EMINENT CHINESE

of the

CH'ING PERIOD

(1644-1912)

Edited by
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清代名人傳略

A

ABAHAI, Nov. 28, 1592-1643, Sept. 21, known in official accounts as Huang-t'ai-chi 皇太極 (Khungtaiji), was the eighth son of Nurhaci [q. v.]. He had two reign titles, T'ien-ts'ung 天聰 (1627-36),and Ch'ung-te (1636-44). His mother, Empress Hsiao-tz'u (孝慈髙皇后, 1575-1603), was the youngest daughter of Yangginu [q. v.], chief of the Yehe tribe. In 1616 when Nurhaci reorganized his government, three of his sons and one of his nephews, known together as the Four Senior Beile, were ordered to assist him. They were, in order of seniority, Daišan, Amin, Manggultai [qq. v.], and Abahai. Abahai, being the youngest, was called the Fourth Beile. He was made ruler of one of the eight Banners, probably the Bordered Yellow. In 1619, when Nurhaci's realm was invaded by an expedition under Yang Hao [q. v.], Abahai showed unusual bravery and determination in resisting the invaders and emerged as hero of the campaign. In 1621 Nurhaci ordered the Four Beile to take turns monthly in the administration of national affairs. By this means Abahai became acquainted with civil administration. Immediately following Nurhaci's death Abahai and the other elder princes forced their father's third wife, Hsiao-lieh [q. v.], -mother of Dorgon and Dodo [qq. v.]-to commit suicide, probably in the hope of securing freer action for themselves. Daisan and his sons, Yoto and Sahaliyen [qq. v.], nominated Abahai as successor to Nurhaci. Thus on October 20, 1626, Abahai became the second Han or Khan of the Later Chin (see under Nurhaci).

From 1615 onward all the subjects of the state of Later Chin were divided into eight groups or Banners (see under Nurhaci). From among his sons and nephews Nurhaci selected eight princes, each of whom would have hereditary rule of a Banner. He hoped that after his death these princes would rule jointly under a nominal Khan. It is not clear whether he designated this Khan or whether he expected the princes to select one of their number (see under Nurhaci and Hsiao-

lieh). In any case, he intended that the one selected should exercise but little more power than the other seven. When Abahai became Khan he was in control of the Bordered Yellow Banner and the Plain Yellow Banner. Of the other six banners, the Plain Red was controlled by Daisan, the Bordered Red by Yoto, the Bordered Blue by Amin, the Plain Blue by Manggultai, the Plain White by Dorgon, and the Bordered White by Dodo. Nurhaci's order to give Ajige [q. v.] a Banner was not heeded.

Beginning early in his rule Abahai departed from his father's plans. For a time, however, he had to rule jointly with Daisan, Amin, and Manggultai, and the four sat together as equals to receive homage or to decide on public affairs. Moreover, the three princes continued to take turns monthly as administrator of national affairs, a practice begun in 1621. The abolition of this practice early in 1629 was the first step taken by Abahai to eliminate the powers of his co-rulers. In 1630, because Amin had abandoned a newly conquered area, he was put in prison and there lived ten years. His banner was given to his brother, Jirgalang [q. v.]. In 1632 Daisan and Manggultai abandoned their places beside Abahai and began to pay him the respect required of other princes. After Manggultai died early in 1633, he was accused of having had treasonous ambitions in his lifetime, and his Banner was taken from the control of his family and placed temporarily under Abahai's two Yellow Banners (see under Dorgon). By such means Abahai came into control of three of the eight Banners, rid himself of two important rivals, and concentrated the power of the government in his own hands.

In this program Abahai met almost no opposition. His phenomenal political success was due chiefly to his ability as a military leader, demonstrated in the successful wars he waged against China, Korea, and the Mongolian tribes. Early in 1627 he tried to negotiate by correspondence a peace with Yūan Ch'ung-huan [q. v.], the Chinese governor who had defeated Nurhaci. In these negotiations Abahai demanded, in return for the

A NOTE ON CHUAN TSU-WANG, CHAO I-CHING AND TAI CHEN

A STUDY OF INDEPENDENT CONVERGENCE IN RESEARCH AS ILLUSTRATED IN THEIR WORKS ON THE SHUI-CHING CHU

By HU SHIH

IN MY Preface to this work, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, I cited "the L century-old controversy concerning the Shui-ching chu shih" as one of the examples of "fruitful utilization of contemporary Chinese scholarship" by the writers of these biographical essays. During the past year I have spent fully six months in a special investigation of this famous controversy which involves three great names of the eighteenth century: Chao I-ch'ing, Ch'üan Tsu-wang and Tai Chen [qq. v.]. As a result of this investigation, I am now in a position radically to revise the verdict which has been honestly accepted in these biographies as final. I am grateful to the editor of this series for his permission to let me write this note which endeavors to do full justice to all three of these great men.

This cause célèbre centers around three or four collated and emended texts of the Shui-ching chu, which is the Commentary (chu) by Li Tao-yūan (d. 527 A.D., see I, p. 76) on an earlier geographical work known as the Shui-ching, or Book of Waterways. This earlier work, of unknown authorship, probably completed before 265 A.D., consists of a brief account, comprising some 8,250 words, of 137 rivers in China. Li Tao-yüan was a scholar and official under the Northern Wei Dynasty who wrote, on the basis of his own studies and actual observations, a detailed commentary to the Shui-ching, thus expanding the whole work to about 345,000 words. The combined work contains such a wealth of geographical and historical information that it has remained a classic for fourteen centuries.

But the text of this voluminous work suffered much corruption in transmission through the centuries. It seems that even the so-called "complete text", printed in 1087, was in fact a corrupt and incomplete edition. It was incomplete because, although the printed edition laid claim to having forty chapters, it had in fact only thirty-five—the other five being missing. It had, in addition to numerous minor errors, one major textual corruption in that it often confused the text of the earlier Shui-ching with the Commentary (chu) of Li Tao-yuan—a defect which rendered correct interpretation virtually impossible, and one which was not detected or remedied until the eighteenth century.

Modern Chinese scholarship on the Shui-ching chu dates back to the sixteenth century and can be divided into three periods. The first period (1534-1615) saw the publication of the control the publication of three important editions of the Shui-ching chu: one by Huang Hsing-tsang with a large transfer of the Shui-ching chu: one by Huang Hsing-tseng 黃省會 (1490-1540) which appeared in 1534; another by Wu Kuan 吳琯 in 1585; and a third. 吳琯 in 1585; and a third by Chu Mou-wei (see I, p. 76) in 1615. The last named edition, which incorporated in 1534; another by the notes of edition, which incorporated many important textual collations and the notes of three conscientions collations and the notes of three conscientious scholars, has been the standard text for nearly two centuries and provides the foundation

and provides the foundation for future research in this field.

The second period, covering roughly the second half of the seventeenth century, is noted for several great works on historical geography, produced by that galaxy of scholars which Hsü Ch'ien-hsüeh [q. v.], the retired Chinese political leader, brought together for the purpose of editing the Ta-Ch'ing i-t'ung chih (Comprehensive Geography of the Empire, see I, p. 311). These scholars included Yen Jo-chü, Ku Tsu-yü, Hu Wei [qq. v.] and Huang I (see I, p. 335)—all of whom made important contributions to the study of the Shui-ching chu. The last two, however, Huang I and Hu Wei, attempted a further improvement of the text by making use of contemporary geographical knowledge and by working out a series of maps illustrating the course of the rivers. The works of Huang I are only partially preserved in Hu Wei's Yū-kung chui-chih (see I, p. 335) which, with its forty-seven maps, became the most important key to the study of the main waterways in their historical vicissitudes.

The third period (1725–1794) may be described as the era of consummation in the critical study of the *Shui-ching chu*. Three men stood out pre-eminently in this period: Ch'üan Tsu-wang (1705–1755), Chao I-ch'ing (1711–1764) and Tai Chen (1724–1777). Building on the same cumulative achievements of their predecessors, and applying the same critical methods of research, these three scholars arrived at practically the same solutions of the numerous problems left over from the preceding period. The fact that their methods and results were so impressively similar gave rise, oddly enough, to a suspicion, lasting a century and a half, that one or the other of them had been guilty of plagiarism.

Tai Chen, the youngest of the trio, published at about the same time two editions of his Shui-ching chu. One, printed from movable type by the Palace Press, appeared in 1775; a private edition, printed from wood blocks, came out either in the same year or early in 1776. The Palace edition follows the traditional arrangement in forty chapters and has fairly detailed editorial notes. The private edition abolishes the chapter divisions, and rearranges the waterways according to their geographical proximity, but it contains only the text as emended and rearranged by Tai, without a single editorial note.

The Palace edition was based on the text which Tai Chen had prepared for the Imperial Manuscript Library (Ssū-k'u ch'ūan-shu, see I, p. 121). In preparing this text, he had the rare privilege of using for collation a text contained in the great manuscript encyclopaedia, Yung-lo ta-tien (see I, p. 198), which was first transcribed in the year 1403–08 and re-copied in the sixteenth century. This was probably the only important text that was not known to his senior fellow-workers, Ch'üan and Chao.

Two recently published letters by Grand Secretary Yü Min-chung [q. v.] indicate that, after Tai had submitted his completed text in the summer of 1774, one of the associate directors of the Ssŭ-k'u ch'uan-shu raised some strong objections to it, thus making it necessary for a "compromise arrangement" to be made before it was finally accepted for transcription into the Imperial Library. Hasty conjectures [see II, p. 696) have been made as to the significance of this dispute. My own conjecture is that the objection was perhaps chiefly to Tai's frank opinion of the state of corruption of the Yung-lo text; to his desire to make known that it was his own life-long work which was being used; and that the "compromise arrangement" ordered by the Imperial directors most probably took the form which it now has in

important alterations were made in the text which remains today substantially as it was when it also was transcribed into the Imperial Manuscript Library. (3) That the many real similarities which are observable in the works of Chao and Tai-both in their masterly separation of the long-confused texts of the earlier ching and the later chu, and in thousands of minor textual corrections-illustrates natural phenomenon in the history of science, namely that investigators working on similar materials may often arrive independently at convergent or even identical conclusions. (4) That the manuscript notes of Ch'uan Tsu-wang-who reached independently many important solutions similar to those of Chao and Tai, but did not live to complete his work—are no longer extant; and that the so-called Ch'ūan-shih ch'i-chiao shui-ching chu (see I, p. 205), printed in 1889, which purports to transmit his work, can easily be shown to be a stupid forgery. (5) That those scholars who charged Tai Chen with plagiarism-principally Chang Mu, Wei Yuan, Wang Kuo-wei and Meng Sen-were unduly swayed by feelings of moul indignation against him, which rendered them more eager to press their charges than to search out the facts in the case, or even to establish the truth or validity of what they offered as evidence.

In a sense, the long history of the posthumous persecution of Tai Chen was foreshadowed more than a century and a half ago in his own writings. He explicitly warned us that when li (reason) is not viewed objectively as the internal structure and texture in things, but is subjectively regarded as inborn in man and available to a mind unclouded by selfish desires, there is always the danger of a self-right ous man condemning innocent persons to death in the name of li which unhappily is too often nothing more than his own unexamined opinion. "Sympathy," said Tai Chen, "is sometimes expressed for men who are murdered in the name of li. But who will sympathize with those men who are murdered in the name of li. It was the destiny of the philosopher who uttered these prophetic words to be himself condemned to a moral death—almost without redress and without sympathy, for a hundred years—by a long line of righteous men who honestly believed that by stressing their private conceptions of li they were championing the cause of Justice (kung li).

New York City May 31, 1944

NAMES ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

(Subjects of Biographies)

Yangginu	-1584	Loosa	-1641
Ch'êng Ta-wei	с. 1520-с. 1600	T'ung Yang-hsing	-1632
Li Ch'eng-liang	1526–1618	Wang Hua-chên	-1632
Wan	-1582	Ch'ien Ch'ien-i	1582-1664
Nikan Wailan	-1586	Chu Ch'ang-lo	1582-1620
Chiao Hung	1541-1620	Ai Nan-ying	1583-1646
Yang Hao	-1629	Daišan	1583-1648
Wang Hsiang-ch'ien	-1630	Yüan Ch'ung-huan	1584-1630
Baindari	-1607	Huang Tao-chou	1585-1646
T'ang Hsien-tsu	1550-1616	Man Kuei	-1630
Liu T'ing	-1619	Pi Kung-ch'ên	-1644
Narimbulu		Sun Ch'i-feng	1585-1675
Tung Ch'i-ch'ang	1555-1636	Sun Yūan-hua	-1632
Yuan Ying-t'ai	-1621	Ting K'uei-ch'u	-1647
Chu Kuo-chên	1557-1632	Hsü Hung-tsu	1586-1641
Yang T'ing-yun	1557-1627	Ch'ên Yüan-pin	1587-1671
Ch'ên Chi-ju	1558-1639	Fan Ching-wen	1587-1644
Anfiyanggû	1559-1622	Juan Ta-ch'eng	c. 1587-1646
Nurhaci	1559-1626	Manggultai	1587-1633
Bujantai		Abatai	1589-1646
Wang Chih-ts'ai	-1627	Chang Lien	
Hohori	1561-1624	Chang Ts'un-jen	-1652
Wang Hsiang-chin	1561-1653	Chin Sheng-huan	-1649
Eidu	1562-1621	Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ	1590-1651
Hsü Kuang-ch'i	1562-1633	Hsiao-lich Wu Huang-hou	1590-1626
Chang Chieh-pin	1563-1640	Nikan	-1660
Sun Ch'êng-tsung	1563-1638	Wang Yung-chi	-1659
Fiongdon	1564-1620	Hou T'ung-tseng	1591-1645
Surhaci	1564-1611	Ma Shih-ying	1591-1646(47)
Wang Tsai-chin	1564-1643	Abahai	1592-1643
Baisan	-1627	Ho T'êng-chiao	1592-1649
Ch'êng Chia-sui	1565-1644	Wang Shih-min	1592-1680
Erdeni	-1623	Chin Chih-chun	1593-1670
Sun Shen-hsing	1565–1636	Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou	1593-1665
Wei Chung-hsien	1568-1627	Sun Ch'eng-tse	1593-1675
Hsiung T'ing-ni	-1625	Cheng Man	1594-1638
Li Chih-tsao	-1630	Ni Yüan-lu	1594-1644
Wang Cheng	1571-1644	Chiang Yueh-kuang	-1649
Yang Lien	1571-1625	Dahai	-1632
Yanggûri efu	-1637	Feng Ch'üan	1595-1672
Ch'in Liang-vii	-1648	K'ung Yu-te	-1652
ren Yen	1574-1645	Liu Tse-ch'ing	-1648
Hsieh Sheng	-1645	Meng Ch'iao-fang	1595-1654
Minggantu (havan)	1010	Nikan	-1652
ung Yang-chan	-1621	Ning Wan-wo	-1665
aruthan	1576-1623	Shih K'o-fa	-1645
Mao Wen-lung	1576-1629	Tsu Ta-shou	-1656
Unang Chinan	1577-1621	Ts'ui Tzŭ-chung	с. 1595-с. 1644
Llu Tsung-chou	1578-1645	Ubai	-1665
1 len-ching	1579-1659	Yekšu	-1658
n'en Ch'i-vn	-1648	Amin	-1640
cuyen		Ch'ên Tzŭ-chuang	-1647
Enggeder	1580–1615	Ingguldai	1596-1648
Gintaisi	-1636		1596-1682
Kanggûri	-1619	Tu Yüeh	1597-1684?
Li Yung-fang	-1631	Chang Tai	1597-1666
- ung-rang	-1634	Fan Wên-ch'êng	7001 7000
		063	

CORRECTIONS

Page 55, left column, line 27, for Granld read Grand.

56, right column, line 23, for Shih-tsu read Shih-tsung.

" 66, left column, line 33, for emperior read emperor.

" 76, right column, line 21, for shi read shih; left column, line 18, for 1710?—1764? read 1711-1764.

" 91, right column, line 14, delete hyphen in t'ang-chi.

" 94, right column, line 39, for 校勘記 chiao-k'an chi read 考證 k'ao-cheng.

" 114, right column, line 39, for chuan read chuan.

" 128, left column, line 7, for ingorance read ignorance.

" 129, left column, line 47, for Shang-shu fang read Shang shu-fang.

" 147, right column, line 47, read great-grandsons.

" 168, left column, line 35, for grandnephew read distant cousin.

170, left column, line 9, for chung read Chung.183, left column, line 21, read directors-general.

" 190, right column, line 3, for ch'ang read Ch'ang.

" 199, left column, line 15, for Shou read Shuo.

" 205, right column, line 6, for 1888 read 1889; in bibl., line 4, for III read VII.

" 228, right column, line 9, for ch'ao read ch'o.

272, left column, line 35, for p'o read po.285, left column, 9 lines from below, for 1723 read 1724.

" 298, right column, line 43, for chun read chün.

- " 308, right column, line 23 from below, for 1663 read 1665.
- " 350, right column, line 15 from below, for Tsung- read Tsun-.
- 353, right column, last line, make characters after T. read 玩橋.
 354, left column, first line, make characters after T. read 股件.

" 374, right column, line 32, for Ch'un read Ch'un.

" 390, right column, middle, make personal name Pi read Pi.

" 407, left column, line 27, for perfect read prefect.

" 452, left column, line 22 from below, for Cheng read Ch'eng.

" 479, lower right, line 17 from below, for Pai-fu-tang read Pai-fu t'ang.

"543, right column, line 39, for nien-piao substitute miao-shih nien-hui p'u 險證年詩詩.

" 566, right column, middle, read Reminiscences.

" 572, right column, middle, for Manggebulu read Menggebulu.

820, right column, line 6 from below, for Lingdan read Lindan.

" 848, left column, line 25, for -sun read -sung.

THIRTY-THREE COLLECTIONS OF CH'ING DYNASTY BIOGRAPHIES

(Referred to by Numbers at the Left)

- 1 Ch'ing-shih kao 清史稿 by Chao Ér-hsun and others. Printed 1927-28.
- 2 Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan 清史列傳, Chung-hua Book Company, 1928.
- 3 Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng 國朝耆獻類徵 by Li Huan. See pp. 458-459.
- 4 Pei chuan chi 碑傳集 by Ch'ien I-chi (1893). See p. 151.
- 5 Hsü Pei chuan chi 綺碑傳集 by Miao Ch'üan-sun (1893). See p. 27.
- 6 Pei chuan chi pu 碑傳集補 by Min Êr-ch'ang (1931). See p. 154.
- 7 Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng shih-lueh 國朝先正事略 by Li Yuan-tu. See p. 497.
- 8 Chung-hsing chiang-shuai lieh-chuan 中與將帥列傳 by Chu K'ung-chang.
- 9 Ts'ung-chêng kuan-fa lu 從政觀法錄 by Chu Fang-tseng. Printed 1884.
- 10 Ta-Ch'ing chi-fu hsien-che chuan 大清級輔先哲傳 by Hsü Shih-ch'ang.
- 11 Man-chou ming-ch'en chuan 滿洲名臣傳, privately printed from Archives.
- 12 Han ming-ch'en chuan 漢名臣傳, privately printed from Archives.
- 13 Kuo-ch'ao Han-hsüeh shih-ch'êng chi 國朝漢學師承記. See pp. 137-138.
- 14 Sung-hsüeh yuan-yuan chi 宋學淵源記. See pp. 137-138.
- 15 Yen-Li shih-ch'êng chi 颜李師承記. See biography of Yen Yüan.
- 16 Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an hsiao-chih 清儒學案小識 by T'ang Chien (1884).
- 17 Wen-hsien cheng-ts'un lu 文獻徵存錄. Printed 1858.
- 18 Kuo-ch'ao ming-ch'ên yen-hsing lu 國朝名臣言行錄 by Wang Ping (1885).
- 19 Ch'ing hua-chia shih-shih 清畫家詩史 by Li Chün-chih. Printed 1930.
- 20 Ch'ing-tai hsueh-che hsiang chuan 清代學者象傳 by Yeh Kung-ch'o (1928).
- 21 Ch'ing-tai kuei-ko shih-jen cheng-lüeh 清代閨閣詩人徵略. Printed 1922.
- 22 Kuo-ch'ao ming-chia shih-ch'ao hsiao-chuan 國朝名家詩鈔小傳.
- 23 Kuo-ch'ao shih-jen cheng-lüch ch'u-pien 國朝詩人徵略初編. See p. 58.
- 24 Kuo-ch'ao shih-jen cheng-lüeh er-pien 國朝詩人徵略二編. See p. 58.
- 25 Fei-hung t'ang yin-jen chuan 飛鸿堂印人傳 by Wang Ch'i-shu (see biog.).
- 26 Kuo-ch'ao shu-hua-chia pi-lu 國朝書畫家筆錄 by Tou Chen (1911).
- 27 Kuo-ch'ao hua-chih 國朝畫識 by Feng Chin-po and Wu Chin (1831).
- 28 Mo-hsiang chü hua-chih 整香居畫識 by Feng Chin-po.
- 29 Kuo-ch'ao shu-jen chi-lueh 國朝書人輯路 by Chen-chün (1908).
- 30 Ho-cheng lu 饱飲錄. See biography of Li Fu-sun on p. 457.
- 31 Ho-cheng hou-lu 衡徵後錄 by Li Fu-sun. See p. 457.
- 32 Chi-wei tz'ŭ-k'o lu 己未詞科錄 by Ch'in Ying. See p. 168.
- 33 Kuo-shih lieh-chuan 國史列傳, printed by Tung-fang hsüeh-hui from Archives.

M 1 refers to the Ming Dynastic History (Ming-shih 明史).