emperor in this debate.

A second issue is the Yüeh Fei tradition. What is the exact historiography of the distribution of the Yüeh Fei legend, or for that matter, the reality of the Sung resistance to the Chin? How did people learn about this? I know some of it was learnt through popular histories, official histories, biographies, novels, and so forth. How can we find out what Tseng Ching could have reliably known about Yüeh Fei and about the nature of the attempt to withstand the conquering barbarians as a Han patriot. Why link this to Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i, the faith in the dynastic line of the Yüeh's? Had other people followed up? Had other Yüeh family figures been appealed to in the meantime? In other words, was it dangerous to pair the Yüeh family name? Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i had certainly done very well. He was Governor-general of a major area of China and seems to have been trusted by the emperor. But Tseng Ching is clearly making a corollary that obviously many other Chinese must have made to the Manchus vis-a-vis either the Chin or the Yüan. Tseng Ching himself says there was no real major intellectual development in China from the time of the Yuan conquest onwards, that that really is a kind of an end to Chinese intellectual life. He specifies the fact that not only the whole of the Yuan but the Ming was a weak period intellectually, and also the first ninety years of the dynasty have been fruitless. Yung Cheng did not like that -- that takes you firmly into the Yung Cheng's

reign from 1644. Tseng Ching is very clear about all this. There is definitely something about the Yüeh Fei mystique, the resistance to barbarians, and the historical resonance of this. We know that it takes Tseng Ching into his own private exploration of Confucius's discussion of Kuan Chung and the problem of loyalty, of who you serve and the great debate about how you should respond to Kuan Chung: what is the ruler-minister distinction? what is the inner-outer (*nei-wai*) distinction? where do barbarians fit in this balance? Tseng Ching seems to have felt strongly something that other scholars had felt more than a thousand years before, that the *feng-chien* system, or something to do with feng-chien, this different organization of local society, was the best way to withstand barbarians, and that Han strength could be manifested through such smaller scale local organizations. So clearly there is a lot of historical resonance being worked through the Yüeh Fei myth, Chin history, and finally the Yüan dynasty.

A third issue is that of the community compact, the *hsiang-yüeh* system -- the ideal of having the local community monitor itself is the center of this. It projects its own vision of moral leaders from within its own community and allows the communities to run their own affairs without interference of the state. Tseng Ching talks a lot about *hsiang-yüeh* in his interrogation, in the works that have been destroyed, and also in the works that are kept in the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*. He was obviously influenced by Lü Liu-liang. As a sidenote to this, I would say that Tseng's remarks about *hsiang-yüeh* and about local virtue and the importance of education and the importance of school teachers are astonishingly similar to Huang Tsung-hsi in the *Ming-yi tai-fang lu*, written in 1662, that Professor deBary has recently translated and titled *Waiting for the Dawn*. It is a hard title to translate but obviously the point is you are waiting for the man of virtue to arise who you can then serve. Huang Tsung-hsi wrote this text in 1662, the first year of Kang Hsi's reign. Huang Tsung-hsi certainly was a Ming loyalist, but he also adjusted to the Ch' ing in the last twenty years of his life as scholars have now investigated. Like many Ming loyalists, Huang Tsung-hsi seems to have been more pragmatic than we thought for about a century in our excitement about Ming loyalism. Also in many Ming loyalist painters we find much more accommodation with the state later on. But I do not see how Tseng Ching could have seen the *Ming-yi tai-fang lu*. As far as I know, it was only circulating in manuscript because the only early reference we have to it is from Ku Yen-wu, also regarded as a great Ming loyalist. Ku Yen-wu, however, also adjusted well to the state. He has a letter to Huang Tsung-hsi in which he says he has just been reading the manuscript copy of the *Ming-yi tai-fang lu*. There is the

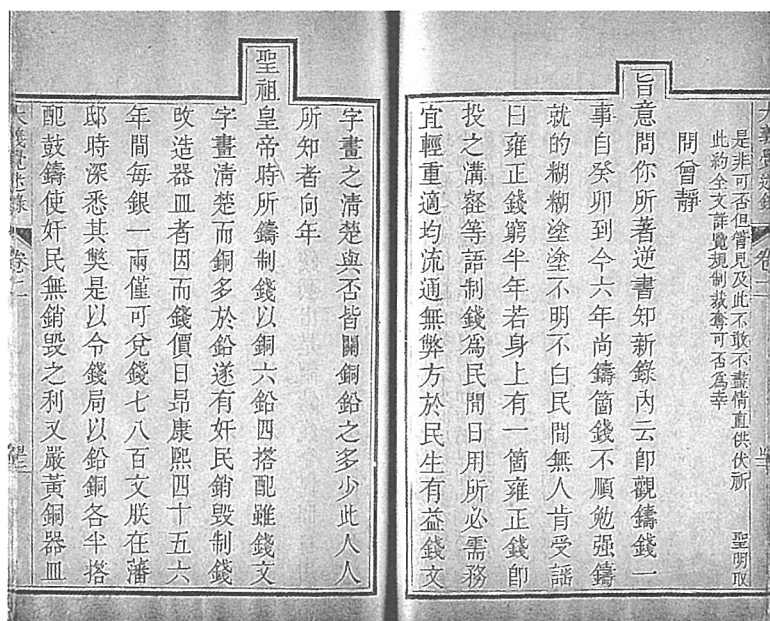
resumption of this belief in the family compact, in the *hsiang-yueh*, the need to meet and discuss the government of China in localistic terms. Tseng Ching says clearly that he had read the famous Lü *shih hsiang-yüeh*, the famous Lü Ta-chun, the eleventh-century Sung family compact which was later expanded and edited by Chu His. So again, this so-called small-time rural school teacher is also reading carefully in a variety of texts about rural compact organization. This builds up his faith in local scholars and the need for moral leaders. Tseng Ching urges more of these public lectures and he wants all the people in the community to participate. At the same time elsewhere in the interrogation, Tseng Ching makes a very interesting remark. It constitutes one of the complexities of this case and as I had mentioned earlier this case keeps leading you into social and intellectual history. Tseng Ching claims that one of the reasons that he believes that *hsiang-yüeh*, the village compact, or the local rural study group, should be more widely spread, is that in rural Hunan where he lived and grew up he never attended such a meeting. So despite all the rhetoric of Shun Chih and Kang Hsi and Yung Cheng about spreading *hsiang-yüeh*, Tseng Ching says that he only had a bookish vision of the importance of this but he himself never had the chance to attend such a meeting on his own. For Tseng Ching, the *hsiang-yüeh* is an ideal.

Another part of this historical influence might be Wang Yang-ming, or Wang Shou-jen. Wang Yang-ming, we know, is fascinated by *hsiang-yüeh* and his own disciples in the late Ming spent a lot of time talking about *hsiang-yueh* and even seemed to have tried to practice it. There is great debate then about the difference between writing about it and practicing it. It is hard to pin down. All sorts of *hsiang-yueh* ideas were in the air through Wang Yang-ming's philosophy. We know that Tseng Ching has fairly good knowledge of Wang Yang-ming and he is particularly interested in one criticism of the examination system and its shortcomings. In what we have of Tseng Ching's writings, however, he does not specifically refer to Wang Yang-ming as an expert on this particular idea.

Thus far, in terms of the historical background to this case, we have discussed the influence of Lü Liu-liang, the Yüeh Fei mystique, and the *hsiang-yue* mystique. The final influence we should briefly mention is the idea of "correct transition," (*su-wang*), that is, the idea of the uncrowned king. Where should the correct leadership be? If it was not to end up with the Yung Cheng emperor then where should it be? Of course, many scholars had their own vision; for Tseng Ching, the country school teacher, the ideal tradition of those who should have ruled China was one that first went to Confucius, and then to Mencius, and then to Cheng Hao and not to Chen Yi, and then to Chu His, and finally to Lü Liu-liang.

Tseng Ching records this idea in his *Chih-hsin lu*. I would like to do more research on what the other historical antecedents are for the kind of charges that Tseng Ching leveled at the Yung Cheng emperor? For example, there is the list of charges presented by Pan Ku in the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, the pre-Han history, when the ruler Liu He is deposed by the minister He Kuang. This list of charges against the emperor in 74 B.C. is very similar to the list of charges leveled against Yung Cheng. Such charges are also leveled against many other rulers. With the use of these charges you not only have a moral ideal of the uncrowned king, but you also have a serious sense of what might go wrong and of how these things should be managed.

I would like to conclude with list of problems that I have encountered in this research. These problems derive mainly from those backup secret memorials and endorsements that circle around the Tseng Ching case. There are ten such problems.



(1) The first problem is that of the prevalence of portents, that is, the extraordinary ambiguity of natural portents at this time, particularly planetary conjunction and stellar motions. We find that Tseng Ching's family made the decision whether or not to immigrate to Szechwan based entirely on their interpretation of inscriptions of planetary conjunctions. Times were bad in Hunan and they decided to move to Szechwan. They read these portents and realized that the times were not as bad as they had thought. So they all turned around and went back to Hunan at which point there were two years of floods and droughts and other disasters and they decide they misread the portents in the first place. They wonder whether or not they should go back to Szechwan and that is the moment when the whole case blows up. But this kind of very immediate reaction to planetary conjunctions is something that is particularly interesting.

(2) Second, are the use of wall posters almost like *ta-tzu-pao*. There are at least three

曾靜對雍正朝的制錢多所批評，雍正氣憤地詳加批駁。

references to different kinds of large wall announcements that feature in this story. One of them is about portents, one of them is what essentially in America we would call a lynch mob—a call to assemble a group and kill Tseng Ching after he has been pardoned. This is an extraordinary public announcement saying all men of goodwill are being asked to gather to kill Tseng Ching who tried to betray his emperor. In another, there is an appeal to the *hsiu-ts'ai* level students of Shensi province to disagree with the judgements of the Yung Cheng emperor. These are treasonous statements: two out of the three are treasonous,

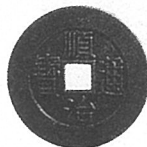
明清時通行的錢幣



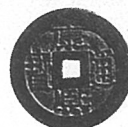
萬曆通寶



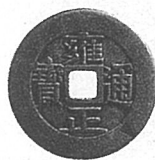
天啟通寶



順治通寶



康熙通寶



雍正通寶



乾隆通寶

but they are posted in public and they are read widely and they are read in fear and trembling by the officials in the area who then feel they have to send them through to the emperor with the correct transcript so that historians will be able to know about them later. I know that the wall posters are occasionally mentioned in historical novels but they may well be all over the Han dynasty. Naturally these huge posters are anonymous and the police immediately start trying to trace who put them up in the first place. Yung Cheng demands in a *chu-p'i*, "I want to know who wrote that." The demand comes flashing back across China and the Governor-general has to move and try and find who wrote the poster.

(3) The third problem relates to the extraordinary interest in coinage and local monetary policy. In the midst of portents there is a very strong interest in coinage and money and circulation. Again I know this goes back a long way in China. But specifically, is the look and feel of coinage and of copper cash common in other periods? Was it common to

judge a dynasty by the feel and craftsmanship of its coins? Tseng Ching tells us that Yung Cheng coins are terrible compared with Kang Hsi coins. Yung Cheng writes an entire page of rebuttal saying “what do you mean my coins are not so good as my father's coins!” He continues by saying, “you understand nothing about the metallic content of coinage, that's the trouble with you country bumpkins. I have put in 2% more brass into the coins to get the copper ratios up than my father did.” This is very technical debate in the middle of this treason trial and Tseng Ching compounds the error by saying, “in my part of Hunan when people saw Yung Cheng coins they throw them in the ditch.” And the Yung Cheng emperor says, “show me one person who has thrown a Yung Cheng coin in the ditch!” And Tseng Ching finally admits, “well, it is a matter of speaking, I cannot actually pinpoint one person.” Yung Cheng takes this very seriously and Tseng Ching actually points out that where he grew up they never used coinage at all, or at least only very rarely. He says people would just barter.

(4) What is the role of the knight-errant tradition, the heroic martial arts tradition in the early Ch'ing period? The novels are of course full of the martial arts traditions. The secret society tradition is full of this as well. Wu Hsiu-liang, in the same paper I mentioned above, has found approximately six secret edicts by Yung Cheng in which he is asking to track down people with special martial arts skills and special attributes such as being able to see one hundred miles, or jump huge distances, or endure incredible hardships. Withstanding torture was one such attribute. When Chang Hsi, Tseng Ching's disciple, was arrested after he presented his letter and was tortured for two days by Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i with all the weaponry they could use in the torture arsenal, he never flinched and never gave away a thing about Tseng Ching. Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i was baffled as to where Chang Hsi got the strength to withstand the torture.

(5) One issue that is somewhat linked to the circulation of posters, is the circulation of portraits (essentially what we would call “mugshots” in the United States). Identification pictures were circulated by the investigators in Yung Cheng's reign. They would find a family portrait and they would make copies and then they would send it to different provinces saying, “did the man you talked to look like this?” I had not encountered this before in my research and I wondered how much this use of portraits was used given the nature of the Chinese portrait tradition in both its realistic and formalistic style. In this case, presumably, these are not classic ancestor portraits, they are sketches of what somebody truly looks like

(6) What happens when you break an oath? Yüeh Chung-ch'i, the Governor-general of Shensi and Szechwan, when he cannot break Chang Hsi under torture, switches tack and finally in secret, but with two witnesses hidden so they can hear, Governor-general Yüeh pledges himself to obey unto death the conspirator Tseng Ching. Once he has pledged himself to obey the conspirator, the disciple Chang Hsi immediately gives him all the information and that is how he is able to break the case. There is a deliberate breaking of an oath so as to solve the treason case. Both the emperor and Governor-general Yüeh Chung-ch'i know that something very serious had been done, and I want to know how serious. What was the cost of breaking your oath, the religious cost, the mental-psychological cost? I would love to know more about that.

(7) The seventh problem is be the reading of private diaries and the use of yamen diaries to trace the movement of people in and out of government offices. Obviously every magistrate and his staff kept an in-and-out register, and of course private scholars kept private diaries. Essentially, what Yung Cheng did in his manhunt for Tseng Ching was to subpoena all the diaries. They took the diaries and used them to explore whom was in touch with whom. Again I was wondering how widespread this use and collection of private diaries was in exploring a case of this kind.

(8) In other historical periods, do you get such wide distribution of the transcript of a case with all the intimate details such as what we see in the *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*? How common is this and how massive is the distribution? The highest figure I have found comes from a memorial from Taiwan showing the distribution of *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu* in Taiwan prefecture in 1730. The prefect of Taiwan province reports to the Fukien governor that he has privately published the blocks and circulated 1,200 copies just in Taiwan alone. This is big-scale operation. Have other dynasties done this as a matter of course

(9) The ninth problem is connected to these tours of contrition. When someone was convicted of treason they were paraded around the country. Does this occur with other types of cases? I remember during the Cultural revolution in China, people would be brought out who had been struggled against to be 'restruggled' against. Recently there have been some studies showing in 1966 how Red Guards would petition to have some of the people who are being labeled as capitalist-roaders, brought out. We find with Yung Cheng that there are contrition tours being made with Tseng Ching and Chang Hsi. They are taken from area to area. They are paraded around as an example of people who are now contrite. Large crowds gather to hear them make a speech of contrition. This raises a related point. What is an

accurate description of a crowd? There are about ten descriptions from the secret memorials and one thing that intrigued me is that there are different crowds assembling to see Tseng Ching or Chang Hsi and hear the discussion of *Ta-i chüeh-mi lu*. These figures ranged from about 1,000 people up to the largest being about 20,000 in Lan-chou, Kansu province. The next largest group is in Yen-an, in northern Shensi. Again, are such huge groups who gather to listen to someone's contrition common in other dynastic periods? How was the voice spread to 20,000 people? Were there shouters? In other words, where one person would lecture and another person would shout the lecture, so one central lecture would have ten shouters and then maybe ten more shouters further down the crowd. These contrition tours were important between 1730-35.

(10) Finally, and perhaps obviously, when we are dealing with Chinese history, we are dealing with an examination culture. How common is it to claim a degree you do not have? One of the key figures involved in this case claims a fake Shensi. In this area of Hunan everybody thought this man was a *chin-shih* because he said he was a *chin-shih*. How much do you push somebody who says that they are a *chin-shih*? He in fact took a real *chin-shih* person's name. He gave the wrong cyclical date in the table of course, now easy for us to find, but in Hunan in the countryside you did not know. This man had considerable influence because he was also interested in *hsiang-yüeh* and he also was interested in criticism of Yung Cheng. One of the things that most interest Yung Cheng in all this sea of papers is tracking down the false *chin-shih* claimant. How were degree holders checked in the local level? Did you carry credentials? This is something I would like to know more about.