

III. GOVERNMENTAL AND QUASI-GOVERNMENTAL COMPILATIONS OF INDIRECT VALUE FOR PRIMARY RESEARCH

III.A. VERITABLE RECORDS (*shilulsillok* 實錄)

It is important to understand that the Veritable Records of the Ming, Qing, and Yi dynasties—the only Chinese or Korean dynasties for which we have more than fragmentary *shilu*—were never single entities until they were published as such in the twentieth century. During the lives of those dynasties, the Veritable Records of successive reigns (usually compiled as soon as possible after the death of each ruler) were kept—in as few as one and as many as five manuscript (or, in Korea, printed) copies—within various imperial or royal precincts, partly as commemorative objects and partly as reference tools in which the most important information was condensed from enormous, highly perishable quantities of primary documents. Usually earlier drafts and working copies were destroyed, but sometimes they were not, and hard-to-identify portions of some of those have survived to puzzle us today. Another complication is that, under Qing rule, drafts and copies of *shilu* were generated in Mongol and Manchu as well as in Chinese. Moreover, toward and after the ends of the Ming and Qing dynasties, portions of their Veritable Records circulated widely in private copies. (To gain some idea of the multifariousness of extant MSS of the Chinese-script Ming and Qing *shilu*, see ZSB. 史, #1872–1913, and the “re-print explanation” 影印說明 in III.C.4, below.)

Of course, Veritable Records also were compiled and preserved for use in writing various official histories and for eventual use in writing the standard history 正史 of the dynasty. If only for that reason, their political sensitivity was great. The *shilu* of all reigns were subject, at best, to contemporaneous pressures—especially from the throne—on decisions about inclusion, omission, and nomenclature. At worst, they were subject to politically or ideologically motivated revisions (whether before or after completion) and to unintended or willful destruction. Among all the Ming, Qing, and Yi dynasty Veritable Records, those most relevant to study of the Ming-Qing conflict also are among the most problematical in these respects. In late Ming, interference with the *shilu* arose mainly in connection with successive, volatile “cases” concerning the emperors personally or the arrogation of imperial powers by the notorious

eunuch Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢. The records for TQ4 and TQ7/6 were first noted to be missing in 1651 and have never been found. Also, as is the case for the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, official shilu never were compiled for the last Ming emperor to reign in Beijing (indeed, most of the central-government documents of the CZ reign were destroyed when the Forbidden City was torched in 1644). Numerous revisions of the Qing shilu are attributable to tensions within the Manchu ruling group and to the desires of later emperors to revamp the historical images of their predecessors, especially by deleting or altering evidence of barbaric, ruthless, or, by later, sinified standards, incorrect or inappropriate behavior. The Korean Veritable Records, for the period under consideration here, have been affected by the circumstance that disagreement within the Korean leadership over policy toward the Manchus led to the overthrow of one monarch (and expulsion from power of his supporting faction) by another (with a new ruling faction) in 1623. Completion of acceptable shilu for those two turbulent reigns was rendered even more difficult by the destructions that attended a Manchu-related revolt of 1624 and the Manchu invasions of Korea in 1627 and 1636.

Nevertheless, the Veritable Records are an indispensable source of late-imperial history, the accessibility and usability of which have been enhanced by some herculean efforts in twentieth-century scholarship. See Franke 1968: 8–23 (an expansion and revision of Franke 1961), esp. n. 33, which lists important earlier scholarship on the Ming shilu; Kanda 1964; Chen Jiexian 1978a; Sin Sök-ho 1964a; and Xie Guian 1995.

1. Ming shilu—for the reigns of Shenzong 神宗 (WL), Guangzong 光宗 (TCh), Xizong 熹宗 (TQ), and the Chongzhen emperor (CZ; Ming posthumous titles Sizong 思宗 and Yizong 毅宗; Qing posthumous titles Huai-zong 懷宗 and Zhuanglie di 莊烈帝).

Full editions:

- (a) *Ming shilu* 明實錄, 500 fasc. Ed. Liang Hongzhi 梁鴻志. N.p., 1940. Largely a rpt. of a twentieth-century copy (then held at the Jiangsu Prov. Lib.) of the late-Ming Baojinglou 抱經樓 MS, formerly in the private Jiayetang 嘉業堂 collection, now held at the IHP. Drawbacks include numerous incorrect characters, misplaced lines, lack of any shilu for Guangzong or real shilu for Xizong, no editorial comparison with other shilu copies, and scarce availability.
- (b) *Ming shilu* 明實錄, 134 vols. App. *Ming shilu jiaokan ji* 校勘記, 29 vols. Comp., ed., coll. Li Jinhua 李晉華, Wang Chongwu 王崇武, Huang Zhangjian 黃彰健 et al. Taipei: IHP, [1962–68?].

The texts of the shilu in this publication are mostly photographic reproductions of a MS copy of the corpus prepared by the early-Qing Ming History Office 明史館. A chronicle of unknown origin (middle Qing or later) is reprinted from (a) to fill the lacuna of TQ4. These base texts have been supplemented, corrected, and compared for alternate characters and phrasings by collation with numerous other shilu texts and reliable contemporaneous sources. The results of these extensive

textual studies are recorded in the appended volumes of collation notes (*jiaokan ji*), in which findings are correlated line by line with the shilu texts in the first set of volumes. For detailed discussions of the works that were used in producing the collation notes for each reign, see Huang Zhangjian 1960.

One text of special value in compensating for gaps and omissions in the Xizong shilu is reprinted in vols. 2–5 of the supplements to this corpus (*Ming shilu fulu* 明實錄附錄): the *Xizong qinian duchayuan shilu* 熹宗七年都察院實錄 [assigned title], comp. Li Changchun 李長春. This consists of TQ-period documents of the Censorate, submitted in early CZ for use in compiling the Xizong shilu. To make up for the lack of official shilu for Chongzhen, vol. 1 of the supplements provides: (i) *Ming □zong □huangdi shilu* 明□宗□皇帝實錄, possibly a Ming History Office draft, which treats the accession of the new emperor during the period TQ7/9–12; and (ii) *Chongzhen shilu* 崇禎實錄, 17 j. (a different copy of which also is appended to [a], above), of unofficial and unknown provenance. Though the latter record is considered inferior to the *Chongzhen changbian* (II.4), it can be used for the period CZ6 – CZ16/9, which the extant *Chongzhen changbian* texts do not cover. Works (i) and (ii) rep. TW, no. 294, 2 vols. 1971.

Pertinent selections: *Mindai Man-Mō shiryō—Min jitsuroku shō* 明代滿蒙史料—明實錄抄. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu 東京大學文學部, 1954–59. “Manshū hen” 滿洲篇, vols. 11–16. WL 47/4 – TQ2/5, vol. 15; TQ2/6 – 7/8, vol. 16. Chronological listing of selections in the “Manshū hen,” vol. 18.

2. **Qing shilu**—for the reigns of Taizu 太祖 (TM), Taizong 太宗 (TC-CD), Shizu 世祖 (SZ), and Shengzu 聖祖 (KX).

The early-Qing Veritable Records were revised repeatedly:

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>First Completion</i>	<i>Completions of Later Revisions</i>
Taizu	1636	1686, 1739
Taizong	1655	1682, 1731, 1739
Shizu	1672	1739
Shengzu	1741	1748 (minimal change)

Though these revisions often served to add legitimate material, correct errors, reduce redundancies, improve style, and effect consistencies in names and terms, often valuable information was deleted and errors inadvertently added, and certainly the more straightforward flavor of earlier records was lost. Moreover, corrections mainly regarded Qing figures and affairs; seldom were errors righted in names, titles, etc. regarding Ming or Southern Ming affairs (for examples of such errors in the Shizu shilu, see Huang Zhangjian 1974). Revisionary changes seem to have been most drastic in the KX period (see Imanishi 1935; Fuchs 1936, pt. 5; Zhuang Jifa 1979, 1983: 317–36; and Qiao Zhizhong 1994: 143–44, 152–53). Generally, when an earlier version is available, it should be consulted, and whenever feasible shilu entries should be checked against archival records, particularly

against those on which the shilu in question probably was based. (For revealing comparisons of the Taizu and Taizong shilu with the Old Manchu Records [I.A.1.d], see Matsumura 1973, 1975; and Zhou Yuanlian 1988: 323–29.) Fortunately, the NPM Lib. holds first-completion copies of the Chinese-text Taizu and Taizong shilu (1636 and 1655, resp.), and the former has been published in a typeset ed.: *Qing Taizu Wu huangdi shilu* 清太祖武皇帝實錄, 4 j. N.p.: Beijing gugong bowuyuan 北平故宮博物院, 1932 (rpt. in KGSL, pt. 2, vol. 5; selections in QRGQ, I: 297–393). Nine months in SZ1, 3, and 5 are represented in IHP-held documents that appear to be drafts for the Shunzhi shilu.

Beginning in the KX period, the Qing shilu were first prepared in Chinese and then translated into Manchu and Mongolian. Before that reign, they were first prepared in Manchu. Thus, it is desirable to consult the earliest Manchu-text shilu for Taizu and Taizong. The NPM holds sixteen broken j. of the latter, and the IHP holds a “draft” of the Taizong shilu for TC5(1631) as well as fragments from other years. As for Taizu, a text that may be the “original” Manchu-script shilu for his reign also is now held at the NPM, after a peregrination from Beijing through the U.S. Library of Congress. That text, which seems to have been complete when used in the 1680s, has been lacking the first quarter—that is, records of matters earlier than 1617—since it was rediscovered in the late 1770s and probably was used to produce the Manchu-script part of the *Manzhou shilu* (discussed below). See Imanishi 1935, [1960] 1967. For a comparison of this text with the early Chinese-script shilu of Taizu’s reign, the so-called *Wu huangdi shilu* 武皇帝實錄, mentioned above, see Mitamura 1959. For a comparison with the Manchu-script part of the *Manzhou shilu* (discussed below), see Mitamura 1957. Mitamura 1957–62 provides a line-by-line comparison, with Japanese translation, of sections of the QL-transcribed Old Manchu Records with the *Qianlong* Manchu-text shilu for Taizu. Tables of all the extant j. from Manchu-text shilu that are held at the NPM can be found in Chen Jiexian 1978a: 117–54 (or 1988: 41–51).

A work entitled *Manzhou shilu* 滿洲實錄 [M. *Manju i yargiyan kooli*], 8 j., is a 1779–81 reproduction of seventy-seven of the illustrations of Nurhaci’s life that were originally completed in 1635 (now lost), accompanied by a tricolunar recopying of the trilingual 1636 version of the Taizu shilu. The near identity of the *Manzhou shilu* text with that of the 1636 Taizu shilu, and the great differences between those two and the 1686 and 1739 revisions, are made very clear in a concordance of the Chinese-script renderings of those four texts by Imanishi Shunjū 今西春秋 in his *Taikō Shin Taiso jitsuroku* 對校清太祖實錄 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1974). For an exhaustive lexicographic and linguistic study of the Manchu text of the *Manzhou shilu*, see Uehara 1960.

Though a relatively late product, the *Manzhou shilu* is thought to be a quite faithful reproduction of precious earlier materials (Chen Jiexian 1978a: 55–100; Chen Jiexian 1988: 56–74; Qiao Zhizhong 1994: chap. 6). Perhaps for that reason, it has been appended at the beginnings of reprints of

the standard shilu (see [a, b], below). A typeset edition of the Chinese text, without illustrations, was published in 1924 in the *Guoxue wenku* 國學文庫 series, no. 9 (Beijing: Wendiange shuzhuang 文殿閣書莊). A photo-reproduction of the Shenyang auxiliary palace copy of the Chinese text, with the illustrations, was published by the Liaoning tongzhiguan 遼寧通志館 in 1930 (rpt. KGSL, pt. 2, vols. 1–3). And a line-by-line Japanese translation of the romanized Manchu text, accompanied by the Chinese text and appending Chinese and Manchu name indexes, was published by Imanishi Shunjū in 1938 in his *Man-Wa taiyaku Manshū jitsuroku* 滿和對譯滿洲實錄 [(*Ubaliyambuha suhe gisun kamcibuha*) *Manju i yargiyān kooli*] ([Shenyang]: Nichi-Man bunka kyōkai 日滿文化協會; rpt. in KGSL, pt. 2, vol. 4, under the title *Zhuyin Manzhou shilu* 注音滿洲實錄).

Full editions:

- (a) *Dai Shin rekichō jitsuroku* [Ch. *Da Qing lichao shilu*] 大清歷朝實錄, 1,220 fasc. in 122 cases. [Shenyang?]: Da Manzhou diguo guowuyuan 大滿洲帝國國務院, [1937]. *Manzhou* and Taizu, case 2; Taizong, cases 3–4; Shizu, cases 5–7; Shengzu, cases 8–14. Rpt. in 94 vols. Taipei: Huawen shuju 華文書局, 1964. *Manzhou* and Taizu, vol. 2; Taizong, vols. 3–4; Shizu, vols. 5–7; Shengzu, vols. 8–13. This set is largely a photo-reproduction of the imperial copy formerly kept in the Chongmoge 崇謨閣 of the auxiliary palace in Shenyang. The texts of the standard early-Qing shilu date from their last revision, completed in 1739 (see Imanishi 1938). The *Manzhou shilu* text dates from 1779–81.
- (b) *Qing shilu* 清實錄, 60 vols. Beijing: ZH, 1986–87. *Manzhou* and Taizu, vol. 1; Taizong, vol. 2; Shizu, vol. 3; Shengzu, vols. 4–6. Reprinted here are shilu texts held at the FHA, Liaoning Prov. Archives, and Palace Museum (Beijing), chosen for their relative quality in various j. sequences. The dates of the texts for the early-Qing reigns are the same as in (a), that is, early QL.

Selections of materials pertaining to Taiwan:

- i. *Qing Shizu shilu xuanji* 清世祖實錄選輯. TW, no. 158. 1963.
- ii. *Qing Shengzu 聖祖 shilu xuanji*. TW, no. 165. 1963.

3. **Yi sillok**—for the reigns of Kwanghae Kun 光海君 (1608–23) and Injo 仁祖 (1623–49):

The Korean Veritable Records were compiled according to principles and methods similar to those followed in China, though with what seems to have been higher degrees of confidentiality and independence from the throne. They generally are more detailed than the Chinese shilu, perhaps showing greater percentages of the underlying documentation, and are more straightforward of expression. They are very rich in material concerning China, the Northeast, and the Mongols during the Ming-Qing era.

Among them, the Veritable Record for the reign of Kwanghae Kun is unusual in several respects. First, it is called an *ilgi* 日記, not a sillok, ap-

parently because Kwanghae Kun was deposed and thus lacked full legitimacy in the view of later authorities. Second, because the most important source records for his reign were destroyed in a rebellion of 1624, the compilation of that ilgi was slow and difficult, taking more than six years. Third, although it had been standard Korean practice since 1445 to keep, in separate depositories, four movable-type copies of the sillok, the condition of the country when this record was completed in 1632–33 was so strained, and paper in such short supply, that no printing could be carried out. Rather, two final MS copies were made and one earlier draft preserved. One of the former is now the “Chongjoksan-pon” 鼎足山本, and the latter is now the “T’aebaeksan-pon” 太白山本, after the names of two of the traditional depositories. The differences between these MSS, both reprinted in (c), below, are regarded as mainly stylistic (Sin Sök-ho 1964a, 1986; paraphrased trans. in Kim 1976: 61–65). The former, however, is much easier on one’s eyes. A translation of the *Kwanghae Kun ilgi* 光海君日記 into modern Korean was published in 1992 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe 民族文化推進會).*

Of the two extant sets of Yi-dynasty Veritable Records (both now held at Seoul National U), the T’aebaeksan set is the principal basis of all twentieth-century reprints. The Koreans themselves never compiled formal sillok for their last two monarchs. This was done by the Japanese colonial government in Seoul, largely following the traditional methods and forms.

Principal editions:

- (a) *Richō jitsuroku* 李朝實錄, 1,893 j. Seoul: Teikoku daigaku hōbun-gakubu 帝國大學法文學部, 1930–32.* Of only thirty photo-copies made, most were taken to Japan. This edition does not include records of the last two kings.
- (b) *Richō jitsuroku*. 56 vols. Tokyo: Gakushūin Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo 學習院東洋文化研究所, 1953–67. Rpt. of (a), adding records of the last two kings.
- (c) *Chosōn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄. 48 vols. Seoul: Kuksa pyōnch’an wiwōnhoe 國學編纂委員會, 1955–58. Vol. 49, General Index, 1963. Rpt. Seoul: T’amgudang 探求堂, 1984–86. Kwanghae Kun, vols. 31–33; Injo, vols. 33–35. Does not include records of the last two kings.
- (d) *Yijo sillok* 李朝實錄. 400 vols. Ed. Sahoe kwahakgwon Yijo sillok pyōnyōksil 社會科學院李朝實錄編譯室. Pyongyang: Sahoe kwahak ch’ulp’ansa 社會科學出版社, 1975–91. Trans. into modern Hangŭl, with the corresponding original text reprinted in each volume.

Pertinent selections:

- i. *Mindai Man-Mō shiryō—Richō jitsuroku shō* 明代滿蒙史料—李朝實錄抄. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu 東京大學文學部, 1956.
- ii. *Chaoxian Lichao shilu zhong de Zhongguo shiliao* 朝鮮李朝實錄中的中國史料, vols. 7–9. Ed. Wu Han 吳晗. Beijing: ZH, 1980.

This is the most pragmatic vehicle of entry for those primarily interested in Chinese affairs or Sino-Korean relations.

- iii. *Chaoxian "Lichao shilu" zhong de Nüzhen shiliao xuanbian*
朝鮮《李朝實錄》中的女真史料選編. Ed. Wang Zhonghan
王鍾翰. QCSL, no. 7. 1979.

Whether under the more cautious and accommodative Kwanghae Kun or under Injo, who seized the Korean throne out of determination to adopt a hard line against the Manchus, the Korean leadership all along recognized that the growth of Manchu power and exacerbation of Manchu-Ming hostilities would eventually have dire consequences for Korea. They were geographically vulnerable not only to attack from Liaodong but also to influxes of desperate bands of refugees from that conflict zone on their border to the northwest. Moreover, as a longtime, staunchly loyal "younger brother" state to the Ming, and recently the recipient of costly Ming assistance in repulsing occupation by the Japanese, Korea was obligated to aid the Ming in its conflict with the Manchus.

Consequently, the Korean government was keenly interested in the course of military developments in the Liao region and adjacent waters, and the Korean Veritable Records copiously reflect this. Up to 1636, the *sillok* contain numerous reports that bring a very informative third perspective to the Ming and Manchu-Qing records of Liao-region military preparations and encounters, in some of which Korean army units were involved (e.g., the crucial Battles of Sarhu; see Ray Huang 1981). After 1636, when Korea was invaded and subjugated by the newly proclaimed Qing state, the *sillok* become absorbed in bitter adjustment to the fact of Qing domination and apologetic toward the Ming court (note, e.g., Injo's procrastination in responding to Qing demands for Korean troops to help fight the Ming). Intelligence reports on the Ming-Qing military situation greatly decrease. But there remain many fascinating passages, particularly those that reveal Korean perceptions of—and deep worries over—the declining capacity of the Ming state to maintain itself.

A very important source of early and middle Yi-dynasty history, well employed in coordination with the *sillok* (as well as with the Korean primary sources featured in this guide—I.A.4 and I.A.33), is the *Yöllyösil kisul* 燃藜室記述 by Yi Kŭng-ik 李肯翊 (1736–1806). This huge corpus was transmitted in many different copies during the late Yi period. Fortunately, a combined, collated, corrected, annotated edition has been made available—with both the Chinese-script text and a complete Hangŭl translation, as well as a detailed index—under the editorship of Yi Pyŏng-do 李炳燾, in the series *Kojŏn kugyŏk ch'ongsŏ* 古典國譯叢書, vols. 1–12 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1966–68, rev. ed. 1982). The first part (38 j.) consists of Yi Kŭng-ik's astute narrations of events (*kosa ponmal* 故事本末) reign by reign, based closely and specifically on early materials. Those concerning the deposition of Kwanghae Kun and the early reign of Injo are in j. 21–26 (vols. 5–6). The second part (19 j.) consists

of extensive copies of passages from primary sources (*kojon* 古典) of Yi-dynasty intellectual and cultural achievements and governmental institutions. Of particular utility for understanding the sillok vis-à-vis the Ming-Qing conflict are the sections on the functions of various offices and officials (*kwanjik* 官職) in j. 6–8 (vols. 9–10) and on border defense (*pyōndō* 邊圉), j. 17–18 (vol. 11). Ref: *Han'guk ui myongjō*: 903–11; Kim 1976: 422–23.

III.B. A NOTE ON LOCAL HISTORIES (*fangzhi* 方志 or *difang zhi* 地方志)

Generally speaking, local histories (also called “gazetteers”) cannot be considered an especially rich kind of primary source for the history of the Ming-Qing conflict, but they should be consulted for information on particular figures or locales. Early *fangzhi* of SZ or KX date are likely to contain entries on local bandits or roving rebels in such narrative sections as *yishi* 遺事, *zaji* 雜紀, and *shiji* 事紀, but seldom are matters pertaining to the Qing conquest or Ming resistance treated in valuable length or detail. The biographical sections (*renwu* 人物 or *liezhuan* 列傳) often avoid figures who participated in the Ming resistance or elide the resistance activities of figures who were too prominent, for other reasons, to omit. Exceptions to this generality tend to be of late Kangxi date, such as the *renwu zhongjie* 人物忠節 sec. (j. 20) of the 1718 *Qiantang xianzhi* 錢塘縣志.

More promising are the *yiwen* 藝文 sections, not only in early-Qing *fangzhi* but especially in nineteenth-century editions. Under *yiwen* can be found memorials by local or regional officials (e.g., that by Qing viceroy Lang Tingzuo 郎廷佐 in the 1683 *Jiangning xianzhi* 江寧縣志, 14/101a–110a) and printings of rare personal accounts by local residents or sojourners that may not have survived in any other form. For an example of the latter, see I.G.10. For several items about figures associated with the Zheng regime, culled from the *yiwen* section of the 1719 *Pinghe xianzhi* 平和縣志, see Zheng Xifu 1986–87, 1: 190–96.

For brief introductions to the genre of local histories and suggestions for further reading, see Pritchard 1968: 202–16; Leslie 1973; or Wilkinson 1975: 114–19.

III.C. PUBLISHED DOCUMENTARY COMPILATIONS

III.C.1. *Baqi tongzhi chujī* 八旗通志初集 [M. *Jakn gsai tung jy i sucungga weilehe bithe*], 250 j.

Comp. Ortai 鄂爾泰 (1680–1745) et al.

Editions:

- (a) Two imperial editions, in Manchu and Chinese script respectively. Preface 1739. Cord-bound rpt. of Chinese-text ed. in 80 fasc. N.p., n.d. 2nd rpt. in 40 vols. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1969. *Zhongguo shixue congshu xubian* 中國史學叢書續編, no. 1.

- (b) Chinese-text edition. Ed. Li Xun 李洵 and Zhao Degui 趙德貴. 8 vols. Changchun 長春: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe 東北師範大學出版社, 1985. 2nd ed. 1989.

This topical gazetteer provides all manner of information on Eight Banner civil and military organization, regulation, education, and culture from the formation of the Banner system in the very early seventeenth century through the end of the YZ reign (1735). Most useful, perhaps, for understanding aspects of the Ming-Qing conflict are the sections on military organization, practices, and principles—the *bingzhi zhi* 兵制志 (j. 26–33)—and the numerous biographies, including those of women (j. 129–250), most sections of which are arranged according to the particular Banner to which the subject belonged (bordered yellow 鑲黃, plain yellow 正黃, plain white 正白, plain red 正紅, etc.) and whether that Banner was Manchu, Mongol, or Han Chinese. The biographies naturally are most informative regarding the subjects' meritorious achievements—in the cases of military figures, their campaign service. When consulted along with the numerous tables of succession to noble ranks, hereditary positions, and high offices, these biographies help greatly to compensate for relative inattention to Bannermen in other biographical sources.

Like many other early-Qing imperial compilations, this work was revised and expanded in the middle Qing. The resultant *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志, 342 j. (completed 1799, Chinese text only), corrects, standardizes, rationalizes, and recategorizes much of the content of the *Chuji* besides adding material (such as biographies of meritorious Bannerman) concerning the Eight Banners in the QL reign. Though welcome in some ways, much of this “improvement” was ideologically motivated (see part one, chap. III, “Minting the Coin”) and actually entailed a reduction in entries and information regarding early-Qing figures. Thus, regarding matters and personages of the Ming-Qing transition, users should consult the *Chuji* first and then turn to the *Qinding*.

An index to biographies in both the *Chuji* and the *Qinding* (Kanda et al. 1965) is especially handy in that it provides a standard romanization for each Manchu and Mongol name.

Ref: Feng Erkang 1986: 70; Zhao Degui 1993.

III.C.2. *Donghua lu* 東華錄 [*Donghua beiyi* 備遺 lu].

Jiang Liangqi 蔣良騏 (1722–88): ECCP: 139–40; Fu Guijiu 1984; Chen Jiexian 1981.

Preface 1765.

- (a) More than a dozen different MSS (most in 16 j., but others in as few as 8 or as many as 34 j.), with many copyists' errors. Perhaps the earliest and best of those, entitled *Donghua beiyi lu*, 16 j.,* probably was the basis of (b), below. For pre-KX research, the 8-j. version should be avoided.
- (b) 16 j. The “Edo official edition” 江戸官刻本, 1807?*
- (c) Several Qing-period imprints also are error ridden. The best among those, the “Shandong ed.” 山東刻本, may have been the basis of

another good ed., from the Rubujizhai 如不及齋 publisher Chen Kun 陳坤 (both probably of TZ-DG vintage).*

- (d) 32 j. Ed. and punct. Lin Shuhui 林樹惠 and Fu Guijiu 傅貴九. Beijing: ZH, 1980. Corrects many errors but adds others.
- (e) Coll. and annot. Chen Jiexian 陳捷先. "Jiang Liangqi Donghua lu jiaoshi" 蔣良騏東華錄校釋. Serial in *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 1.1 (June 1983): 41–60; 1.2 (Dec. 1983): 475–88; 2.1 (June 1984): 117–32; 2.2 (Dec. 1984): 623–37; 4.1 (June 1986): 265–98; 5.1 (June 1987): 275–91. A careful recension of the first 6 j. of Jiang's work (from Nurhaci's origins through SZ8/12), utilizing the extant early-Qing Veritable Records, NPM archival materials, and other sources.

Prior to the wide availability of reprints of the Qing Veritable Records (see III.A), the *Donghua lu*, its supplement, and its continuations were the main recourse for scholars who wished to glimpse Qing court documentation of important events in the dynasty's history. When the QL emperor called for revision of all the early-Qing shilu in 1765, Jiang Liangqi was employed as a compiler in that project. Working in the State History Office 國史館 near the Donghua Gate 東華門 of the palace grounds, Jiang made his own copies of material that he found especially interesting from various documents and records that he encountered in the course of his duties, including original letters and memorials, as well as the pre-1739 versions of the early-Qing shilu. Jiang's notes, arranged chronologically and covering matters from Nurhaci through YZ, were eagerly copied by others and circulated widely during and after his lifetime.

A late-Qing compiler in the State History Office, Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1918), edited and supplemented Jiang's work, and he went on to produce his own *Donghua lu* for the QL, JQ, and DG reigns. These later compilations, known collectively as the *Jiuchao* 九朝 *Donghua lu*, are so voluminous in comparison to Jiang Liangqi's work that scholars have tended to dismiss the latter and just use the former (as in Biggerstaff 1939). This is a mistake, however, in studying the Ming-Qing transition. As Chen Jiexian has shown (e.g., in 1978b), Jiang's notes from documents concerning the struggles to found and consolidate the Qing dynasty are unusually open-minded for an official of QL times, and much of the most valuable content of his work in this respect was not preserved in Wang Xianqian's edition. For example, the letter in which the YL emperor pleads for mercy from Wu Sangui is only to be found in "Mr. Jiang's *Donghua lu*" 蔣氏東華錄, not "Mr. Wang's" 王氏東華錄. Editions (d) and (e), above, improve the accessibility and usefulness of this neglected source.

Ref: Chen Jiexian 1978c; Feng Erkang 1986: 39–41; Wu Xinli 1983: 23–26.

- III.C.3. *Huang Qing zouyi* 皇清奏議 [cover titles: *Huang Qing mingchen* 名臣 *zouyi huibian chujì* 彙編初集 (b); *Huang Qing mingchen zouyi* (c)], 68 j. Comp. Renhe Qinchuan Jushi 仁和琴川居士 [pseud.]. Editions:

- (a) Beijing: Guoshiguan 國史館 Qinchuan Jushi. Typeset ed., probably early nineteenth century. Rpt. in 10 vols. Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe 文海出版社, 1967.
- (b) Ed. Zhang Erqi 張爾耆. Preface 1848. Nanjing: Lizehui 麗澤會, 1902. In 8 fasc. Based on (a).
- (c) [Ed. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉]. N.p., [1936]. In 48 fasc.

This is a collection of more than 700 Qing memorials, dated from SZ1 to QL60, apparently copied by someone who had access to the archives of the State History Office. The selection emphasizes Qing statecraft concerns, efforts, and achievements. For instance, the 177 memorials from the SZ period mostly reflect efforts to restore order, institutional control, and the people's livelihoods, as well as to combat corruption and other abuses. Those that pertain to anti-Ming military pacification measures are relatively few. The latter primarily concern the southeastern maritime zone and secondarily the Southwest (Huguang, Sichuan, and Yunnan).

One shortcoming is that the memorials are dated only with the year. Where possible, more precise dates and more accurate texts should be sought for these copies in published and unpublished archives.

Ref: Feng Erkang 1986: 83–84.

III.C.4. *Qing guoshi: Jiayetang chaoben* 清國史: 嘉業堂鈔本.

Ed. Wu Ge 吳格 (PRC).

Beijing: ZH, 1993. 14 vols. Photocopy of MS in more than 1,875 j., held FUL.

From 1914 through 1928, the draft of the standard history of the Qing dynasty, the *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, was compiled in a special section of what previously had been the Qing State History Office in Beijing (see Griggs 1955; and Feng Erkang 1986: 42–52). During that time, the well-known bibliophile and book collector Liu Chenggan 劉承幹, in return for his substantial monetary support of the faltering *Draft Qing History* project, was provided with MS copies of virtually all the preliminary drafts on which the final *Draft* was based. Those copies were safely stored in Liu's renowned book repository, the Jiayetang, in Nanxun 南潯, Jiangsu, before all the materials in the State History Office, including those used for the *Draft Qing History*, were packed up and consigned to the National Palace Museum. Subsequently, through the disruptions of the War of Resistance against Japan and the ensuing civil war in China, those materials were moved repeatedly. Most of them eventually were taken to Taiwan and now are held at the NPM (see Zhuang Jifa 1980b, 1983: chap. 6; NPM 1982: 37–497). A relatively small portion are now held at the FHA (see FHA 1985: 138–40). Liu Chenggan's set of clear copies, obtained by the FUL in the 1950s, is published here, photo-reduced, under the title *Qing guoshi*.

Herein we are given an opportunity to get one layer beneath the *Draft Qing History*, so to speak, to see the long drafts that were deleted or shortened in the editing process. Provided are drafts of eleven basic annals (*benji* 本紀) and fourteen treatises (*zhi* 志). But more voluminous, and probably more valuable

for most researchers, are the draft biographies (*liezhuan* 列傳), which constitute three-quarters of the *Qing guoshi* and treat 14,934 personages—more than in the *Man-Han mingchen zhuan* 滿漢名臣傳, the QXLZ, the *Qingshi liezhuan*, the *Qingshi gao*, and the NPM or FHA State History Office archives combined. And the biographical information generally is more extensive than in standard sources, even the *Baqi tongzhi* biographies (see III.C.1). One definitely should consult this compilation before embarking on searches through the State History Office archives in Taipei or Beijing.

A four-corner-system name index to the *Qing guoshi* can be found in vol. 14. For a name index to the State History Office biographical materials in Taipei, see NPM 1986.

Ref: Editor's preface.