

Biographies, Series 7: The Various Princes, no. 4 / The Sons of Renzong /
Zhanshan, Prince of Xiang [1406-1478]¹
列傳第七: 諸王四 / 仁宗諸子 / 襄王瞻墿

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Prince Xian of Xiang [Zhu] Zhanshan was the fifth son of Renzong. He was invested in 1404, and was of a dignified and reverent disposition with an excellent reputation. In 1429 he took up residence in his princely estate in Changsha. In 1436, he then relocated to Xiangyang. When Yingzong departed on his northern campaign [in 1449, against the Mongols], of all the princes [Zhu] Zhanshan was regarded as the most mature and worthy; the multitude looked to him with especial regard. The Empress Dowager ordered that the golden tallies of the Xiang estate be retrieved and brought into the palace [in order to summon him to court as provisional ruler when news of Yingzong's capture at Tumu 土木 arrived], but in the end a summons was not made.² [Zhu] Zhanshan later submitted a memorial requesting that the eldest imperial son be established as heir and the Prince of Cheng as regent. He also requested that valiant and intelligent soldiers be recruited to secure the return of the [Yingzong] emperor, [captured as he was by the Mongols]. Upon his memorial's arrival, Jingdi had already been established as emperor for a number of days. When Yingzong eventually returned to the capital [in 1450], he was made to reside within the Southern Palace. [Zhu Zhanshan] again submitted a memorial stating that Jingdi ought to every morning and evening visit Yingzong and inquire into his wellbeing. He also urged that Jingdi lead officialdom and pay obeisance to Yingzong, and moreover to not neglect reverence and accomodation.³

[119.3629] 襄憲王瞻墿，仁宗第五子。永樂二十二年封。莊敬有令譽。宣德四年就藩長沙。正統元年徙襄陽。英宗北狩，諸王中，瞻墿最長且賢，眾望頗屬。太后命取襄國金符

¹ Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., comp., *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974), 119.3629-3631. I neither include nor translate annotations interpolated by the Zhonghua shuju editorial staff. In this translation I have made extensive use of several useful resources. For matters of translation, I have consulted: Paul W. Kroll, *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese*, rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2017). As for translations of official titles, I generally follow those provisioned in: Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1995). Date conversions have made use of: Academia Sinica Center for Digital Cultures 中央研究院數位文化中心, "Liangqian nian Zhong-Xi li zhuanhuan 兩千年中西曆轉換," <https://sinocal.sinica.edu.tw/> [last accessed 12 April 2022]. I intersperse in this translation occasional annotations of my own, directing readers to materials of particular interest or offering further explanation where needed. I should like to thank my colleague Haoyue Li for her assistance with interpreting several difficult passages in this document.

² The most compelling narrative and analysis of the Tumu Incident in 1449 remains: Ph. de Heer, *The Care-taker Emperor: Aspects of the Imperial Institution in Fifteenth-Century China as Reflected in the Political History of the Reign of Chu Ch'i-yü* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 16-60.

³ Both of Zhu Zhanshan's memorials are preserved in Ming-era sources, but with disappointingly meager detail. For the first, see: Wu Tingju 吳廷舉, comp., *Huguang tujing zhishu* 湖廣圖經志書 (1522), Xiangyang fu wenlei 襄陽府文類, 8.37b. "Xiang Xianwang xiande shendao bei 襄憲王先德神道碑." For the second: He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠, *Mingshan cang* 名山藏 (1640), 39.18b.

入宮，不果召。瞻墻上書，請立皇長子，令郕王監國，募勇智士迎車駕。書至，景帝立數日矣。英宗還京師，居南內，又上書景帝宜旦夕省膳問安，率羣臣朔望見，無忘恭順。

Upon Yingzong's restoration to the throne [in 1457],⁴ Shi Heng and others slandered Yu Qian and Wang Wen with such accusations as scheming to invite and enthrone a prince from without; the emperor thus became deeply suspicious of [Zhu] Zhanshan. After some time, [Zhu] Zhanshan's two memorials were discovered in the palace, and so too were the golden tallies of the Xiang estate found securely in the hall of the Empress Dowager. At this, a letter was dispatched to summon [Zhu] Zhanshan; it compared his two letters to the Metal-bound Coffin.⁵ He arrived at court and was treated to a banquet in an auxiliary hall, whereupon he took leave of his seat and prostrated himself. He requested: "When I was crossing the Bian river, the elders there blocked my passage, claiming that Surveillance Commissioner Wang Gai was a worthy and had been thrown in prison owing to slander; they requested that Your Highness undertake an investigation into the matter." The emperor promptly released Gai and ordered that he assume the post of Chief Minister in the Court of Judicial Review. An edict was then promulgated establishing an escort guard for the prince in Xiangyang, and the relevant department was ordered to construct for him his tomb. When it came time for him to depart the court, the emperor personally escorted him beyond Meridian Gate. They clasped one another's hands and tearfully bade farewell to one another. [Zhu] Zhanshan retreated backwards and knelt down. The emperor said: "Uncle, is there something you wish to say?" Knocking his head on the ground, he replied: "Those across the expanse of the realm await good governance as though famished and thirsty. I wish for You to reflect on the use of punishments and to be sparing in the use of the sword." The emperor folded his hands and thanked him: "Your instructions are respectfully received." [The emperor] continued watching him depart out of Duanmen, and only then did he return to the palace. In 1461 [Zhu Zhanshan] once again came to court. The emperor ordered officialdom to pay obeisance to the prince in his residence. The prince was also ordered to visit Changping to pay his respects at the three imperial mausoleums. Whereupon he was set to leave, the rites afforded during his departure were even more resplendent; moreover, an edict was promulgated allowing the prince and his sons to annually leave their estate to travel and hunt. This was a remarkable outcome, indeed. In 1462 he was again summoned to court, but [Zhu Zhanshan] declined on account of his old age. Time and again [Yingzong] asked after his wellbeing; the rites with which [Zhu Zhanshan] was afforded were lofty and unmatched by any other prince. He died in 1478.⁶

英宗復辟，石亨等誣于謙、王文有迎立外藩語，帝頗疑瞻墻。久之，從宮中得瞻墻所上二書，而襄國金符固在太后閣中。乃賜書召瞻墻，比二書於《金滕》。入朝，宴便殿，避席請曰：「臣過汴，汴父老遮道，言按察使王槩賢，以誣逮詔獄，願皇上加察。」帝立出

⁴ Yingzong's restoration, often referred to as the *duomen* incident 奪門之變, in addition to its aftermath are ably recounted in: de Heer, *The Care-taker Emperor*, 112-120.

⁵ The letter is reproduced in: *Yingzong shilu* 英宗實錄 (Taipei 臺北: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, 1961-1966), 276.5878-5879. All references to the *Ming shilu* employ this edition.

⁶ For a punctuated reproduction of Zhu Zhanshan's funerary inscription as composed by the Chenghua 成化 emperor (r. 1465-1487), see: Xing Dongfeng 邢東風, "Xiangyang Cheng'ensi diqu fojiao yiji zhi kaocha (shang) 襄陽承恩寺地區佛教遺蹟之考察 (上)," *Hubei wenli xueyuan xuebao* 湖北文理學院學報 37, no. 10 (2016): 15.

槩，命為大理卿。詔設襄陽護衛，命有司為王營壽藏。及歸，帝親送至午門外，握手泣別。瞻墀逡巡再拜，帝曰：「叔父欲何言？」頓首曰：「萬方望治如饑渴，願省刑薄斂。」帝拱謝曰：「敬受教。」目送出端門乃還。四年復入朝。命百官朝王於邸，詔王詣昌平謁三陵。及辭歸，禮送加隆，且敕王歲時與諸子得出城遊獵，蓋異數也。六年又召，以老辭。歲時存問，禮遇之隆，諸藩所未有。成化十四年薨。

His son, Prince Ding⁷ [Zhu] Qiyong, succeeded to the investiture, and died in 1488. His son, Prince Jian [Zhu] Jianshu then succeeded him and later died in 1490. His son, Prince Huai [Zhu] Youcai succeeded thereafter. He was especially fond of hawks and hounds; so too did he raise excellent horses. [Zhu] Youcai would travel back and forth 800 *li* to Nanyang before the day had even reached early evening. His consort's father, Jing Hai, lured and murdered several individuals. Xiaozong admonished him and then condemned Hai and his accomplices to military service on the frontier.⁸ [Zhu] Youcai was moreover fond of Daoist arts; he bestowed gifts on others without consideration for moderation. Furthermore, he once contended with the Xing princely establishment over land. Implicated and arrested in the affair were an excess of seventy households, all of which languished long in prison without adjudication. Chief Minister in the Court of Judicial Review Wang Lun twice sought to secure their release and eventually succeeded in doing so. [The prince] died in 1504. His younger brother, Prince Kang [Zhu] Youzhi, succeeded to the investiture. He too was fond of Daoist arts. He died in 1550. He had no sons, so his nephew Prince Zhuang [Zhu] Houjiong was transferred from serving as Prince of Yangshan to preside over the Xiang investiture. He was the great-grandson of Prince Ding.

子定王祁鏞嗣，弘治元年薨。子簡王見淑嗣，三年薨。子懷王祐材嗣。好鷹犬，蓄善 [119.3630] 馬，往返南陽八百里，日猶未晡。妃父井海誘使殺人。孝宗戒諭，戍海及其左右。祐材好道術，賜予無節，又嘗與興邸爭地，連逮七十餘家，獄久不決。大理卿汪綸兩解之，乃得已。十七年薨。弟康王祐檣嗣，亦好道術。嘉靖二十九年薨。無子，從子莊王厚頰由陽山王嗣，定王曾孫也。

At this time, the princely estate suffered disastrous damage from fire; the food and materials accumulated by previous generations were entirely gone. [Zhu] Houjiong accordingly undertook self-reform and became more reverent and moderate in his disposition. He extracted from his own stipends provisions for frontier defense. He also submitted funds to the court to assist with reconstruction the three halls.⁹ Twice were letters and gifts sent to him. He fully devoted himself

⁷ Most of Zhu Zhanshan's successors are referred to in this entry not as Princes of Xiang, but rather by their posthumous titles. Zhu Zhanshan's, which the *Mingshi* editors fail to include, was "Xian" 憲.

⁸ The incident is detailed in: *Xiaozong shilu* 孝宗實錄, 72.1348. A punctuated version of the entry may be found in: Li Qiongying 李瓊英 and Zhang Yingchao 張穎超, comp., *Ming shilu leizuan: zongfan guiqi juan* 明實錄類纂: 宗藩貴戚卷 (Wuhan 武漢: Wuhan chubanshe 武漢出版社, 1995), 1369. Reportedly, Jing and his accomplices engaged in lewd acts with local people's wives and daughters, expropriated the people's wealth, and enticed Zhu Youcai into having eleven people beaten to death (this latter point is not fully reflected by the *Mingshi* editors).

⁹ The Fengtian 奉天, Huagai 華蓋, and Jinshen 謹身 Halls were decimated during a palace fire in 1557; reconstruction was completed five years later in 1562 and the halls were respectively renamed Huangji 皇極, Zhongji 中極, and Jianji 建極. Zhang Tingyu et al., comp., *Mingshi*, 18.245-248.

to serving his father's principal wife Great Consort Wang as well as his birth mother Great Consort Pan; he was known for his filial piety. When Pan died, her coffin was interred in the eastern side [of the burial chamber]. Great Consort Wang said: "Your mother has borne a son upon whom the dynasty depends. I ask that you do not use me as a reason to not bury her in the primary burial chamber." Houjiong responded through tears: "I dare not use improper rituals to elevate my [birth] mother."¹⁰ When the burial was undertaken, Zhu Houjiong carried the coffin while walking barefoot for fifty *li*. Of the gentry who passed through the region of Xiang, all interacted with the prince as friends, with no regard to difference between their statuses. He died in 1566. His son, Prince Jing [Zhu] Zaiyao, then inherited the investiture, and later died in 1595. His son [Zhu] Yiming succeeded him. In 1641, Zhang Xianzhong laid waste to Xiangyang. It was during this time that the prince fell victim to harm.¹¹

時王邸災，先世蓄積一空。厚頰折節為恭儉，節祿以餉邊，進金助三殿工。兩賜書幣。事嫡母王太妃及生母潘太妃，以孝聞。潘卒，殯之東偏。王太妃曰：「汝母有子，社稷是賴，無以我故避正寢。」厚頰泣曰：「臣不敢以非禮加臣母。」及葬，跣足扶櫬五十里。士大夫過襄者，皆為韋布交。四十五年薨。子靖王載堯嗣，萬曆二十三年薨。子翊銘嗣。崇禎十四年，張獻忠陷襄陽，遇害。

Initially, when Grand Secretary Yang Sichang was supervising armies in their engagements, he held Xiangyang as a military base. He saw to the augmentation of battlements and the digging of moats; military provisions and gold, as well as bows, swords, and incendiary weapons were accumulated from the Five Departments. In the second [lunar] month of this year, [Zhang] Xianzhong intercepted and murdered one of [Yang] Sichang's messengers who were en route. He stole the messenger's identification tallies and then dispatched some ten men on horseback to deceive their way into Xiangyang. In the depths of the night a blazing fire was set alight [in the city], and at the arrival of dawn the marauders had arrived in hordes. [Zhu] Yiming was taken to a building in the southern portion of his estate and was served a vessel of wine. Zhang said to him: "You are without guilt, but you must die. [Yang] Sichang will eventually be able to offer his death as recompense for yours."¹² Zhang thereupon had him murdered alongside the Prince of Guiyang [Zhu] Changfa. The palace building was set on fire and the princes' corpses were incinerated.¹³ By the time that the marauders had departed, there remained for recovery only a number of skulls and skeletons; the consorts and concubines who died numbered forty-three. The Prince of Fuqing [Zhu] Changcheng and Prince of Jinxian [Zhu] Changgan both managed to escape. Once this affair was learned of in court, the [Chongzhen] emperor was deeply grieved.

¹⁰ Zhu Houjiong's phrasing, at least as far as the *Mingshi* editors reproduce it, is rather ambiguous. But a clearer sense of Zhu's response is found in the following source, which relates that he "in the end did not follow [Wang's wishes]" 卒不從 and that he interred his mother in the left (not the right) portion of the burial chamber. This seems to have been viewed as an act of filial piety, for Zhu Houjiong was ensuring that his two mothers' ranks were properly reflected in their burial arrangements. See: Wu Dao'er 吳道爾, comp., *Xiangyang fuzhi* 襄陽府志 (1584; Siku quanshu cunmu congshu 四庫全書存目叢書, ser. 2, vol. 211 [Ji'nan 濟南: Qi Lu shushe 齊魯書社, 1997]), 11.315.

¹¹ For further details, see: Kenneth M. Swope, *On the Trail of the Yellow Tiger: War, Trauma, and Social Dislocation in Southwest China during the Ming-Qing Transition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 35.

¹² An alternative rendering of the dialogue may be found in: *ibid.*

¹³ Enough of the palace's charred remains survived to allow for description and comment in the 18th century: Chen E 陳鏗, comp., *Xiangyang fuzhi* 襄陽府志 (Wuhan 武漢: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 湖北教育出版社, 2020), 5.16ab.

He ordered the relevant department to make appropriate arrangements for funeral rites. [Zhu Yiming] was given the posthumous title of Prince Zhong. [Yang] Sichang later paid court to the Prince of Hui¹⁴ in Jingzhou, and those paying obeisance yielded to him and said: “You have graciously looked after those in poverty, so we hope that you will first go to Xiangyang.” This was to say that responsibility for the destruction of Xiangyang lay at [Yang] Sichang’s feet.¹⁵ In 1644, [Zhu] Changcheng was invested as the Prince of Xiang. He took up temporary residence in Jiujiang [in Jiangxi province] but later relocated to Dingzhou [in Fujian]. What became of him is not known.

初，大學士楊嗣昌之視師也，以襄陽為軍府，增堞浚隍，貯五省餉金及弓刀火器。是年二月，獻忠邀殺嗣昌使於道，奪其符驗，以數十騎紿入襄城。夜半火作，遲明，賊大至。執翊銘南城樓，屬卮酒曰：「王無罪，王死，嗣昌得以死償王。」遂殺王及貴陽王常法，火城樓，焚其屍。賊去，僅拾顛骨數寸，妃妾輩死者四十三人。福清王常澄、進賢王常淦走免。事聞，帝震悼，命所司備喪禮，諡曰忠王。嗣昌朝惠王於荊州，謁者謝之曰：「先生惠顧寡人，願先之襄陽。」謂襄城之破，罪在嗣昌也。十七年以常澄嗣襄王，寄居九江，後徙汀州，不知所終。

The Prince of Zaoyang [Zhu] Yousi was the great-grandson of Prince Xian [Zhu Zhanshan]. He was adept at martial arts and proficient in composition; he was widely read in astronomical and medical texts. In the early Jiajing reign, he submitted a memorial requesting that Emperor Xian of Xing be referred to as father.¹⁶ Shizong disseminated his recommendations among the imperial clansmen, which was sufficient to convince the minds of the multitudes.¹⁷ So too did the emperor commend him. Moreover, [Zhu Yousi] also requested that clansmen’s stipends be abolished and that they instead be allowed to pursue their own livelihoods through the common people’s enterprises. He also requested that the worthy among them be permitted to propose governmental plans as a means for sitting in the civil service examinations. The request was put aside and rejected. Now, at this time, the Prince of Xiang [Zhu] Youzhi was incapacitated by illness and unable to tend to affairs. The attendant Shao Heng accordingly took power for himself and behaved in a debauched manner, to the extent that he had beaten to death an uncle of the Prince of Zhenning. [Zhu] Yousi lured him [into a confrontation] and gashed out his eyes.

¹⁴ This should be Zhu Changrun 朱常潤 (1594-1645).

¹⁵ For more on Yang Sichang (*js.* 1610, 1588-1641), see: Kenneth M. Swope, *The Military Collapse of China’s Ming Dynasty, 1618-1644* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 125-158.

¹⁶ Emperor Xian of Xing was Zhu Youyuan 朱祐杭 (1476-1519), the Jiajing 嘉靖 Emperor’s (r. 1522-1566) natal father whom he elevated posthumously from the status of prince to emperor. Early in Jiajing’s reign, because Jiajing succeeded the heirless Zhengde 正德 Emperor (r. 1506-1521), the court ardently wished for Jiajing to induct himself into the Hongzhi 弘治 Emperor’s (r. 1488-1505) extinct line of descent in order to preserve the fiction of the throne’s unbroken ritual transmission. This required that Jiajing sever his ritual ties with his natal father and ritually recognize him as uncle while recognizing Hongzhi as his father. All this considered, Zhu Yousi thus ran counter to the prevailing mood in court, arguing that Jiajing ought to instead maintain ritual ties with his father and recognize him as such, thereby relegating Hongzhi to the status of uncle. For Zhu Yousi’s memorial: Liao Daonan 廖道南, *Chuji* 楚紀 (Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊, ser. 7; Beijing 北京: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 書目文獻出版社), 8.5b-6b. The memorial dates to September 1521.

¹⁷ Carney T. Fisher has in contrast written that the memorial “carried but little weight”: *The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 61.

The emperor dispatched Vice Minister of the Court of Judicial Review Yuan Zongru, who was accompanied by a eunuch and member of the Embroidered-uniform Guard, to conduct an investigation. Heng was sentenced to death while [Zhu] Yousi was deprived of his rank. When the emperor visited Chengtian¹⁸ he recalled [Zhu] Yousi's earlier memorial and so reinstated him.¹⁹

[119.3631] 棗陽王祐楨，憲王曾孫也。材武善文章，博涉星曆醫卜之書。嘉靖初上書，請考興獻帝。世宗以其議發自宗人，足厭服羣心，褒之。更請除宗人祿，使以四民業自為生，賢者用射策應科第。寢不行。時襄王祐檣病廢不事事，承奉邵亨挾權自恣，至捶死鎮寧王舅。祐楨誘致之，抉其目。帝遣大理少卿袁宗儒偕中官、錦衣往訊。亨論死，祐楨坐奪爵。帝幸承天，念祐楨前疏，復之。

¹⁸ For more on Jiajing's journey to Chengtian in 1539, see: Carney T. Fisher, "Center and Periphery: Shih-tsung's Southern Journey, 1539," *Ming Studies* 18 (1984): 15-34.

¹⁹ The compilers of the *Mingshi* appear to have made a mistake in fact here: in a *Veritable Records* entry dated to 15 June 1539, we are informed that Zhu Yousi himself requested reinstatement and was so granted: *Shizong shilu* 世宗實錄, 224.4678. Indeed, Jiajing had returned to Beijing from his southern sojourn over a month earlier: John W. Dardess, *Four Seasons: A Ming Emperor and His Grand Secretaries in Sixteenth-Century China* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 125.