

The Early Ch'ing Legacy of Huang Tsung-hsi: A Reexamination

Since the early Republican period, several scholars have attempted to provide a general interpretive framework for the transitional phase in intellectual and scholarly styles which occurred between the Ming period and the "high Ch'ing." Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 led the way with his concept of it as a "renaissance tide" of positivist thought, welling up as a natural response to the "empty" psychometaphysical speculation of Sung-Ming writers. However, in Liang's view this new tide failed to realize its potential because of the necessarily illiberal, inquisitorial nature of the alien Manchu regime.¹ Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬 preferred a Marxist-dialectical interpretation and spoke of a nascent "enlightenment" accompanying bourgeois capitalism in the seventeenth century. This trend, in Hou's view, was characterized by an empirical objectivity and practicality linked with sociopolitical concern, and by a rejection of authoritarianism. But it was repressed and deflected into politically innocuous "Han learning" by the feudal-reactionary policies of the Ch'ing dynasty.² The Japanese scholar Yamanoi Yū 山井湧 discerned a gradual metamorphosis from a "philosophy of principle" to a "philosophy of material force," and from Ming "learning of the mind" to Ch'ing text-critical studies, by way of a crucial stage of "learning for the practical ordering of affairs." This stage, in Yamanoi's view, showed strong "national consciousness," which arose in response to the urgent sociopolitical problems of the mid-seventeenth century, and which was suppressed for its reformist spirit by the Ch'ing dynasty.³

Yü Ying-shih 余英時, with a new level of sophistication, took a long-range view of the "inner logic" of certain core problems. He posited "Ch'ing Confucian intellectualism" as a third stage in the continuous development of

¹Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Chung-kuo chin san-pai nien hsüeh-shu shih* 中國近三百年學術史 (Taipei: Chung-hua, 1970), pp. 1-31; *idem*, *Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun* 清代學術概論 (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1973), pts. 1-9.

²Hou Wai-lu, *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih* 中國思想通史 (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1958), vol. 3, pp. 26-36, 410-29.

³Yamanoi Yū, "Minmatsu Shinsho shisō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu" 明末清初思想についての一考察, *Tōkyō Shinagaku hō* 東京支那学報 11 (1965), pp. 37-54; and several other articles by Yamanoi, excerpted and summarized by Murayama Yoshihiro 村山吉広 in "Mingaku kara Shingaku e (1) — kenkyūshi ni yoru tembō" 明学から清学へ (1) — 研究史による展望, *Chūgoku koten kenkyū* 中国古典研究 (Waseda U.) 12 (1964), pp. 15-23.

Neo-Confucianism since its inception in the Sung dynasty.⁴ More recently, Mizoguchi Yūzō 溝口雄三 has adopted a sociopsychological perspective. He sees a typically early-modern realignment of "self" and "other," "private" and "public," as one key to understanding the objectification of meanings and values that had been regarded subjectively in the preceding era. Mizoguchi stresses the relationship between late Ming and early Ch'ing scholarship and the general psychological tendency of that time to accept the world (including the self) as it is, rather than to envision what it should be.⁵

The present study follows one especially clear line of scholarly succession through the last half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth — that of Huang Tsung-hsi's 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) most outstanding student, Wan Ssu-t'ung 萬斯同 (1638–1702), Wan's contemporary, Shao T'ing-ts'ai 邵廷采 (1648–1711), and Huang's self-styled follower, Ch'üan Tsu-wang 全祖望 (1705–1755). The aim here is to draw a portrait in transition, rather than a composite intellectual biography. The portrait reflects elements of the earlier interpretations, but does not match any particular one. It reveals that the impetus for change grew out of anxiety over a perceived breakdown in the Confucian intellectual consensus, a breakdown attributable as much to social factors as to the waning in significance of key Sung-Ming philosophical terms. Especially because of the recent turmoil of dynastic change, thinkers of this time felt that true Confucian discourse and Confucian concerns, if they warranted being reestablished at all, had to be practical; they had to contribute directly to social and governmental well-being. This paper shows how the demanding styles and acute methods of inquiry were adopted as means of intramural competition and as standards for internal ranking by a Ch'ing scholarly elite who exalted expertise and specialization. Moreover, without denying that scholars under what was essentially a conquest regime were constrained, this study suggests that the Ch'ing government, by providing a secure, definitive framework within which elite competition could take place, basically contributed to, more than it inhibited, the transition.

⁴Yü Ying-shih, *Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang* 歷史與思想 (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh, 1976), pp. 87–156; and "Some Preliminary Observations on the Rise of Ch'ing Confucian Intellectualism," *CHHP* NS 11, 1–2 (Dec. 1975), pp. 105–44.

⁵Mizoguchi Yūzō, *Chūgoku zenkandai shisō no kussetsu to tenkai* 中国前近代思想の屈折と展開 (Tokyo: Tokyo U. P., 1980). The central ideas of this book were anticipated in Mizoguchi's article, "Minmatsu Shinsho shisō no kussetsu to tenkai — 'dōshin setsu' no yukue" 明末清初思想の屈折と展開 — 「童心説」のゆくえ, *Shisō* 思想 636 (1977), pp. 69–95. The implications for 18th- and early 19th-century K'ao-cheng scholarship of various themes in the works cited in nn. 1–5 have been considered by Benjamin Elman in *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. P., 1984).

The particular set of men — Huang, Wan, Shao, and Ch'üan — was looked back on by Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng 章學誠 (1738–1801) as having greatly revitalized and perpetuated "Eastern Chekiang Learning" (*Che-tung hsüeh-shu* 浙東學術), especially historical studies.⁶ Chang felt unappreciated, and such views about Eastern Chekiang (his home region) bolstered his self-esteem and, hopefully, the esteem of others for his work.⁷ Another outstanding person in Chang's perception of an Eastern Chekiang tradition was his close friend and colleague Shao Chin-han 邵晉涵 from Yü-yao 餘姚, a clan descendant of Shao T'ing-ts'ai. Especially because of his work on the Imperial Manuscript Library 四庫全書, Chin-han's historical studies were acclaimed as the equal of Tai Chen's 戴震 classical studies.⁸ (Significantly, Chin-han did not share Chang's admiration for T'ing-ts'ai's scholarship.)⁹ Modern students of Chinese historiography, with few exceptions,¹⁰ have reinforced Chang's retrospective construction of a special "Eastern Chekiang School" in the Ch'ing period. But in their views we also find a desire to dignify men who were regarded in the Republican period as anti-Manchu "patriot historians," as well as a desire to emphasize something refreshing in the stifling atmosphere of Ch'ing scholarship.

This study merely examines the relations of a few key scholars and does not address Chekiang scholarship — or even historiography — as a whole. Two things, however, are clear. First there would be little talk of any special historiography had it not been for the achievements of Huang Tsung-hsi. (The "School of Huang Li-chou" occasionally has been used synonymously for the "Eastern Chekiang School.")¹¹ Second, the term

⁶Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng, *Wen-shih t'ung-i* 文史通義, *nei-p'ien* 內篇 (SPY edn.) 5, pp. 23a–24b.

⁷Yü Ying-shih, *Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng* 論戴震與章學誠 (Hong Kong: Lungmen, 1976), *nei-p'ien*, chaps. 2–5. David S. Nivison, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng* (1738–1801) (Stanford: Stanford U. P., 1966), pp. 47–51 and chap. 8.

⁸Shao Chin-han (1743–1796): see Arthur Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1943; hereafter called *ECCP*) 2, pp. 637–38. Huang Yün-mei 黃雲眉, "Shao Erh-yün hsien-sheng nien-p'u" 邵二雲先生年譜, in *idem*, *Shih-hsüeh tsu-kao tung-t'ung* 史學雜稿訂存 (Chi-nan: Ch'i-Lu shu-she, 1982); Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎, *Shina shigaku shi* 支那史学史 (Tokyo, 1950), pp. 464–67.

⁹Ho Koon Piu 何冠彪, "Ch'ai Te-keng 'Pa' 'Shao Nien-lu nien-p'u'" 柴德廣跋邵念魯年譜訂誤, *Wen-shih* 文史 22 (Mar. 1984), pp. 260–62.

¹⁰Chin Yü-fu 金毓黻, *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih* 中國史學史 (Hong Kong: Shang-wu, 1964), p. 252.

¹¹For instance, Wang Hsiao-yü 王孝魚, "Huang Li-chou hsüeh-p'ai" 黃梨洲學派, *Chung-shan wen-hua chiao-yü-kuan chi-k'an* 中山文化教育館季刊 2.4 (Oct. 1935), pp. 1239–56; and Chao Li-sheng 趙麗生, "Li-chou hsüeh-p'ai shu" 梨洲學派述, *Tu-shu t'ung-hsün* 讀書通訊 160 (July 1948), pp. 2–8. Other writings on Eastern Chekiang historiography include: Ch'en Hsün-tz'u 陳訓慈, "Ch'ing-tai Che-tung chih shih-hsüeh" 清代浙東之史學, *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih lun-wen hsüan-chi* 中國史學史論文選集, ed. Tu Wei-yün 杜維運 and Huang Chin-

"school" is inappropriate. Certainly Huang instilled new interest in historical study among contemporary and later scholars of his home region, but he did not pass on any specific body of teachings or techniques to be maintained by a line of adherents, nor did he urge posterity to study any particular area. One sees, rather, emulation of his independence, his challenge to the cognitive and empathetic capacities of the heart-and-mind (*hsin* 心), his insistence that scholarship influence moral, social, and political life, and his unflagging determination to remember the best men of recent centuries. Latter-day admirers of Huang did continue and expand his work in certain subject areas, but did not understand his conception of the knowing and feeling mind.

THE WOULD-BE LEGACY OF HUANG TSUNG-HSI

Huang Tsung-hsi's scholarship cannot be examined in a short work. However, a general characterization is necessary in order to understand the scholarship of those early Ch'ing Eastern Chekiang intellectuals who have been considered his successors.¹²

Basic to all of Huang's activities, including his scholarship, was his conviction that prior to all knowledge or intention stands a solitary, absolute willing-and-feeling, which is coaxial with the eternally creative willing-and-feeling of Heaven.¹³ In accordance with the Wang Yang-ming 王陽明 school of Neo-Confucianism, with which Huang identified, he decried any epistemological separation of the knowing faculty from the thing known. Huang denigrated ready-made formulas and conventional models because he believed they corroded the moral will and wrongly

emphasized externals.¹⁴ Furthermore, he abhorred conformity, imitation, and any failure to maintain individuality, all of which he considered to be obstructions of free-flowing will.¹⁵

To Huang, the human mind was one with the universe and could comprehend anything; this was owing to the fact that consciousness, being coextensive with the universe, was infinitely multidimensional. Consequently, he valued the unobstructed exercise of both intuition and rational thought, as well as attentiveness to all manner of subjective and objective phenomena.¹⁶ Therefore, the mind was to work the same, whether seeking moral knowledge or pursuing scholarship. Calendrics, his earliest field of research, thus elicited Huang's full approval. It was both practical and, in its mathematical principles, theoretically challenging. Furthermore, because during his lifetime European Jesuits transformed the Chinese approaches to the art, Huang could also show to other scholars the need to abandon lazily accepted conventions.¹⁷

Although committed to preserving and further developing the insights of Wang Yang-ming, Huang was disturbed when some adherents of Wang Yang-ming's ideas undermined the grounds of Confucian discourse.¹⁸ Thus, much of his scholarship — especially the ordering and explication of Con-

¹² See, for instance, *Nan-lei wen-an* 南雷文案, in *Huang Li-chou i-shu shih-chung* 黃梨洲遺書十種 (Hang-chow, 1905), *ts'e* 7, ch. 1, "Yün Chung-sheng wen-chi hsü" 惲仲升文集序, pp. 3b-4a; and *idem*, *Nan-lei wen-t'ing* 南雷文定, *ch'ien-chi* 前集, 11 ch.; *hou-chi* 後集, 4 ch.; *san-chi* 三集, 3 ch., Wan-yu wen-k'u hui-yao ser. (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1970; hereafter *NLWT*), *ch'ien* 4, "Ta Wan Ch'ung-tung lun ke-wu shu" 答萬允宗論格物書.

¹³ For an English-language explication of this concept in the thought of Huang's teacher, Liu Tsung-chou 劉宗周, see T'ang Chün-i, "Liu Tsung-chou's Doctrine of Moral Mind and Practice and His Critique of Wang Yang-ming," in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, ed. W. T. de Bary (New York: Columbia U. P., 1975), pp. 305-31.

¹⁴ *Ming-ju hsüeh-an* 10, "Yao-chiang hsüeh-an hsü" 姚江學案序.

¹⁵ Huang's calendrical works apparently have not survived. The rare *Li-hsüeh chia-ju* 曆學假如 was printed in 1683; the *Li-tai chia-tzu k'ao* 歷代甲子考, however, has been reprinted in the *Li-chou i-chu hui-k'an* 梨洲遺書彙刊 (Taipei: Lung-yen 1969) 1; the *Shou-shih li ku* 授時曆故 is contained in the *Chia-yeh-t'ang t'ung-shu* 嘉業堂叢書 (Wu-hsing, 1918), *ts'e* 135; and the *Lu chien-kuo ta-t'ung li* 魯監國大統曆 has survived in manuscript (see Hsieh Kuo-chen, *Huang Li-chou hsüeh-p'u*, pp. 89-90). For Huang's opinions of contemporary specialists in this field, see *NLWT*, *hou* 1, "Ta Wan Chen-i lun Ming-shih li-chih shu" 答萬貞一論明史曆志書. On the influence of Western learning on Chinese mathematical astronomy in the late Ming and early Ch'ing eras, see Wang P'ing 王萍, *Hsi-fang li-suan hsüeh chih shu-ju* 西方曆算學之輸入 (Nankang: Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan chin-tai shih yen-chiu so, 1966); and Nathan Sivin, "Copernicus in China," in *Colloquia Copernicana* (Wrocław: Polish Acad. of Sciences, 1973), pp. 63-122.

¹⁶ Of particular interest are Huang's arguments against Ch'en Ch'üeh 陳確 and P'an P'ing-ko 潘平格. See *NLWT*, *hou* 3, "Ch'en Ch'ien-ch'u hsien-sheng mu-chih ming" 陳乾初先生墓誌銘; *Nan-lei wen-an*, ch. 2, "Yü Ch'en Ch'ien-ch'u lun-hsüeh shu" 與陳乾初論學書; and "Yü yü-jen lun-hsüeh shu" 與友人論學書; Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, *Chung-kuo chin san-pai nien hsüeh-shu shih* 中國近三百年學術史 (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1958) 1, pp. 36-39; and Hou Wai-lu, *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih*, vol. 5, pp. 191-203.

hsing 黃進興 (Taipei: Hua-shih, 1976) 2, pp. 597-666 (originally published in *Shih-hsüeh ts'ieh* 史學雜誌 2.6 [Dec. 1930]); Tu Wei-yün, "Huang Tsung-hsi yü Ch'ing-tai Che-tung shih-hsüeh-p'ai chih hsing-ch'i" 黃宗義與清代浙東史學派之興起, *Ku-kung wen-hsien chi-k'an* 故宮文獻季刊 2.3 (June 1971), pp. 1-12, and 2.4 (Sept. 1971), pp. 47-61; and Tu Wei-yün, *Ch'ing Ch'ien-Chia shih-tai chih shih-hsüeh yü shih-hsüeh-chia* 清乾嘉時代之史學與史學家, *Wen-shih ts'ung-k'an* 文史叢刊 ser. (Taipei: Natl. Taiwan U., 1962), chap. 3.

¹⁷ For biographical treatments of Huang, see: Ono Kazuko 小野和子, *Kō Sōgi* 黃宗義 (Tokyo: Jimbutsu Oraisha, 1967); Ch'üan Tsu-wang, "Li-chou hsien-sheng shen-tao pei-wen" 梨洲先生神道碑文, *Chieh-ch'i-t'ing chi* 結埼亭集, 38 ch., supp. *Ching-shih wen-ta* 經史問答, 10 ch., with *Chieh-ch'i-t'ing chi wai-pien* 外編 (WP), 50 ch., SPTK ch'u-pien edn. (Shanghai, 1929; hereafter cited as CCTC [-WP]), ch. 11; and Hsieh Kuo-chen 謝國楨, *Huang Li-chou hsüeh-p'u* 黃梨洲學譜 (Hong Kong: Ch'ung-wen, 1971), pp. 23-34. For a fuller presentation of the views on Huang's scholarship put forth in this section, see Lynn Struve, "The Concept of Mind in the Scholarship of Huang Tsung-hsi," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 9.1 (Mar. 1982), pp. 107-29.

¹⁸ Original ref. to the *Ming-ju hsüeh-an* 明儒學案 (rpt. of SPPY edn.; Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1970) 1, p. 1a.

Confucian and Neo-Confucian texts — strove to restore the language of intellectual Confucianism to a useful clarity.¹⁹ He often showed the ways in which puzzling, inconsistent, or incoherent portions of a text had resulted from mishaps or mistakes and had then been transmitted unthinkingly over the centuries. His major effort of this type, *Discussion of the Astrology-Numerology [Method] in Book of Changes Study (I-hsüeh hsiang-shu lun 易學象數論)*, prefigured the more definitive work by Hu Wei 胡渭 (1633–1714), *Clarification regarding Diagrams [Associated with] the Book of Changes (I-t'u ming-pien 易圖明辨)*.²⁰ When works of the past were found so garbled as to be unserviceable, however, Huang thought they should either be set aside or rewritten. His *Classic of Waterways for Today (Chin shui-ching 今水經)* was a fresh approach to the subject matter of Li Tao-yüan's 麗道元 sixth-century *Commentary* [to the Han dynasty] *Classic of Waterways (Shui-ching chu 水經注)*.²¹ Huang did not advocate preservation for preservation's sake.

Abstractly put, Huang's sense of comprehension in learning involved penetrating some complex matter with direct attention to some chosen point. Then relevant details gradually could be organized around that point, or around the scholar's relevant mental processes until a general understanding emerged. In examining an ancient text, for instance, the goal of learning was to grasp the essence of the original era by organizing around that text relevant details from contemporaneous sources. The text and its contemporaneous sources were to be reciprocally illuminating in a process that ignored the inessential.²² Similarly, Huang regarded compiling and anthologizing as processes of screening and elimination. If the pool of materials from which items were selected were maximally large, and if each selection aptly reflected the whole, the reader's view would be expanded in this way, rather than narrowed.²³ By no means, however, did Huang equate the essential with the common or the obvious. In his famous *Philosophical Discussions of the Ming Confucians (Ming-ju hsüeh-an 明儒學案)*, Huang intentionally highlighted subtle points of bias and disagreement because he regarded them as the epitome of the type of scholarship that has a "single basis with myriad aspects."²⁴

¹⁹ On the "political" nature of philological study, see Nancy Streuver, "Classical Investigations," *Daedalus* 5:3 (Spring 1974), pp. 515–16.

²⁰ The *I-hsüeh hsiang-shu lun* was selected for inclusion in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書 (Chi Yün 紀的 et al., eds., *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要 [Shanghai: Shangwu, 1934; hereafter *SKTY*] 2, pp. 87–88) and was printed separately by the Kuang-ya shu-chü 廣雅書局 during the Kuang-hsi reign. On Hu Wei, see *ECCP* 1, pp. 335–37.

²¹ Pref. to the *Chin shui-ching* (dated 1664), in *Huang Li-chou i-shu shih-chung*, 1's'e 8.

²² *NLWT*, *ch'ien* 8, "Wan Ch'ung-tung mu-chih ming" 萬充宗墓誌銘.

²³ *NLWT*, *ch'ien* 1, "Ming wen-an hsu shang" 明文案序上.

²⁴ *Ming-ju hsüeh-an, fan-li* 凡例, items 4 and 6.

Although widely ranging, the mind was to maintain a *tsung-chih* 宗旨 ("central purpose," "primary goal," or "core idea"). Huang considered this to be a hinge allowing free movement of thought, yet which requires a prior cultivation of primary will (*chu-tsai* 主宰).²⁵ Thus, scholarship was to be purposeful, to make some point promoting goodness and well-being in men, society, and the state — as in Huang's well-known work *A Plan for the Prince (Ming-i tai-fang lu 明夷待訪錄)*.²⁶ Here, Huang clearly was influenced by the ethical teachings and scholarly example of his mentor, Liu Tsung-chou 劉宗周, who had demonstrated the relevance of classical study for understanding and resolving contemporary problems.²⁷

In historical scholarship Huang's forte was recent history, in part because of his personal identification with the Ming dynasty, and in part because the practical study that he advocated could easily draw upon a fuller and more accessible record. But this also greatly reflects Huang's confidence in the mind's ability to form valid opinions about matters that more prudent scholars found "too close" to address. In addition to his major works on Ming affairs, Huang also authored short, vivid, and embittered works on late Ming factional warfare and the tribulations of the ill-fated Southern Ming courts, with which he had been personally involved.²⁸ Huang's compulsion to opine made him an outstanding critic, one who was astute and incisive, although sometimes overly acerbic.

In Huang's view, feeling was a legitimate part of opinion and had a legitimate place in the historical record: past acts recorded in poetry and personal writings, as well as in histories, were the realizations of men's feelings about circumstances.²⁹ Consequently, we find in Huang a preference

²⁵ *Ming-ju hsüeh-an, fan-li* 發凡, item 2.

²⁶ W. T. de Bary, "Chinese Despotism and the Confucian Ideal: A Seventeenth Century View," in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago: U. of Chicago P., 1957), pp. 163–203; "Huang Tsung-hsi's Critique of Chinese Despotism — 'A Plan for the Prince,'" in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, ed. de Bary (New York: Columbia U. P., 1960), pp. 585–97. On the influence of Liu Tsung-chou in this work, see Ono Kazuko, "Kô Sôgi no zempo sei — toku ni 'Min'i taibô roku' no seiritsu katei to shite" 黃宗羲の前半生 — とくに明夷待訪錄の成立過程として, *THGH* 34 (1964), pp. 125–98.

²⁷ See Ono, "Kô Sôgi no zempo sei," as well as Huang's exposition of Liu Tsung-chou's teachings on the *Mencius*, the *Meng-tzu shih-shuo* 孟子師說, in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* (*SKTY* 8, pp. 747–48). Liu Tsung-chou: *ECCP* 1, pp. 532–33; Tseng Chin-k'un 曾錦坤, "Liu Chi-shan su-hsiang yen-chiu" 劉戡山思想研究 (*Kuo-li Tai-wan*) *Shih-fan ta-hsüeh kuo-wen so chi-k'an* (國立台灣師範大學國文所集刊 28 (June 1984), pp. 339–644.

²⁸ The *Li-chou i-chu hui-k'an* collection includes the *Hai-wai t'ung-ch'i chi* 海外備器記, 1 ch., as well as the *T'ai-tsun lu* 汰存錄, 1 ch. The *Hung-kuang shih-lu ch'ao* 弘光實錄鈔, 4 ch., printed, for instance, in the *Tung-shih* 痛史 collection (1911–1912), is thought to be the work of Huang Tsung-hsi (Chu Hsi-tsu 朱希祖, *Ming-chi shih-liao t'i-pa* 明季史料題跋 [Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü 1961], p. 41). The *Hsing-ch'ao lu* 行朝錄, a variable assemblage of writings on the Southern Ming period, commonly is attributed to Huang; but in it only the *Ssu-ming shan-sai chi* 四明山塞記, 1 ch., appears to have been written originally by him.

²⁹ *NLWT*, *ch'ien* 1, "Wan Lü-an hsien-sheng shih hsu" 萬履安先生詩序.

for writers who freely expressed their emotions and individuality. This is exemplified in Huang's selections for his *Anthology of Ming Literature* (*Ming wen-an* 明文家).³⁰ But he contended that the ability to express well the mind-and-heart in literature required study, not of models in the various literary genres, but of all kinds of writing, especially the classics and histories. Broad study, engaged in purposively, would prevent emotion from degenerating into raw emotionality.³¹ Huang's view of the unity of feeling and history is reflected especially well in his *Record of Thoughts about Past Acquaintances* (*Ssu-chiu lu* 思舊錄), which begins with an account of the suicide by starvation of Liu Tsung-chou.³²

Historians of the relatively peaceful early Ch'ing could not follow Huang in this sort of pained writing about maddened times. But Huang wrote not just because he had experienced unusual events; he also felt heavy responsibility for past occurrences, present consequences, and future significance. Huang knew history — whether recent or remote — not just in his memory, but in his entire being as a Confucian.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF WAN SSU-T'UNG

Wan Ssu-t'ung,³³ like Huang Tsung-hsi, was impelled to great scholarly achievement by his intense Confucian convictions. But Wan's Confucianism was very "classical," in contrast to Huang's decidedly *Neo-Confucian* bent. This basic difference underlay attitudes toward scholarly work which, upon examination, appear so dissimilar as to vitiate Wan's identity as a disciple of Huang, in spite of their formal student-teacher relationship. "Classical" means that Wan eschewed abstract discussion of the mind, human nature, or the cosmos, as had been the fashion in Sung, Yüan, and Ming times. Like Confucius and his ancient followers, he emphasized the fulfillment of im-

mediate duties and obligations toward the family, ancestors, and the state, as well as the maintenance of correct forms in ritual, the cement of any good society.

Wan's father, who strongly influenced all eight of his famous sons, had been a fellow student with Huang Tsung-hsi under Liu Tsung-chou. Thus, Wan Ssu-t'ung had already responded in his own way to Liu's teachings when his father sent him to be Huang's pupil at the age of fourteen. Huang, keenly interested in Neo-Confucian values, had been most impressed by Liu's resolution of a crucial difficulty in Wang Yang-ming philosophy regarding the operation of mind-and-will; whereas Wan, more attuned to timeless Confucian values, responded most affirmatively to Liu's emphasis on the importance of selflessness in all one's endeavors.³⁴ Huang and Wan both followed Liu Tsung-chou's example in studying the classics carefully and bringing them to bear on contemporary problems. But while Huang became a formidable critic and strident advocate of his own views, especially regarding the ethical basis of learning, Wan became a retiring but tireless assistant to other scholars. He helped those who sought knowledge of ancient and devolved sociopolitical institutions, or of practical measures for promoting general well-being.

Unlike Huang's epistemological inferences, Wan's writing drew great pedagogical significance from the Confucian idea that "all things are of one body." For Wan this meant that Confucians were to be unflaggingly sensitive to human distress and thus were to pursue "studies for ordering affairs," rather than waste their energies in literary occupations.³⁵ True both to the creed of the Tung-lin and Fu-she scholarly movements and to Liu Tsung-chou, Huang tried to take immediate action in government before the Manchu conquest; and he did not shrink from putting forth plans for an ideal state, even after the advent of Ch'ing rule. Wan was no less eager to promote the common weal, but he worried that men were not properly prepared to make such contributions.

What I call *ching-shih* 經世 is not just dealing with problems as they arise — what others call *ching-chi* 經濟. Rather, I intend to take up the major plans of all historical periods and, one by one, explicate thoroughly all their dimensions, consider their appropriateness, and settle on a stan-

³⁰ Fukumoto Masakazu 福本雅一, "Kô Sôgi no bungaku kan" 黃宗羲の文学観, *Shisen* 史泉 23-24 (1962), pp. 49-66. A 216-chüan ms. of the *Ming wen-an* is held in the National Peking Library. An even larger anthology by Huang, the *Ming wen-hai* 明文海, was published in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* (*chi-pu* 集部, *tsung-chi lei* 總集類) in 480 chüan.

³¹ *NLWT*, *ch'ien* 1, "Ming wen-an hsü shang."

³² In *T'ai-wan wen-hsien ts'ung-k'an* 台灣文獻叢刊 no. 135 (Taipei: T'ai-wan yin-hang, 1962) 1, pp. 35-74; Liu's suicide, pp. 35-36.

³³ Modern biographical treatments of Wan include: *ECCP* 2, pp. 801-03; Wang Huan-piao 王煥鏞, "Wan Chi-yeh hsien-sheng hsi-nien yao-lu" 萬季野先生繫年要錄, *Shih-ti tsu-chih* 史地雜誌 1.2 (July 1937), pp. 11-22; and Ma T'ai-hsüan 馬太玄, "Wan Ssu-t'ung chih sheng-p'ing chi ch'i chu-shu" 萬斯同之生平及其著述, *Kuo-li Chung-shan ta-hsüeh yü-yen li-shih-hsüeh yen-chiu-so chou-k'an* 國立中山大學語言歷史學研究所周刊 3.18 (May 1928), pp. 942-48. For a clarification regarding the dates of Wan's birth and death, see Ch'ai Te-keng 柴德康, "Wan Ssu-t'ung chih sheng-tsu nien" 萬斯同之生卒年, in *idem*, *Shih-hsüeh ts'ung-k'ao* 史學叢考 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1982), pp. 244-46.

³⁴ "Wan Chi-yeh hsien-sheng mu-chih ming" 萬季野先生墓誌銘, attributed to Huang Tsung-hsi's son, Huang Po-chia 百家, prefatory to Wan Ssu-t'ung's collected miscellaneous writings, the *Shih-yüan wen-chi* 石園文集, 8 ch., in *Ssu-ming ts'ung-shu* 四明叢書, pt. 4, vols. 56-58 (Ssu-ming, 1932-1948); hereafter *STWC*.

³⁵ *STWC* 7, "Yü ts'ung-tzu Chen-i shu" 與從子貞一書, pp. 7b-8a.

dard for any period, so that those who sit and talk today will be able to act and effect [measures] another day. *Ching-chi* is not the real substance of sagely inquiry. . . . When the time comes to wash away all these decadent habits, *if no one is ready to take up Heaven's intent and save the people from calamity, the chance will be lost. We must make preparations now.*³⁸

Huang wrote about the past specifically for the future; he saw action in the present as impossible for him and his generation. Wan wrote because he saw action in the present as possible, but also as possibly dangerous or ineffectual. The danger would occur from lack of historical foresight, and Wan feared that precious opportunities would be lost under continued ignorance. Of course, this preference for preparation over immediate action can be interpreted as a position of convenience, given the government's successful prohibition of extra-bureaucratic political activity and Wan's own determination not to serve the Ch'ing. However, such failure to prepare for exigencies had been glaringly evident in the dynastic collapse of mid-century. In view of this, Wan's prescription for a Confucian scholarship suited to his time seems justified. During the 1660s Wan had felt that since "Heaven still was not sated with disorder," he and his brothers and associates should draw up plans in expectation of an enlightened emperor.³⁷ Later, while serving in the Ming History Office in Peking in 1679 when Ch'ing forces were finishing their consolidation,³⁸ Wan concentrated not only on Ming history, but also on works that would be useful in preparing others for the public sphere.

Wan's disinclination to discuss the nature of knowing, which preoccupied Huang Tsung-hsi, can be illustrated by comparing these two men's understanding of *ko-wu* 格物 (conventionally translated, "the investigation of things"). Huang understood *ko-wu* to be very general: by means of an unobstructed mind it regulated all things of Heaven and earth, including thoughts and emotions.³⁹ Wan, however, accepted the more specific conclusions by the famous advocate of "practical learning," Li Kung 李璣 (1659-1733): *ko-wu*, as used in the classic *Great Learning* 大學, meant the coordination and integration (*ko*) of three "things" (*wu*). These were the three

categories of instruction determined by the ancient Chou court — (1) the six virtues: wisdom, benevolence, sageness, righteousness, centeredness, and harmony; (2) the six demeanors: filiality, friendship, cordiality, conjugal devotion, social responsibility, and sympathetic assistance; and (3) the six arts: ritual, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and mathematics. Li and Wan thought that these were adequate for cultivating the self, regulating the family, ruling the nation, or bringing peace to the world.⁴⁰ As in classical Confucianism, they did not discuss just *how one knows* these things, perhaps feeling that such arguments had delayed for too long actual accomplishment.

Late in life Wan Ssu-t'ung confided to Li Kung that as a student of Huang Tsung-hsi he had been berated for showing interest in the teachings of P'an P'ing-ko 潘平恪, particularly his view that Neo-Confucianism was thoroughly infested with Buddhism and Taoism. Thereafter, Wan said, he had devoted himself completely to the classics and histories.⁴¹ Apparently he had decided not to engage in philosophical discussion, much less disputation. It is clear from Wan's writings that he made an intellectual choice to circumvent not only Sung and Ming commentaries by going back to the classics themselves, but Sung-Ming Neo-Confucianism as a whole by his down-to-earth, classical Confucian frame of mind. Although Huang Tsung-hsi took pains to distinguish between vapid speculation and well-grounded theorizing, between sheer imagination and solid interpretation, Wan Ssu-t'ung, through the bitter years of Ch'ing conquest, had come to associate Neo-Confucian opinionating with self-defeat. For instance, in his preface to Hu Wei's *I-t'u ming-pien*, Wan approved of the refutation of certain extraneous, speculative theories, as had Huang Tsung-hsi in his *I-hsieh hsiang-shu lun*. Huang had been delighted that Hu's findings confirmed his own particular Neo-Confucian philosophical stance. But Wan, in contrast, was most pleased to find verified the "obviously reasonable" order of the eight simple trigrams, which represented the basic family relations: husband, wife, three sons, and three daughters.⁴²

Wan shared with Huang a strong desire to make the classics understandable in common-sense terms, using plain reason and logic, and without

³⁸ *STWC* 7, pp. 8a-9a (emphasis added).

³⁷ Liu Fang 劉坊, "Wan Chi-yeh hsien-sheng hsing-chuang" 萬季野先生行狀, prefatory to *STWC*.

³⁸ See Lawrence D. Kessler, *K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule, 1661-1684* (Chicago: U. of Chicago P., 1976), chaps. 4 and 6.

³⁹ *NLWT*, ch'ien 4, "Ta Wan Ch'ung-tung lun ke-wu shu."

⁴⁰ Hsu Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌, comp., *Yen-Li shih-ch'eng chi* 顏李師承記, in *Yen-Li hsiieh san chung* 顏李學三種 (n.p.: Republican period, pt. 3) ch. 3, pp. 1b-2a; and Wan Ssu-t'ung's "Ta-hsieh pien-yeh hsü" 大學辨業序, *STWC* 7, pp. 11b-13b. Li Kung: *ECCP* 1, pp. 475-79.

⁴¹ *Yen-Li shih-ch'eng chi* 3, p. 1b.

⁴² Wan Ssu-t'ung's pref. (written about 1700) and Huang Tsung-hsi's forward to the *I-t'u ming-pien* (printed in 1706), Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng 叢書集成 edn. (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1935-1937) 438.

the strained, metaphysical interpretations so characteristic of Sung times. In this, too, Wan was influenced as much by the scholarly views of Liu Tsung-chou as by those of Huang Tsung-hsi. In 1658 Wan, with his brothers and nephews, founded a "Society for Discussion of the Classics" (*chiang-ching hui* 講經會) in Shao-hsing prefecture 紹興府. Their gatherings followed Liu's approach to the classics, emphasizing thorough discussion before drawing general conclusions about the modern significance of passages, and devoting disproportionate time to studying texts on rites. Liu had regarded rituals as the epitome of ancient social order. Hence, it was especially important to reconstruct them. Moreover, the ritual texts, among all the classics, had suffered most from corruption and fragmentation.⁴³

In his subsequent career, Wan Ssu-t'ung specialized in the study of ritual.⁴⁴ It is clear from Wan's writings that he intended to affect the most solemn activities at all social levels, from the placement of ancestral tablets in the imperial temples to the mourning garb worn by ordinary people.⁴⁵ Repeatedly Wan stressed that the ancients did not lightly abandon or change their rituals, because those forms had embodied unchanging social and spiritual values in society.⁴⁶ His special scholarly attention to burial rites reflected his deep concern for family and clan ties and the propagation therein of desirable (Confucian) attitudes and feelings. He did not study rites to delineate an official standard, nor to uncover ancient practices for the sheer challenge of inquiry. Rather, he intended to strengthen fundamental Confucian relationships among contemporary people, and to reinforce the vitality of rites by showing their bases in human feelings and social values.⁴⁷

⁴³ Ono Kazuko, "Shinsho no kōkeikai ni tsuite" 清初の講經会について, *THGH* 36 (1964), pp. 633-61. Page 640 cites, in particular, Liu's "Li-ching-k'ao tz'u-hsü" 禮經考次序 from the *Liu Tzu ch'üan-shu* 劉子全書 21.

⁴⁴ Two of the greatest semi-official compendia of the Ch'ing period, the *Tu-li t'ung-k'ao* 讀禮通考 (*Complete Chronological Study of [Mourning] Rites*) in 120 ch., and the *Wu-li t'ung-k'ao* 五禮通考 (*Complete Chronological Study of the Five [Categories of] Rites*) in 262 ch., are thought to have been written (entirely, in the first case, 200 ch. in the second) by Wan Ssu-t'ung for his erstwhile sponsor and host, Ming History Director Hsü Ch'ien-hsieh 徐乾學 (1631-1694; see *ECCP* 1, pp. 310-12). The *Wu-li t'ung-k'ao* was completed in 1761 by Ch'ien Hui-t'ien 秦蕙田 (1702-1764; see *ECCP* 1, pp. 167-68). The *Tu-li t'ung-k'ao* was first printed in 1695 and was posthumously attributed to Hsü, although Wan was still alive at that time. It was appended, in 12 ts'ü, to the 1761 edn. of the *Wu-li t'ung-k'ao*. See Hu Yü-chin 胡玉楮, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao pu-cheng* 四庫全書總目提要補正, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1964) 1, p. 134, and Ma T'ai-hsüan, "Wan Ssu-t'ung chih sheng-p'ing," p. 944, both of which are based largely on *CCTC* 28, "Wan Chen-wen hsien-sheng chuan" 萬貞文先生傳, pp. 8a-b. On the patron-official relationship between Hsü and Wan, see Lynn A. Struve, "The Hsü Brothers and Semi-official Patronage of Scholars in the K'ang-hsi Period," *HJAS* 42.1 (June 1982), pp. 250-52.

⁴⁵ *Ch'ün-shu i-pien* (Kung-shih-t'ing 供石亭 edn., 1816) 4, "Miao-chih k'ao" 廟制考, pp. 22a-23b; and *SYWC* 3, "Ti-shuo" 廟說, pp. 4a-b.

⁴⁶ For instance, *SYWC* 3, "Hsieh hsiao" 謝孝, pp. 7a-b. ⁴⁷ *SYWC* 2.

In his *Ch'ün-shu i-pien* 群書疑辨 (*Judgments on Doubtful Points in Various [Classic] Works*) the usually bland Wan Ssu-t'ung expresses real anger at any reading that suggests confusion or arbitrariness among ancient people. In Wan's view, to know as much as possible about the perfect, ancient order and to follow the implications of that knowledge into later ages was truly Confucian, or "public," inquiry.

All [the examples I have given] are clear evidence from the sage classics. To reject them completely in disbelief and hold to one's own mistaken view, to dare to disparage the sages' words and push aside thinkers of the past — to the point of saying that in the Spring and Autumn period, in matters regarding the Son of Heaven they slandered the sagely rulers' order and arbitrarily changed the first day of the year — even the most ignorant servant would never say such things. It has been charged that two or three Confucians have ignored principle and have wantonly and heedlessly let their words go to such an extent. But Confucians' broad-ranging discussion of principle is different from substantive research on systems and institutions. Principle can be decided on one's own authority, but systems and institutions need testimony from the ancients. If discussions of Chou practices by men of the Chou can be ridiculed as wrong, then how can the opinions of Sung scholars, formed solely in their own minds, be confirmed? Just believe what the men of Chou tell us, and do not be deluded by the subjective views of the Sung.⁴⁸

Here Wan argues for a separation of philosophy, seen as a personal matter, from history, seen as a public matter. This should not be taken to imply segregation of the subjective and objective, however. Even though his knowledge of phonology and epigraphy was comparable to that of Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武,⁴⁹ Wan does not employ those tools rigorously in his *Ch'ün-shu i-pien*. Often he makes judgments on the classics based on his own general sense of the sages' intentions, in the manner of Huang Tsung-hsi and Liu Tsung-chou; but in volume and detail of evidence presented, he leans toward the elaborateness of eighteenth-century *k'ao-cheng* 考證 studies.⁵⁰ For instance, Wan argues that the *Book of Odes* 詩經 in its present form must be a combination of parts from the original and some added pieces, because

⁴⁸ *Ch'ün-shu i-pien* 5, "Chou-cheng pien-i" 周正辨一, pp. 2a-b (emphasis added).

⁴⁹ *SKTY* 9, pp. 958-59 and 17, pp. 1806-07, comments on Wan Ssu-t'ung's *Sheng-yün yüan-liu k'ao* 聲韻源流考 and *Shih-ching k'ao* 石經考, resp.

⁵⁰ On the various kinds of evidence that Wan used in judging the authenticity of texts, see Ts'ao Kuang-ming 曹光明, "Wan Chi-yeh shih-hsüeh chung te pien-wei fang-fa" 萬季野史學中的辨偽方法, *Kuo-li pien-i kuan kuan-k'an* 國立編譯館館刊 12.1 (June 1983), pp. 139-46.

many of the poems are not the sort that Confucius would have included.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the tone of his study is open; the dialogue between reader and text is understandable by any third party. The Confucian debate, once so private as to have constituted a communicative breakdown, becomes public again in Wan's writings by opposing knower and known, without, however, eliminating subjectivity entirely. Later, in the eighteenth century, professional scholarship would include the ability to free oneself from even this sort of philosophical constraint.

In surveying the perversion and misunderstanding of ritual over the centuries, Wan Ssu-t'ung did not blame people in general for following earlier opinions, nor did he point to the examination system as a source of great evil, as Huang Tsung-hsi was inclined to do. Rather, Wan strenuously indicted prominent scholars and scholar-officials, to whom unlearned non-specialists (including busy emperors) naturally looked for authoritative guidance. Wan railed bitterly against the authors of mistaken commentaries and apocrypha, but not against those who later believed and used those writings. Singled out for special vilification was the Han dynasty classicist Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200 A.D.), whose "absurd interpretations" and exegetical errors, especially regarding imperial sacrificial rites, Wan condemned as near criminal offenses against later generations.⁵² This stress on the responsibility of the scholar to guide society and government, and on the interdependence of successive generations in preserving civilized life, again reflects Wan's classical Confucian disposition.⁵³ Of particular significance for subsequent Ch'ing scholarship, however, is his emphasis on the duty of the specialist scholar.

In his work on the *Ming History*, for which he is most renowned today, Wan formulated more specifically his convictions about mutual responsibility among successive generations. He felt a deep sense of obligation to eleven generations of his own family. They had been prominent largely for distinguished military service to the Ming dynasty from its founding in 1368 through the career of Wan's grandfather, Pang-fu 邦孚 (d. 1628), an assistant commissioner in the Fukien Regional Military Commission. His father, Wan T'ai 泰, had been the first in their ancestral line to give up the military vocation for life as a literatus and historian, and he had been active in Fu-she circles during the last years of Ming rule.⁵⁴ On his deathbed in 1657, Wan's

father expressed painful regret at having been unable to act with the military effectiveness of his ancestors when the Ming dynasty was in crisis. He told Ssu-t'ung of his desire to assure their ancestors that in spite of this lapse the family's spirit of determination would be maintained.⁵⁵ This sentiment induced Wan Ssu-t'ung to halt his literary studies. For twenty years, beginning in 1679, he lived apart from his wife and children in Chekiang and labored in Peking without stipend or official recognition. Nearly blind, he worked like a determined general, using his phenomenal memory and the reportage and scribal assistance of friends in order to make the *Ming History* probably the best dynastic history ever produced.⁵⁶

Apart from his sense of obligation to the *Ming History* (especially the biographies),⁵⁷ Wan wrote little solely about the Ming. In particular, he prudently avoided touching on the Ch'ing conquest or on Southern Ming events, probably because of his special relation with the History Office. Nevertheless, Wan was keenly interested in the events of recent times and numbered many Southern Ming history enthusiasts among his friends.⁵⁸ Wan seems to have pursued this interest indirectly, subliminally perhaps, in his studies of periods and situations analogous to the Ming resistance saga. His works *Nan-Sung liu-ling i-shih* 南宋六陵遺事 (*Account of the Loyal and Righteous at the End of the Sung*) and *Keng-shen-chün i-shih* 庚申君遺事 (*Remaining Questions concerning the "Prince of 1260"*) focus on persons, including rulers, caught in the midst of dynastic collapse and alien conquest.⁵⁹ Like Huang Tsung-hsi, Wan was inspired to demonstrate that certain immortal, indomitable qualities are shared by Chinese of all social stations. Unlike

⁵¹ Liu Fang, "Wan Chi-yeh hsing-chuang."

⁵² It is widely accepted that Wan acted as chief writer and editor of the official *Ming History* drafts, while living as the honored house guest of successive nominal directors, from the inception of that project in 1679 until his death (in the History Office itself) in 1702. See Chang Hsün 張須, "Wan Chi-yeh yü Ming-shih" 萬季野與明史, in *Ming-shih pien-tsuán k'ao* 明史編纂考, ed. Pao Tsun-p'eng 包遵彭 (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng, 1968), pp. 211-26; and Hsiao Yuan-chien 蕭遠健, "Wan Chi-yeh chuan-chih Ming-shih chih yü-lai" 萬季野專志明史之由來, *Ta-kung pao* 大公報, Shih-ti chou-k'an 史地周刊 sect., issue 134 (April 30, 1937). Shortly before he died, Wan said to his friend Liu Fang, "In the past, four generations of my ancestors died [carrying out] affairs of the realm. Now, is this not an affair of the realm? My ancestors did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves. If [I], their descendant, am unable to exert all my efforts in gathering [materials] to complete the remnant record, then how can I ever face them underground after my death?" (Liu Fang, "Wan Chi-yeh hsing-chuang").

⁵³ Chang Hsün, "Wan Chi-yeh yü Ming-shih," pp. 222-23.

⁵⁴ *SYWC* 7, "Hai-wai i-chi hou-hsü" 海外遺集後序, pp. 10a-11b. It was Wan who urged Wen Jui-lin 溫香臨 to take advantage of materials gathered at the capital to write the first general (unofficial) history of the last Ming regimes in the South. *Nan-chiang i-shih* 南疆逸史, fan-li, item 1 (Shanghai, 1960), p. 3.

⁵⁵ The *Keng-shen-chün i-shih*, 1 ch., and the *Nan-Sung liu-ling i-shih*, 2 ch., are contained in the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書 (1833), ts'ü 70. The *Sung-chi chung-i lu* 宋季忠義錄, 16 ch., was published in 1934 by Chang Shou-jung 張壽鏞 from a ms. held in Peking.

⁵¹ *Ch'ün-shu i-pien* 1, "Shih-shuo" 詩說, pp. 8a-10a.

⁵² *Ch'ün-shu i-pien* 7, "Miao-chih k'ao," p. 23a, and *SYWC* 3, "Ti-shuo," pp. 3b, 10a-b.

⁵³ See, for instance, *SYWC* 7, "Yü Li Kao-t'ang hsien-sheng shu" 與李杲堂先生書, p. 2a.

⁵⁴ Ma T'ai-hsüan, "Wan Ssu-t'ung chih sheng-p'ing," p. 942. Wan T'ai: *ECCP* 2, pp. 803-04.

Huang, however, Wan eschewed romantic or poetic presentations and offered instead orderly comparisons and analyses of different source materials. Wan let his feelings and opinions be implicit rather than explicit. He showed that once historical facts become known, the people's own feelings and opinions suffice to render futile any official cover-up, such as often occurred after the tumult of dynastic change.⁶⁰

For all his interest in diverse kinds of sources, Wan was more reserved than Huang regarding poetry. He opposed literary endeavor, regarding it as at best a waste of effort better spent on historical work, or at worst a self-serving evasion of Heaven's charge.⁶¹ Wan's first work on the Ming had been a chronological series of *yüeh-fu* 樂府, poems inspired by certain historical events and written to express the imagined feelings and opinions of citizens of those times. But Wan later came to feel that such balladry was petty compared to the larger task of writing whole histories.⁶² His early use of new content in an old genre, the *yüeh-fu*, seems similar in spirit to Huang Tsung-hsi's *Classic of Waterways for Today*. But Wan was interested in showing the potential of established historiographical forms, not in breaking new ground,⁶³ as Huang had done in the *Ming-ju hsüeh-an*. For Wan, the identity of the material and its formal vehicle was more important than the identity of the author.⁶⁴

The tendency to immerse his ego in scholarship reflects Wan's ideal of Confucian selflessness. But it also is related to the sheer immensity of Wan's perceived task. In marked contrast to Huang Tsung-hsi, who preferred to work alone and who devoured huge amounts of material with self-confident gusto, Wan Ssu-t'ung dwelled on the limitations of his energies and the feebleness of his capacities in the face of what remained to be done. An important part of Wan's argument against pursuing a literary career was that in order to select a technique, employ it well, and have something worthwhile to say in the first place, one must consume a lifetime in reading

⁶⁰ *Keng-shen-chün i-shih* (pref. 1700), p. 28a.

⁶¹ *SYWC* 7, "Chi Fan Pi-shan shu" 寄范筆山書, pp. 4b-5a; and "Yü ts'ung-tzu Chen-i-shu," pp. 8a, 9a-b.

⁶² Li Yeh-ssu's 李鄭嗣 pref. to Wan Ssu-t'ung's *Hsin yüeh-fu* 新樂府, 2 ch. (entitled *Wan Chi-yeh hsien-sheng Ming yüeh-fu* 萬季野先生明樂府 when published in 1869 by an eighth-generation descendant of Wan, and *Ming yüeh-fu* 明樂府 when printed again in the *Tu-man-lou ts'ung-shu* 又滿樓叢書 in 1925).

⁶³ See, for instance, Wan's suggestion to Li Yeh-ssu that in illuminating writings by men of their home locale he could at the same time demonstrate the usefulness of the *fang-chih* 方志 form. *SYWC* 7, "Yü Li Kao-t'ang hsien-sheng shu," p. 2b. For general discussion of Wan's emphasis on form and method, see Ts'ao Kuang-ming, "Wan Chi-yeh te shih-hsüeh" 萬季野的史學, *Kuo-li pien-i-kuan kuan-k'an* 11.2 (Dec. 1982), pp. 127-41.

⁶⁴ *SYWC* 7, "Chi Fan Pi-shan shu," pp. 4b-5a.

"all the books in the world."⁶⁵ Although he thoroughly disliked the History Office's bureaucratic style, and compared it to assembling a crowd from the marketplace to decide the affairs of a household,⁶⁶ nevertheless, Wan definitely sought collaboration in scholarly production. Repeatedly he appealed to friends for help on his historical projects, or offered to help them if they took up projects he proposed.⁶⁷ Wan favored *dividing up* the labor in order to carry on the work of Huang Tsung-hsi; but he also complained that although several good fellow students were working on the classics, more assistance was needed on the historical side of Huang's legacy.⁶⁸

When it came to broad learning, Wan Ssu-t'ung surpassed even Huang Tsung-hsi in his range of topics, sense of chronology, and sheer power of memory. Wan strove for complete pictures of the past, synchronically and diachronically; he emphasized total coverage and balance in the use of materials — like the patient reconstruction of disintegrated edifices. The epitome of this approach was Wan's urging that the Veritable Records (*shih-lu* 實錄), when available, be used as a skeletal framework for collating information from all other kinds of historical writing (each with its shortcomings and pitfalls), especially sources on individual lives and local events.⁶⁹

Among the various historiographical genres, Wan regarded chronological tables as especially valuable for tracing and schematizing long historical works. He and many others bemoaned the absence of such tables, or at least the lack of a full complement, in most of the dynastic histories since the Later Han. So as a service to future historians, Wan Ssu-t'ung handily provided every needed table, beginning with the Han. (Seventy-three tables, not counting the thirteen that he drew up for the *Ming History*, have been collectively titled *Li-tai shih-piao* 歷代史表.)⁷⁰ This was an astounding feat that did not go unappreciated in Wan's day.⁷¹ Moreover, in

⁶⁵ *SYWC* 7, pp. 4b-5a; and 6, "Yü Ch'ien Han-ch'ien shu" 與錢漢臣書, pp. 6a-7a.

⁶⁶ Fang Pao, "Wan Chi-yeh mu-piao" 萬季野墓表, *Fang Wang-hsi hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi* 方望溪先生全集 (SPTK ch'u-pien, ts'ê 93, photoreduced edn.) 21, p. 168.

⁶⁷ *SYWC* 7, pp. 2b, 4a-5a, 8a.

⁶⁸ *SYWC* 7, "Chi Fan Pi-shan shu," pp. 5a-b.

⁶⁹ Fang Pao, "Wan Chi-yeh mu-piao," *SYWC* 7, "Chi Fan Pi-shan shu," p. 4a; and "Yü Li Kao-t'ang hsien-sheng shu," pp. 1a-b. Also, see Tu Wei-yün, "Wan Chi-yeh chih shih-hsüeh" 萬季野之史學, in *Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu shih lun-chi* 中國學術史論集, Ch'ien Mu et al., eds. (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua, 1956) 2 (unpaginated).

⁷⁰ (*Pu* 補) *Li-tai shih-piao*, published in sect. 7 of the *Ssu-ming ts'ung-shu*, adds fourteen tables from Wan family mss. to the fifty-nine printed in the collectanea *Kuang-ya ts'ung-shu* 廣雅叢書 (Kuang-hsü period). According to Chang Shou-jung's pref. to the *Ssu-ming* edn., these additional tables invalidate complaints of insufficiency voiced in the *SKTY* 11, p. 1104.

⁷¹ For example, see pref. to *Li-tai shih-piao* by Huang Tsung-hsi and Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊, both dated 1692.

the following decade Wan made a concordance of sexagenary year designations and reign years for the four millennia from legendary times to mid-1644, the work entitled (*Li-tai*) *Chi-yüan hui-k'ao* (歷代紀元備考).⁷²

From the title of Wan's *Ju-lin tsung-p'ai* 儒林宗派 (*Confucian Schools and Their Branches*), it might seem that he followed in Huang Tsung-hsi's footsteps by writing a comprehensive history of Confucian philosophy. But this work, like the *Li-tai shih-piao*, is a series of tables showing just who studied under whom over the centuries, without one word concerning teachings or doctrines. This linear guide abandoned all labels like "school of principle/mind/the Way" that were conventionally used to differentiate within the "forest of Confucians." Moreover, Wan included not only great philosophers, but also men who were important for transmitting the classics.⁷³ Comparison of this work with the *Ming-ju hsüeh-an* throws into sharp relief the difference between Huang's and Wan's conceptions of scholarship.

Wan Ssu-t'ung apparently eschewed deliberation about the unity of principle in man's mind with that in the universe. This opened the way toward what Huang Tsung-hsi had hated most: the breaking up of knowledge into sections and pieces, and the weakening of the learner's ability to deal with a perceived external reality. But because of his skill and determination in the promotion of causes close to Huang's heart, Wan earned his teacher's support and admiration. In all major dimensions of his scholarly work — clarifying the classics, examining institutional roots, delineating historical functions, and giving form and substance to Ming history — Wan's motivation seems to have been grounded in the trauma of the Manchu conquest. He was not old enough to have digested the philosophical fare on which Huang Tsung-hsi had grown intellectually. Wan's formative years were filled with social and political disruptions that caused many physical hardships. Like Huang, he was sorely concerned that Confucian discourse proceed with maximum clarity and effectiveness; but for Wan the subjects of that discourse were to be extensions of the classics, not of Neo-Confucianism.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF SHAO T'ING-TS'AI

Wan Ssu-t'ung and Shao T'ing-ts'ai were not acquainted, even though their home districts in Chekiang were not far apart (Ningpo 寧波 and Yü-yao, respectively). They were of the same generation (Shao was born and

died about ten years later than Wan), and both grew up under the influence of Huang Tsung-hsi. Both later were identified as major figures in the "Eastern Chekiang School," but their scholarship diverged almost symmetrically, exhibiting parallel but separate development of characteristics that had been amalgamated in Huang. And both left unperpetuated certain essential aspects of Huang's would-be legacy.

Shao T'ing-ts'ai's motivation in scholarship derived basically from his personal identification with the Yao-chiang 姚江 School of Wang Yang-ming philosophy, and from his desire to protect that school by adapting it to the climate of the early Ch'ing. He sought to maintain the distinctiveness of Wang Yang-ming's learning, especially its emphasis on cultivating the inner self, while at the same time bringing its terms down to earth. Like Wan Ssu-t'ung, he reached back to classical Confucianism for ideas that appealed to common-sense approval; but his intent was to explain Neo-Confucianism, not to circumvent it. Moreover, Shao sought an ecumenical understanding of Neo-Confucianism that would not require elaborate textual research.

When Shao T'ing-ts'ai was still a young boy, his education was taken in hand by his paternal grandfather, Tseng-k'o 曾可, who had been a pupil of the founder of the Yao-chiang Academy in Yü-yao, Shen Kuo-mo 沈國模 (1575-1656), and thereafter he was a follower of Shih Hsiao-hsien 史教威, another leader of the Yao-chiang group. The successive deaths of both his grandfather and Shih in 1658-1659, as well as other family deaths, dealt young Shao serious emotional and educational blows, and began a general decline in his family's fortunes. In spite of these hardships, Shao did his best to uphold the family tradition in learning. While still living in Yü-yao, he became the student of Han K'ung-tang 韓孔當, who revived the lectureship at Yao-chiang Academy in 1669. Up to this point, Shao's education allowed him to have Ch'an Buddhist tendencies, and it had not impressed on him the importance of extensive study and exacting scholarship. In 1673, however, Shao left Yü-yao first to become a tutor in Chia-hsing 嘉興 and then to take up residence in Kuei-chi 會稽 (the prefectural city of Shao-hsing). At this time he began seriously to study the writings of Liu Tsung-chou and to become familiar with the scholarship of Huang Tsung-hsi and the Wan brothers.⁷⁴

⁷² Shao T'ing-ts'ai: *ECCP* 2, pp. 638-39; Yao Ming-ta 姚名達, comp., *Shao Nien-tu nien-p'u* 邵念魯年譜 (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1971), esp. pp. 30-31, 38, 40-41, 44. Shao wrote in detail about Wan Ssu-t'ung's scholarship; but he seems to have known little about the work of Wan Ssu-t'ung, whose influence was felt more strongly in Peking after 1679. Shao did not travel to Peking until well after Ssu-t'ung's death. Shao T'ing-ts'ai, *Ssu-fu-P'ang wen-chi* 思復堂文集, 10 ch., in *Shao-hsing hsien-cheng i-shu* 紹興先正遺書, pt. 4 (Kuei-chi, 1894; hereafter *SFT*), ch. 3, "Ningpo Wan Shih shih-chuan" 寧波萬氏世傳.

⁷³ (*Li-tai*) *Chi-yüan hui-k'ao*, 8 ch., in the *Ssu-ming ts'ung-shu*, sect. 4, ts'ü 54-55.

⁷⁴ *SKTY* 12, pp. 1287-88.

Although Shao admired these men, the most significant influence on him during this period came through the writings of Sun Ch'i-feng 孫奇逢 (1585-1675), a northern philosopher who was widely respected at this time for approaching Confucianism not as a collection of terminologies, but as a way of life — temperate, sensible, and appropriate to circumstances.⁷⁵ Indeed, Shao seems to have recoiled from the heavy emphasis on scholarship that he found in Shao-hsing. He spoke of Huang Tsung-hsi with the awe of one apart:

[Huang generated] a veritable flood of thought, an unending stream of writing, which covered the entire span of human knowledge. Once he showed me some of his works on astronomy and [*I Ching* 易經] images and numerology. I looked from a distance but did not dare approach them.⁷⁶

Late in life he regretted his diffidence: he could have taken advantage of the opportunity to be molded by Huang and others.⁷⁷ Shao's tendency toward self-reproach was heightened by his repeated failure (fourteen times in all) to rise above the licentiate level in the civil service examinations. But feelings of inadequacy do not entirely explain Shao's retreat from the heights of Shao-hsing scholarly activity. He also became dismayed by the superior airs, shallowness, and lack of real experience among the "assorted bravoos and reckless knights" whom he found following the broad-learning, *ching-shih* fashion of the time.⁷⁸ Longing for the purity and depth of men in former times, Shao retired and lived in relative seclusion after the late 1670s, in his own words, muddling about fecklessly for many years.⁷⁹ Here was a man out of phase with the elite trends of his day.

Far from being embittered by these tribulations, however, Shao seems to have become even more responsive generally to moral and emotional needs. His warm and understanding personality earned him both sympathy and respect when he taught in his home area and supported Yao-chiang activities. His career culminated in 1694 with an invitation to become head lecturer of the Yao-chiang Academy. This allowed him to write important works on education and Neo-Confucianism.⁸⁰

In Shao's view, Neo-Confucianism became abstruse and petty when its best thinkers went to extremes of refinement in excising Buddhist and Taoist elements. The antidote to this excess, he said, should simply be practice, which unites all facets of the *tao* 道, and which requires composure and tranquility of the heart-and-mind. This was not a heterodox notion, Shao stressed, but a view held by both Chu Hsi 朱熹 and Wang Yang-ming as part of the basic truth of Neo-Confucianism.⁸¹ Like Huang Tsung-hsi, Shao held that Wang had gone beyond Chu, and that Liu Tsung-chou had gone beyond both in explicating the oneness of knowing and doing. Shao himself did not write much about such matters. Rather, he spoke straightforwardly about the relation of inner strength to interpersonal relations, worthwhile study, and proper action. Knowing, for Shao, meant first knowing one's own feelings; and practice for him was a homely affair.

Shao often cited particular terms in classic texts (like *chung* 忠 and *hsin* 信, "faithfulness" and "trustworthiness"), not as the foci of lexical or metaphysical arguments, but as terms to be understood through practice. In so doing, he exhorted against Neo-Confucianism's further pursuit of frustrating questions about the psyche.⁸² Shao cited with confidence, but without exegetical proof, ancient educational practices based in home and local instruction which aimed to cultivate strength and balance, of both the body and the mind.⁸³

Shao T'ing-ts'ai shared Huang Tsung-hsi's identification with Wang Yang-ming philosophy, but not his Yao-chiang style of intense intellection. Shao emphasized feeling: those things that are close and personal. Perhaps because of the influence of Sun Ch'i-feng, Shao referred frequently to the *I Ching*, not as a disputed text, but rather as a source of reassuring ways for reflecting on historical patterns of change.⁸⁴ Even in his series of general essays on such *ching-shih* topics as taxation, agriculture, markets, and penal law, Shao aims not to be original, but rather to be understood by the average reader. "In these twelve essays," he says, "there is much tiresome repetition [of what is well known]. But when has the truly useful ever been lofty and unusual?"⁸⁵ Neither the abstruse language of Ming Neo-Confucianism nor

⁷⁵ Sun Ch'i-feng: *ECCP* 2, pp. 671-72. *SFT* 3, pp. 13a-15b. ⁷⁶ *SFT* 3, pp. 16b, 22a-b.

⁷⁷ *SFT* 7, "Ta T'ao Sheng-shui shu" 答陶聖水書, p. 16b. ⁷⁸ *SFT* 1, p. 15a.

⁷⁹ *SFT* 7, "Yeh Mao Hsi-ho hsien-sheng shu" 譚毛西河先生書, p. 3b.

⁸⁰ Yao Ming-ta, *Shao Nien-lu nien-p'u*, pp. 76-93. Students of Shao's writings may wish to consult an early version of his *Ssu-fu-t'ang wen-chi* which is held in the Seikadō Archive in Tokyo. See Ho Koon Piu, "Chi Jih-pen 'Ching-chia-t'ang wen-k'u' ts'ang 'Shao Nien-lu wen-kao'" 記日本靜嘉堂文庫藏邵念魯文稿, *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌 60.4 (Apr. 1980), pp. 28-42.

⁸¹ *SFT* 8, "Hsüeh-hsiao lun hsia" 學校論下, pp. 10a-b; and 1, "Yao-chiang shu-yüan chuan" 姚江書院傳, "Ming-ju Wang-tzu Yang-ming hsien-sheng chuan" 明儒王子陽明先生傳, and "Ming-ju Liu-tzu Chi-shan hsien-sheng chuan" 明儒劉子翥山先生傳, esp. pp. 39b, 43b, and 53a.

⁸² *SFT* 10, "Hou-meng shuo" 後蒙說, pp. 56b-58a.

⁸³ *SFT* 8, "Hsüeh-hsiao lun shang" 學校論上, pp. 7a-b.

⁸⁴ *SFT* 3, p. 57b and 4, p. 14a.

⁸⁵ Pref. to *Chih-p'ing lüeh* 治平略 ser., *SFT* 9.

the privileged, sophisticated research of men like Huang and Wan was suitable to Shao.

Shao shared Wan Ssu-t'ung's concern to relate Confucianism directly to the current needs of society, but not his frustrated drive to enlist all recorded knowledge in the task. Shao thought that even if one were as talented as Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 or Pan Ku 班固, still it would be necessary to have a family library, ample income, wide acquaintance among outstanding men, plenty of secretarial assistance, and a family scholarly heritage — all of which he lacked.⁸⁶ But Shao did not hesitate to write about things that engaged him at his own level, even if he had not studied them thoroughly.

Writing that has nothing to do with the way of the world [*shih-tao* 世道] need not be done; but writing that is about the way of the world cannot but be done. Even if material has not been selected exhaustively, there still is no harm in writing.⁸⁷

As a result of these views, Shao tended to write somewhat uncritically. In biography, for instance, he found instructive and kind things to say about every subject. Like Huang and Wan, Shao portrayed figures from every walk of life; moreover, he consciously selected the biographical style and form that best accentuated each person's finest qualities.⁸⁸ Shao moralized in gentle, sometimes touching ways, like a fireside chat. For instance, his poignant biography of the Yao-chiang resistance leader Sun Chia-chi 孫嘉績 contains the following passage:

After the Ardently Loyal [Sun Chia-chi] was martyred in trials [of the dynastic collapse], his wife, although very pleased with the care given by their three sons, would sob so piteously in her bedchamber that one day [the sons] brought some entertainers to perform a new play about Ch'en-hao 宸濠 [a rebellious Ming prince of the late 1400s] with all their vigor and without restraint. But when the warrior emerged with his weapon and wounded [the prince], their mother was so pained that she went back indoors, and the whole family cried openly. For causing this incident, the sons tied up the actor who played Ch'en-hao, beat him forty strokes, but then gave him some money. Ah, how great was the

loyalty of [Sun Chia-chi] and the filiality of his three sons. They surely will open a line of descendants who will bring complete peace to the country.⁸⁹

In further contrast to Wan Ssu-t'ung, Shao did not avoid writing about the pathos-filled events of the conquest period. Late in life he completed two major compilations of biographies and biographical narratives from the Southern Ming period, the *Tung-nan chi-shih* 東南紀事 (*Record of Events in the Southeast*) and the *Hsi-nan chi-shih* 西南紀事 (*Record of Events in the Southwest*).⁹⁰ Perhaps more valuable than these largely secondary accounts, however, is Shao's collection entitled *Ming i-min so-chih chuan* 明遺民所知傳⁹¹ — literally, *What I Know about [Some] Men Who Survived from the Ming*. The last is vignette biography, truly what Shao happened to know through various private channels, giving intimate glimpses with no aspiration to completeness. Other groups of biographies, which constitute the bulk of Shao's collected works (*Ssu-fu-t'ang wen-chi* 思復堂文集), do more than record lives; they record, through Shao's comments, men's emotional responses to each other's lives.

In short, although Shao T'ing-ts'ai was much less productive as a scholar than Wan Ssu-t'ung, he was on more friendly terms with his subject matter. This was because he upheld the School-of-Mind's emphasis on the intuitive affinity between the student and the thing studied. Shao did not exhibit Wan's apprehensive, negative attitude toward a huge unfinished task, nor did he share Wan's inhibitions about expressing emotions and recording personal impressions in his work. Both tried to make Confucianism more understandable and practicable by employing classical terms of common-sense reference.

Figuratively speaking, Wan Ssu-t'ung and Shao T'ing-ts'ai split the legacy of Huang Tsung-hsi and left some important elements behind. To Wan went Huang's tremendous range of study and the determination to serve the country through high-level, militant scholarship. To Shao went Huang's unabashed emotional involvement in the things about which he studied and wrote, as well as the willingness to record feeling as history. Both Wan and Shao carried on, in their different ways, Huang's interest in *ching-shih*, in personages of all social backgrounds, and in recent history. Left in the generational dust was Huang's powerful sense of the human mind as all-

⁸⁶ *SFT* 7, "Ta T'ao Sheng-shui shu," p. 17b.

⁸⁷ Pref. to *SFT* by Wang K'uei 王葵 (1912), citing Shao's words.

⁸⁸ For instance, in *SFT* 3, "P'iao-ch'i Chiang-chün Ching-chai Chou Kung chuan" 驃騎將軍敬齋周公傳 and "Ho shih-yü chuan" 何侍御傳, pp. 34a-42a. See comments on pp. 38b and 42a.

⁸⁹ *SFT* 3, p. 7b.

⁹⁰ *Tung-nan chi-shih*, 11 ch. and *Hsi-nan chi-shih*, 12 ch. in the T'ai-wan wen-hsien ts'ung-k'an ser., nos. 96 and 267, resp.; first printed in *Shao-wu Hsi Shih ts'ung-shu* 邵武徐氏叢書 (1884).

⁹¹ *SFT* 3, pp. 57b ff.

pervading and all-pervaded, with its simultaneity of feeling, intending, and knowing.

This conception of the mind (with the concomitant tendencies to be independent, concept-generating, critical, and vocal in affairs) does not appear in Wan or Shao, although both were committed Confucians, in general agreement with Huang's philosophy. Ironically, this lapse seems to have occurred for the same reason that motivated much of Huang's own work: Sung-Ming Confucian discourse had generated a philosophy of the mind (and hence, of morality) that was too difficult for any large number of people to understand or act upon without perilously weakening the Confucian threads in the social fabric. The Ming demise and the Ch'ing conquest seem to have hastened a consensus against the continued confusion over the true nature of Confucian attitudes and practices. Huang wanted to clear the arena of bias and misinformation so that productive discussion could take place. Wan and Shao saw the need to demystify the language of that discussion; but both felt even more strongly that a quiet Confucian lifestyle would speak louder than words.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF CH'ÜAN TSU-WANG

Ch'üan Tsu-wang was born three years after the death of Wan Ssu-t'ung; and Shao T'ing-ts'ai, whom he never knew personally, passed away when Ch'üan was still a child. Later in life, Ch'üan admired Wan greatly and through the proxy teaching of Fang Pao 方苞 came to consider himself Wan's student.⁹² At the same time, he belittled Shao T'ing-ts'ai as well-intentioned but ill-informed, and as so uncritical of his sources that he "gave rise to errors with every stroke of the pen."⁹³ In spite of Ch'üan's opposite regard for these two predecessors, in him we find recombined, so to speak, characteristics of Huang Tsung-hsi's scholarship that had been split between Wan and Shao. Like Shao, Ch'üan continued Huang's interest in Neo-Confucian philosophy, and he did not shy away from personal and emotional matters in recent history. But in his approach to evidence, Ch'üan's manner was more akin to that of Wan Ssu-t'ung. This "recombination" was largely an outgrowth of Ch'üan's natural disposition, but in no small mea-

⁹² Fang Pao: *ECCP* 1, pp. 235-37; *CCTC* 17, "Ch'ien shih-lang T'ung-ch'eng Fang Kung shen-tao pei-ming" 前侍郎桐城方公神道碑銘, esp. p. 6b.

⁹³ *CCTC-WP* 47, "Ta chu-sheng wen Ssu-fu-t'ang chi t'ieh" 答諸生問思復堂集帖. For more detail on Ch'üan's objections, see Ho Koon-piu, "Shu Ch'üan Tsu-wang 'Ta chu-sheng wen Ssu-fu-t'ang chi t'ieh' hou" 書全祖望答諸生問思復堂集帖後, *Ch'ing-shih lun-t'ung* 清史論叢 6 (June 1985), pp. 211-37.

sure was also caused by his conscious effort (after a certain point in life) to establish himself as Huang's acknowledged successor in Eastern Chekiang scholarship. No degree of emulation, however, could bridge the widening gap between scholarly orientations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Ch'üan was a prodigy. Born to an old Ningpo family of recent prominence, he had been reared among books, and he began to acquire a national reputation as a writer at only sixteen, when he first participated in the provincial examinations. From that time he rapidly made acquaintances among some of the most famous literati and patrons of his day in Hangchow, Soochow, and Yangchow; he also became well known in Peking after becoming an Imperial Academy student at the age of twenty-six. There, needing political support in the contention for honors and positions, Ch'üan obtained the favor of two controversial and outspoken patrons: Fang Pao, and especially the bureaucratic clique-builder Li Fu 李紱 (1675-1750).⁹⁴

Ch'üan was very proud to be among the favorites of these highly selective sponsors, because their main criterion in selecting protégés was acumen in the exacting scholarship that Ch'üan's mentor, Wan Ssu-t'ung, had done much to advance. Ch'üan recalled in admiration that many younger men in the capital were eager to meet and consult with Fang Pao, even though he was cuttingly impatient in debate and for that reason had acquired many enemies and critics.⁹⁵ Ch'üan savored even more the arrogant academic pugilism of Li Fu:

Master [Li] would sit high and complacent, casting his eyes right and left, dismissing [from notice] a thousand men and never condescending to meet anyone with lukewarm words. So not only did colleagues dislike him, even those in his own group were overawed. . . . But he would sometimes let go of his own opinion to follow mine, and in irreconcilable cases he would say, "Each respects his own knowledge." Often he told me how much he appreciated my lack of obsequiousness.⁹⁶

Ch'üan greatly admired these men's ability to attack with confidence,

⁹⁴ Li Fu: *ECCP* 1, pp. 453-57. Through Li Fu's privileges in the imperial library, Ch'üan became the first Ch'ing scholar to realize the usefulness of the early Ming imperial encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta-tien*. He then opened an important new research channel by suggesting to Fang Pao that sections of this huge work be copied as material for the *San-li i-shu* 三禮義疏 (*Expositions on the Three Ritual [Classics]*). Chiang T'ien-shu 蔣天樞, comp., *Ch'üan Hsieh-shan nien-p'u* 全謝山年譜 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1933), pp. 54, 58-59.

⁹⁵ *CCTC* 17, "Fang Kung shen-tao pei-ming," p. 6a.

⁹⁶ *CCTC* 17, "Ko-hsüeh Lin-ch'uan Li Kung shen-tao pei-ming" 閣學臨川李公神道碑銘, pp. 15a-b.

especially on academic questions, and to remain unmoved under attack. With apparent proclivity, Ch'üan soon learned to rate and berate fellow scholars in similar style. His most trenchant criticisms — for shabby ethical indiscretions, as well as for errors in scholarship — seemed to fall most often on men who had opposed or criticized Ch'üan's patrons.⁹⁷

Ch'üan had moved into a game of high stakes, played at least in part by scoring points of factual knowledge. Two generations earlier, such knowledge had been promoted to save the nation and society; but now, in the halcyon days of Ch'ing, it had become a means of ranking the elite. In 1736, at the age of thirty-two, Ch'üan was sanguine about one particular chance to show his prowess. He had been nominated by his sponsors to take a special examination, decreed by the newly enthroned Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 emperor, for the few most "broadly learned and vastly erudite" (*po-hsüeh hung-tz'u* 博學鴻辭) scholars in the realm.⁹⁸

Unfortunately, at this point Ch'üan began to feel the double-edged sword of his tactlessness and cliquishness. First, he found himself barred from taking the special examination by a technical ruling. This is thought to have been the work of Grand Secretary Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 (1672-1755),⁹⁹ whose policies Ch'üan (a mere Hanlin bachelor) had criticized openly, whose son Ch'üan had offended, and whose political adversaries were Fang Pao and Li Fu.¹⁰⁰ Determined to show his superiority, Ch'üan not only defended (with historical evidence) the right of lesser officials to protest top-level recommendations, he also had the gall to publish privately an essay on one of the *po-hsüeh* examination topics which outshone all the official performances.¹⁰¹ The following year, in spite of Ch'üan having obtained the *chin-shih* 進士 degree, he was in effect mustered out of the Hanlin Academy and

⁹⁷ See, for instance, his criticism of Li Kuang-ti 李光地 in *CCTC-WP* 44, "Ta chu-sheng wen Jung-ts'un hsüeh-shu t'ieh-tzu" 答諸生問榕村學術帖子; of Mao Ch'i-ling 毛奇齡 in *CCTC-WP* 33, "Shu Mao chien-t'ao 'Chung-ch'en pu ssu-chieh pien' hou" 書毛檢討忠臣不死節辨後; and of a "rash male," probably Hu T'ien-yu 胡天游, cited by Ch'ai Te-keng in "Ch'üan Hsieh-shan yü Hu Chih-wei" 全謝山與胡維威, *Fu-chen hsüeh-chih* 輔仁學誌 15:1-2 (Dec. 1947), pp. 167-75.

⁹⁸ Eager to inform posterity of his place among luminous contemporaries, and to further distinguish himself by continuing a series of records of special examinations begun in the T'ang dynasty, Ch'üan conducted extensive interviews to compile a biographical dictionary of almost all the prospective participants. The resulting *Kung-chü cheng-shih hsiao-tu* 公車徵士小錄 (*Brief Record of Specially Summoned Examinees*) is contained in the *Yen-hua tung-t'ang hsiao-p'in* 烟畫東堂小品, comp. Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫 (1920), *ts'ü* 3. Also, see Chiang T'ien-shu, "Ch'üan Hsieh-shan hsien-sheng chu-shu k'ao" 全謝山先生著述考, pt. 1, *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an* 國立北平圖書館館刊 7:1 (Jan.-Feb. 1933), pp. 33-34.

⁹⁹ Chang T'ing-yü: *ECCP* 1, pp. 54-56.

¹⁰⁰ Chiang Hsüeh-yung 蔣學鏞, *Shu-an ts'un-kao* 傳臚存稿 (*Ssu-ming ts'ung-shu*, pt. 1, *ts'ü* 34), ch. 2, "Shu Ch'üan Hsieh-shan hsien-sheng nien-p'u hou" 書全謝山先生年譜後, p. 12a.

¹⁰¹ Chiang, *Ch'üan Hsieh-shan nien-p'u*, pp. 61-62.

transferred to a minor provincial job.¹⁰² This measure Ch'üan also blamed at least indirectly on Chang T'ing-yü, who reportedly commented with wry satisfaction on the further reduction of that "smaller replica of Li Fu."¹⁰³ Just prior to this, Li Fu had been reprimanded and degraded for showing favoritism in his recommendations for posts; and two years later Fang Pao was deprived of all rank for similar transgressions. Ch'üan remained in Peking for several more months, but finally returned south in the fall, reaching home (Yin district 鄞縣) in January or February of 1738.

Ch'üan's maneuvering in the capital had cost him dearly both in status and in financial resources.¹⁰⁴ Then in 1739 the successive deaths of Ch'üan's father, mother, and paternal grandmother apparently left him in a state of penury from which he never recovered. Nevertheless, by this time Ch'üan had already taken up his calculated role as a first-rate scholar of humble status and a significant new figure in a local scholarly tradition.

Since boyhood, Ch'üan had been fascinated with stories of the Ch'ing conquest and Ming resistance told by his father and other clan members whose parents had been involved in those affairs. Even before his sojourn in Peking, Ch'üan had become well known as a budding expert on Chekiang history.¹⁰⁵ Now forced to "plow with his pen" for a living, Ch'üan began to specialize in writing stirring, yet accurate "social biography" for the prominent clans of Chekiang. This writing included epitaphs, elegies, tomb inscriptions, biographical sketches to accompany ancestral portraits, "accounts of conduct" commissioned by relatives of deceased officials, and "family biographies" for preservation among clan treasures and records.¹⁰⁶

Ch'üan's activity was helped not only by his high standards of research and verity, and by his need for income, but also by a demand for such work. This generation was the first to lose touch with witnesses of the conquest years. They had to rely completely on miscellaneous writings that had been

¹⁰² Chiang, *Ch'üan Hsieh-shan nien-p'u*, p. 67.

¹⁰³ *CCTC* 17, "Li Kung shen-tao pei-ming," p. 16b.

¹⁰⁴ Estimates of how many books Ch'üan took with him to Peking range from 20,000 to 50,000 *chüan*. In any case, he had to divest himself of them at a rapid rate to meet expenses. See Chiang Hsüeh-yung, "Ch'üan nien-p'u hou," p. 11b; and *CCTC-WP* 17, "Ch'un-ming hsing-ch'ieh tang-shu chi" 春明行篋當書記. He returned with no such resources.

¹⁰⁵ Wan Ching 萬經 (1659-1741), a friend of Ch'üan's father, and a nephew of Wan Ssu-t'ung, asked Ch'üan's advice in compiling an official Ningpo history. See *ECCP* 2, p. 800; and *CCTC* 16, "T'i-tu Kuei-chou hsüeh-cheng... Wan Kung shen-tao pei," 提督貴州學政... 萬公神道碑銘. Li E 厲鶚 (1692-1752) and Hang Shih-chün 杭世駿 (1696-1773), both Ch'üan's close associates, called on Ch'üan for assistance in 1731 while jointly editing a Chekiang history. See *ECCP* 1, pp. 454-55 and 276-77, resp. Also see Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 37, 39-40.

¹⁰⁶ Several kinds of "social biography" are discussed by David S. Nivison in "Aspects of Traditional Chinese Biography," *JAS* 21.4 (1962), pp. 457-64.

kept as family heirlooms. Moreover, centennials for these ardent ancestors were rapidly approaching. Clans who had survived the conquest now were enjoying renewed prosperity. Many felt the time had come to put their recent heritage in order, and to display, through tomb refurbishment and commemorative temples, the honor that their recent ancestors had brought to the locale.¹⁰⁷ From 1737 to 1748 Ch'üan traveled incessantly, despite his poverty and chronic poor health, to visit wealthy patrons in Hangchow, Soochow, and Yangchow. While there, he would use their libraries and seek financial support. He scarcely missed a chance to be present at commemorative ceremonies for outstanding figures from the Ming demise, funded by local officials and private philanthropists. No doubt this partly reflected his own respect; but it also gave him a chance to hobnob with locally influential personages and to earn both income and reputation with appropriate poems and other dedicatory writings.¹⁰⁸

In his commemorative pieces, Ch'üan took very seriously his responsibility not only to recount events, but also to render historical judgments that would help members of his locale understand the recent past. Compare the following historian's opinion on the resistance activity of Sun Chia-chi to the affective treatment accorded the same man by Shao T'ing-ts'ai (translated above):

Alas, public discussion of this undertaking has always faulted Sun and Hsiung [Ju-lin 熊如林] for linking up their soldiers with Fang [Kuo-an 方國安] and Wang [Chih-jen 王之仁]. But I say that [Sun] and his cohort, since they did not know much about military matters and [were faced with] great exigencies of the time, could not but rely on one or two older, experienced generals for protection, and they did not anticipate the extent of [those generals'] wanton destructiveness. For years Fang Kuo-an had been uncontrollable. Arriving suddenly as he did with

¹⁰⁷ For instance, in 1744 Ch'üan was commissioned to write lengthy biographical epitaphs and other commemorative pieces for Ch'ien Su-yüeh 錢肅樂 and his several brothers (who had led Ningpo resistance to the Ch'ing conquest) for the centennial ceremony at Ch'ien's refurbished grave site in Fukien. Ch'üan next compiled for the Ch'ien family a chronological biography (*nien-p'u* 年譜) of Ch'ien and edited four collections of his writings, using manuscripts that hitherto had been kept under wraps. He did similar work for descendants of other local resistance leaders (e.g., Chang Huang-yen 張煌言, Sun Chia-chi, and Wang I 王翊) and then branched out to write on personages from other places. See Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 101-02; *CCTC* 7, 8, 30, 32; and *CCTC-WP* 5, 24, 25, 30, 33.

¹⁰⁸ Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 91, 104-06, 129-36. Ch'üan's most frequent hosts were Wu Ch'o 吳焯, Chao Yü 趙昱 (father of Chao I-ch'ing 一淸), and Li E in Hangchow, Lu Hsi-ch'ou 陸錫畴 in Soochow, and the Ma 馬 brothers, Yüeh-kuan 曰筭 and Yüeh-lu 曰鑠, in Yangchow. See Ho Ping-ti, "The Salt Merchants of Yangchow: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century China," *HJAS* 17 (1954), esp. p. 157.

auxiliary forces, he would have been difficult to keep in place anyway. But Wang Chih-jen was a veteran garrison commander of Eastern Chekiang, and all units had long been under his direction. Could Sun and the others have kept [authority] from him, even if they had wished? . . . Under the circumstances, there was nothing else they could do. Loyal officials and upright soldiers could only seek the forgiveness of Heaven . . .¹⁰⁹

In this work Ch'üan exhibits Wan Ssu-t'ung's drive for completeness. Every scrap of material had to be gathered, including emotional responses to events, as in this dying sentiment of a Ming "survivor":

Ai! Has today's hell on earth come to this? Male serpents and female vipers, nests of ants and pots of bees, restless wild wolves and cunning field foxes drive men to run and hide from the light of day. Beasts wipe men with bloody paws; liver and gall are hacked from bodies. Men are strung up for sport, as when robbers hang out their stolen meat. Most stupid of all are the emaciated pigs on the road, wearing striped pelts saying, "I'm a tiger!" Rank-smelling winds and filthy torrents flow on the wide roads. Ai! Has today's hell on earth come to this? Six thousand of the finest men have died with the bright sun. Five thousand [sets of] shield and armor have dried up with the eastward-flowing rivers. Not wanting to recognize the emperor as such, I [have had to] deny my own identity. East, south, west, north — nowhere to stay. [Why should] my wandering soul return to such abomination? . . .¹¹⁰

Such pieces are scattered throughout Ch'üan's posthumously published miscellaneous writings, the *Chieh-ch'i-t'ing chi* 結埼亭集.¹¹¹ This collection is

¹⁰⁹ *CCTC-WP* 4, "Ming ping-pu shang-shu chien tung-ko ta-hsüeh shih tseng t'ai-pao shih Chung-hsiang Sun Kung shen-tao pei-ming" 明兵部尚書兼東閣大學士贈太保諡忠襄孫公神道碑銘.

¹¹⁰ *CCTC* 27, "Chuang t'ai-ch'ang chuan" 莊太常傳, p. 4a. For reconstruction of this passage, which is filled with blank spaces in printed editions, see Wang Pao-hsien 王寶先, "Chi chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so ts'ang 'Chieh-ch'i-t'ing chi' p'ing-chiao pen" 記中央研究院歷史語言研究所藏結埼亭集評校本, *T'u-shu-kuan hsüeh-pao* 圖書館學報 3 (July 1961), p. 21.

¹¹¹ The main body of *Chieh-ch'i-t'ing chi* was first published in Yao-chiang in 1804, whereas printing of the "outer portion" (*wai-pien*) was delayed until 1811. See Chiang T'ien-shu, "Ch'üan chu-shu k'ao," pt. 2, *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an* 7.2 (Feb.-Mar. 1933), pp. 48-53; and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Chang-kuo chin san-pai nien*, pp. 91-92. The long lapse of time between Ch'üan's death and publication of his collected writings is attributed in part to Ch'üan's poor relationship with an ostensible friend, Hang Shih-chün. See George Hendrickson, "Ch'üan Tsu-wang (1705-1775) and Hang Shih-chün (1696-1773): The Controversial Relationship," *Papers on Far Eastern History* (Dept. of History, Australian National U.) 24 (Sept. 1981), pp. 63-82.

a mine of information on the activities of an eighteenth-century local historian. Ch'üan often recorded the exact circumstances that fostered his writings — for instance, stumbling on an overgrown grave site during an island excursion, or scouring the Ningpo area for portraits of a clan's ancestor to place for approval before the tear-filled eyes of an aged descendant. With such tasks, Ch'üan seems to continue the intimacy of Shao T'ing-ts'ai's *Ssu-fu-t'ang wen-chi*; but Shao recorded many responses to past lives, whereas Ch'üan recorded one highly engaged inquirer's relation to his evidence. Moreover, for all his work on the end of the Ming, Ch'üan never attempted to write a general history of that period or even a local Chekiang history, unlike Shao. His forte was writing discrete studies, which resemble a needlework of scholarship.

Because (like Huang Tsung-hsi) Ch'üan included men's feelings and (like Wan Ssu-t'ung) used them as evidence for a complete picture, then it is no surprise that he gathered poems by men of his locale. In 1742 Ch'üan and several members of the literary elite in his native area formed the Chen-shuai She 眞率社 ("Frank and Honest Society"). The group gathered, preserved, and appreciated poems by local men, no matter how obscure, thus fulfilling a long tradition of poetry societies in Eastern Chekiang.¹¹² Not surprisingly, in 1744, as Ch'üan was editing the manuscripts of Li Yeh-ssu 李鄴嗣 (much honored by the Wan family), his attention was drawn to Li's Ming dynasty continuation of a Sung-Yüan anthology of poems by men of Yin district, a project suggested by Wan Ssu-t'ung. Ch'üan then began to extend Li's work, choosing poems from the late sixteenth century to his own time. Entries by commoners, heroes, and martyrs of the dynastic collapse, hermits, members of the Tung-lin, minor gentry figures, and as many as sixty-six Ming "survivors" are the most numerous. Unlike Huang Tsung-hsi, however, Ch'üan emphasized collection over selection and composition. When a friend flatteringly suggested that Ch'üan's choices in the *Hsü Yung-shang ch'i-chiu shih* 續甬上耆舊詩 (*Supplement to Poems from Former Men of Yung-shang*) would make the poets' other poems superfluous (bringing to mind Huang's similar assessment of his own literary selections),¹¹³ Ch'üan was horrified. "I only fear that some discarded remnants still await. Dare we speak of getting all Heaven's blossoms in one grasp!"¹¹⁴

¹¹² Chiang, "Ch'üan chu-shu k'ao," pt. 1, pp. 38–40. Two volumes of these poems, entitled *Chü-yü t'u-yin* 句餘土音, were first published in 1814, and most recently in 1911 by Kuo-hsüeh fu-lun she 國學扶輪社; a supplement in 6 *chüan* was published in 1921 in Wu-hsing. Also, see Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 88–91.

¹¹³ *NLWT*, *ch'ien* 1, "Ming wen-an hsü shang."

¹¹⁴ *Chieh-ch'i-t'ing shih-chi* 詩集, SPTK ch'u-pien edn. (Shanghai, 1929) 4, p. 13a. Chiang, "Ch'üan chu-shu k'ao," pt. 1, pp. 40–44. The *Hsü Yung-shang ch'i-chiu shih*, in 120 *ch.*, was published in Shanghai in 1905 and in Ningpo in 1918.

Often Ch'üan Tsu-wang is described as a courageous, anti-Ch'ing, "patriot historian" because of his ardent writing about Ming stalwarts of the conquest period.¹¹⁵ But whatever daring he exhibited should be viewed in the light of his personal circumstances and scholarly style. Both in his home locale and previously in Peking, Ch'üan seemed to aim toward treating politically sensitive material or dispensing caustic judgments with unflinching confidence; he would challenge anyone to fault him on difficult issues that others preferred to avoid. Surely Ch'üan was well aware of the ostensibly antiseditionary literary persecutions that had occurred during his lifetime: the Tai Ming-shih 戴名世 case of 1712–1713, and the Lü Liu-liang 呂留良 case of 1728–1733.¹¹⁶ But perhaps being aware of the ulterior motives in those cases, he may have discounted personal jeopardy, considering his humble position, lack of political designs, and relations with influential Manchus.¹¹⁷ Besides, that same writing was laced with clear praise of the Ch'ing, and it emphasized the value of loyalty to one's dynasty which the Ch'ing court itself had grown eager to promote.¹¹⁸

Obviously, Ch'üan saw himself as at least one cut above the majority of his peers, and the self-abnegating missives through which he refused offers of recommendation fairly peal with tongue-in-cheek irony.¹¹⁹ To have maintained his reputation as an exceptional scholar, while refusing anyone the

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, Liu Shih-p'ei 劉師培, "Ch'üan Tsu-wang chuan" 全祖望傳, *Kuo-ts'ui hsüeh-pao* 國學學報 1.11 (1905), pp. 6a–b (from his *Tso-an wai-chi* 左倉外集, *ch.* 8), which set a pattern of tendentious quotation from Ch'üan's writings for such later biographies as Chou Li-an's 周黎庵 "Ch'ing-tai min-tsu shih-chia Ch'üan Hsieh-shan" 清代民族史家全謝山, *Ta-feng* 大風 54 (Nov. 1939), pp. 1667–69; and Hsieh Kuo-chen, "Ch'ing-tai cho-yüeh te shih-hsüeh chia Ch'üan Tsu-wang" 清代卓越的史家全祖望, *Ch'ing-shih lun-t'ung* 清史論叢 2 (1980), pp. 340–47.

¹¹⁶ Tai Ming-shih case: *ECCP* 2, p. 701; "Chi T'ung-ch'eng Fang Tai liang-chia shu-an" 記桐城方戴兩家書案, in *Ku-hsüeh hui-k'an* 古學彙刊 (Taipei: Li-hsing, 1964), vol. 2, p. 1311; Ôtani Toshio 大谷敏夫, "Tai Meisei danzai jiken no seiji teki haikai" 戴名世斷罪事件の政治的背景, *Shirin* 史林 64.1 (July 1978), pp. 1–37; and Ho Koon Piu, "Literary Inquisition of the Ch'ing Period: Tai Ming-shih (1653–1713) and His *Nan-shan chi*," diss., U. of Hong Kong, 1981, pt. 3. Lü Liu-liang case: *ECCP* 1, pp. 551–52 and 2, pp. 747–49; *Ko-ming yüan-yüan* 革命遠源 (Taipei: Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 47–84; and Thomas S. Fisher, "Lü Liu-liang (1629–83) and the Tseng Chung Case (1728–33)," diss., Princeton U., 1974.

¹¹⁷ Ch'üan's second marriage, arranged for him by Li Fu in Peking, was to the daughter of Manchu Hanlin academician Cuntai (*chün-shih* of 1713). In 1745, when Ch'üan was threatened with persecution by a Yin local magistrate whom Ch'üan had angered in a petty dispute, the case was dismissed out of hand by the Manchu governor of Chekiang, Cangian, who admired Ch'üan's work. And in 1752 Ch'üan was invited to lecture in Kao-yao by the Manchu viceroy of Liang-Kuang, Sucang. See Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 52, 107–08, 153.

¹¹⁸ Kao Kuo-k'ang 高國抗 and Hou Jo-hsia 侯若霞 directly refute Hsieh Kuo-chen's view of Ch'üan (see n. 115 above) in "Ch'üan Tsu-wang 'su-fu min-tsu ch'i-chieh' i-i" 全祖望素負民族氣節異議, *Kuang-ming jih-pao* 光明日報, January 26, 1983, p. 3. On the self-serving view of the Ming resistance, see Lynn A. Struve, "Uses of History in Traditional Chinese Society: The Southern Ming in Ch'ing Historiography," diss., U. of Michigan, 1974, chap. 5.

¹¹⁹ See Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 86, 108, 148–49.

satisfaction of luring him back into government, required the nerve and obstinacy of his admired Ming loyalists.

As an object of emulation, none could match Huang Tsung-hsi for stubborn tenacity and astute scholarship, combined with the luster of regional tradition. However, prior to living in Peking Ch'üan had been much more directly influenced by the legacies of Wan Ssu-ta and Wan Ssu-t'ung than by that of Huang Tsung-hsi. This was because of the impact on the scholarly world of the Wan brothers, and it was particularly attributable to Wan Ching 萬經, who allowed the twenty-four-year-old Ch'üan to copy his father's surviving works on the *Ritual Classic* 禮記 and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋.¹²⁰ In his early thirties Ch'üan's scholarly activity (though not his personality or politics) bore strong resemblance to that of Wan Ssu-t'ung: concern for the *Ming History* (especially the tables and biographies); specialization in rituals, institutions, and geography; and listings to supplement the official histories. In his supplement to a bibliography of neglected writings on the *I Ching* by the great bibliophile Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊 (1629-1702),¹²¹ we see again Ch'üan's desire to be recognized as a fit successor to nationally prominent, pace-setting scholars of the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, we see his tendency to approach problems bibliographically and historically, whereas Huang Tsung-hsi would have been primarily moral and philosophical.

Not until after Ch'üan's chagrined return to Ningpo early in 1738 did he begin to take an active interest in Huang's life and scholarship and to see himself as the perpetuator of Huang's intellectual line. For instance, immediately after his return, Ch'üan went to use the Fan family's T'ien-i-ko 天一閣 Library. This facility, Ch'üan was careful to note, had gone unused during Ming times until it was reopened by Huang Tsung-hsi. Ch'üan himself wrote the library's history and made an orderly record of its collection of rubbings. In the autumn of 1742 Ch'üan began serious study of Huang's writings by visiting their main repository in Tz'u-hsi 慈谿, the library of Cheng Hsing 鄭性 (1665-1743), son of Huang's disciple Cheng Liang 鄭梁.¹²² Shortly thereafter, Ch'üan began the familiar pattern of completing pieces of Huang's unfinished work. First he submitted a tomb inscription, begun by Huang, at commemorative ceremonies for the well-known Ming loyalist and eremitic scholar Shen Shou-min 沈壽民.¹²³ In

1745 Ch'üan worked among Huang's extant rough drafts in order to produce a recension of a partially spurious collection, thereby showing "the true aspect of Mount Lu."¹²⁴ Through Huang, Ch'üan also came to study closely the teachings and philosophical background of Liu Tsung-chou; and in 1748 he was able to further emulate Huang by briefly assuming the head lectureship at an institution newly dedicated to Liu in Shao-hsing, the Chi-shan Academy 蕺山書院.¹²⁵

As a result of his exposure to Huang Tsung-hsi's manuscripts at Tz'u-hsi, in 1746 Ch'üan began his most important work, completing and expanding Huang's accounts of Sung and Yüan Neo-Confucian discussions. In Ch'üan's hands this became an enormous project, and he continued to add material gradually until the year before his death, at which time the *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an* 宋元學案 still was not finished.¹²⁶ Although the *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an* often is mentioned in the same breath as its predecessor, actually it is quite different from the *Ming-ju hsüeh-an*. In the earlier work, Huang had been highly selective; but in the *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an* Ch'üan went into great, sometimes encyclopedic, detail, with information from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典. Huang's emphasis had been on ideas and transmitted lines of thought, whereas Ch'üan's presentation stressed the maintenance of traditions within schools and geographical places. Moreover, Huang's personal, philosophical point of view underlay the *Ming-ju hsüeh-an*, whereas Ch'üan aimed for rigorous, total historical coverage and eschewed Huang's editorial comments.

However, this is not to say that Ch'üan had no sectarian designs of his own in supplementing and sometimes rearranging Huang's work. The little writing that Ch'üan had done on Neo-Confucianism prior to this time had been elicited by his sponsor in Peking, Li Fu. Li then had been promoting his own local tradition by reexamining the legacy of Lu Chiu-yüan 陸九淵 (the

¹²⁰ Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, p. 107. Also, see CCTC-WP 25, "Nan-lei Huang-tzu ta ch'üan-chi hsü 南雷黃子大全集序.

¹²¹ Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 129-35.

¹²² When finally published in the 19th century, after a small amount of additional supplementing and editing by others, this monumental work totaled 100 *chüan*, an estimated 60-70 percent of the material having been added by Ch'üan to Huang's bare outline; Chiang, "Ch'üan chu-shu k'ao," pt. 1, pp. 44-47. Also, see at the front of the *Ssu-ch'ao hsüeh-an* 四朝學案 edn. (Shanghai: Shih-chieh, 1936) the *k'an-li* 刊例 and *k'ao-lüeh* 攷略 to the *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an* by Feng Yün-hao 馮雲濠, Ho Shao-chi 何紹基, and the major final editor, Wang Tzu-ts'ai 王梓材. A book of selections, published by the Taiwan Commercial Press in 1970 and 1974, contains an informative preface by Miao T'ien-shou 繆天綏 (Jen-jen wen-k'u 人人文庫, special ser. 86). For a convenient summary of this work's vicissitudes, see Ch'en Chin-sheng 陳金生, "Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an" te pien-tsun ho k'an-yin" 宋元學案的編纂和刊印, *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh* 中國哲學 1 (1979), pp. 302-08.

¹²⁰ Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 32-33.

¹²¹ Chu I-tsun: ECCP 1, pp. 182-85. See *Tu-I pieh-lu* 讀易別錄, 3 ch., in *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書, sect. 23, vol. 1.

¹²² Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, pp. 12, 74-75, 90.

¹²³ CCTC-WP 6, "Keng-yen Shen hsien-sheng hsü chih" 耕巖沈先生續志.

Southern Sung rival of Chu Hsi who hailed from Li's native place in Kiangsi).¹²⁷ Ch'üan shared Li Fu's interest in reconciling the Chu-Lu dichotomy in Neo-Confucianism, and a few years later when Ch'üan's attention turned away from metropolitan affairs, the idea of Chu-Lu compatibility became central to his regional, intellectual loyalty. In 1741, before his Huang Tsung-hsi affinities, Ch'üan had come upon a more remote but kindred figure, Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223-1296), while using the library resources of the wealthy Ma family in Yangchow. This man's remarkable scholarship on the classics and histories had prefigured early Ch'ing accomplishments; moreover, Wang is said to have steadfastly, and in seclusion, kept alive the "remaining pulse" of the Sung state under Yüan rule.¹²⁸ Ch'üan promptly completed a third recension of Wang Ying-lin's important collection of notes, the *K'un-hsüeh chi-wen* 困學紀聞 (*Record of Laborious Learning*), prefatorily placing himself in a venerable Eastern Chekiang tradition with Wang, and also pointing out that he had completed the work of two eminent Ch'ing textual critics, Yen Jo-chü 閻若璩 and Ho Ch'o 何焯.¹²⁹ Significantly, where Huang had merely planned to append remarks about Wang Ying-lin in his *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an*, Ch'üan established a whole section for Wang and therein described him as more inclined toward Lu Chiu-yüan than actually had been the case.¹³⁰ This, of course, was Ch'üan's attempt to substantiate his conception of Eastern Chekiang learning (especially in Yin District) as very old, eminent, and inclined toward Lu.

Ch'üan Tsu-wang saw himself not just as following in the footsteps of Wang, Liu, Huang, and Wan, but also as carrying on their great Eastern Chekiang tradition. In Ch'üan's conception, this tradition was characterized by (1) philosophical independence, (2) a related tendency to find middle ground between Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang positions on learning, (3) erudition and scholarly achievement, and (4) resistance to political cooptation, especially during turmoil and alien conquest.¹³¹ Adding to this Ch'üan's self-assigned extensions of Chu I-tsun, Yen Jo-chü, and Ho Ch'o, we see his need

¹²⁷ See David Gedalacia, "Wu Ch'eng: A Neo-Confucian of the Yüan," diss., Harvard U., 1971, pp. 301-04.

¹²⁸ Ch'ien Mu, "Wang Shen-ning hsüeh-shu" 王深寧學術, *Tung-fang ts'a-chih* 東方雜誌 supp., 8.5 (Feb. 1974), pp. 10-15. Chiang, *Ch'üan nien-p'u*, p. 89 (poem of 1742).

¹²⁹ Ch'üan's preface to the *K'un-hsüeh chi-wen san-chien* 困學紀聞三箋 in *K'un-hsüeh chi-wen ch'eng* 集証, comp. Wan Wei-t'ing 萬蔚亭 (Taipei: Chung-hua ts'ung-shu, 1960); also in *CCTC-WP* 25, pp. 23b-24b. See Chiang, "Ch'üan chu-shu k'ao," pt. 1, p. 37. Ho Ch'o: *EGCP* 1, pp. 283-84.

¹³⁰ Ch'ien Mu, "Wang Shen-ning hsüeh-shu," p. 10. *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an* 84, "Shen-ning hsüeh-an" 深寧學案.

¹³¹ *CCTC-WP* 14, "Shun-hsi ssu hsien-sheng tz'u-t'ang pei-wen" 淳熙四先生祠堂碑文, and "Ssu hsien-sheng tz'u-t'ang pei-yin wen" 四先生祠堂碑陰文.

to carve a dignified place among scholars of all times. These were more than just scholars of a certain region, but "modern" scholars who could "burrow through the Six Arts and line up the Hundred Schools for comparison like spiking slabs of meat, but who still could be loftily independent in their judgments, and thus have learning complete in every part."¹³²

It is important to understand that Ch'üan was much more a student of past Neo-Confucianism than a practicing philosopher. In modern terms, he was an intellectual historian. For Ch'üan, understanding a philosophical problem meant laying it out in a detailed panorama, placing it within the configuration of the past, tracing its origin in the history of thought. Once the inception of a philosophical question was located accurately and objectively, then confused debate over it could cease.¹³³ Huang Tsung-hsi had advocated looking to points of fundamental difference among thinkers in order to intuit what had not yet been addressed, that is, to identify the point at which the student should concentrate his own philosophical effort. But Ch'üan advocated tracking down points of departure in order to see thinkers' essential agreements, and to eliminate needless questioning. Of course, there was no harm in being loyal to a certain philosophical tradition; but to Ch'üan such loyalty meant learning in detail about one's predecessors and being able to recount their contributions in correct array, an act quite different from the bias that he found in Huang Tsung-hsi and Li Fu.¹³⁴ The historicism of Ch'üan Tsu-wang, which distinguished the scholarship of Eastern Chekiang from the classicism of other regions,¹³⁵ seems to have constituted "doing," in contradistinction to the abstract discussions of Sung-Ming times. Doing good history was certainly "action" — arduous at that — and could result in a more satisfying pictorial understanding when theoretical speculation proved unsatisfactory. As for questions of personal moral cultivation and epistemology, one presumably came to understand those things simply by engaging in disciplined study of some objective matter. Good scholarship for Ch'üan spoke better than anything else for one's state

¹³² *CCTC* 20, "Wan Hsün-ch'u mu-chih ming" 萬循初墓志銘, pp. 11a-b.

¹³³ See *CCTC-WP* 44, "Feng Lin-ch'uan hsien-sheng t'ieh-tzu" 奉臨川先生帖子, item 1, pp. 1a-b; and 14, "Shun-hsi ssu pei-wen," pp. 1b, 2b.

¹³⁴ *CCTC-WP* 44, "Ta chu-sheng wen Nan-lei hsüeh-shu t'ieh-tzu" 答諸生問南雷學術帖子, p. 15a; and "Feng Lin-ch'uan hsien-sheng t'ieh-tzu," four items. Also, see Fei Hai-chi 費海澂, "Ch'üan Tsu-wang chi ch'i chiao-yü ssu-hsiang" 全祖望及其教育思想, in *Hu Shih chu-tso yen-chiu lun-wen chi* 胡適著作研究文集, ed. Fei (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1970), pp. 188-89. For Ch'üan's criticisms of both Wang Ken 王艮 (L. C. Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* [New York: Columbia U.P., 1976] 2, pp. 1382-85) and of one of Wang's Ch'eng-Chu detractors, see *CCTC, Ching-shih wen-ta* 7, pp. 1b-2b.

¹³⁵ For instance, the classicism of Ch'üan's contemporary and counterpart in Western Chekiang, Hui Tung 惠棟. See Ch'ien Mu, *Chung-kuo chin san-pai nien* 1, pp. 318-22.

of inner cultivation. It is small wonder that he cited the minor errors of others with such contempt.

With this in mind, we can easily understand an apparent anomaly in Ch'üan's thought: although he identified with and wrote a good deal about the Lu-Wang tradition, his own philosophy of learning was very much in the spirit of Ch'eng-Chu. For instance, in Ch'üan's discussion of what it means to *ko-wu*, he favorably cites Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng 程 brothers.¹³⁶ Elsewhere, Ch'üan favorably likens Huang's scholarship to "stringing the pearls" and "joining the walls" of the Sung period's greatest scholarship on ritual, mathematics, documents, classics, and composition accomplished under the synthetic view of Chu Hsi and his forebears, the Ch'eng brothers and Chou Tun-i 周敦頤. He does not mention the immense influence of Ming thought on Huang's whole conception of learning.¹³⁷

The important thing was to study and thus to know one's tradition in order to do one's duty toward the past and future. In 1752-1753, when Ch'üan headed the T'ien-chang Academy 天章書院 in Kao-yao 高要, Kwang-tung, he lost no time in setting up a stiff study regimen; all the old commentaries on the thirteen classics; a recent compilation of 140 T'ang, Sung, Yüan, and Ming commentaries on nine of the classics; the Four Books and Five Classics; the twenty-three dynastic histories; the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Governance* and its *Outline* 資治通鑑, 資治通鑑綱目; the *General Study of Documents* 文獻通考; recorded teachings of prominent Confucians; and the *Complete [Book on] Nature and Principle* 性理大全. Everyone was to keep a notebook. There would be one lecture every five days.¹³⁸ All this was in honor of the founder, Ch'en Hsien-chang 陳獻章 (1428-1500),¹³⁹ who probably turned over in his grave, because he had rejected book learning in favor of quiet sitting and spontaneity!

Ch'üan responded well to intricacies. He developed the direction already set by Wan Ssu-t'ung: from *ching-shih*, to promoting historical studies, and toward problem solving for its own sake. However, while Wan seemed to work on academic questions to encourage others in beneficial research, Ch'üan's efforts smacked of competitiveness, of pushing away rivals. Ch'üan was like Wan in that he tended to ground his textual arguments in general

knowledge of the text and its time, in careful reasoning, and in a basic sense of the meanings of words.¹⁴⁰ His approach was not as rigorously technical and philological as those who led the way into fully developed *k'ao-cheng* studies. But in the course of his scholarly career Ch'üan moved gradually in the latter direction.

The culminating work of Ch'üan Tsu-wang's life demonstrates well how he was drawn from puzzling studies toward the study of puzzles, and how this entailed an increasingly philological orientation. Ch'üan first had taken up serious study of the Treatises on Geography in the *History of the Former Han* 漢書, aiming to trace the Ch'in 秦 dynasty origins of the district-and-commandery system and thereby throw light on current systems of local governance.¹⁴¹ This was a wholly respectable *ching-shih* motive. But in the course of this research, he utilized Li Tao-yüan's *Commentary to the Classic of Waterways* and, like many before him, found it enigmatic.¹⁴² Soon Ch'üan conceived the possibility of finding a key or code to disentangle much valuable information, and this became almost an obsession with him during the last several years of his life. Indirectly, he criticized Huang Tsung-hsi for wanting simply to dispense with the *Shui-ching chu* without working to save and correct it.¹⁴³ He attempted to dignify his own pursuit of this problem through harmless but false claims and misrepresentations. These betrayed his strong need to be conspicuous within venerable family and scholarly traditions.¹⁴⁴ While suffering an acute illness in his fifty-first year, Ch'üan focused his burning thoughts on a handful of key characters in one part of the *Shui-ching chu*. Having finally seen their interchangeability and consequently having made sense of a perplexing passage, he breathed his last on August 9, 1755.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁶ E.g., his essay on the so-called Five Hegemons of the Spring and Autumn period. *CCTC-WP* 36, "Ch'un-ch'iu wu-pa shih-shih lun" 春秋五霸失實論.

¹³⁷ See Chiang, "Ch'üan chu-shu k'ao," pt. 1, entry on the *Han-shu ti-li-chih chi-i* 漢書地理志 卷四, pp. 48-49.

¹³⁸ *Ch'üan-chiao Shui-ching chu* 全校水經注 (Wu-hsi, Tao-kuang period edn.), "Wu-chiao-pen t'i-tz'u" 五校本題辭, p. 4b-5a.

¹³⁹ *Ch'üan-chiao Sh'ü-ching chu*, "Wu-Chiao-pen t'i-tz'u," pp. 3b-4a, 8a-10a.

¹⁴⁰ Hu Shih 胡適, "Chao I-ch'ing yü Ch'üan Tsu-wang pien-pieh ching-chu te t'ung-tse" 趙一清與全祖望辨別經注的通則, *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan yüan-k'an* 國立中央研究院院刊 1 (1954), p. 254. Fei Hai-chi, "Ch'üan Tsu-wang hsing-i k'ao" 全祖望行誼考, *Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yüeh-k'an* 中華文化復興月刊 2.12 (Dec. 1969), pp. 40, 42. For background, see Hu Shih, "A Note on Ch'üan Tsu-wang, Chao I-ch'ing, and Tai Chen — A Study of Independent Convergence in Research as Illustrated in Their Works on the *Shui-ching-chu*," in *ECCP* 2, pp. 970-82; and Wu T'ien-jen 吳天任, "Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-che tui *Shui-ching-chu* te kung-hsien yü Hu Shih ch'ung-shen Ch'üan Chao Tai kung-an" 清代學者對水經注的貢獻與胡適重審全祖戴公案, *Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yüeh-k'an* 17.8 (Aug. 1984), pp. 35-39.

¹⁴¹ Chiang, "Ch'üan chu-shu k'ao," pt. 2, pp. 37-38.

¹³⁶ *CCTC*, *Ching-shih wen-ta* 7, pp. 1b-2a.

¹³⁷ *CCTC* 11, "Li-chou hsien-sheng shen-tao pei-wen," p. 9b.

¹³⁸ *CCTC-WP* 50, "Tuan-hsi chiang-t'ang tz'u-wen" 端溪講堂策問, item 1, and "Tuan-hsi chiang-t'ang t'iao-yüeh" 條約, items 1 and 2; Wang Wan-fu 王萬福, "Ch'üan Hsien-shan Tuan-hsi chiang-hsüeh chi ch'i ying-hsiang" 全謝山端溪講學及其影響, *Shih-hsüeh hui-k'an* 史學彙刊 (History Dept. of Taiwan U.), March 5, 1973, pp. 115-20.

¹³⁹ Ch'en Hsien-chang: Goodrich and Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* 1, pp. 153-56.

Ch'üan held that scholars should bend their efforts to solving problems like those in the *Shui-ching chu* in pursuing their "learning of the world" (*shih-hsüeh* 世學), because clarified texts would help others to see historical analogies.¹⁴⁶ Wan Ssu-t'ung had aimed directly at a large audience, hoping to prepare a maximum number of men for *ching-shih* activity by facilitating the broad study of history; but Ch'üan, in his last project, addressed a small number of colleagues, the *k'ao-cheng* cognoscenti, and saw himself as preparing others to prepare still others for effective action.

In all of his work Ch'üan Tsu-wang had striven since youth to maintain an image of himself as an extraordinary intellectual figure. This doggedly cultivated image at maturity had two main components: (1) the thoroughly professional scholar of national repute, and (2) the highly conscious member and active perpetuator of a certain local and regional tradition. Underlying this was a chronic concern to establish a basic rationale for research activity and to justify the scholarly occupation. This was a typical Ch'ing concern, which apparently arose from Ming intellectuals' failure to sustain successfully their ideas about the ontological identity of mind and cosmos.

CONCLUSION

In this transition from Huang Tsung-hsi to Ch'üan Tsu-wang, what has changed and what has remained the same? Most constant has been subject matter: the Confucian classics in their original historical context; all of the developments in political, social, and economic institutions that affected the Chinese nation; the march of Confucianism, especially Neo-Confucianism, through the minds and lives of China's very best; and recent evidence of men's incorruptible spirit to know and strive for the right. (One significant exception here is the discontinuation of Huang's interest in scientific matters.) Hitherto this continuity has tended to obscure great changes in basic scholarly motivation and in the relation between the inquirer and the object of inquiry. Dramatic cleavages have appeared at two generational junctures. Going from Huang to Wan, we lose the unity of knower and known and enter the condition of scholar versus material; going from Wan to Ch'üan, we lose a deeply felt, solitary sense of the Confucian mission to do good and to reform, and we enter the arena of competitive scholasticism and status quo traditionalism.

One consequence of the first loss was a humbling of the inquirer.

Huang's intellectual energies were fueled by a conception of the mind as being one with the creativity of the universe, which was the ultimate but attainable "thing known." But Wan Ssu-t'ung felt his energies consumed as though he were trying to move mountains with a teaspoon; and Shao T'ing-ts'ai vacillated between justification of his contentment with limited knowledge and self-reproach for his mental sloth. How can one say, however, that Ch'üan Tsu-wang was humbled by epistemological dichotomization? This is precisely the point at which Huang's legacy became most important for him. In order to be a first-rate scholar, Ch'üan sorely needed bravura — a Chekiang coach and cheering section, as it were — to keep inflated his fighting spirit in that great struggle with the corpus of knowledge to be mastered. What for Huang had been the generally operative *moral will*, which automatically distinguishes all kinds of right and wrong, became for Ch'üan the *will power* to maintain studious discipline and overcome fear in distinguishing the factually correct and incorrect. When Huang advocated broad learning, he sought to remove all barriers to where the mind could go; but in Wan and Ch'üan this range of movement became a range of objects. It is as though a huge ocean for navigation became a huge canvas on which to paint that ocean with patient, small strokes.

Huang Tsung-hsi's strong sense of the axial powers of the individual mind (essentially that of the Wang Yang-ming tradition) had so much potential to undermine convention — especially the conventions of Confucian discourse — that it needed to be balanced by equally strong work in the media of past knowledge and recorded evidence. Consequently, we find Huang passing bold judgments on contemporary affairs by citing a vast range of literature. Those who tried to follow Huang's injunction to study the past, but who did not also employ his concept of mind, were left with history as mosaic — consolidation rather than exploration.

The type of scholarship by which Huang cleared and steadied the Confucian mind was pursued by Wan in order to steer and steady Confucian social practice. Severely chastened by the Ch'ing conquest, people concentrated on ordering their lives; and by Ch'üan's time the early seventeenth-century existentialist threat to Confucianism had become a thing of the past. Questions in Lu-Wang thought had become academic. At the same time, service in the elite corps of the eminently successful new dynasty had become highly competitive, and the skills developed by Huang and Wan to help scholars become better Confucians eventually would serve as rungs on the ladder of professional ranking. Investigation increasingly was pursued for the sake of pursuit, and it failed to find consummation in practice.

¹⁴⁶ *Ch'üan-chiao Shui-ching chu*, "Wu-chiao-pen t'i-tz'u," p. 13a.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CCTC (WP)* *Chieh-ch'i-t'ing chi* 鮑琦亭集(外編)
ECCP *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*
NLWT *Nan-lei wen-ting* 南雷文定
SFT *Ssu-fu-t'ang wen-chi* 思復堂文集
SKTY *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要
SYWC *Shih-yüan wen-chi* 石園文集