

## Notes on the Manchu Text Version of Ch'ing Emperors' *Shih-lu* (Veritable Records)

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There were several types of official history in imperial China. One type, which focussed on the emperor and the central government, was known as the *Shih-lu* (Veritable Records). *Shih-lu* means "recording what actually happened." These two characters were originally used to praise the great Chinese historian Ssu-ma Chien's *magnum opus*, *Shih-chi*, which it was said, "did not vainly praise or intentionally conceal."<sup>(1)</sup> During the Sui (589-618 A. D.) and T'ang (618-905 A. D.) dynasties, it became the responsibility of each emperor to prepare a history of his predecessor's reign. To emphasize that these works were as factual as the *Shih-chi*, the term *shih-lu* was used in their titles. According to present sources, the term was first used in this way during the Liang dynasty (502-557 A. D.). The *Ching-chi chih* (essays on classics) section of the *Sui Shu* (history of Sui dynasty) records that Chou Hsing-ssu and Hsieh Wu, respectively, wrote *Shih-lu* for emperors Wu and Yuan.<sup>(2)</sup> In the T'ang, the practice of compiling a *Shih-lu* after the death of every emperor became institutionalized. Unfortunately, most of these writings have been destroyed, and we can only find fragments of early *Shih-lu* in some private collections and in the *Erh-shih-wu shih* (twenty-five official histories).<sup>(3)</sup> However, most of the Ming (1368-1644 A. D.) emperors' *Shih-lu* still exist and have been edited and published by scholars in Taiwan over the past two decades. These texts are recognized by the international Sinological community as basic source of Ming history.<sup>(4)</sup>

After the Manchus had become rulers of China in 1644, they adopted many Chinese institutions, especially those which recorded of history. However, even before the Manchus had established themselves in Peking, they compiled *Shih-lu*

(1) Pan Ku, *Han Shu* (History of Han Dynasty), *chüan* 62, "Ssu-ma Ch'ien chwan" (the biography of Ssu-ma Ch'ien).

(2) *Sui Shu* (History of Sui Dynasty), *chüan* 33.

(3) For details, see Chin Yü-fu, *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih* (Chinese Historiography), pp. 97-124, Commercial Press, Taipei.

(4) Ming emperors' veritable records edited and published by Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China. For details, see its preface and colophon.

for the first emperor, Nurhaci, in 1635. The *Chiu Man-chou tang* (Early Manchu Archives) recorded:

"Wise Khan (Hong Taiji) ordered. . . . two artists, Chang Chien and Chang Ying-k'uei to paint a record of the Nurbaci's reign, using the documents recording events of that period (as a basis). When they finished, because they had done a good job, Chang Chien was rewarded with a pair of men and an ox, while Chang Ying-k'uei was rewarded with a pair of men."<sup>(5)</sup>

In order to conform more closely to the Chinese pattern, Hong Taiji, Nurhaci's son, later ordered that a text be written out in Manchu, Mongol and Chinese; this work was completed in 1636. The result was still quite different from a Chinese-style *Shih-lu*; the Manchu archives said:

"... The official historians Hife, Garin and the Manchu, Mongol and Chinese clerks, *koutou* to the emperor and report: We have received the imperial edict, and have already prepared a *Shih-lu* for the T'ai-dzu (Nurhaci) and T'ai-hou (his empress), written in Manchu, Mongol and Chinese. A history for all times, (it was completed) on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month, first year of the Ch'ung-te reign period."<sup>(6)</sup>

From this passage, it is evident that the 1636 version of Nurhaci's *Shih-lu* was prepared for both the emperor and empress.

In all Chinese history there is no such *Shih-lu*, since only an emperor, not an empress, could be the subject of a *Shih-lu*. Probably Hong Taiji ordered such a *Shih-lu* because he wanted to justify his own succession to the Manchu throne. Most historians recognize that Hong Taiji's succession was disputed. Hong Taiji's mother died very early. Later, Nurhaci became particularly fond of Dorgon's mother, especially in his late years. In order to prove that his succession had been both legal and in accord with tradition, and to raise his mother's position, Hong Taiji ordered a *Shih-lu* of both the "emperor and the empress" prepared.<sup>(7)</sup>

Even though the pictorial and written versions of the Nurhaci *Shih-lu* had been prepared in Mukden, the Manchu rulers ordered it revised during Dorgon's and the Shun-chih emperor's times. This version of Nurhaci's *Shih-lu* was however, revised at least twice during the period, and the revisions probably reflect

(5) *Chiu Man-chou tang* (Early Manchu Archives), 9:4415, National Palace Museum reprinted edition, Taipei.

(6) *Ibid.*, 10:5297-5307.

(7) For details, see my "A Study of the Succession to the Throne in the Early Ch'ing Dynasty", *Man-chou tsung-k'ao* (Studies on the Early Ch'ing Dynasty), pp. 79-95, National Taiwan University Press, 1963, Taiwan, ROC.

power struggles within the Ch'ing court. According to Korean sources, the rightful heir of Nurhaci was not Hong Taiji, but Dorgon (1612-1650). Relying on military power, Hong Taiji asserted his rights over his young brother Dorgon; when Hong Taiji died, however, Dorgon had acquired military strength, and made himself regent for Hong Taiji's son, the Shun-chih emperor (1638-1661). As regent, Dorgon in all likelihood removed those portions of Nurhaci *Shih-lu* which raised the position of Hong Taiji's mother, and emphasized his own position. Dorgon died in late 1650, and shortly after his death a struggle broke out among the officials at the court. Dorgon's titles and awards were posthumously rescinded, and he was accused of plotting against the state. Of course, officials close to Dorgon were also accused and punished. Among these, Garin and Kicungge, and others were relieved of office or sentenced to death. One of their crimes was "changing the Nurhaci *Shih-lu*, cutting out passages relating to Dorgon's mother, and adding language about Dorgon himself."<sup>(8)</sup> Garin and Kicungge had been appointed in 1649 to a historical commission for the preparation of the Hong Taiji's *Shih-lu*.<sup>(9)</sup> But in this capacity, they prepared a *Shih-lu* that did not emphasize strongly enough the accomplishments of Hong Taiji. In addition, they also prepared a *Shih-lu* for Nurhaci. The edition of Nurhaci's *Shih-lu* prepared by Garin and Kicungge perished with them and after the Shun-chih emperor personally assumed the imperial power, he ordered that a *Shih-lu* for his father as well as a *Shih-lu* for his grandfather Nurhaci reign be re-done. The version of the Nurhaci's *Shih-lu* stored today at the National Palace Museum in Taipei is probably this version. The date of this edition cannot be definitely established. However, the weight and color of the paper, and the size and form of the characters used in this edition, are the same as those used in the Hong Taiji *Shih-lu*, which we know to have been finished in 1655.<sup>(10)</sup> This edition of Nurhaci's *Shih-lu* cannot have been written later than 1663, because the characters used in the personal name of the K'ang-hsi emperor and his sons are not tabooed as they would be if the edition had been prepared during or after his reign. The K'ang-hsi emperor (1654-1722) ordered the *Shih-lu* of Nurhaci revised again in 1673. He ordered this revision in order to provide the *Shih-lu* with a preface and table of contents, and make the contents and style accord more with Chinese tradition. The K'ang-hsi revision was very severe. Not only was there some change in the contents, but the characters and wording were altered to be more elegant.

(8) *Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu*: Shun-chih, 54:21a-24a.

(9) *Ibid.*, Shun-chih, 42:3a.

(10) For details, see Fang Shu-sheng's "A Study of the Revisions of Ch'ing Tai-dsu *Shih-lu*" in *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, Vol. 7, No. 1-2, 1938, Pei-ping.

As a result of this revision, the work grew from four *chüan* (volume) to ten *chüan* in length and acquired two *chüan* of tables and introduction. Furthermore, Nurhaci's title "Wu Huang-ti" (the Martial Emperor) was even changed to "Kao Huang-ti" (the Exalted Emperor).<sup>(11)</sup> In 1734, the Yung-cheng emperor (1678-1735) ordered a fourth revision, in order to make all the place and personal names in the work consistent; in fact there were also some changes in content. For example, when Hong Taiji's mother died, Nurhaci ordered four of her maidservants buried with her; all record of this affair was omitted from the Yung-cheng revised edition. Or again, when Nurhaci entered K'ai-yuan city, he burned all the houses and government buildings, but in the revised edition no mention is made of this.<sup>(12)</sup> The resulting work occupied thirteen *chüan* and was not further revised. There are four important differences between the early editions of first emperor Nurhaci's *Shih-lu* (1636, 1655) and the later versions (1673, 1674): First, early editions are written in a very simple style, while the language of the later editions is more elegant and polished. Second, more documents are included in the later than in the earlier versions; some 53 edicts not found in the early editions can be found in the K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng editions. Third, although later editions contain more documents, records of certain events, involving cruel behavior, scandal or power struggle have been suppressed. Fourth, the later editions follow the Chinese practice of tabooing the personal names of the imperial family; so many Manchu personal names have been changed to Chinese style titles.

After the middle period of the Ch'ien-lung reign (-1736-1795-), the emperor ordered a book entitled *Man-chou shih-lu* in Chinese, or *manju i yargiyan kooli* in Manchu, to be prepared. From the title of this book one cannot see any special relation to Nurhaci, but the entire contents of the book are devoted to Nurhaci's reign. The book has parallel texts in Manchu, Chinese and Mongol, with seventy-seven illustrations. According to my own research, the contents of the *Man-chou shih-lu* is just the same as that of the Manchu text version of *Wu Huang-ti shih-lu* prepared in the Shun-chih period; only a few words are changed, some of these differences are differences between old and new Manchu usage and writing methods, some are due to increased understanding by the Manchus of the Chinese language and culture. But the contents as a whole have no important differences.<sup>(13)</sup>

(11) For details, see my "The Manchu Versions of Ch'ing Dynasty Archives: An Introduction to the *Shih-lu* (veritable records)", Da Hua Book Store, Taipei, 1978.

(12) Lo Chen-yü, *T'ai-dsu kao-huang-ti shih-lu kao-pen san-chung*, p. 242 and Ch'ing *Shih-lu*: Ch'ien-lung: 6:20a.

(13) For details, see my "The Origin and Value of the *Man-chou shih-lu* (Manchu Veritable records), prepared for the International Ch'ing Archives Symposium, to be held from July 2 to July 8, 1978 in Taipei, Taiwan, ROC.

The *Shih-lu* for the second Ch'ing emperor, Hong Taiji, was ordered compiled in 1649, but the work was almost certainly not begun at that time. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but they probably, as mentioned above, had to do with long-standing bad blood between Hong Taiji and Dorgon. Not until 1650, when Dorgon died and the Shun-chih emperor began to exercise power personally did work on the second Ch'ing *Shih-lu* begin. The first edition was finished in 1655, but in 1667 the K'ang-hsi emperor ordered his ministers to revise this edition in order to make the contents and style accord more with Chinese tradition. A Grand Secretariat note, dated 1667, cited the following reasons for this revision:

- (a) The characters used to render Manchu names into Chinese were inappropriate.
- (b) Personal names were incorrect.
- (c) Chronology was incorrect.
- (d) Records that ought to have been preserved had been neglected.
- (e) Minor matters that need not have been discussed were included.
- (f) Some matters were discussed twice.
- (g) Heavenly stems and earthly branches (a traditional Chinese dating system) were not used.
- (h) Many events undated in the original were now datable.
- (i) The Manchu and Chinese versions differed in some places.
- (j) The Chinese text, even where it agreed with the Manchu text, was occasionally inelegant.<sup>(14)</sup>

The above were, of course, only the official reasons for revising the second emperor's *Shih-lu*; there may have been others. For whatever reason, many terms and records in the original Hong Taiji *Shih-lu* were changed, and important evidence of early Manchu customs and cultural traditions disappeared.<sup>(15)</sup> The resulting work occupied 67 *chüan*. In 1734, the Yung-cheng emperor ordered another revision, to make the place and personal names in the work consistent, and the final edition was finished in 1739.

Generally speaking, from the Yung-cheng period on, the work of compiling *shih-lu* became systematized. Each new emperor ordered his predecessor's *Shih-lu* compiled shortly after he ascended the throne. Except in the case of the Ch'ien-lung emperor's *Shih-lu*, which occupied 1,500 *chüan* and took nine years to compile, the work of compiling an emperor's *Shih-lu* generally needed four to six

(14) Please see Fang Shu-sheng's article (see footnote No. 10).

(15) For details, see my "The Manchu Versions of Ch'ing Dynasty Archives: An Introduction to the *Shih-lu*".



years. For example, the Yung-cheng *Shih-lu* was ordered in the third month of the Ch'ien-lung's reign, and finished in the sixth year of his reign.<sup>(16)</sup> The Chia-ch'ing emperor's (1760-1820) *Shih-lu* was commissioned about two months after his death, on October 13, 1820. On November 17, 1820 a commission was established to edit the work. It was finished on May 18, 1824.<sup>(17)</sup> After Yung-cheng, the only instances of revision involved changes of posthumous names or mere recopying. According to historical sources, the Ch'ien-lung emperor ordered his grandfather's posthumous name changed in 1748; this necessitated recopying the first and last pages of each *chüan* of the K'ang-hsi *Shih-lu*.<sup>(18)</sup> In 1797, the Chiao-t'ai Hall of the Ch'ien-ch'ing Palace burned, and parts of various *Shih-lu* were destroyed. The emperor ordered them recopied. Copies of the *Shih-lu* were also destroyed when the Allied Expeditionary Force entered Peking after the Boxer Rebellion in 1900; when the Empress Dowager and Emperor returned to capital, they were ordered recopied.<sup>(19)</sup>

According to Ch'ing practice, when each emperor's *Shih-lu* was compiled, five copies were made. Two copies were large, three were small. The two large copies and two of the small copies were bound in red silk; one of the small copies was bound in yellow silk. The large and small red silk-bound copies were stored in the old palace in Mukden; the Inner Palace, Imperial Library and the Grand Secretariat in Peking. The small yellow silk-bound copy, stored in the *Shih-lu* k'u (Store house for the Veritable Records) of the Grand Secretariat in Peking, was solely for the education of the crown prince, to teach him about his ancestors and their achievements. The copies stored in Peking included Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese versions. The Mukden copy included only Manchu and Chinese versions.<sup>(20)</sup> One more point about the language of Ch'ing *Shih-lu* is worth noting. While early emperor's *Shih-lu* were composed in Manchu and then translated into Chinese, from the K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng periods on, the Ch'ing *Shih-lu* were written first in Chinese, then translated into Manchu.<sup>(21)</sup>

Some thirty years ago, when the Chinese government moved to Taiwan, they did not bring all the originals of the Manchu texts version *Shih-lu* with them;

(16) See "Ch'ing Jen-tsung shih-lu kuan tsou-che-tang" (Memorials from the Veritable Records Office of the Chia-ch'ing Emperor) in *Wen-hsien ts'ung-pien* (Collectanea of historical documents of the Ch'ing dynasty), Palace Museum, Peiping, 1930-; Taipei reprinted by Kuo-feng Publishing Co., 1964, p. 1024.

(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 1023-1031.

(18) Ch'ing *Shih-lu*: Ch'ien-lung, 326 *chüan*, Ch'ien-lung thirteenth year, tenth month, fourth day's edict.

(19) Fang Shu-sheng, "Notes on the Revisions of the Ch'ing shih-lu", *Fu-jen hsueh-chih*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1939, Peiping.

(20) "Ch'ing Jen-tsung shih-lu kuan tsou-che-tang" in *Wen-hsien ts'ung-pien*, p. 1026.

(21) *Wen-hsien ts'ung-pien*, pp. 1024; 1079.

only a portion of the red silk-bound Manchu version of *Shih-lu* are now available. We don't know whether these copies originally belonged to the Inner Palace, Imperial Library or the Grand Secretariat. In recent times, the books first belonged to the *Ts'ung-t'ung fu* (President's Office), then were given to the *Kuo-shih kuan* (Bureau of National History), and then passed to the National Palace Museum, where they have resided for the past eight years. The *Shih lu* are, therefore, relatively recent acquisitions of the Palace Museum, and not a part of their Manchu archive collection, which includes only *Pen-chi* (Basic Annals), *Ch'i-chü-chu* (Notes on Emperors' Daily Activities), memorials and others.<sup>(22)</sup>

The Museum collection of Manchu *Shih-lu* is not complete. During the past year I have tried to ascertain the completeness of the Palace Museum collection. The following presents the results of my work.

First, the materials originally in the National Library of Peiping and now temporarily stored at the Palace Museum are composed of only the manuscript *T'ai-tsu Wu Huang-ti Shih-lu* written in the Shun-chih period. The first volume of it has been lost, but the other three volumes still exist. The calligraphy, language, and binding of this book all are of the ancient style. This is the oldest and rarest of the *Shih-lu* of Manchu texts. Professor Imanishi Shunju also reprinted a Manchu text *Wu Huang-ti Shih-lu* a few years ago. He used the version still in the National Library of Peiping on the mainland. I feel that his text is a later one than that stored in Taipei.

Second, the materials which originally belonged to the Bureau of National History and were later given to the National Palace Museum are numerous, more than 1,000 volumes. They all date from the Ch'ien-lung 4th year (1739) and later, are all manuscripts. Following is a table of these holdings:

(1) T'ien-ming reign period (1616-1626):

(T'ien-ming was Nurhaci's reign title)

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
6/7-8/10	1	8th	
9/1-10/11	1	9th	
11/1-8	1	10th	

(22) It seems that former catalogues of the National Palace Museum's holdings of Manchu materials rarely mentioned the existence of these invaluable historical documents. I have recently discovered that the Museum holds virtually complete-sets of Manchu manuscripts of these Basic Annals, Veritable Records, and Notes on Emperors' Daily Activities.

## (2) T'ien-ts'ung reign period (1627-1635):

(Hong Taiji or Abahai had two reign titles: T'ien-ts'ung and Ch'ung-te).

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
3/1-12	1	5th	
4/1-12	2	6th, 7th	
5/1-12	3	8th, 9th, 10th	
9/3-10	3	23rd, 24th, 25th	

## (3) Ch'ung-te reign period (1636-1643):

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
2/7-12	3	37th, 38th, 39th	
3/1-5	2	40th, 41st	
8/9-12	1	2nd	

## (4) Shun-chih reign period (1644-1661):

(The Shun-chih Emperor was the first Manchu emperor to reign in China. From Shun-chih on, each emperor used only reign title; the emperors are therefore commonly referred to by their reign titles).

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
preface	1		the introductory chapters are not numbered
table	1		
table and number of chapters	1		
1/1-3; 8-10	7	1st-3rd, 7th-10th	
2/7-9	2	19th-20th	
3/1-2	2	23rd-24th	
5/1-12	6	36th-41st	
7/1-12	5	47th-51st	
8/7-12	4	58th-61st	
9/1-3	2	62nd-63rd	
10/7-12	3	77th-79th	
11/1-3	3	80th-82nd	
15/7	1	119th	
16/3	1	124th	
17/1-6	7	131st-137th	



## (5) K'ang-hsi reign period (1662-1722)

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
1/8-12	1	7	
2/1-12	3	8-10	
3/1-7	2	11-12	
11/9-12	1	40	
12/1-3	1	41	
13/2-12	6	46-51	
14/2-4	2	53-54	
17/4-6	2	73-74	
20/1-7	3	94-96	
21/1-5	3	100-102	
22/6	1	110	intercalary month added after 6th month
24/5-12	3	121-123	
25/1-6	3	124-126	
27/1-2	1	133	
28/9-12	2	142-143	
29/1-7	4	144-147	
35/11-12	1	178	
36/1-3	4	179-182	intercalary month added after 3rd month
37/1-12	5	187-191	
38/1-6; 9-10	3	192-193, 195	
41/5-12	3	208-210	
42/11-12	1	214	
43/1-7	2	215-216	
44/4-10	3	220-222	
46/6-12	2	230-231	
47/10-12	1	235	
48/1-4	2	236-237	
49/1-9	3	241-243	
50/7-12	2	247-248	
51/1-3	1	249	
52/1-7; 11-12	4	253-255; 257	
53/1-4	1	258	
56/1-8	3	271-273	
60/10-12	1	295	
61/1-11	5	296-300	

## (6) Yung-cheng reign period (1723-1735)

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
preface	1		
number of volumes	1		
table	1		
K'ang-hsi 61/11-12	2	1-2	K'ang-hsi died in 11th month of 61st year of his reign. It was the Chinese practice to change reign title until the beginning of the following year.
Yung-cheng 1/2-4;			
8-10	6	4-6; 10-12	
2/2-4	3	16-18	
3/10-12	3	37-39	
4/1-3	3	40-42	
5/9-11	3	61-63	
6/1-2; 6-8	5	65-66; 70-72	
7/6-7	3	82-84	intercalary month added after 7th month
8/8-12	5	97-101	
9/1-4	4	102-105	
13/6-7	2	157-158	

## (7) Ch'ien-lung reign period (1736-1795)

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
Preface, etc.	1		
Yung-cheng 13/8-9	3	1-3	
Ch'ien-lung 1/7-9	6	22-27	
2/1-3	6	34-39	
3/10-12	6	78-83	
4/4-6	6	90-95	
5/1-3; 5	7	108-113; 116	
6/1-2; 7-12	15	134-136; 146-157	
7/4-6	5	164-168	
8/10-12	5	202-203; 205-207	
9/7-9	6	220-225	
10/1-3	5	233-237	
11/1-9	19	256-274	
12/1-6; 10	12	282-288; 290-293; 300	
13/10-12	6	326-331	
14/1-12	23	332-349; 351-355	lacks the records of first part of 10th month

15/1-6; 10-12	17	356-366; 374-379	
16/4-6	8	386-393	intercalary month added after 5th month
17/1-9	17	406; 408-423	lacks the records of later part of first month
18/1-3	6	430-435	
19/1-2; 4-6	11	454; 456-457; 460-467	lacks the records of the later part of first month and intercalary month added after 4th month
20/4-6	5	486-488; 490-491	lacks the records of later part of 5th month
21/7-12	17	516-529	intercalary month added after 9th month
22/4; 6	3	536-537; 541	
24/4-12	20	584-603	intercalary month added after 6th month
25/7-10; 12	10	616-623; 626-627	
26/1-3; 5-12	22	628-633; 636-651	
27/10-12	6	672-677	
28/1-5	10	678-687	some of them contain water-stains or partially destroyed by bookworms
29/5-6	3	711-713	
30/1-3; 10-12	12	726-727; 729; 731-733; 746-751	intercalary month added after 2nd month
31/11-12	4	772-775	
32/3	2	780-781	
34/4-6	5	832-836	
35/8-9; 11-12	7	867-869; 872-875	
36/4-6	6	882-887	
39/1-9	17	950-964; 966-967	
40/1-3; 10-12	14	974-979; 992-999	intercalary month added after 10th month
41/4-5; 10	4	1007-1009; 1018	
42/1-3; 7-9	11	1024-1027; 1029; 1036-1041	
43/1-6; 10-11	17	1048-1061; 1069-1071	intercalary month added after 6th month
45/1-5; 10-12	15	1098-1106; 1116-1121	
46/4-6	8	1128-1135	intercalary month added after 5th month
47/1-3; 10	7	1148-1153; 1166	
49/4-6; 10-12	12	1204-1209; 1216-1221	
50/1; 7-9	7	1222; 1234-1239	
51/1-3; 7-12	18	1246-1251; 1260-1271	
52/1-3; 7-12	18	1272-1277; 1284-1295	
54/7-9	5	1334-1337; 1339	
55/1-2	4	1346-1349	
56/7-9	6	1382-1387	

57/10-12	6	1414-1419
59/10-12	6	1462-1467
60/1; 2; 4; 6	5	1468; 1473; 1476; 1480-1481

## (8) Chia-ch'ing reign period (1796-1820):

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
1/spring summer & autumn winter	2	1494th-95th	
2/spring summer & autumn winter	2	1496th-97th	
3/spring summer & autumn winter	2	1498th-99th	
4/1	1	1500th	
2/1-6; 12	7	13rd-18th; 25th	
3/1-5	5	26th-30th	
5/7-9	4	71st-74th	
6/7-12	8	85th-92nd	
7/5-6	2	98th-99th	
8/1-3	4	107th-110th	intercalary month added after 2nd month
9/4-6; 10-11	6	128th-130th; 135th-137th	
10/5-6	4	143rd-146th	intercalary month added after 6th month
12/4-6	5	178th-182nd	
13/7-9	4	198th-201st	
14/1-3; 5-9	10	206th-208th; 211st-215th; 217th-218th	
15/4-6; 10-12	7	228th-231st; 235th-237th	
16/1-3; 7-9; 12	8	238th-241st; 246th-248th; 252nd	intercalary month added after 3rd month
17/1-3	3	253rd-255th	
19/4-9	9	289th-297th	
20/5-9	5	306th-310th	
21/7-9	3	320th-322nd	
22/4; 7; 9	3	329th; 332nd; 334th	
23/4-9	7	341st-347th	
24/1-3	3	353rd-355th	
25/4-6	4	369th-372nd	
25/7	1		this is the first chapter for the Tao-kuang em- peror and is not num- bered

(9) Tao-kuang reign period (1821-1850);

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
1/4-6; 9-12	10	16th-20th; 23rd-27th	
2/7-9	4	38th-41st	
3/7	2	54th-55th	
3/8-9	3	57th-59th	
4/4-6	3	67th-69th	
6/1; 4-9	11	94th; 97th-106th	
8/1-3; 7-9	8	132nd-134th 138th-142nd	
9/4-6; 10-12	6	155th-157th; 161st-163rd	
10/4-6; 10-12	11	167th-170th; 176th-182nd	intercalary month added after 4th month
11/1-3; 10-12	10	183rd-186th; 198th-203rd	
12/4-6	5	209th-212nd; 214th	
13/4-6	5	235th-239th	
14/10	1	258th	
15/4-6	4	265th-268th	intercalary month added after 6th month
18/4; 7-10	5	308th; 312nd-315th	
19/2-3	2	319th-320th	
21/1-3	7	344th-350th	intercalary month added after 3rd month
22/4-6	7	370th-376th	
24/7-9	3	407th-409th	
25/1-3; 7-9	6	413rd-415th; 419th-421st	
26/1-3	3	425th-427th	
27/4-6; 10-12	6	441st-443rd; 448th-450th	
28/3-6	4	453rd-456th	
28/7-9	3	470th-472nd	

(10) Hsien-feng reign period (1851-1861):

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
Tao-kuang 30/1-3; 7-9; 10-12	18	2nd-6th; 9; 13rd-24th	
preface, table, etc.	4		
1/1-2; 4-12	24	25th-28th; 31st-50th	intercalary month added after 8th month
2/1-12	27	51st-56th; 59th-64th; 66th-80th	

3/1-12	32	81st-97th; 100th-107th; 109th-112nd; 114th; 116th	
4/1-9	25	119th-125th; 127th; 129th-133rd; 135th-146th	intercalary month added after 7th month
5/1-9	20	156th-158th; 160th-170th 173rd-178th	
6/1-12	27	188th-192nd; 194th-215th	
7/1-3; 6; 10-12	12	217th-220th; 222nd; 229th; 237th-242nd	
8/2-3; 7-9	10	245th-247th; 249th; 258th-263rd	
9/1-6; 10-12	22	273rd-278th; 280th-286th; 296th-304th	
10/1-7; 9-12	29	306th-307th; 309th-326th; 330th; 332nd-339th	
11/4-6	7	348th-352nd; 354th-355th	

## (11) Tung-chih reign period (1862-1874):

year/month	no. of volumes extant	chapter(s) extant	remarks
Hsien-feng 11/7-9 preface, table contents, etc.	5 4	1st-5th	
1/1-3; 7-8	9	16th; 20th-23rd, 33rd-36th	
3/5-9	14	102nd-111st; 113rd-116th	
4/1-9	26	126th-136th; 139th-146th; 149th-155th	
5/4-6; 10-12	10	174th-179th; 187th; 190th-191st; 193rd	
6/4-9	12	201st-212nd	
7/3; 10-11	5	227th; 244th-247th	
8/1-9	16	250th-264th; 267th	
9/4-11	20	280th-286th; 289th-290th; 292nd-296th	intercalary month added after 10th month
10/4-12	18	309th-326th	



11/1-9	14	327th; 329th-330th; 331st-341st
12/1-3, 7-12	10	348th-350th; 355th-361st
13/1-2; 4; 10-12	6	362nd-363rd; 365th; 372nd-274th

The following shows the length of compilation of each Ch'ing emperor's *Shih-lu*, expressed in *chüan*:

Reign Title & Period	Number	Remarks
T'ien-ming (1616-26)	13	the number of <i>chüan</i> includes preface and tables of <i>Shih-lu</i> .
T'ien-ts'ung & Ch'ungte (1627-43)	68	
Shun-chih (1644-61)	147	
K'ang-hsi (1662-1722)	303	
Yung-cheng (1723-35)	162	
Ch'ien-lung (1736-99)	1,505	
Chia-ch'ing (1796-1820)	378	
Tao-kuang (1821-50)	481	
Hsien-feng (1851-61)	360	
Tung-chih (1862-74)	378	
Kuang-hsü (1875-1908)		There is no Manchu version of the Kuang-hsü emperor's <i>Shih-lu</i> ; the Chinese version was finished early in the Republican period and occupied 601 <i>chüan</i> .
Hsuan-t'ung (1909-11)		The last Ch'ing emperor, who reigned during the Hsuan t'ung period, abdicated shortly after the Revolution of 1911. The record of his reign, compiled by the imperial family in the Republican period, was called <i>Cheng-chi</i> (record of administration), rather than <i>Shih-lu</i> . There is no Manchu version of the <i>Cheng-chi</i> . This Chinese <i>Cheng-chi</i> is 71 <i>chüan</i> .

The Manchu edition of Ch'ing emperors' *Shih-lu*, in my opinion, permits us to make the following observations:

1) These materials were apparently not studied or even catalogued by scholars before they were moved to the Palace Museum. The fact that volumes were put in packages not in chronological order and clearly proves that these records have remained untouched for a long time.

2) From the above chart, we can see that the Manchu versions of *Shih-lu* are incomplete. The present collection probably represents only one third of the originals and the volumes are not in good condition, some having been damaged

[illegible]

## Nurhaci's Kao Huang-ti Shih-lu

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as to the Kuo-Hsiang to Shih-Pu

by water and others eaten by worms. Nevertheless, in the free world today, none but the Palace Museum's holding in Taipei has anything approaching such an extensive collection nearly 1,500 *chüan* of manuscript materials, recording directly and systematically the affairs of the Ch'ing emperors and central government. Thus the value of these *Shih-lu* far exceeds that of the mass of ordinary miscellaneous materials and books which may be widely seen.

3) If we compare the texts of the Manchu version *Shih-lu* with the Chinese versions, we can see that all of the *Shih-lu* listed above, included the later version of Nurhaci's *Shih-lu*, represent translation from Chinese into Manchu. Although they are not as valuable for research as the early edition of the Nurhaci *Shih-lu* and *Chiu Man-chou tang* (Early Manchu Archives), these documents have great value for study of the culture and language of the Manchus.