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The Status of the Manchu Language in the Early Ch'ing

by

Hanson Chase

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ABBREVIATIONS

CH	Chinese
CL	Ch'ien-lung reign
CS	Ch'ing Shih
CSK	Ch'ing-shih kao
CSLC	Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan
CT	Ch'ung-te reign
CTPCTC	Ch'in-ting Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih
CYPCTC	Chu Yüeh Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih
(i)	intercalary month
KCCH	Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng
KH	K'ang-hsi reign
KHCY	K'ang-hsi cheng-yao
KU	Kuang-hsü reign
MA	Manchu
MCMCC	Man-chou ming-ch'en chuan
PCTC	Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih (ch'u-chi)
SC	Shun-chih reign
SH	Ta-Ch'ing shih-ch'ao sheng-hsün
SKCSML	Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chien-ming mu-lu
SL	Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu
SPMKH	Secret Palace Memorial of the K'ang-hsi period

TCHT	Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien
TCHTSL	Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li
THL	Tung-hua lu
TT	T'ien-ts'ung reign
WTCWC	Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien
YC	Yang-cheng regin
YCWC	K'ang-hsi Ti yü-chih wen-chi

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INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1599, there was only a spoken Manchu language; written Manchu language was not invented until 1599. Before 1599, messages and proclamations were translated into written Mongol, Chinese or Jurchen before transmission. Mongol was used within the Manchu domain, and Chinese or Jurchen or both were used to communicate with the Ming and Korean courts. On February 25, 1599, Nurgaci(T'ai-tsu),[1] the founder of the Manchu state, ordered scholar-officials (Ma. baksi)[2] Erdeni[3] and Gagai[4] to evolve a written medium based on spoken Manchu.[5]

It is said that Erdeni and Gagai at first hesitated to undertake the task, but due to Nurgaci's insistence, they finally carried out the assignment. They borrowed and modified the Mongolian script to create a Manchu script.[6] The written system thus created was known as the old Manchu script (Ma. fe Manju hergen). The majority of the records contained in the Old Manchu Archives (Ma. tongki fuka akū hergen i dangse, Ch. Man-chou lao-tang)[7] was found in Peking in 1932 and was rediscovered in Taiwan in 1969, written in this old style.[8] The main purpose of creating this written system was to record daily events and to translate Chinese works, such as Ming

institutions and military science.[9] The records of daily events was used as a model for Manchu civil administration and the translated works were used for the military campaigns against the four major tribes (Hada, Hoifa, Ula, and Tehe) and Ming China. Due to the inadequacy of the old script in dealing with government affairs and in translating the Confucian ideology, on April 19, 1632 (TT 6/3/1) Abahai (Emperor T'ai-tsung),[10] the eighth son of Nurgaci, issued the following edict to baksi Dahai:[11]

> The twelve types of opening syllables (Ch. shih-er tzu-t'ou) of the national writing system (Ch. kuo-yü)[12] never contain dots and circles. [Thus], the upper and the lower words are the same [in form], without any distinction. However, when beginners who study this [old] script encounter a common phrase in the text, they can easily understand the meaning by looking at the whole sentence. But when it comes to the names of a person or place, it definitely creates mistakes.
>
> You can consider the circumstances and add dots and circles to separate them. By doing so, the sound and meaning will be clear and it will be of great help to writing.[13]

Dahai completed the assignment in the same year by adding diacritical marks to the old script. This newly improved writing system with dots and circles is generally referred to as the new Manchu script (Ma. ice Manju hergen). In addition to the diacritical marks, Dahai also created ten new signs to represent unusual Chinese sounds.[14] With

the new writing system, the Manchus were able to translate a considerable number of Chinese works. Dahai was given full credit for his great contribution to the Manchu language and his descendants were also honored by the throne.[15]

After the seizure of Peking in 1644, this new Manchu script was proclaimed to be the official written language of the Ch'ing dynasty and remained so until the end of the regime in 1911.

During this first Manchu reign of Shun-chih (1644-1661), the spoken Manchu language was effectively maintained and was dominant in high levels of government.

However, from 1670 onward, the language suffered neglect by the ruling Manchus and thus began to decline rapidly. By the end of the K'ang-hsi reign (1662-1722), the language standard was very low and the majority of the Manchus were unable to use their own mother language effectively.

The purpose of this study is to examine the evolution of the Manchu language and the efforts to preserve it. It is also concerned with investigating various aspects such as the examination system and the mass translation of Chinese works and with tracing through the major historical documents some of the significant causes which attributed to the deline of the language.

The principal source for this study is Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu. Other official documents such as Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li, Tung-hua lu, K'ang-hsi Ti yü-chih wen-chi, and K'ang-hsi cheng-yao are also consulted.

The translated official titles are based on Brunnert and Hagelstrom's Present Day Political Organization of China.

The biographies of the important Manchu and Chinese personages are briefly compiled in this study, except for those who have already been mentioned in Arthur W. Hummel's Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912).

Throughout this study, the Chinese romanization is based on the Wade-Giles system, while the Manchu is based on the Paul Georg von Möllendorf system.

Citations of the voluminous historical records such as Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, Tung-hua lu, and Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li are abbreviated and cited first for the source and reign, then by volume and page numbers.

The corresponding lunar dates immediately following the western calendar are arranged first for the reign, then the year, month and date.

Introduction Notes

1. The spelling of Nurgaci used in this study is based on The veritable records of the Manchus (Ch. Man-chou shih-lu). The usual spelling--Nurhachi--is probably based on the Chinese form. For the biography of Nurgaci, see Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912) (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1972), pp. 594-99 (hereafter cited as Hummel).

2. In the early Manchu bureaucratic system, every official belonged to the military rank within the banners. Baksi was the only literary title of that period which was referred to by secretary, teacher, scribe or scholar-official (Ch. ju-ch'en). In 1631, baksi was abolished by Abahai and was replaced with bithesi or secretary (Ch. pi-t'ieh-shih), which remained until the end of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911.

3. For the biography of Erdeni, see Hummel, pp. 225-26.

4. For the biography of Gagai, see Hummel, pp. 225-26.

5. T'ai-tsu Kao-huang-ti shih-lu [The veritable records of T'ai-tsu reign], in Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu [The veritable records of the Ch'ing reigns] (Tokyo: Ōkura Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1937-38), 3.2a-b.

6. Ta'i-tsu Kao-huang-ti shih-lu, 3.2a-b.

7. Man-wen lao-tang is the general name for this earliest Manchu document. Other names such as Man-chou lao-tang, Lao Man-wen yüan-tang, and Chiu Man-chou-tang were used by different editors and translators. For further information, see the works listed in note no. 8.

8. For detail concerning the Man-chou lao-tang, see Chang Yü-ch'üan, "shu Man-wen lao-tang," [an account of the old Manchu archives] in Wen-hsien lun-ts'ung (Peiping: kuo-li ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1936), pp. 207-213; Li Te-ch'i, "Man-wen lao-tang chih wen-tzu chi shih-liao," [The old Manchu script and historical

materials of the old Manchu archives] in Wen-hsien lun-ts'ung, pp. 11-26; Kuang Lu, "Man-wen lao-tang yü lao-Man-wen," [The old Manchu archives and the old Manchu script] in Yu-shih hsüeh-pao, I, No. 1, (October, 1958), pp. 1-14; Kuan Lu and Li Hsüeh-chih, "Ch'ing T'ai-tsu ch'ao lao-Man-wen yüan-tang yü Man-wen lao-tang chih pi-chiao yen-chiu," [Comparative study of the original old Manchu archives and the old Manchu archives in the T'ai-tsu reign] in Lao-Man-wen yüan-tang lun-chi [Collected essays of the original old Manchu archives], ed. by Li Hsüeh-chih (Taipei: by the editor, 1971), passim; Man-wen lao-tang, trans. by Wada Sei, et al. (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1955-63), I. iv-x; Ch'en Chieh-shien, "Chiu Man-chou-tang shu-lüeh," [A brief study of the old Manchu archives] in Chiu Man-chou-tang [The old Manchu archives] (Taipei: kuo-li ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1969), I, pp. 1-56.

9. T'ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu [The veritable records of the T'ien-ts'ung reign] in Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, 5.12a; 16.6a-b (hereafter cited as SL:TT).

10. For the biography of Abahai, see Hummel, pp. 1-3.

11. For the biography of Dahai, see Hummel, pp. 213-14.

12. Here referred to the old Manchu script.

13. SL:TT 11.19a.

14. The ten new signs are: "k'", "g'", "h'", "ts'", "ts", "dz'", "dz", "sy", "cy", and "jy".

15. SL:TT 12.14-15b; Sheng-tsu Jen-huang-ti shih-lu [The veritable records of the K'ang-hsi reign] in Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, 106.21a (hereafter cited as SL:KH).

Chapter I

OFFICIAL POLICIES ON THE MANCHU LANGUAGE

Preservation of the Manchu Language

In order to maintain Manchu tradition and identity, the preservation of the Manchu language became one of the basic policies emphatically upheld by almost every emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty. Even though Manchu language policies varied from reign to reign, the fundamental goal remained the same.

From 1629 to 1642, Abahai had waged a series of successful military campaigns against the northern region of Ming China, Korea, and Inner Mongolian tribes. As a result, a large number of Chinese and Mongols either were captured or surrendered to the Manchus. Chinese soldiers and Inner Mongolians were organized under Chinese and Mongolian banners and their military and civil officers--especially those who possessed military or civil talents--were appointed to high position and were treated with respect. Although the Chinese and the Mongols living in Mukden and its vicinity were allowed to use their native tongues, the official language--Manchu--remained dominant at this time. By the later part of the T'ien-ts'ung reign

(1627-1636), the Chinese language as well as the Chinese way of life began to spread among the Manchus. The phenomenal sinicization at this early period is believed to be chiefly due to the excessive adoption of Chinese systems. In early 1634, Abahai felt that it was time to set a language guideline for the Manchu people. Thus, on May 2, 1634 (TT 8/4/6), Abahai issued the following edict:

> I have heard that [when] a nation receives the Mandate of Heaven to form a dynasty, each has it own system and does not imitate another; it never abandons its own language to learn the language of another country. . . .
>
> Mongolian princes abandoned their own Mongolian language. In their names and titles they imitated the Lama. [This action] ultimately weakened their nation.
>
> At present time, the official titles of our country all use Chinese characters and follow the old Chinese titles. . . .
>
> I inherited the throne; how can I change the system of our own country to follow those of another country? From now on the names of our officials and of our cities should all be changed to Manchu. Do not again follow the old [Chinese] titles such as tsung-ping, fu-chiang, ts'an-chiang, yu-chi, and pei-yu. Every record and book title should be fixed. Wu-pei-yu's tsung-ping kuan is now changed to first rank duke (Ch. kung); the first rank tsung-ping kuan to amban i janggin; the second rank tsung-ping kuan to second rank amban i janggin; the third rank tsung-ping kuan to third rank amban i janggin. The first rank fu-chiang is now changed to first rank meiren i janggin; the second rank fu-chiang to second rank meiren i janggin; and the third rank fu-chiang to third rank meiren i janggin. The first rank ts'an-chiang is now changed to first rank jalan i janggin; and the

second rank ts'an-chiang to second rank jalan i janggin. Tai-tzu (Ma. daise) is now changed to Hsiao-ch'i hsiao. Janggin changes to ajige bošoku; ch'i-chang changes to fu-chün hsiao. Gašan bošokū remains the same.

Every official in a supervisory position, regardless of his official rank [is to be identified as follows:] one who is charge of a banner is called gūsai ejen; one who is in charge of a meiren is called meiren janggin; one who is in charge of a jalan is called jalan janggin; one who is in charge of a niru is called nirui janggin; one who is in charge of bayarai tui janggin is called fu-chün t'ung-ling; one who is in charge of bayarai jalan i ejen is called fu-chün ts'an-ling.

The city name of Sheng-yang is changed to Heavenly-cared Mukden (Ch. t'ien-chüan Sheng ching) and [the ancestral city] Hetu Ala is changed to Heavenly-cared Hsing-ching (Ch. t'ien-chuan Hsing-ching).

No one is allowed to use the old Chinese names. Our country's newly adopted names must be used accordingly. Those who do not use the names recently fixed but still use old Chinese names will be regarded as violating the law and committing a rebellious act. When this violation is discovered, severe punishment will be imposed.[1]

An examination of the above edict reveals that the content of the edict was inconsistent and contradictory. Although the inconsistency of the names is not clear, one possible explanation is that sinified official titles such as hsiao-ch'i hsiao and fu-chün-hsiao were more suitable to describe the actual duty of the officials.

The adoption of a Chinese name for the Manchu ancestral city Hetu Ala--like the consequent adoption of

Manchu dynastic name from Later Chin to Ch'ing (clean or pure) in 1636--not only had political and propaganda value, but also undermined the corrupt and failing dynasty of Ming. From a political point of view, the adoption of the meaningful Chinese name gave Chinese people a logical explanation for and traditional belief in the Mandate of Heaven. Thus, it provided new hope for a better and easier life. From a linguistic point of view, the sinified names were easier for the Chinese to recognize and helped to obliterate the concept of alien rule.

On November 22, 1635 (TT 9/10/3), Abahai forbade the use of names Jurchen or Chien-chou. Instead, he ordered that "hereafter Manju (Ch. Man-chou) must be used in referring to the Manchu state."[2]

In spite of his decree of 1634, the Chinese way of life continued to influence the Manchu livelihood. In an effort to convince his Manchu elite of the necessity to preserve the Manchu tradition, on December 9, 1636 (CT 1/11/13) Abahai summoned together all imperial princes, princes, beile, gūsai ejen, and officials of the censorate, and ordered a high official of the Inner Court of Literature (Ch. nei hung-wen-yüan) to read to them the Biography of the Chin Emperor Shih-tsung (Ch. Ta-Chin Shih-tsung pen-chi).[3] After the reading, Abahai personally lectured

them in the following manner:

> Shih-tsung [of the Chin dynasty] was a well-known and excellent sovereign among the Mongols and Chinese countries. Therefore, he was praised as a "junior Yao and Shun"[4] by his contemporaries and by later generations. I have read this book and understand its general principles. . . .
>
> [The biography] is surpassing admirable. I feel that the laws and systems established by T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung of the Chin dynasty were complete and clear and they could have lasted for a long time. But when it came to the reigns of Hsi-tsung[5] and Wan-yen Liang,[6] the systems were completely abandoned because the rulers, addicted to women and wine, lingered in pleasures without limit and imitated vile Chinese customs.
>
> When Shih-tsung ascended the throne, he determined to restore the laws of his ancestors and diligently searched for the governing principle. Fearing that his descendants would again imitate Chinese customs, he prohibited this in advance and repeatedly urged them not to forget their origins. He ordered them to follow the old systems in language and clothing, and to practice horsemanship and archery regularly so that they would be ready for warfare. In spite of these imperial admonitions, the rulers of the later generations gradually neglected and abandoned them and forgot their horsemanship and archery. From Ai-tsung[7] reign on the dynasty began to decline and finally collapsed. From this, we know that if rulers indulge themselves in women and wine, their countries will perish. . . .
>
> It is truly for the sake of our descendants through ten thousand generations that I say these words. For myself, there is no reason that I would change [our ancestral systems]. But I fear that the descendants of our future generations will forget their old system and abandon horsemanship and archery to follow Chinese customs. Therefore, I often have a sense of anxiety.

> We had few soldiers at the beginning of our state. It was because they were skillful in horsemanship and archery that, when they engaged in open battles, they won, and when they attacked a city, they conquered it. The people of the world praised our soldiers: "when they stand they do not waver and when they advance they do not look back." Their reputation terrified the enemy. There is none who dares to fight with us. . . .[8]

Evidently, his lecture did not receive an enthusiastic response from the Manchu elite. Therefore, on May 22, 1637, (CT 2/4/28), Abahai gave a similar lecture to Manchu princes and high officials. In the lecture he reemphasized the importance of preserving the Manchu language and clothing:

> Formerly, when Hsi-tsung and Liang[9] of the Chin dynasty abandoned their origins, in costume and demeanor they imitated the customs of the Chinese. Thereupon, they wore Chinese costumes and entirely forgot their native language.
>
> It was not until Shih-tsung's time that the old customs were restored. In the matter of [Jurchen] language as well as of horsemanship and archery, he constantly urged his descendants to learn them diligently. For example, when Prince Yüan, Ma Ta-kuo (Emperor Chang-tsung)[10] administered lawsuits, he used the Chinese language to question Chinese and the Jurchen language to question Jurchen. [When] Shih-tsung heard about his practice, he complimented him on not forgetting the Jurchen language. This is why the costume and language of a nation should not easily be changed. . . .[11]
>
> The reason that I repeat these things is not for the sake of the present time. For myself, there is no reason for me to practice Chinese customs. My main reason is that I want you to remember these and mutually to warn each other in

> order to make our descendants in future generations preserve them and not abandon our ancestral system. . . .[12]

The evidence indicates that the Manchu elite as well as Manchu commoners not only did not heed Abahai's words, but some of them even followed Chinese hair-setting and foot-binding practices. To cure this unacceptable tendency and to enforce his order, on August 25, 1638 (CT 3/7/16) Abahai, instead of using persuasion, which he had done twice before, issued an edict to prohibit Manchu people from wearing Chinese clothes, imitating Chinese hair style and binding feet. In the edict he declared that ". . . anyone who violates this order will be severely punished."[13] At the same time, different approaches were also taken to prevent further sinicization. Wang Ting-shen, an insignificant Chinese clerk in the Board of Punishment (Ch. Hsing-pu), was promoted to Nirui janggin (or commander of a company) simply because "he knew the Manchu language."[14] In order to introduce the Manchu tradition--especially the language--into the Chinese group, on March 5, 1632 (TT 6/1/15), Abahai approved a proposal presented by Prince Yoto[15] to marry Manchu women (both unmarried and widowed) to Chinese officials and soldiers. In the memorial, Yoto suggested that:

> The daughters of the Manchu beile should be given to Chinese officials with the rank of 1A (first rank) as wives. The daughters of the Manchu high officials should be given to Chinese officials with the rank of 2A (second rank). The daughters and widows of the Manchu commoners should also be given to Chinese soldiers. . . .[16]

To achieve the Manchu objective and to ensure harmontious relationships between Chinese husbands and Manchu wives, Abahai further accepted Yoto's proposal to impose a strict law which would prohibit the Manchu wives from insulting their Chinese husbands. The law placed the harmonial responsibility upon the Manchu parents. In the event that violation occurred the parents would be punished. As the result of Yoto's memorial, more than 1,000 Manchu women were given to Chinese soldiers who either were captured or surrendered to the Manchus in the battle of Ta-ling-ho.[17] Judging from the above documents, it is clear that Abahai was deeply concerned about the Manchu tradition, particularly language, clothing and martial arts, and was aware of the danger of sinicization. Based upon the lectures he gave to his Manchu elite and the way that he repeatedly compared himself with Shih-tsung of the Chin dynasty, one can envisage the language policy of the time. Nevertheless, his policies to preserve the Manchu tradition were one of the most important steps taken for the future success of the Manchu empire.

Abahai died on September 21, 1643 (CT 8/8/9). Since he had named no successor, a struggle for the throne began immediately between Dorgon[18] and Haoge.[19] Dorgon was a brother of Abahai and Haoge, the eldest son. When internal warfare between two major factions threatened the Manchu state, a compromise was worked out by the aging Prince Daišan,[20] the second son of Nurgaci. According to the compromise, neither Dorgon nor Haoge should succeed the throne; instead, Abahai's ninth son, Fu-lin,[21] then a five-year-old lad, was placed on the throne on October 8, 1643 (CT 8/8/26) under the reign title Shun-chih (1644-1661), with Jirgalang[22] and Dorgon as co-regents. Before Shun-chih Emperor actually began to rule the empire in March 1651, Dorgon gradually centralized the power in his own hands. Late in 1644 Dorgon reduced Jirgalang to assistant regent and in 1647 he removed Jirgalang from this post.

Shortly after the capture of Peking in June 1644, Dorgon adopted lenient policies in order to win the support from the Chinese. He allowed the Chinese people to retain their own written and spoken language.[23] This policy remained till the end of the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911.

The language policies of Dorgon basically followed Abahai's guideline. During the early period of the Shun-

chih reign, the Manchu officials who occupied high positions in the central government and provincial levels did not understand the Chinese language. Thus, written and verbal communications with Chinese official required translators and interpreters. Chinese bannermen who were bilingual were appointed to assist the high officials of the Three Inner Courts (Ch. nei san-yüan), the Six Boards, the Censorate and other departments of the central government. Undoubtedly, the qualified translators and interpreters were quite few in number at this early stage. To solve this communication problem, Dorgon decided to train more bilingual personnel to meet the urgent demand. On November 29, 1644 (SC 1/11/1) Li Jo-lin, an assistant superintendent of the Imperial Superintendent of Instruction (Ch. chan-shih fu), who was in charge of the National College (Ch. kuo-tzu-chien), memorialized that:

> . . . descendants of the meritorious Manchu who have ambition to study should be sent, with the approval of the Emperor, to the National College for study. . . .[24]

To avoid the feeling of racial discrimination from the Chinese majority, Dorgon extended the enrollment to the descendants of Chinese officials as well. In the following endorsement, the Regent also allowed the students to choose either the Manchu or the Chinese language:

> The sons of the Manchu officials who wish to study either the Manchu or the Chinese language and sons or grandsons of the Chinese officials who wish to study either the Manchu or the Chinese language are to be sent to the National College. . . .[25]

In order to further promote the learning of the Manchu language, the Regent authorized the President of the National College to appoint one additional tutor and two assistant tutors to conduct the Manchu language classes.[26]

In the meantime, another bilingual training program for Chinese was conducted in the Three Inner Courts where the bachelors (Ch. shu-chi-shih), selected from among the top second class metropolitan graduates, were assigned to study both the Manchu language and the Chinese classics. In order for the Chinese bachelors to concentrate their learning on either the Manchu language or the Chinese classics, on May 17, 1647 (SC 4/4/13), Dorgon accepted the proposal of the Grand Secretary Fan Wen-Ch'eng[27] to divide the bachelors into two groups, one to study the Manchu language, the other to study the Chinese classics. Sub-chancellors Cabuhai and Chiang Ho-te[28] were appointed to teach the Manchu language.[29]

On May 29, 1649 (SC 6/4/19), in response to the imperial policy calling for the cooperation between the

Manchus and Chinese.[30] Yao Wen-jan, a right supervising censor (Ch. yu chi-shih-chung) of the Board of Rites, presented a memorial in which he outlined the basic obstacles among the Manchu and Chinese officials was "the different language which inevitably creates different opinions."[31] To bridge further the linguistic gap, Yao proposed:

> . . . to select a large number of bachelors from among the metropolitan graduates. Consideration should be given to those who are young, strong, and with good conduct, so that they can be sent to study the Manchu language. After they have become well-versed in the [Manchu] language, they should be appointed to serve as censors or in other positions. [By so doing] it can save the trouble of translation when they are summoned for inquiry in the capital. And when they are sent out for inspection outside the capital, it can also gain the effectiveness of mutual assistance and respect by direct communication with fellow Manchu officials stationed in the various provinces.[32]

As a result of Yao's memorial, the number of Chinese bachelors was increased from 20 to 40. One half of the selected bachelors were assigned to study the Manchu language and the other half to study the Chinese classics.[33] Cabuhai and Chiang Ho-te were again appointed as the Manchu language teachers. It should be pointed out here that before the examination year of 1652 (SC 9), bannermen were not allowed to participate in the civil examinations because their main duty, as decided by the

Ch'ing court, was to be proficient in the martial arts. Thus no bachelor was selected from the banner forces.[34]

On May 9, 1652 (SC 9/4/2) Kao Hsin-yün, a supervising censor of the Board of Civil Appointment (Ch. Li-pu), proposed to the throne that additional requirements be imposed on the selection of bachelors to study the Manchu language.[35] As a result, good looks and a pleasant voice were added to the selection criteria.[36] It has been suggested that the main reason for such additional requirements is that the bacehlors who were selected to receive the Manchu language instruction would have more frequent contacts with the Emperor and high Manchu officials than those who studied the Chinese classics.[37]

On March 18, 1653 (SC 10/2/19), the bachelors who were trained in the Manchu language program were personally examined by the Shun-chih Emperor for the first time. After the examination, three were promoted, twelve were retained to receive more training, and five who failed the test were transferred to serve on the Six Boards.[38]

Dorgon died on January 29, 1651 (SC 7/12/9).[39] On March 3, 1651 (SC 8/1/12), Shun-chih assumed his power to rule the empire. During the period of his personal rule (1651-1661), the Emperor gradually strengthened Manchu language policies. All state documents such

as imperial credentials (Ch. ch'ih-shu) and decrees of conferment (Ch. kao-ch'ih) were to use the Manchu language.[40]

On November 15, 1652 (SC 9/10/15), San-tu, an assistant administrator of the Polytechnics (Ch. kung-k'o) proposed an educational program for the imperial clansman. In the following memorial, San-tu emphasized the importance of early education of the imperial princes and recommended that they follow the old educational practice of the previous Chinese dynasty.

> From ancient times on, the chief important [affair] of every founder of the new dynasty was to teach and to enlighten his descendants. The reason of doing this was that, although they were most wealthy and powerful, without learning they would become uncultivated and thus become unable to be the virtuous rulers. . . .
>
> The imperial descendants of our dynasty are numerous. Every prince, beile, and duke is as close to Your Majesty as your legs and arms. Outside the court they are charged with the responsibility of leading the expeditionary troops. Inside the court they participate in various affairs of state. Their responsibilities are heavier than previous dynasties.
>
> Now, the majority of the imperial descendants are young and strong. We should follow the old system of the former dynasty in selecting officials as their teachers and constantly guiding their learning so as to make them devote all of their energies to studying literature and understanding propriety and justice. By so doing, the men of talent will be produced from the imperial family in each generation. . . .[41]

However, since San-tu was recommending that the imperial descendants study the Chinese language, the Emperor did not approve the proposal. Instead, he ordered the Imperial Clan Court (Ch. tsung-jen fu) to deliberate on San-tu's memorial. On January 8, 1653 (SC 9/12/9), the Imperial Clan Court submitted the following recommendation to the throne:

> In order to show the care of [Your Majesty] for the success of the imperial clansmen, each [imperial] banner[42] should establish its own imperial clan school (Ch. tsung-hsüeh). Each school should employ one Manchu and one Chinese official with excellent conduct and scholarship as teachers. Sons of the imperial clansmen without title, at the age of 10 or older should be required to enroll in the imperial clan school. Any student who fails to comply with proprieties and laws must be reported by his teacher to the Imperial Clan Court. If the offense is minor, the offender should be cautioned and punished. If the offense is serious, the Emperor must be informed.
>
> Princes of the Blood of the First Degree (Ch. ch'in-wang), sons of the Princes of the Blood of the First Degree (Ch. shih-tzu)[43] and Princes of the Blood of the Second Degree (Ch. chun-wang) should also select one Manchu and one Chinese official to lecture and discuss the classics and histories.
>
> [Imperial clansman whose titles] below Princes of the Blood of the Third Degree (Ma. beile, Ch. pei-le) should study [the classics and histories] more diligently.[44]

The above recommendation was approved by the Emperor with certain conditions. In the following

imperial endorsement, Shun-chih deleted Chinese teachers from the government schools. Those who wished to learn the Chinese language would have to hire their private teacher at their own expenses.

> Each [imperial] banner is to employ a Manchu official to teach the Manchu language. Regarding the Chinese language, let [the students] themselves decide.[45]

Apparently, the majority of students took advantage of the imperial endorsement to study the culturally superior language of Chinese instead of Manchu. When this trend became uncontrollable, the Emperor had no other alternative but to forbid them from studying Chinese. On July 22, 1654 (SC 11/6/9), only two years after the establishment of the imperial clan schools, Emperor Shun-chih issued the following edict to the Imperial Clan Court:

> I feel that to learn the Chinese language and to imitate the Chinese customs would [make us] gradually forget our Manchu tradition. Formerly, I have approved the petitions submitted by the Imperial Clan Court and the Board of Rites to establish imperial clan schools where the descendants of the imperial clansmen can study. Thus teachers have been appointed to teach the Manchu language. Any student who wishes to learn Chinese is allowed to use his own discretion.
>
> Now, I feel [that since the students] have already learned the Manchu language, they can read the translated [Manchu] version of various Chinese books.

> Let the study of books in Chinese be permanently suspended. Students are to concentrate their learning on the Manchu language only. . . .[46]

Further evidence indicates that this reversal in language policy had additional reasons: first, sinicization widely developed with exceeding speed among the Manchus during the early period of the Shun-chih reign; and second, soon after entering Peking, the Manchus gradually abandoned their own tradition and began to addict themselves to luxuries and pleasures, as Abahai had feared.[47]

To preserve the Manchu traditions, especially the Manchu language, from 1654 (SC 11) onward, Shun-chih increasingly enforced his language policies. On January 3, 1655 (SC 11/11/26), the Emperor issued another edict to Chinese bachelors who were assigned to learn the Manchu language. In the edict the Emperor warned those who did not pay adequate attention to the learning that:

> . . . if a subject truly wishes to show his gratitude to his court, he should devote all his energies day and night to doing his job. I have ordered you to learn the Manchu language. This is your job. If you can concentrate your effort, there is no need to worry about success in written and spoken Manchu. But since you did not pay attention to it, as a result, you have wasted [your time].

> You have been studying [the Manchu language] for more than three years now; some of you have even exceeded six or more years [of study]. Immediately after I return to the palace, I will personally examine you. Those who have studied for a long period of time without accomplishing anything will be severely punished.[48]

In addition to this strong warning, the Emperor also increased the number of imperial examinations to two each month.[49]

On March 10, 1656 (SC 13/2/15), Shun-chih again personally administered the Manchu language examination to those who were assigned to study it. In addition, the Emperor also adopted an incentive measure by granting a reward to those who passed the examination with flying colors. As a result, Wang Hsi[50] who passed the examination with the highest grade, was bestowed an imperial fur coat as a reward for his remarkable achievement.[51] Because of his Manchu language ability, Wang later became one of Shun-chih's closest confidants and was entrusted to draft the Imperial Will (Ch. I-chao). Other bachelors of poor performance were demoted.

The following edict issued to the Board of Civil Appointment on June 29, 1656 (SC 13/(i)5/8)[52] is considered an important document because it not only reflects the general trend of the time, but also shows how the punishments were executed:

> I selected and designated those literati to learn the Manchu language for the purpose of educating them in advance so that they could be of great use in the future. My expectation for them is indeed great.
>
> Some of them have studied the Manchu language for more than ten years, some for seven to eight years and some for at least three to four years. If they can concentrate on their studies, they should be well-versed by now. Recently, I personally examined them. Wang Hsi, Chang Shih-chen, Chu Yü, Wang Ch'ing, Yü Hsün and Sha Ch'eng are excellent in scholarship. It proves that they have studied diligently and with determination and did not disappoint me. In regard to Pai Nai-chen, Fan T'ing-yüan, Li I-ku and Hsü Tsuan-tseng, they have forgotten what they learned before. Let their stipends be suspended and retain them in the Hanlin Academy to repeat the [Manchu] classes for three more years. If they can reform themselves and study diligently, they will still be allowed to serve [in the central government]. If they [remain] lazy and do not pursue their studies, their cases should be deliberated and they should be severely punished.
>
> Kuo Fen and Li Ch'ang-yüan have been studying for a long time but they do not understand [the Manchu language] at all. They have neglected their studies and should be punished. Let them be demoted three ranks and be transferred to provincial posts. Suspend their stipends for one year, starting from the day they receive the provincial appointments.
>
> You, [the Board of Civil Appointment] execute my edict immediately.[53]

From 1657 (SC 14) until the end of the Shun-chih reign in 1661 more rigid measures were taken. The department heads (Ch. t'ang-kuan) were ordered to administer periodic examinations in order to ensure that the students

did their home work.[54] In addition, the training period became shorter and punishments for bachelors who failed the examination became heavier.[55]

By 1659 (SC 16), the unsuccessful bachelors were removed permanently from the Ch'ing officialdom.[56] In order to promote the Manchu language, Chinese hanlin in the Hanlin Academy who were involved in the Manchu and Chinese languages were ordered to study further the Manchu language.[57]

From the edicts and events mentioned above, it is clear that during the period of Shun-chih's personal rule, the overall Manchu language policies were gradually strengthened. Further investigation of the official documents reveals that Shun-chih was the only Emperor of the early Ch'ing dynasty who personally and consistently conducted the Manchu language tests and was particularly concerned with the language progress of the bachelors.

On February 5, 1661 (SC 18/1/7), Emperor Shun-chih died.[58] He was twenty-two (sui). Unlike his father, Shun-chih left a clear but partly forged Imperial Will[59] which was drafted by sub-chancellor Wang Hsi. In the Will Shun-chih designated his third son, Hsüan-yeh,[60] then a seven-year-old boy, to succeed him as the second emperor in China with Soni,[61] Suksaha,[62], Ebilun,[63] and

Oboi[64] as regents during his minority. Hsüan-yeh ascended the throne on February 17, 1661 (SC 18/1/19)[65] and adopted the reign title K'ang-hsi, which lasted for 61 years. He was one of the most prominent emperors of the Manchu empire.

In addition to naming the successor to the throne and four Manchu regents, Shun-chih also utilized the Will to castigate himself by enumerating fourteen sins which he confessed that he had committed during the eleven years of his personal rule. The following confessions of sins are related in this study:

> . . . having very little virtue, I inherited the throne for eighteen years. From the time I personally took over the government, I have been unable to follow the majestic examples of T'ai-tsu (Nurgaci) and T'ai-tsung (Abahai) in formulating laws and regulations and in selecting men for administrative posts. Because I have frittered away my time and have been careless in governing the present [state affairs], and have gradually begun to practice Chinese customs, the pure and honest [Manchu] old ways have been deteriorating daily. Thus the administration of the empire has not reached its highest goal and the livelihood of the people has not been improved. This was one of my sins. . . .[66]
>
> Manchu officials have been dedicating their loyalty [to the throne] for generations and have been devoting their efforts [to it] for years. They should have been trusted [so that] they could continue to work at their utmost. Since I have not trusted them enough to appoint them, their talents could not develop. Furthermore, the Ming dynasty lost its empire mainly because of

> their bias toward civil officials. I have not taken this as a lesson and have appointed Chinese officials [regardless]. Occasionally, I have even entrusted them with official seals of the various boards and departments. Because of this, Manchu officials have lost their desire to work and their energies have been dissipated. This was one of my sins. . . .[67]

Judging from the historical records previously discussed and his personal endeavors towards the preservation of the Manchu traditions, it seems that the translated sections, much like the rest of the Will, were forged in order to portray Shun-chih as a sinicized sovereign and thereby to formulate pro-Manchu policies.

In the first five years of the K'ang-hsi reign, the Manchu empire was ruled by the joint regency. However, from 1666 until the end of the regency of the K'ang-hsi Emperor in 1669, Oboi, one of the four regents, with the help of his followers, began to build up his own faction and concentrated political power in his own hands. By 1667 his power reached the point that he openly ignored the existence of the boy emperor.[68] In June 1669, with the assistance of the Songgotu[69] and Mingju[70] factions, the young emperor finally arrested Oboi and ended his regency.[71]

After the proper funeral of the deceased sovereign and the succession ceremony of the boy emperor K'ang-hsi, the country was governed by the regents. Justified by

the altered imperial will, the regents began to set up general policies which were strongly in favor of Manchu with the emphasis on returning to the pure and honest old systems of Nurgaci and Abahai. As a result, the traditional Chinese institutions adopted by Dorgon and the Shun-chih Emperor were either abolished or diminished. In order to promote Manchu institutions and to elevate the prestige of the Manchu officials, they reorganized government structures and altered the appointment practices at the expense of Chinese officials.

The Council of Deliberative Officials (Ch. i-cheng ta-ch'en) was reorganized and its jurisdiction was broadened. The council became the sole decision-making organ of the empire. Moreover, the new regulations set by the regents reduced the size of the council and thereby expelled two Chinese members, namely, Fan Wen-ch'eng and Ning Wan-wo,[72] from the council.[73]

The Imperial Household Department (Ch. nei-wu fu) was expanded and staffed with Manchu princes and Chinese bondservants (Ch. pao-i).[74] The Court of Colonial Affairs (Ch. Li-fan yüan) was restored to its former function as an independent branch of the central government.[75] Its president was admitted to the Council of Deliberative Officials.[76]

In an effort to restrict further the Chinese influence on policy-making, the Grand Secretariat (Ch. nei-ko) and the Hanlin Academy were abolished and the old Manchu system of the Three Inner Courts which was abolished in 1658 by the Shun-chih Emperor was reinstituted.[77] Furthermore, the dyarchic system of appointment was discarded and a Manchu-oriented ratio for the appointment of grand secretaries to the newly restored Three Inner Courts was deliberately adopted.[78]

The structure of the Six Boards perhaps was the only organ which escaped degradation. Nevertheless, the ranks of the Manchu department directors (Ch. lang-chung) and assistant department directors (Ch. yüan-wai-lang) were raised to 4A and 5A respectively while the Chinese officials with the same official titles remained at 5A and 5B.[79] Among the traditional Chinese institutions, the censorate suffered the most ruthless treatment under the regency because the majority of the censorial officials were Chinese. In addiiton, the basic function and role of the censorate were ignored and the number of censors in both central and provincial levels was severely cut.[80]

As Manchu language was one of the basic Manchu traditions, drastic changes in Manchu language policies were inevitable. In order to diminish further the Chinese systems, on July 4, 1661 (SC 18/6/9),[81] the number of

bachelors selected from among the top metropolitan graduates was reduced from 41 to 10.[82] Moreover, the system whereby equal numbers of bachelors were selected to receive instruction in Manchu language and the Chinese classics was abolished. Thus, all newly selected bachelors were all assigned to study the Manchu language.[83] This practice remained so throughout the subsequent examination years of 1664 (KH 3),[84] 1667 (KH 6),[85] and down to 1670 (KH 9).[86]

In realizing the importance of the Manchu language, an attempt was initiated by the regents to promote their mother language. On June 18, 1663 (KH 2/7/22), the regents authorized the Board of Civil Appointment to summon members of the Manchu and Chinese banners who did not know both the Manchu and Chinese languages and members of the Mongol banners who did not understand the Manchu language to the Board for questioning.[87] In order for them to be eligible to serve in the central government, they were given a second chance to learn the required languages by themselves or be substituted by their male descendants.[88] Another reason for such a move was to train more bannermen with the hope that they could, in the near future, replace the Chinese functionaries at the various levels of government.

To strengthn the role of Manchu officials over their Chinese subordinates, the existing laws and regulations were translated into Manchu and distributed to the Manchu garrison generals stationed in the various provinces for judicial use.[89] As a result of the translation and an increase in the number of Manchu officials in the central government, more translators and interpreters were recruited, especially in the Boards of Punishment and Civil Appointment.[90]

In order to assert the fact that China was under Manchu rule, Wu San-kuei[91] was ordered to cast local coins in the Manchu script in addition to the Chinese script.[92]

The end of the Oboi regency in June 1669 also marked the end of the Manchu-oriented policies. Soon after K'ang-hsi personally took over the government; the young emperor, in order to achieve racial harmony and dyarchic operation of the central government, gradually abolished the anti-Chinese policies adopted by his regent. Thus, the Grand Secretariat and the Hanlin Academy were reinstituted on September 24, 1670 (KH 9/8/11)[93] and the dyarchic system of appointment was also reestablished by reducing the number of Manchu officials.[94]

In the examination year of 1673 (KH 12), the number of bachelors selected from among the metropolitan

graduates was increased to 32. An equal quota of selected bachelors to receive training in the Manchu language and the Chinese classics in the Hanlin Academy was also restored.[95]

In terms of preservation of the Manchu language, the K'ang-hsi Emperor was less concerned with the problem than his predecessors. Moreover, during the 53 years of his personal rule, he made no serious effort to enforce the preservation of his mother language. The evidence, on the other hand, indicates that his language policies, in fact, caused a rapid decline of the Manchu language, a result which will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Official Documents

During the early period of Abahai's rule, the Manchus did not possess sufficient strength to challenge the Ming court militarily. In preparing for the further territorial expansion into northern China, Abahai had gathered a number of Chinese collaborators who provided him with effective tactics in dealing with the Ming court diplomatically and militarily. Since Abahai could not understand Chinese and the majority of Chinese officials could not understand Manchu, both edicts and memorials required translation. The translating work during this early time was done in the Literary Office (Ch. wen-kuan),

which was founded in 1629 by Abahai.[96] The office was divided into two sections. The function of the first section was to translate Chinese books into Manchu and Manchu documents into Chinese, and vice versa. In the early days, because of their language ability, the officers of the first section, particularly Dahai also served as interpreters and as Abahai's personal messengers to the Chinese offficials and the Mongolian tribal chiefs.[97] The function of the second section was to keep records of the Manchu state--both the achievements and the mistakes. At the time when the Literary Office was established, Dahai was appointed as the head of the first section. However, after the death of Dahai, documents written in classical Chinese were often mistranslated. For example, in April, 1636, in response to the request made by the Manchu and Mongol princes regarding Abahai's intention of proclaiming himself emperor, Li Tsung[98] the King of Korea, sent a letter written in classical Chinese to Abahai. In the letter he emphasized the "father and son" and "king and subject" relationships with the Ming court.[99] Thus, he indirectly refused to recognize Abahai as emperor. Additional letters were sent to the border officials, ordering them to prepare for a possible Manchu invasion.[100] These letters were intercepted and presented to Abahai by Inggūldai, the chief Manchu

envoy to the Korean court. But the contents of the letters were mistranslated by the Literary Office. Certain inoffensive passages in Chinese were translated into disrespectful terms in Manchu.[101] After Abahai read the translated documents, he was so furious that he showed them to his chief advisers, who also considered them humiliating. As the result of this misinterpretation, Manchu-Korean relations broke down. Finally, Abahai personally led the superior combined Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese forces to crush Korea, and within a month he subdued her. Li Tsung was forced to recognize the suzerainty of the Manchu court and to send his elder and second sons together with their wives and children to Mukden as hostages. Politically, the defeat of Korea marked the turning point for the Manchus' future adventures into China.

In spite of Abahai's generous attitude toward Chinese officials, racial discimination and misunderstanding between the Manchus and the Chinese caused by the language barrier frequently occurred. As indicated in his memorial, Ning Wan-wo complained to Abahai:

> . . . because Manchu people speak the same language, distinction between patrician and plebeian is automatically clear. With regard to the Chinese officials, [the matter is completely different]. Because Chinese officials do not understand the Manchu language, they were often

> sneered at and in some occasions were even humiliated. [Because of these misunderstandings] some Chinese officials were so grieved that tears dropped from their eyes. . . .[102]

The massive surrender of K'ung Yu-te[103] and Keng Chung-ming[104] in 1633 and of Shang K'o-hsi[105] in 1634 brought a large number of Chinese soldiers together with many literary men and powerful cannons under Manchu control. As the Chinese population continued to increase, the limited number of translators in the Literary Office was not able to handle the large number of documents effectively. To solve the linguistic gap between the Manchus and Chinese, Manchu language study by the Chinese and Chinese language study by the Manchus was encouraged. The recruitment of bilingual personnel by means of literary examination was also initiated. On May 22, 1634 (TT 8/4/26) through the trilingual examination administered by the Board of Rites,[106] sixteen candidates (9 Chinese, 4 Manchus, and 3 Mongols) were selected and granted the degree of chü-jen, the first literary degree ever conferred on candidates by the Manchu court. All selected candidates were appointed to the Literary Office and served as translators.[107] Among the successful candidates, Cabuhai and En-ke-te were the Manchus who passed the Chinese test, and Yi Ch'eng-ke was the only Chinese who passed the Manchu test.[108]

On April 11, 1636 (CT 1/3/6), in order to handle effectively the increasing volume of state documents, especially those requiring translation, the Literary Office was expanded into Three Inner Courts, the Inner Court of State Historiography (Ch. nei kuo-shih yüan), the Inner Court of Secretariat (Ch. nei pi-shu-yüan), and the Inner Court of Literature (Ch. nei hung-wen-yüan). Each court was charged with specific responsibilities. The translation of memorials, edicts and other state documents was under the Inner Court of Secretariat.[109]

In 1651 (SC 8), when the Shung-chih Emperor, at the age of thirteen, took over the government personally, he found himself unprepared in the Chinese language and was unable to understand the Chinese memorials directly submitted to him for endorsement. Because of this, he was assisted by his co-regent Jirgalang, in the endorsement of memorials during the first year of his personal rule. In March of the following year (1652), Shun-chih decided to endorse all memorials himself.[110] To overcome the difficulty of the Chinese language, the Emperor chose the alternative of relying on Manchu translations. Thus he decreed to the Three Inner Courts ". . . all imperial edicts issued to the Chinese officials in various provinces must be translated into Manchu. . . ."[111] On April 14, 1652 (SC 9/3/7), he further decreed that all

decrees of conferment of titles upon Manchu, Chinese, and Mongol officials must be accompanied by a Manchu translation.[112] Memorials concerning the recommendation of Chinese officials and documents relating to criminal cases were also ordered to be translated into Manchu and submitted with the original Chinese copies.[113]

As a result of this drastic change in language, the shortage of translators in various boards and departments, including the Three Inner Courts, was evident. Officials with bilingual backgrounds were quickly promoted,[114] and Hanlin officials whose official rank was 5A and below and who were studying the Manchu language were ordered to remain in the capital and serve in the central government.[115] Additional translators were also recruited.[116]

Before Shun-chih Emperor could master the Chinese language, the volume of memorials had increased to such as extent that the barely fifteen-year-old Emperor was exhausted in trying to execute them in time. On March 30, 1653 (SC 10/3/2), the Emperor complained to his ministers:

> . . . now I personally administer the government. The empire is vast and affairs of state are very complex. I have to endorse all memorials and make all decisions by myself without a moment of rest. . . .[117]

On December 15, 1653 (SC 10/10/26), in an effort to relieve some of the burden from the young emperor and to avoid possible misunderstanding of the memorials and confusing diction in the imperial endorsements,[118] the deliberative princes and ministers headed by Jirgalang submitted the following solution which was immediately approved by the Emperor:

> A room inside the T'ai-ho Gate should be chosen in which the grand secretaries and sub-chancellors should be assigned to be on duty in turn. As to the memorials, they may be endorsed by the Emperor himself or [by the grand secretaries on duty] in the presence of the Emperor [in accordance with the imperial oral instructions]. If the imperial decisions should be corrected, [the grand secretaries] should make their oral suggestion to the Emperor proposing necessary corrections in order that [the imperial endorsements can be issued] without errors.[119]

From the political point of view, this change caused by Shun-chih's Chinese language incompetence is highly significant. Even though during this time the grand secretaries of the Three Inner Courts were only allowed to assist the Emperor with the memorials and proper wording on the imperial endorsements in either Chinese or Manchu language, the role of the grand secretaries was greatly enhanced.

In 1660 (SC 17), the attendance practice in the inner palace was expanded to day and night. But this time

the literary attendants were replaced by the senior members of the Hanlin Academy, which had been established in 1658. To accomodate the hanlin, a dormitory inside the Ching-yun Gate was specially constructed. Those who were on the evening shifts were required to stay in the dormitory. The arrangements of shifts and number of hanlin are as follows:

> All hanlin are to be divided into three shifts. Each shift should consist of reader (Ch. shih-tu hsüeh-shih), expositor (Ch. shih-chang hsüeh-shih), sub-reader (Ch. shih-tu), and sub-expositor (Ch. shih-chang), one each; second class compilor (Ch. pien-hsiu), and corrector (Ch. chien-t'ao), two each. They are to be on duty according to their assigned shifts. All shifts are on a rotation basis.
>
> Two chancellors are also to be on [day and night] duty. They are to rotate themselves on alternate days. The one who takes his turn is required to stay in the dormitory.[120]

Evidently, the main assignment of the Hanlin officials, like their predecessors, was to help the Emperor with the memorials and edicts. It was the first time in Ch'ing history that the comparatively low-ranking officials had direct and constant contact with the Emperor. In the course of their special duties, their influence on imperial decisions was inevitable. Owing to this indirect participation in the decision-making, the Academy was abolished by the joint regents in 1661.

In 1690 (KH 29), when the first Collected Statutes of the Ch'ing Dynasty (Ch. Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien) were promulgated, the language policy concerning the process of memorials written in Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian in the traditional memorial system which the Manchus adopted from the Ming, was institutionally established. According to the first Statutes:

> All memorials written in Manchu from central and provincial organs, as well as from individual officials, should be sent to the grand secretaries and the subchancellors of the nei-ko in order that they might propose draft rescripts and present them to the emperor for final decisions. If they are written only in Chinese or Mongolian, they should be sent to the Imperial Patent Office [chung-shu k'o] to be translated (either the entire memorial or the t'ieh-huang [summaries] only) . . . They should then be sent to the grand secretaries and subchancellors who can propose draft rescripts before presentation to the emperor for decisions.[121]

Before the adoption of the secret memorial system in 1693 (KH 32), the Grand Secretariat was the sole channel through which all memorials could be submitted. As prescribed in the above statutes, the Chinese memorial and its draft rescript required translation which consisted of the following three major steps:

(1) When a memorial written in Chinese was received by the Transmission Office (Ch. t'ung-cheng ssu),

it was first examined for its form and content and then forwarded to the Chinese Memorial Office (Ch. Han-pen fang) of the Grand Secretariat. The secretary (Ch. chung-shu or she-jen), who was in charge of registration in the Chinese Memorial Office recorded the incoming memorial, then handed it to one of the assistant readers who in turn assigned it to one of the secretaries to translate into Manchu. The translation then was checked and corrected by three additional staff members, in ascending order: correcting secretary (Ch. kai-pen she-jen), assistant reader, and reader. The memorial was then sent to the Manchu Memorial Office (Ch. Man-pen fang) where the Manchu draft was copied and checked by an assistant reader and a reader for its accuracy.[122] This ended the translation and transcription of the entire (or summary of) the memorial.

(2) After both the original and translated memorials were received by the Chinese Registry (Ch. Han p'iao-ch'ian ch'u), and after necessary recording and assigning, a secretary of the Chinese Registry made a preliminary draft (Ch. ts'ao-ch'ien) based on the Chinese memorial.[123] The draft was then handed to one of the assistant readers who, after carefully reviewing and correcting it, sent it to the Manchu Registry (Ch. Man p'iao ch'ien ch'u), where the draft rescript was

translated into Manchu; then both Manchu and Chinese drafts were submitted to the grand secretaries for final approval.

(3) After the grand secretaries had approved the drafts, they were returned to the Manchu and Chinese Registries for formal drafts which were copied in the memorial paper. The Manchu translation was written on the left and the Chinese on the right. The space in the middle was filled with the date, the name of the memorialist, his title, and the subject matter of the memorial. On the back of the memorial were listed the names of persons responsible for the draft rescript.[124] The Manchu Registry then inserted the formal draft rescript in the original memorial and presented it to the Red Memorial Office (Ch. hung-pen fang or p'i-pen ch'u)--the Endorsement Copying Office).[125] After necessary registration was completed, the memorial was finally submitted to the emperor for action.

Since the process of the traditional memorial system involved many high as well as low Manchu and Chinese officials, the secrecy of the memorial and imperial decision was most difficult to guard. As a result, conflicts of interest developed between ethnic and factional groups, between the members of deliberative bodies, and between the emperor and his sons. In 1693 (KH 32), K'ang-hsi

initiated the secret memorial system which derived from the old Manchu institution known as greeting memorial (Ch. ch'ing-an che).[126] This system was originally employed by the Manchu bannermen for the purpose of greeting their banner master--gūsan ejen.

Before 1700, only a few of K'ang-hsi's most trusted officials stationed in the southern provinces were charged with the secret memorials.[127] By the 1700s, the use of the system was extended to the central bureaucracy, and by the 1710s the system was widely utilized. High-ranking officials in various provinces and all ministers of the third rank or higher in the capital were required to submit their secret memorials to the throne. In fact, the newly adopted system proved to be an effective information-gathering device and remained so throughout the K'ang-hsi reign.

The main factor that made the secret memorial system successful was K'ang-hsi's language abilities in both Manchu and Chinese. The secret memorial, just as the name suggests, was secret in nature. It required memorialists to write the reports by themselves and to submit them directly to the emperor. Thus, memorials presented by the Manchu officials were written in Manchu and those presented by the Chinese in Chinese.[128] Correspondingly, K'ang-hsi's personal endorsements to

the memorials were also done in Manchu and Chinese.[129]

It should be pointed out that the adoption of the secret memorial system by no means entirely replaced the traditional system. Memorials dealing with normal government business were still required to follow the traditional memorial system and the process of translation previously described.

The Banner Forces

Banner (Ma. gūsa, Ch. ch'i) was the oldest Manchu administrative-military system. It was initiated by Nurgaci in the early 1580s. During this time, the basic unit generally referred to as company (Ma. niru, Ch. tso-ling) was quite small. It consisted of only 10 men, including a leader (Ma. ejen) selected among them.

In 1601, the number of men in a company was expanded to 300. They were organized into four companies represented by banners of four different colors--yellow, white, blue, and red. In 1651, with the creation of four additional banners, the first eight banners were formed. The colors of the newly-added four banners were the same as previous ones but were bordered with red, except the red banner, which was bordered with white.

As more Chinese and Mongolian territories were conquered, a large number of Chinese and Mongolian

soldiers who either surrendered to or were captured by the Manchus were organized into companies and banners. In 1626, the first Mongolian corps was established. By 1631 the Mongolian corps was expanded into two banners, and finally in 1635 the Mongolian Eight Banners were organized. The Chinese banners, generally referred to as Han banners (Ch. Han-chün), was first organized into two banners in 1637 and expanded into four banners in 1639, and finally into Chinese Eight Banners in 1643.

On the eve of the invasion of Peking in 1644, the Manchus had a combined force of 24 banners consisting of 563 companies. At 300 men per company, the invading army totaled 169,000 men. By the end of K'ang-hsi reign, the number of banners remained at 24, but comapnies had increased to 1,141, or 342,300 men.

Having become the rulers of a conquered nation with vast population, the Manchus' primary objectives were to maintain a military supremacy capable of controlling the Chinese majority and of preserving themselves as a cohesive minority. In achieving these goals, the banner forces were used. Some of them were assigned into units known as Manchu garrisons and stationed in the various strategic spots to guard against possible foreign incursion and domestic uprising. To avoid assimilation by the Chinese, the garrisons were separated

from the Chinese population. Each garrison was given a sector in a designated area where they were stationed and built their own fortified residential quarter where they lived with their families.[130] In the early period, this separation measure proved quite effective, particularly in the northern provinces. However, in the southern provinces, especially in such areas as Hang-chou, the situation was quite different. Historical records show that before 1679 (KH 18), members of local garrisons had begun to adopt the Chinese way of life and had gradually abandoned their own Manchu language for Chinese.[131] By 1679 they had forgotten their mother language. Even though the study and use of the Manchu language were temporarily restored through the vigorous effort of the new Commanding General Cha-mu-yang, soon after his death, the situation again returned to its former state.[132]

As the protector of the Manchu ruling power, the members of the banner forces were given special status and privileges. Thus, the retention of the old Manchu traditions, especially the Manchu language and martial arts, became their essential obligation to the throne. Throughout the Ch'ing dynasty, the language policies for the banners were always more rigid than for other Manchu groups.

The first language policy for the banner forces was issued by Prince regent Dorgon in 1644. This very first policy set the criteria for the selection of students from all banners to enroll in the government schools (Ch. kuan-hsüeh), which were under the supervision of the National College. The quota of students was fixed at one student per comapny. Ten out of the total number of selected students were assigned to study Chinese, the rest to study Manchu.[133] According to a recent study based on the General History of the Eight Banners (Ch. Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih), the number of companies in 1644 was 563.[134] Among them 278 were Manchu companies, 120 Mongol and 165 Chinese. Under the above arrangement, 553 out of 563 students selected from the Manchu, Mongol and Chinese banners were assigned to study the Manchu language without any other alternative.[135]

On November 8, 1645 (SC 2/9/21), at the request of the Board of Rites, the number of banner students was increased to two per company. Twenty out of the total students selected from banners were assigned to study Chinese, the rest to study Manchu.[136] Since the number of companies had increased from 563 in 1644 to 579 in 1645, the ratio between Chinese and Manchu students became even greater. The great difference in the ratio of Manchu and Chinese students indicates that the Manchu

ruling elite, at this early period, was not only trying to preserve the Manchu language within the Manchu banners, but was also trying to enforce their language upon the Mongol and Chinese banners.

As mentioned earlier, the basic objective of the early Manchu rulers was to maintain the military strength of the banner forces in order to control the Chinese majority, and the banner students at this period were not allowed to participate in the civil examinations. It was not until 1651 (SC 8) that the Board of Civil Appointment proposed to the throne that the banner students be given equal opportunity to compete with the other non-banner students in the civil examinations, in order that talented students of the banner forces might gain civil appointments through examination.[137] As a result, the detailed procedures, including examination topics, the number of students to be selected in various levels, and criteria for the banner personnel who were also allowed to participate in the civil examinations, were worked out by the Board of Rites.[138] The first and second civil examinations for the banner forces were separately held in 1652 (SC 9) and 1655 (SC 12) respectively, but the examination was abolished in the examination year of 1658 (SC 15) and was not resumed until 1670 (KH 9). The reason for the

cancellation was mainly due to an insufficient number of students registered for the examination, and the court, after two examinations, felt that the promotion of literary achievement would cause the neglect of martial arts. However, as indicated in the historical records, the Manchu language training project conducted in the government schools was not very successful from the beginning. As early as 1655 (SC 12), the Board of Rites already recommended to the court that the memorial presented by the Board of Civil Appointment, suggesting that the court take stronger punitive measures upon those language teachers who had failed to supervise effectively their students in the government schools, be approved.[139] After the cancellation of the banner examination, the road to enter the Ch'ing officialdom through examination was blocked and the language training program as well as students' language progress further deteriorated. The situation can partially be seen in the following memorial presented in 1660 (SC 17) by Jekune, a sub-chancellor in charge of the Hanlin Academy:

> . . . the students of the government schools have been studying for many years and yet they still do not understand the literal meaning of sentences. This is because we did not get the right teachers, and the students were playing, negligent, lazy and did not concentrate on their study.

> Now, we should select erudite and virtuous Manchus and Chinese as teachers. Students, regardless of whether they belong to the Manchu, Mongol, or Chinese banners, should all be assigned to study Manchu and Chinese.
>
> The president of the National College should continue to be responsible for administering a quarterly examination. Annual examination for both teachers and students should be conducted by the Board of Rites at the end of each year. Encouragement or punishment should be given individually. By so doing, the school will become prosperous, and men of talent can be produced. . . .[140]

The Banner Forces in Mukden

After Shun-chih ascended the Chinese dragon throne in Peking in 1644, Mukden, the "birthplace" of the Manchu empire, was preserved as the Manchu's home base, separated from Chinese life and culture. When the Chinese in Liao-tung area were vigorously pushing northward into the Manchu's birthplace, in 1668 (KH 7), an act was promulgated to ban Chinese immigrants from entering Mukden, thereby preventing further sinicization in the area.[141] A boundary marked with a willow palisade, was set up, extending from Shan-hai-kuan to the north of Mukden and then southward to the mouth of Yalu River. Due to this measure, not only were the Manchus in the Mukden area able to preserve the Manchu language until the Tao-kuang reign (1821-1850),[142] but also the Mongol and Chinese bannermen stationed in Mukden were able to use the Manchu language

effectively.[143]

Before 1691 (KH 30), the student quota of the Mukden banners was included in the Peking banners. Due to the distance between Peking and Mukden, the Mukden banner students could not afford to travel to Peking to receive their education or to participate in the civil examinations.[144]

In early 1691, Po-erh-chi, a Manchu junior censor of the Board of Rites, presented a memorial to the K'ang-hsi Emperor. In the memorial, he proposed that the descendants of the banner forces stationed in Mukden be given the opportunity to receive an education.[145] The Emperor then ordered the Nine Ministers (Ch. chiu-ch'ing) to deliberate and recommend an appropriate solution to him. On April 7, 1691 (KH 30/3/9), the Nine Ministers, after deliberation, submitted the following recommendation which was immediately approved by the Emperor:

> . . . each of the right and left wings[146] in Mukden should be permitted to establish two government schools in their area. Each wing should select 40 intelligent young boys. One half of the 40 students should be assigned to study the Manchu language and the other half to study both the Manchu and the Chinese languages. All students should be required to receive shooting instruction both on horseback and on foot.
>
> Department directors of the Board of Rites of Mukden should be made responsible for periodic inspections and drillings.

> If positions for secretaries in the various yamen [in Mukden] are open, the students who have completed their training should be allowed to fill the vacancies in accordance with the existing regulations.
>
> The Manchu section of each school should employ one assistant Manchu tutor, and the Chinese section should employ one assistant Chinese tutor who must be versed in both the Manchu and Chinese languages. These two assistant tutors should be appointed by the Board of Civil Appointment through examination.
>
> The Governor of Feng-t'ien prefecture should be authorized to select two [additional] Chinese teachers from among the Mukden top government students (Ch. sheng-yüan) to teach the Chinese language in each school.
>
> The school houses should be provided by the Board of Works (Ch. Kung-pu) of Mukden. . . .[147]

The significance of the above recommendation is that all students of the Mukden banners, unlike the students of the banner forces stationed in Peking and its vicinity, were required to study the Manchu language. The additional reason for allowing one half of the selected students from the Mukden banners to receive bilingual instruction was that Mukden had its own Six Boards. In the course of official communication with the central government, secretaries with bilingual background were needed in the various departments as translators and interpreters.

Chapter I Notes

Official Policies on the Manchu Language

1. SL:TT 18.12a-14a; T'ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu [The veritable records of the Ch'ung-te reign] in Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, 42.10b (hereafter cited as SL:CT).

2. SL:TT 25.29a.

3. Shih-tsung was the fifth emperor of the Chin dynasty, who had reigned 1161-1190.

4. Yao and Shun were the legendary sage kings.

5. Hsi-tsung was the third emperor of the Chin dynasty, who had reigned 1135-1149.

6. Wan-yen Liang, under the reign-title Hai-lin wang, was the fourth emperor of the Chin dynasty, who had reigned 1149-1161.

7. Ai-tsung was the ninth emperor of the Chin dynasty, who had reigned 1224-1234.

8. SL:CT 32.8a-9a.

9. Here referred to Wan-yen Liang.

10. Chang-tsung was the sixth emperor of the Chin dynasty, who had reigned 1190-1209.

11. Tung-hua-lu (Ch'ung-te) [Tung-hua records, Ch'ung-te reign], 2.40a. (hereafter cited as THL:CT); SL:CT 34.26b-28b.

12. SL:CT 34.26b-28b.

13. SL:CT 42.10b.

14. SL:CT 40.14b-15a.

15. For the biography of Yoto, see Hummel, p. 935.

16. SL:TT 11.5b-7a.

17. SL:TT 11.5b-7a; 11.17b.

18. For the biography of Dorgon, see Hummel, pp. 215-19.

19. For the biography of Haoge, see Hummel, pp. 280-81.

20. For the biography of Daišan, see Hummel, p. 214.

21. For the biography of Fu-lin, the Shun-chih Emperor, see Hummel, pp. 255-59.

22. For the biography of Jirgalang, see Hummel, pp. 397-98.

23. I-shan Hsiao, Ch'ing-tai t'ung-shih [A general history of the Ch'ing dynasty] (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1951-53), vol. 1, pp. 18 and 283 (hereafter cited as Hsiao).

24. Shih-tsu Chang-huang-ti shih-lu [The veritable records of the Shun-chih reign] in Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, 11.3a-b (hereafter cited as SL:SC).

25. SL:SC 11.3a-b.

26. SL:SC 11.3a-b.

27. For the biography of Fan Wen-ch'eng, see Hummel, pp. 231-32.

28. For the biography of Chiang Ho-te, see Appendix 1, pp. 243-45.

29. SL:SC 31.18a.

30. SL:SC 43.14b-15b.

31. SL:SC 43.16b-17b.

32. SL:SC 43.16b-17b.

33. SL:SC 44.1b-2a.

34. For details, see Chapter III.

35. SL:SC 64.1b-2a.

36. Yen-liu Shang, Ch'ing-tai k'o-chü k'ao-shih shu-lu [A study of the examination system in the Ch'ing dynasty] (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1958), p. 129 (hereafter cited as Shang).

37. A.L.Y. Chung, "The Hanlin Academy in the Early Ch'ing Period (1644-1795)," in Journal of the Hong-Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 6 (1966), p. 103.

38. SL:SC 72.11a-b.

39. The date of Dorgon's death is based on Shih-lu. SL:SC 51.10b.

40. SL:SC 62.15b; 63.9a-b.

41. SL:SC 69.10a-b.

42. Better known as the Three Superior Banners (Ch. shang-san-ch'i) which consisted of Plain White, Plain Yellow, and Bordered Yellow Banners.

43. Also known as age (Ch. Ah-ko) in colloquial designation.

44. SL:SC 70.17b-18a; also see SL:SC 73.6a-b.

45. SL:SC 70.17b-18a.

46. SL:SC 84.5b-6a.

47. SL:SC 48.10b.

48. SL:SC 87.8b-9a.

49. SL:SC 91.10b.

50. For the biography of Wang Hsi, see Hummel, p. 819.

51. SL:SC 98.10a.

52. (i) represents the intercalary month.

53. SL:SC 101.12b-13a.

54. SL:SC 129.17b.

55. SL:SC 104.7b; 122.15a-b; 129.17b.

56. SL:SC 129.3a.

57. SL:SC 132.10a.

58. There are different opinions about the death of Shung-chih Emperor among Chinese historians. Some of them maintain that Shun-chih did not die on the date pronounced by the Ch'ing court. Instead, he retired to a monastery where he became a monk. It is also suggested that his escaping from the dusty world was due mainly to the death of his beloved concubine Tung-fei. Meng Sen, on the other hand, has concluded that the Emperor definitely died of smallpox. For details, see Hsiao, I. pp. 400-405; Meng Seng, "Ch'ing-ch'u san-ta i-an k'ao-shih," [An examination of three great cases in the early Ch'ing] in Ch'ing-tai shih [Essays in Ch'ing history], ed. by Wu Hsiang-hsiang (Taipei: Chen-chung shu-chü, 1960), pp. 449-50.

59. Ever since the pronouncement of the Imperial Will, its authenticity has been the subject of discussion by Chinese and western scholars. However, through their intensive studies, it is now generally agreed that at least part of Shun-chih's will was forged by the Empress Dowager and four Manchu regents. For details, see Meng, Ch'ing-tai shih, pp. 128-29; Robert B. Oxnam, Ruling from Horseback (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 205-07 (hereafter cited as Oxnam).

60. For the biography of Hsüan-yeh, the K'ang-hsi Emperor, see Hummel, pp. 327-331.

61. For the biography of Soni, see Hummel, p. 663.

62. For the biography of Suksaha, see Hummel, p. 600.

63. For the biography of Ebilun, see Hummel, pp. 219-21.

64. For the biography of Oboi, see Hummel, pp. 599-600. For Oboi regency, see Oxnam, passim.

65. According to the Shih-lu, K'ang-hsi ascended the throne on February 7, 1661 (SC 18/1/9). However, in the biography of Hsüan-yeh, Fang Chaoying used February 17, 1661 (SC 19/1/19) as the date of K'ang-hsi's enthronement. Since the Imperial Will of Shun-chih Emperor clearly ordered that the future emperor was to ascend the throne after 27 days of mourning, the record of Shih-lu seemed more reliable. SL:SC 144.5b; Hummel, p. 328.

66. SL:SC 144.2a-b.

67. SL:SC 144.3b.

68. SL:KH 29.9a; 29.17a-b.

69. For the biography of Songgotu, see Hummel, pp. 663-66.

70. For the biography of Mingju, see Hummel, pp. 577-78.

71. Oboi and his followers were tried by a special commission headed by Prince Giyešu. Oboi was charge with thirty crimes and was sentenced to death. However, K'ang-hsi reduced the sentence to imprisonment. He died in prison in 1669. SL:KH 29.6b-18b.

72. For the biography of Ning Wan-wo, see Hummel, pp. 592-93.

73. Oxnam, p. 71.

74. For detail concerning Chinese bondservants, see Jonathan D. Spence, Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and Master (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 7-9.

75. SL:KH 4.7b-8a.

76. SL:KH 4.7b-8a; 6.4b-5a.

77. SL:KH 3.9a-b.

78. During the period of Shun-chih's personal rule (3/3/1651-2/5/1661), the Manchu-Chinese balance had been maintained. In the period of joint regency, the ratio was 2 to 1, and in Oboi period 3 to 1. Ch'ing-shih (Taipei: kuo-fang yen-chiu-yüan, 1961), vol. 4, pp. 2446-54 (hereafter cited as CS).

79. SL:KH 2.19b-20a.

80. SL:KH 14.5a-b; 14.6b; Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li [Precedents and edicts pertaining to the collected statutes of the Ch'ing dynasty, imperially ordained] (Shanghai, Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1908), 20.15a-b; 20.19a-b (hereafter cited as TCHTSL).

81. Even though K'ang-hsi was put on the imperial throne on February 7, 1661 (SC 18/1/9), the dynasty's new reign-title--K'ang-hsi--was not begun until the first day of the following year. Thus all events occurring in the remaining days of the last year of Shun-chih were recorded under the Shun-chih reign.

82. SL:KH 3.4a.

83. SL:KH 3.4a. Also see Table 5.

84. SL:KH 12.5b.

85. SL:KH 22.2b.

86. SL:KH 33.7b. Also see Table 5.

87. SL:KH 9.20b.

88. SL:KH 9.20b.

89. SL:KH 13.2b.

90. SL:KH 6.24a; 7.19a; 19.6b-7b.

91. For the biography of Wu San-kuei, see Hummel, pp. 877-80.

92. SL:KH 4.10a.

93. SL:KH 33.27a.

94. SL:KH 30.15b.

95. SL:KH 42.9a-b. Also see Table 5.

96. SL:TT 5.11b-12a.

97. SL:TT 5.33b; 6.7a; 9.44a; 14.2a-b; 14.5a; 14.11a.

98. Temple name Jen-tsu 1595-1649. Li Tsung had reigned 1623-1649.

99. SL:TT 27.7b-8a.

100. SL:TT 27.11a-16a.

101. SL:KH 249.17b.

102. SL:TT 10.31b-36b.

103. For the biography of K'ung Yu-te, see Hummel, pp. 435-36.

104. For the biography of Ken Chung-ming, see Hummel, pp. 416-17.

105. For the biography of Shang K'o-hsi, see Hummel, pp. 635-36.

106. On the advice on Ning Wan-wo, Six Boards patterned after the Ming dynasty were established by Abahai in 1631.

107. SL:TT 18.17b-18a; Silas H.L. Wu, Communication and Imperial Control in China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 14 (hereafter cited as Wu, Communication).

108. SL:TT 18.17b-18a.

109. SL:TT 28.2a-3a.

110. SL:SC 62.15b.

111. SL:SC 62.15b.

112. SL:SC 63.9a-b.

113. SL:SC 73.7b; 76.4b.

114. SL:SC 75.13a-b.

115. SL:SC 76.12a.

116. SL:SC 80.5b-6a.

117. THL:SC 20.8a-b; SL:SC 73.2a.

118. SL:SC 76.3b.

119. SL:SC 78.15-16a.

120. TCHTSL 1048.1a; SL:SC 136.2a-b.

121. Wu, Communication p. 17.

122. Nei-ko hsiao-chih [A brief sketch of the Grand Secretariat], by Yeh Feng-mao, in ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ed. (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1940), p. 3.

123. Nei-ko chih [An account of the Grand Secretariat], by Hsi-wu-ao, in ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ed. (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1937), p. 4; nei-ko hsiao-chih, p. 3.

124. Nei-ko chih, p. 4.

125. Nei-ko chih, p. 4.

126. Wu, Communication p. 36.

127. For detail concerning the secret memorial system, see Wu, Communication, pp. 34-51.

128. For exception, see Wu, Communication, pp. 42-43.

129. Secret Palace Memorial of the K'ang-hsi Period (August 1677-November 1708) (Taipei: kuo-li ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1976), passim (hereafter cited as SPMKH).

130. SL:SC 12.2b-3b.

131. SL:KH 111.27b.

132. SL:KH 192.29b-30b.

133. SL:SC 20.21b.

134. Chaoying Fang, "A Technique for Estimating the Numerical Strength of the Early Manchu Military Forces," in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies XIII (1950), pp. 192-215.

135. For details, see Table 4.

136. SL:SC 20.21b.

137. SL:SC 55.20a-b.

138. SL:SC 57.27a-b.

139. SL:SC 90.9b-10a.

140. SL:SC 136.9a-b.

141. Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, East Asia The Great Tradition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), pp. 305-06.

142. Chi-lin wai-chi [Misccelanneous records of Chi-lin]. 4 chüan in 1 han. N.p., n.d. 3.1a-b.

143. Chi-lin wai-chi 3.1a-b.

144. Sheng-ching t'ung-chih [A general gazetteer of Shen-ching] 48 chuan in 2 han. N.p., n.d. 21.11b-12a.

145. SL:KH 150.19a.

146. Four banners in each wing.

147. SL:KH 150.19b-20a.

Chapter II

THE TRANSLATION AND COMPILATION OF CHINESE WORKS

Historical records show that the translation of Chinse works started in the latter part of Nurgaci's time. From the 1620s to the end of the Ch'ung-te reign in 1644, the translation was mainly devoted to Chinese institutions and military sciences for the purpose of further territorial expansion against Jurchen and Mongolian tribes as well as against Ming China and Korea. After gaining control of China in June 1644, Confucian concepts of government--especially those concerning the role of the ruler--were adopted. As a result, the Chinese classics--The Four Books (Ch. Ssu-shu), The Five Classics (Ch. Wu-ching), histories, philosophies, laws and didactics--were first translated. From the middle of the K'ang-hsi to the end of the Ch'ien-lung (r. 1736-1796) reigns, the translation and compilation of Chinese works were extended to almost every field and subject. In spite of the increasing negligence of the Manchu language by both the Manchus and Chinese, the translation of Chinese works continued until the latter part of the Ch'ing dynasty.[1]

There are divergent interpretations concerning the chief motive for the translation of Chinese works. For example, a prominent western historian suggests that the main objective in the translation of Chinese works was "to keep the Manchu language alive."[2] An examination of the various officials records reveal that the basic aim of the translation was "to understand the ancient record and to develop among the Manchus an ability to read books and discuss principles, and so to offer their knowledge for the benefit of the Manchu empire."[3] The records further indicate that there were different categories of official policies toward the translation. Since vast numbers of Chinese works in different fields were completed within the period of this study, the discussion in this chapter is limited to only a few highly important ones.

The Four Books

The Chinese classics, particularly The Four Books, were regarded by the Ch'ing rulers (especially K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung) as the most significant of the Chinese works. After the conquest of China in 1644, the philosophical principles of the Chinese classics were seriously adopted as the basic political philosophy of the Manchu empire and as the absolute norm for the personal cultivation of every individual. Historical documents also

indicate that the Chinese classics played an important role in the official examinations. The future of both Manchu and Chinese candidates were directly determined by their knowledge of the Chinese classics as the topics for all levels of examinations were mainly drawn from The Four Books.[4]

The first translation of The Four Books was The Book of Mencius (Ch. Meng-tzu). This translation was initiated by Dahai in the latter part of 1620. Dahai died in 1632, and the translation was presumably completed by Ganglin,[5] one of Dahai's assistants in the Literary Office, in mid-1630.

Judging from the frequent quotations of certain passages contained in the other classics by Abahai, it is believed that partial translations of other classics such as the Great Learning (Ch. Ta-hsüeh) and The Book of Loyalty (Ch. Chung-ching) were also done during this time.[6]

Shortly after the Shun-chih Emperor ascended the Chinese throne in Peking on October 30, 1644 (SC 1/10/1), Hao Chieh, a supervising censor of the Board of Revenue (Ch. Hu-pu) presented the following memorial in which he urged the first Manchu emperor to study the Chinese classics and honor Confucius:[7]

> From ancient times on, there was no emperor who did not earnestly cultivate the virtue proper to a ruler and treat the exposition of the classics as of the greatest importance.
>
> With Your Majesty's superior endowments and unalterable mandate, it is now the time for Your Majesty to start receiving a classical education. The selection of respectable and refined scholar-officials must be conducted so that they can translate and then present [to you] daily the Expatiation on the Meaning of the Great Learning (Ch. Ta-hsüeh yen-i) and several paragraphs from the Tien-mo section of The Book of History (Ch. Shu-ching).
>
> Furthermore, [Your Majesty] should follow the old tradition of sending [an emissary] to worship at the old home of Confucius in order to show the world whom we honor.[8]

Dorgon's endorsement, under the name of the Shun-chih Emperor was:

> Your petitions to establish a place for the exposition of the classics and to worship the old home of Confucius are both beneficial to the new administration. They will be carried out sequentially.[9]

However, the translation of the Expatiation on the Meaning of the Great Learning was not commenced during Prince regent Dorgon's de facto rule.

On November 15, 1651 (SC 8/10/3), nine months after Shun-chih personally took over the government, Hsü Pi-yüan, a corrector (Ch. chien-t'ao) of the Inner Court of Secretariat, again memorialized for the translation

of the Expatiation on the Meaning of the Great Learning. In the memorial he strongly emphasized that:

> The Expatiation on the Meaning of the Great Learning by Chen Te-hsiu of the Sung dynasty has gathered all essential synopses on the mandate of heaven, human feelings, body, mind, family and country. . . .
>
> [Your subject] humbly begs an imperial edict ordering scholar-officials to translate the work and then present it to you. . . .[10]

Shun-chih did not authorize the translation. Evidently, he did not appreciate The Four Books, as not a single one of The Four Books was translated during his reign.

It was not until 1672 (KH 11) that the first complete Manchu translation of the Expatiation on the Meaning of the Great Learning was commissioned by K'ang-hsi. The work was translated by Fudari[11] and was completed seven months later. By an imperial order, it was published in the same year under the Manchu title Dai hiyo i jurgan be badarambuha bithe and was distributed among high Manchu officials and government schools.[12]

Unlike Shun-chih, K'ang-hsi regarded The Book of Great Learning as one of the most significant Chinese classics.[13] This first translated work of Dai hiyo i jurgan be badarambuha bithe was also praised by the Grand

Empress Dowager. The following edict was issued from K'ang-hsi Emperor to Fudari in 1673:

> I have respectfully presented the translated copy of the Expatiation on the Meaning of Great Learning submitted by your yamen (office) to my kind grandmother for review. An edict was dispatched to me from Her Highness, the Grand Empress Dowager, which reads:
>
> > The law and vigilance are fully manifested in this work. They are truly important. You have paid special attention to this book and have had it translated by the scholar-officials. You have also printed and distributed to all court ministers. I am very pleased [with your endeavor].
> >
> > I have released from the Inner Treasury one thousand taels of silver which should be distributed [as a reward] among the staff who worked on this book.
>
> In carrying out the mandate from Her Highness, the Grand Empress Dowager, I am granting you the said amount of silver for your distribution.[14]

Finally, on December 31, 1677 (KH 16/12/8), a complete Manchu translation of The Four Books with commentary was published under the title Four Books Explained in Daily Lecture (Ma. inenggidari giyangnaha Sy Šu i jurgan be suhe bithe, Ch. Jih-chiang Ssu-shu).[15] This work was especially edited and translated by Lasari[16] as daily lessons for the Emperor.

The imperial attitude toward The Four Books was fully expressed in the following imperial preface which was written by K'ang-hsi in 1677:

> Heaven created sages and virtuous men to be kings and teachers. The propagation of their everlasting orthodox teachings have remained the basic principles for everlasting rule.
>
> After Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen and Wu, there were Confucius, Tseng Tzu, Tzu-ssu and Mencius. Besides The Book of Changes, The Book of History, The Book of Odes, The Record of Rites, and The Spring and Autumn Annals, there appeared Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean, and The Book of Mencius. These books are like the sun and the moon shining in the sky and like the Min mountain erected on the earth.[17] How complete and how abundant!
>
> Because we had four masters, the tao of the two Emperors and three Kings were then propagated. Only after the completion of The Four Books did the doctrines of The Five Classics prevail. The profound words contained in The Four Books are the essence of The Five Classics. The first sage, Confucius, discussed politics and learning with the feudal lords, the court ministers and his disciples. Thus the heavenly virtue (Ch. t'ien-te), kingly way (Ch. wang-tao), self-cultivation and government administration are all contained in the Confucian Analects.
>
> The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean are the teachings of Confucius, and only Tseng Tzu and Tzu-ssu attained his orthodoxy which illustrated the beginning and reached to the supreme goodness. Therefore, the family is regulated, the state is rightly governed and the world is in peace. The

principles and teachings [of The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean] are just and peaceful; thus, heaven, earth and all living things can be nourished and developed; The Nine Classics[18] and the tao can be carried out.

With regard to Mencius, he followed the steps of the former sages and opened the door for future learning, refuting heresy in order to correct the minds of people. His theories of humanheartedness, righteousness and human nature are the most meaningful theories in the world. These sage teachings were specially made for the people of ten thousand generations. The orthodox teaching and perfect rule are all contained in The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean.

The virtuous and learned rulers of every dynasty, whether they established their own dynasties or inherited them from their ancestors, always respected and honored these teachings. After inheriting the imperial throne from my ancestor, I have worked with sustained diligence to seek [a perfect] rule, paying [careful] attention to learning. I have also commended scholar-officials to write a commentary on The Four Books in order that its theories can be revealed and the government administration can be benefited.

I had heard lectures on The Four Books and The Five Classics for many years. During that period, I did not dare to let myself be idle and cease from learning. Now the lectures are completed. In thinking to share with all my ministers and people a perfect rule, I have ordered the publication of The Four Books so it can forever remain useful.

I therefore write this preface to serve as an introductory note in the beginning of this book. At all times, I think of placing a strong emphasis on public morals. To do

> this, it is necessary first to correct the minds of the people; and in order to correct the minds of people, it is necessary first to understand literal meaning.
>
> It is truly because the general principles and profound words of the former sages are contained in The Four Books that we must take this work as the direction to teach the people and to form public morals. I am hoping to govern with the same tradition and in the same way, so that we may be able to enter the prosperous periods of civilization of the T'ang, Yü, and Three Dynasties.[19]

For many generations, this inenggidari giyangnaha sy šu i jurgan be suhe bithe together with the translated Five Classics served as daily lessons for the imperial princes who reached the age of six. The daily classes were conducted by two Manchu and one Chinese imperial lecturer who were selected from the Hanlin Academy with the approval of the Emperor. Among the princes, Ch'ien-lung was one of the most brilliant students. It has been suggested that as the result of Ch'ien-lung's outstanding academic achievement, his father Yung-cheng (r. 1723-1735) was chosen by K'ang-hsi as his crown prince in order that Ch'ien-lung could ascend the throne after him.[20]

In addition, another work entitled Sy šu oyonggo tuwara bithe (The Essential of the Four Books) (Ch. Ssu-shu yao-lan) was privately translated by Shen Ch'i-liang

in November 1686 (KH 25/10).[21] Since the translation was not commissioned by the court, the existence of this work was hardly known to his contemporaries.

The translation and revision of previous editions of The Four Books continued until the Kuang-hsü reign (1875-1909).[22] The main distinction in the different version of The Four Books was the divergent Manchu translations. Generally, the earlier works completed in K'ang-hsi times contained large numbers of transliterated Chinese conceptual words which were not current in Manchu. Consequently, through the concern of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, a considerable number of new Manchu words, terms and special nouns were created to replace the Chinese terms in the revised editions completed in 1735 and thereafter.[23]

In addition to his deep knowledge of Manchu and Chinese, K'ang-hsi also possessed a high regard for Confucianism. Regardless of his political motive, the repair of Confucian temples and the veneration of Confucius as "the master of ten thousand generations" was supported by a majority of the Chinese intellectual class.[24] Besides their strong emphasis on the importance of The Four Books, the Sung scholars' interpretations of the Chinese classics[25] were particularly respected by K'ang-hsi. For example, in discussing the Chinese classics

with his ministers, the Emperor offered the following opinion:

> . . . from the Han dynasty on, there were many scholars who offered their interpretations of The Four Books and The Five Classics. However, the more interpretations that appeared, the more difficulty they became. It was not until the Sung dynasty that Chu Tzu and other scholars completed true and meaningful commentaries on The Four Books and The Five Classics. These commentaries conveniently help the people of later generations. Their contributions are indeed great. For this reason, I command you to take The Four Books and The Five Classics seriously.[26]

Even though Sung learning was replaced by Han learning in the latter part of the Ch'ing dynasty, the interpretations of The Four Books by the Sung scholars remained orthodox until Tao-kuang (r. 1821-1851) times.[27]

The Five Classics

Among Chinese works, The Five Classics were considered by the early Manchu rulers as the second most important ones next to The Four Books. Historical records reveal that the Shun-chih Emperor was particularly interested in The Five Classics. Therefore, as early as March 16, 1653 (SC 10/2/17), the Emperor ordered the scholar-officials of the Inner Courts to translate them.[28] On the twenty-fourth of the same month, only eight days after the translation had commenced, Shun-chih visited the Inner

Courts to read the draft just finished by the translators.[29] He was impressed by the contents of the works. Thereupon, the Emperor commended:

> Heavenly virtue (Ch. t'ien-te) and kingly ways (Ch. wang-tao) are all recorded in the classics. The principles contained in the books truly can not be improved on for ten thousand generations.[30]

According to the Shih-lu, the early translation of the works was under personal supervision of the Emperor, who also participated in the translation.[31] In January 1655 (SC 11/12), The Book of Odes (Ch. Shih-ching) was first published under the Manchu title Ši Ging ni bithe.[32]

Apparently, the first hasty translation was not well done; thus on June 12, 1684 (KH 23/4/30), the K'ang-hsi Emperor commissioned Nionio,[33] an imperial lecturer on the Chinese classics to re-translate it and then present it to him as daily lectures.[34]

In regard to the explanation on the meaning of each passage, the Emperor emphasized that the main purpose of studying the Chinese classics was to "understand the teaching of the sages."[35] Thus he demanded that the elucidation of each lecture be as accurate and precise as that of Chang Chü-cheng (1525-1582), a well-known commentator on the Chinese classics and able minister of the Ming dynasty.[36] After the conclusion of the daily lectures on

The Book of Odes, the Emperor authorized the publication of the work. Since the translation was based on the daily lectures presented to the Emperor at the palace, the work was therefore entitled The Book of Odes Explained in Daily Lecture (Ma. inenggidari giyangnaha Ši Ging ni jurgan be suhe bithe, Ch. Jih-chiang Shih-ching chieh-i).

In the following imperial preface, K'ang-hsi emphasized:

> After Confucius edited [the odes], it is clear that the purpose of the three hundred odes, which were brilliantly collected from the streets, was to remonstrate to the court, to present to the temple and to praise and observe goodness in order to judge good and evil. . . .
>
> I have often though that the intention of the ancient teachings was not only to maintain the official exhortations, rites and laws but also to bridge affectionately the higher and lower ranks and to encourage [the people in the] remote areas. . . . to follow what is right and to keep away from what is wrong. [As a result] they would then feel more satisfied with themselves. . . .
>
> To achieve all these goals, we must rely on the [teachings] of the odes. . . .[37]

The first translation of The Book of Changes (Ch. I-ching) was completed about 1657 (SC 14).[38] Because the previous commentaries to the work were confusing, on March 19, 1657 (SC 14/2/5), the Shun-chih Emperor commissioned the Grand Secretary Fu I-chien[39] and one of the

daily imperial lecturers, Ts'ao Pen-jung, to compile a new commentary. In the following edict issued to Fu and Ts'ao, the Emperor first offered his opinion about the work, then about the commentaries, problems and finally his purpose for compiling a new commentary.

> I have read The Book of Changes [and found] that the principle of the book is refined and its uses are extensive. The book covered the theory of heaven, earth, and all living things.
>
> There are two standard interpretations (Ch. cheng-i) of the book, the first of which was written by Wang Pi of the Wei dynasty[40] and the second by K'ung Ying-t'a of the Tang dynasty. There is also a commentary (Ch. chuan) on the book which was completed by Ch'eng I of the Sung dynasty. It was not until Chu Hsi that the basic meaning (Ch. pen-i) of the book appeared. Thus, scholars of the later generations have all followed Chu's interpretation.
>
> During the Yung-yüeh reign (1403-1425) of the Ming dynasty, [Emperor Ch'eng-tsu] commanded scholar-officials to collect all interpretations written by scholars before the Yüan dynasty and compiled them into a complete volume. Thus, many theories were discovered. However, among the various interpretations, many similarities and differences still remained. In addition, there are numerous interpretations that should be eliminated because some of them are flowery but without any point. Within the subsequent period of almost three hundred years, there are many students and scholars who have still developed their own theories.
>
> In order to show and instruct our future generations, we should select and reconcile all interpretations and compile

> them into a single volume in a simple, direct, and understandable fashion.
>
> You should devote your entire minds to study [the book and all previous commentaries] until you have well digested and completely understood them. Your analysis of the theory must be refined and your explanation of the passages must be clear and plain. It must also be simple but complete, detailed but not repetitive. [By doing so], we should be able to make the main theme of the book as bright as the sun and the stars so as to demonstrate my purpose of elucidating the best and sincerest intentions of the Four Sages[41] and their writings.[42]

Like his father, K'ang-hsi also admired the profound principles of The Book of Changes. As it was the first among The Five Classics and was extremely difficult to explain, before daily lectures were prepared by the scholar-officials of the Hanlin Academy, a theoretical lecture was given by the Chinese chancellor.[43] In spite of the fact that he termed The Book of Changes "the most difficult" to learn,[44] K'ang-hsi studied it diligently. In discussing the profound principles of the work, the Emperor spent three days over each hexagram with his lecturers Kurene and Yeh Fan-ai.[45] In 1684, wher K'ang-hsi re-studied the book and the lectures presented by his lecturers, he found that they had skipped some parts of the book. In addition to expressing his own interpretations on certain hexagrams, the Emperor told the

lecturers ". . . in the future as we discuss the sections of the commentary, make no divisions between what should and what should not be discussed. Discuss each section as it appears, in sequence."[46]

In June 4, 1684 (KH 23/4/22), the first Manchu version of The Book of Changes was published under the title The Book of Changes Explained in Daily Lectures (Ma. inenggidari giyangnaha I Ging ni jurgan be suhe bithe, Ch. Jih-chiang I-ching chieh-i).[47] The work was translated and compiled by the Manchu Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, Nionio, who together with Chang Yü-shu[48] and Ch'en Ting-ching[49] were serving as the imperial lecturers on The Book of Changes.[50]

In the following imperial preface dated January 24, 1684 (KH 22/12/8), K'ang-hsi emphasized the importance of the work:

> The compiling of The Book of Changes was the combined effort of the Four Sages who created the figures and divination diagrams which were appended in the Hsi Tz'u. . . .[51]
>
> The statecraft that the Pao Hsi, Shen Neng, Huang Ti, Yao, and Shun used to rule over their empires were all taken from The Book of Changes. The literary works of The Book of Odes and The Book of History; the completeness of The Record of Rites and The Book of Music; and the acts of The Spring and Autumn Annals are certainly not as comprehensive as The Book of Changes. Pan Ku of

> the Han dynasty once said, "among the Six Classics[52] which contained the tao of the Five Emperors, The Book of Changes was the main source. . . .
>
> In searching for governing principles, I rise early and sleep late every day. After considering the fact that the ancient kings' statecraft was solemnly drawn from the classics, I have also extensivley inquired into the essential ideas of the passages of the classics, particularly The Book of Changes. For this reason, I specifically ordered the scholar-officials to refer to the previous commentaries and compose these new lectures in a total of eighteen chüan as my daily lessons. . . .[53]

During the K'ang-hsi reign, The Book of History (Ch. Shu-ching), like The Book of Changes was prepared and translated in part by the imperial lecturers on Chinese classics and presented to the Emperor as daily lectures. Because the book was about the virtuous rule of the ancient kings, the administrative principles were often adopted by K'ang-hsi as a guide for his rule. For example, passages such as "when the crime is in doubt, then punish lightly" (Ch. tsui-i wei-ch'ing) was frequently used in criminal judgment.[54] In the concluding lecture, the Emperor told his lecturers:

> From Yao, Shun, Yü and T'ang onward, the law of mind and that of government are all recorded in The Book of History. You [lecturers] have carefully explained [the meaning of the book] to me daily and I have diligently studied it. Although I can not compare myself with the ancient kings, I have devoted my

> mind to the study of classics from morning till evening and have never neglected them. . . .[55]

To express his satisfaction with the translation and lecturing, K'ang-hsi ordered the promotion of the lecturers and translators as well as the compilers of The Book of History.[56]

On May 18, 1680 (KH 10/4/20), at the urging of Yeh Fang-ai, the Chinese Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy and one of the major imperial lecturers on the Chinese classics, K'ang-hsi authorized the publication of the newly translated Book of History in lecture form.[57] In January, 1681 (KH 19/11) the lectures on The Book of History were duly compiled and published in both the Manchu and Chinese languages.[58] The Manchu version was compiled by Kurene and was entitled The Book of History Explained in Daily Lectures (Ma. inenggidari giyangnaha Šu Ging ni jurgan be suhe bithe) and the Chinese version was entitled Jih-chiang Shu-ching chieh-i. To emphasize the importance of the book, the Emperor ordered the distribution of the work among the Manchu and Chinese nobility and high civil and military officials. To ensure further that everyone would understand the correct meaning of the book and its political concepts on the cooperation between the ruler and his ministers,[59]

K'ang-hsi specifically ordered the distribution of the Manchu version to Manchy princes, dukes, barons, chamberlains of the Imperial Bodyguard, military officers, grant secretaries, subchancellors, the nine ministers, supervisors of instruction (Ch. chan-shih), and the President of the National College (Ch. kuo-tzu chien).[60] The Chinese version was given to Chinese grand secretaries, subchancellors, the nine ministers and the president of the National College.[61]

The Record of Rites (Ch. Li-chi), like other Chinese classics, had played an important role in the life of the Chinese people for thousands of years. During the transition period from collective clan rule to monarchy, The Record of Rites together with the Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty (Ch. Ming hui-tien), were gradually utilized by Abahai to secure his unitary imperial power and to expel his three senior co-rulers--Daišan, Amin, and Manggūltai, all designated by Nurgaci in 1622.[62] To strengthen further the supremacy of the imperial image, on July 8, 1641 (CT 6/6/1), Abahai established the court ritual after the model of Ming China. In the decree, he said:

> Our people do not know rites; therefore, in speech and in writing they do not completely understand the distinction between superiors and inferiors and between patricians and plebeians.

> I have read the old system which described the rules for the dialogue between superiors and inferiors. Hereafter, we should all follow [the rules described in the] old system.[63]

After the conquest of China in 1644, The Li-chi was adopted by the Manchu rulers to regulate the life of Manchu people. For example, the rites for mourning the death of parents and grand-parents were imposed on all bannermen.[64]

The first translation of The Li-chi was ordered by Shun-chih on March 16, 1653 (SC 10/2/17) and the second complete translation with an explanation was completed and published during the K'ang-hsi reign. Like the other Five Classics, the K'ang-hsi edition was entitled The Record of Rites Explained in Daily Lectures (Ch. Jih-chang Li-chi chieh-i).[65] Since the first and the second editions have not yet been found, the dates of publication are not certain.[66] However, a lengthy preface to The Record of Rites written by K'ang-hsi is available. In the preface, K'ang-hsi not only traced the history of the work but also gave his own evaluation of the work. A few significant paragraphs are translated below:

> I have heard that the tao of The Six Classics are the same and that the uses of rites and of music are essential. Confucius said: "to comfort the rulers and to

> govern the people, there is nothing better than li." The sage also said: "when a ruler is fond of li, then the people will not dare not to respect [him]." I sincerely think that li is the "protective instrument" of the body and also the foundation for promoting [good] conduct and character. . . .
>
> The Record of Rites has three hundred outlines and three thousand headings. The large li contained the regulations of [the ceremonies of] capping, marriage, funeral, sacrifice, audience, betrothal, archery and banquets, whereas the small li contained those of bowing and yielding, advancing and retiring, drinking and eating, and rising and resting. If one follows the li, the ruler and subject, superior and inferior will be in order, husband and wife, paternal and maternal [relatives] will be distinguished; father and son, elder brother and younger brother, bride and bridegroom and their in-laws will be in harmony. If no one follows the li, then superiors and inferiors will be in reverse positions, which will cause the killing of one another without reason; the family [then], can not be regulated and the country can not be governed. . . .[67]

As with The Record of Rites, The Spring and Autumn Annals (Ch. Ch'un-ch'iu) was first translated during the Shun-chih reign together with the rest of The Five Classics. During the K'ang-hsi reign, the lectures on The Spring and Autumn Annals were prepared by the imperial lecturers and was based on the edition of Hu K'ang-hou of the Sung dynasty which, in the opinion of the K'ang-hsi Emperor, was the best of all.[68] Even though the work was considered the least important among The Five Classics, the Emperor personally participated in the

compilation and revision of a part of the commentary.[69] K'ang-hsi disliked The Commentary of Tso (Ch. Tso-chuan) which he reagrded as a "pompous" work;[70] thus, unlike the later editions,[71] the Manchu version printed in his reign contained only the text of The Spring and Autumn Annals. The work was translated by Kurene and was entitled The Spring and Autumn Annals Explained in Daily Lectures (Ma. inenggidari giyangnaha Cūn Cio i jurgan be suhe bithe, Ch. Jih-chiang Ch'un-ch'iu chieh-i).[72]

In addition to The Five Classics, The Classic of Filial Piety (Ch. Hsiao-ching), one of The Thirteen Classics, was also considered by the early Ch'ing rulers as one of the most important works which, in their opinions, had political and social value. On May 2, 1653 (SC 10/4/6), in discussing merits for the promotion of court officials with his grand secretaries the Shun-chih Emperor referred to the classic and emphasized the importance of filial piety for each individual. As a result of his remark, several high-ranking officials petitioned to return home to take care of their aging parents.[73] On January 29, 1656 (SC 13/1/4), Shun-chih commissioned Feng Ch'üang[74] as the Director-General for the compilation and translation of the Expatiation on

the Meaning of the Classic of Filial Piety (Ch. Hsiao-ching yen-i). Although fourteen additional staff members were appointed by the Emperor to assist Feng in this work, it was not completed during the Shun-chih reign.[75]

In 1671 (KH 10), Emperor K'ang-hsi, in carrying out his father's wish, appointed Hsiung Tz'u-li,[76] then the Chinese Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, as the Director-General for the re-compilation and re-translation of the Expatiation on the Meaning of the Classic of Filial Piety.[77] Hsiung was assisted by Yeh Fang-ai,[78] who did the actual compilation work. In 1682 (KH 21), the work was finally completed. The style of the work was following that of the Expatiation on the Meaning of the Great Learning. In 1689 (KH 28), K'ang-hsi authorized the publication of the work which was printed accordingly a year later in 1690.[79]

It was not until December 1708 (KH 47/12) that The Classic of Filial Piety was translated. The translation was done by Hesu,[80] a distinguished Manchu scholar and translator. The Manchu version of the classic was entitled Hiyoo Ging which, together with six other books also translated by Hesu, was published in the same year under the title The Seven Books (Ma. ci ben teo bithe, Ch. Ch'i pen t'ou.)[81]

Law

After Nurgaci became a power in Chien-chou and after the rapid increase of Inner Mongolian and Chinese populations in the Manchu territory, simple tribal law inevitably became inadequate for the governing of this multi-ethnic population. Instead of creating his own civil law, Nurgaci decided to adopt the Ming judicial system. In the early 1620s he commissioned Dahai to translate the sections relating to the penal code in the Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty. This was the very first translation of a Chinese work.

Immediately after the Manchu entered Peking on June 6, 1644 (SC 1/5/2), Dorgon's first business was to restore law and order. In order to show the Chinese people that China was now under the new mandate of heaven with a new dynasty and new ruler, the Regent tried to govern the Chinese majority in the Manchu traditional ways. On July 12, 1644 (SC 1/6/9), Dorgon abolished the Ming penal system. "[Corporal] punishments for all convicted criminals," he ordered, "must follow the old Manchu caning practice. The use of a stick is hereby prohibited."[82] This order, however, did not last for long. On July 21, 1644 (SC 1/6/18), Liu Yin-tung, the newly appointed governor of the Shun-t'ien,

presented a memorial to the Prince Regent in which he argued that in the rather complex Chinese nation, the simple Manchu caning punihsments were not sufficient to cover various criminal offenses. Liu urged the immediate promulgation of written law.[83]

Dorgon accepted a part of Liu's proposal and immediately issued the following new order:

> Hereafter, an official who commits a crime should be tried. If he is found guilty, he should be executed immediately.
>
> Since caning seems too lenient, hereafter, a convicted criminal is permitted to be punished in accordance with the existing statutes of the Ming dynasty. . . .[84]

On September 1, 1644 (SC 1/8/1), a junior censor of the Board of Punishment, Sun Hsiang, urged Dorgon to compile a new criminal code for the new dynasty in order to avoid unnecessary confusion and misunderstanding.[85] Dorgon again accepted the proposal and without delay, he decreed:

> Judicial officials are to meet with court officials to translate the Ming statutes. The new statutes must be updated and meet the present conditions. . . .[86]

The project of the compilation and translation of the Ming statutes was conducted by the Board of Punishment

in ccoperation with the Three Inner Courts. Due to the lack of judicious knowledgeable personnel, the Regent ordered department heads of all yamen to select those who were well-versed in law and regulations from their departments and submit the names of the selected personnel to the Three Inner Courts for appropriate appointments.[87] Ganglin was appointed as the Director-General of this important work. On January 11, 1656 (SC 12/12/15), the first written laws of the Ch'ing dynasty were completed and promulgated.[88] This very first law book was printed in Manchu under the Manchu title Daicing gurun i fafun i bithe (The Book of Laws of the Great Ch'ing State) (Ch. Ta-Ch'ing lü-li) in 20 t'se.[89]

The commentaries and precedents to these first law books were also compiled and printed in 1670 (KH 9) and entitled The Book of Laws of the Great Ch'ing State, together with Commentary and precedents (Ma. Daicing gurun i fafun i bithe suhe hergen sindafi, kooli be kamcibuhabi, Ch. Ta-Ch'ing-lü chi-chieh fu-li) 30 chüan.[90]

The adoption of the Ming statutes as the fundamental framework for the compilation of the Ch'ing laws, no doubt helped the Manchu to form a better and more complete judicial system. This, together with other political and social systems adopted from the Chinese

enabled the alien rulers to rule China for nearly three centuries. Moreover, the promulgation of the Ta-Ch'ing lü-li not only replaced most of the old Manchu tribal practices but also gained the acceptance of the Chinese people.

During the K'ang-hsi reign, numerous works concerning laws and regulations were compiled and promulgated. However, most of these works were patterned or directly translated from statutes of the Ming dynasty and were first completed in Chinese, then translated into Manchu.[91] At the period of compilation, additional scribes were recruited from the Chiang-nan and Chiang-hsi provinces.[92] Among the judicial works completed in the K'ang-hsi era, the following two works are worth mentioning.

(1) The Collected Statutes of the Great Ch'ing State (Ma. Daicing gurun i uheri kooli bithe, Ch. Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien), 162 chüan, compiled by Isangge and promulgated in 1690 (KH 29).[93] This work is generally considered as one of the most important source materials for the study of the early Ch'ing period.

(2) The Newly Revised and Present Precedents of the Regulations of the Board of Punishment (Ma. beidere jurgan i ice toktobuha ne yabubure kooli, Ch. Hsing-pu hsin-ting hsien-hsing-li), 2 chüan, was compiled by Huang Chi[94] and printed in 1680 (KH 19).[95] As the title

suggests, the regulations contained in this work were part of a revised edition of the Ta-Ch'ing lü-li which, according to the general practice, was updated once every ten years.[96]

History

In the beginning of the T'ien-ts'ung reign, Abahai's main interest in historical works, as indicated in the following decree, was to study the events of both civil and military personnel from the non-Chinese dynasties for the purpose of guiding himself and his ministers in achieving the ultimate goal of conquering China.

On May 5, 1635 (TT 9/3/19), Abahai assembled all scholar-officials of the Literary Office and decreed:

> I have observed historical works written in the Chinese language and found that most of them are full of deceit. It is useless to read all of them.
>
> Now we should select and translate, within the four dynastic histories of Liao, Sung, Chin and Yüan, the sections that describe important political events; for example, righteous kings whose diligent rule made their reigns flourish and the tyrants whose irrational acts caused their reigns' downfall; good ministers who assisted their righteous kings and evil ministers who influenced their tyrants; and military campaigns and tactics. . . .[97]

In accordance with Abahai's specific order, in June 1636 (CT 1/5), the Literary Office started to

translate the biographical sketches of emperors (Ch. pen-chi) of the Liao, Chin, and Yüan histories.[98] The translation was completed four years later in July 1639 (CT 4/6). Since Abahai's intention was to study the events of preceding non-Chinese dynasties, the translation of the history of Sung, a Chinese dynasty, was dropped. On March 3, 1644 (SC 1/1/25), the translated Manchu versions were presented to the Shun-chih Emperor by Grand Secretary Hife,[99] the chief translator.[100] A memorial was attached to the translation. In the memorial, Hife began with the following introduction:

> Your subjects have examined the ancient histories and found the detailed records concerning the rise and fall of the [non-Chinese] dynasties, peace and disorder of the times, and the joys and sorrows of the people. Although the events are already past, the facts remain. The men are already dead but their [stories] can serve as lessons for us. As the old saying goes, "good as well as bad words can all serve to guide us." From the beginning, of all the good kings who succeeded the throne, not one of them did not follow this rule. . . .[101]

To emphasize the importance of the translated works, Hife pointed out to the young emperor the real intention of his father in having these histories translated and also reminded him that vast areas of China had

yet to be conquered. He continued:

> . . . even though Liao and Chin dynasties did not unify China, Liao occupied half of the [Chinese] empire, and Chin more than half. Not until the Yüan dynasty was China finally unified. The laws and official exhortations of the above three dynasties are worth considering. . . .
>
> Our late emperor's desire to examine the ancient [events] never ceased in his mind. Thus, he ordered your subjects to eliminate the unimportant matters recorded in the [dynastic] histories of Liao, Chin and Yüan; to select and translate the good as well as bad events, and the sections concerning punitive military expeditions and hunting as a rule and warning for us. . . .
>
> Now, your subjects present to you the translation just completed and humbly beg Your Majesty to read them frequently in order to examine and study the majestic ancient virtues and matchless merits. . . .[102]

Hife and his associates Jamba, Cabuhai, Wang Wen-k'uei and twelve others who directly worked on the translation were granted horses and silver as a reward.[103]

The translated biographical sketches of emperors of the Liao, Chin and Yüan were then published in 1646 (SC 3) under the titles The History of Great Liao (Ma. Dailiyoo gurun i suduri, Ch. Ta-liao-kuo shih), The History of Chin (Ma. Aisin gurun i suduri, Ch. Chin Shih), and The History of the Great Yüan (Ma. Dai Yuwan gurun i suduri, Ch. Ta-Yüan-kuo shih) respectively.[104]

In terms of date of publication, these three histories of non-Chinese dynasties were among the earliest of all translated works.[105]

The first translation of Chinese general history was the Collected Outline of the Chronological History (Ch. Kang-chien hui-tsuan) by Wang Shih-chen of the Ming dynasty.[106] The work was based on Chu Hsi's Outline of the Chronological History (Ch. Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu), a simplified version of Ssu-ma Kwang's Chronological History (Ch. tzu-chih t'ung-chien), which contained 294 chüan and covered 1,362 years of Chinese history from the Warring States period to the author's time. The translation of The Collected Outline of the Chronological History was first undertaken by Dahai, but he died in 1632 before the work was completed. The translation task was then taken over by the staff of the Literary Office under the direction of Ganglin, and later by the Inner Courts. In 1664 (KH 3), the Manchu version of The Collected Outline of the Chronological History was finally printed under the Manchu title hafa buleku bithe.[107]

In 1656 (SC 13), in an edict issued to the Three Inner Courts, Emperor Shun-chih complained of the incompleteness of The Chronological History. "In order

to illustrate clearly the rise and fall of the preceding dynasties and the good and the evil of their ministers,"[108] the Emperor appointed a group of 56 scholar-officials to compile a new book which he pre-named The Complete Chronological History (Ch. T'ung-chien ch'üan-shu). Based on currently available data, there is no such book as that designated by Shun-chih extant. It is believed that this enormous was not published--perhaps not even completed.

On November 19, 1676 (KH 15/10/14), Emperor K'ang-hsi ordered Lasari to prepare lectures on The Chronological History and present them to him as part of the daily lecture.[109] Instead, Lasari, with K'ang-hsi's permission, prepared the lectures on The Outline of the Chronological History by Chu Hsi.[110] On May 8, 1680 (KH 19/4/10), when the lectures on The Book of History were completed, K'ang-hsi ordered that the lectures on The Outline of the Chronological History be changed to evening and be given by the Hanlin subchancellor, Chang Ying,[111] in order that The Book of Changes could be presented during the day time.[112]

On March 30, 1691 (KH 30/3/1) the Manchu version of The Outline of the Chronological History was published under the Manchu title Dz jy tung giyan g'ang mu bithe.[113] Like most of the Chinese classics, the Manchu version of

The Chronological History was revised in the later reigns.[114]

On June 29, 1647 (SC 4/5/27), the official compilation and translation of The History of the Ming Dynasty commenced. Grand secretaries Ganglin and Kicungge were commissioned to take charge of the work.[115] Because the early Ch'ing rulers distrusted the contents of the Chinese dynastic histories, Shun-chih's instruction for the compilation of the preceding dynasty was ". . . right and wrong, success and failure [of the dynasty] must be recorded in accordance with the actual facts. Do not deviate from the facts; avoid exaggerations."[116] This early edition of The History of the Ming Dynasty was completed and printed separately in both the Manchu and Chinese languages about 1676 (KH 5). The Manchu version was entitled Ming gurun i suduri. Like the translation of the Liao, Chin or Yüan histories, it contained only the biographical sketches of the Ming emperors. The material used in the compilation was mainly drawn from The Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty.[117] Soon after the publication, Li T'un, king of Korea, protested to K'ang-hsi about the inaccurate recording of Korean internal disputes over the Korean throne and requested that the section in question be corrected. Even though K'ang-hsi did not make a harsh

response as proposed by the Board of Rites, to the Korean sovereign in this matter, he did refuse to make any correction on the basis that the materials used in the compilation were all taken from official records.[118] In addition to this refusal of the Korean request, K'ang-hsi also ordered Li T'un to punish those who purchased The History of the Ming Dynasty from China without imperial permission, since Manchu regulations adopted form the Liao dynasty prohibited literary works--especially histories and geographies--to be purchased by foreign envoys.[119]

Among the Manchu rulers in the period of this study, K'ang-hsi is considered to be the most enthusiastic about Chinese works. However, in the field of Chinese dynastic histories, he, like his father and grandfather, distrusted them. After evaluating the Chinese Twenty-one Dynastic Histories (Ch. Erh-shih-i shih), K'ang-hsi concluded that all records "are writers' sketches. Thus they cannot be trusted."[120] As a result, a very limited number of histories were translated during his 61 years of rule.

Military Strategy

In the early 1620s, Nurgaci, in order to prepare for further territorial expansion into China proper,

ordered Dahai to translate two Chinese works on military strategy. The first was the Silk Book (Ch. Su-shu), and the second the Three Strategies (Ch. San-lüeh, Ma. ilan yohibun).[121] The translation of these books is believed to have been completed in or before 1630. Apparently, the early translation was not well done, thus in September 1704 (KH 43/8), the Silk Book was retranslated by Hesu, a learned Manchu scholar and distinguished translator. The new Manchu version of the work was published in 1708 (KH 47) together with other works under the title The Seven Books.[122]

Soon after the completion of the above works, Dahai was again ordered to translate another military strategy known as the Six Rules (Ch. Liu-t'ao).[123] Dahai died before the translation was completed. It is believed that the translation was taken over by Ganglin of the Literary Office. Since no Manchu version of this early edition is extant, the date of completion is uncertain.

Before 1710 (KH 49), the Silk Book, The Three Strategies and The Six Rules--especially the latter two--were proven to be still popular, as they were among the Seven Classics of the Military Strategies (Ch. Wu-ching ch'i-shu) also known as the Seven Classics of Military

Learning (Ch. Wu-hsüeh ch'i-shu)[124] which were the official textbooks to be studied by the students for their military examinations.

Unlike Nurgaci and Abahai, K'ang-hsi had rather negative attitudes toward Chinese works on military strategy. In his opinion the Seven Classics of Military Strategies "are complicated and impractical."[125] Hence, on November 8, 1710 (KH 49/9/18), for the benefit of military students, K'ang-hsi overruled the Board of War's (Ch. Pin-pu) decision and sustained the petition submitted by Ma Chien-pai, the Commanding General of T'ai-yüan, for standardization of military textbooks.[126] The Emperor then ordered the Nine Ministers to deliberate as to what books should be used and how the examination topics for military candidates should be drawn from the selected military texts, and from Confucian Analects and The Book of Mencius.[127]

On November 29, 1710 (KH 49/10/9), the Nine Ministers, after deliberation, recommended the following solution to the throne:

> In examining the contents of the Seven Classics of Military Strategies [your subjects found that] among the military tactics discussed in the works, only Sun Tzu, Wu Tzu, and Ssu-ma Fa are upright and practical.

> [Your subjects, therefore, recommend that] hereafter the topics for military examinations . . . should be fixed at two essays. The first topic of the essays should be drawn from the Confucian Analects or The Book of Mencius; and the second from Sun Tzu, Wu Tzu, or Ssu-ma Fa. . . .[128]

As a result of this change, the early translated works, the Silk Book, the Three Strategies, and the Six Rules were abandoned. The Sun Tzu, Wu Tzu, and Ssu-ma Fa became the standard textbooks for all military students. The translation of these newly selected books was completed in 1710 in one volume under the title On the Art of War (Ma. coohai baita de gisurengge).[129] In addition, a separate translation of Sun Tzu was also completed in the same year entitled The Tactics of Sun Wu in Thirteen Chapters (Ma. Manju hergen i sun dz i juwan ilan fiyelen).[130]

In later reign periods works on the military strategy continued to be revised and published. However, translation work was concentrated on Sun Tzu and Wu Tzu.[131]

Novel and Drama

During the Manchu dynasty, the translation of Chinese novels and dramas was severely restricted. The prohibition concerning translating non-orthodox works from Chinese started as early as 1635 (TT 9).[132] From 1652 (SC 9)

onward, a series of unspecified penalties were imposed on the translators and distributors of such erotic works as the Golden Lotus (Ch. Chin p'ing-mei) and the Romance of the Western Chamber (Ch. Hsi-hsiang-chi).[133]

The only novel that was encouraged by the Ch'ing rulers was The Book of the Three Kingdoms (Ch. San-kuo chi).[134] The reason for such encouragement was not because the work had extraordinary literary or historical value, but only because the early Manchu rulers--particularly Nurgaci--were very fond of it. It is said that when Nurgaci was wandering in Chien-chou in his teens, he had already read the Chinese version of the work and was attracted by the episodes of the story. Furthermore, the loyal and righteous actions of Kuan Yün-chang, better known as Kuan Kung, a heroic figure in the novel, and the saying of Chu-ko Liang, the chief strategist to Liu Pei, the king of the Shu state, were often mentioned and quoted by Abahai and K'ang-hsi.[135] It has also been suggested that the early Manchu rulers treated The Book of the Three Kingdoms not only as a remarkable novel but also as a significant work of military strategy.[136] Their admiration of Kuan Yün-chang resulted in many posthumous titles being conferred on him by the Ch'ing court and the erection of numerous temples in his honor.[137]

Historical records indicate that the translation of The Book of the Three Kingdoms was part of the second phase of translation conducted by the Literary Office under the directorship of Dahai in the 1620s.[138] It should be pointed out here that the title of The Book of the Three Kingdoms recorded in the Ch'ing official documents does not refer to The History of the Three Kingdoms by Ch'en Shou of the Chin dynasty;[139] it in fact was the Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Ch. San-kuo chih yen-i), compiled by Lo Kuan-chung, based on The History of the Three Kingdoms in the late Yüan or early Ming period.[140] Due to the death of Dahai in 1632, the first translation of this Chinese novel, according to the Shih-lu, was not completed until May 18, 1650 (SC 7/4/18) and was printed in the same year under the Manchu title ilan gurun i bithe.[141] The translators of the work at the time of completion were the best-known Manchu and Chinese scholars. They were Kicungge, Ganglin, Chiang Ho-te, Cabuhai, Fan Wen-ch'eng, Ning Wan-wo, Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou, Feng Ch'üan, and Wang Wen-k'uei and many others.[142] They were all rewarded by the Shun-chih Emperor for their efforts in completing this long overdue translation.[143]

During the period under study, several additional Chinese novels, which were banned by the Ch'ing court,

were secretly translated and printed.[144] The most significant ones were the Romance of the Western Chamber, by Wang Shih-fu of the Yüan dynasty, the Journey to the West (Ch. Hsi-yu chi), by Wu Ch'eng-en of the Ming dynasty, and Golden Lotus.[145]

The Manchu versions of the Romance of the Western Chamber was printed in 1710 (KH 49) under the Manchu title si siyang gi i bithe, the Golden Lotus in 1708 (KH 47) the gin ping mei bithe, and the Journey to the West in 1688 (KH 27) the si io gi bithe.[146]

Among the existing Chinese works, the Romance of the Western Chamber was generally accepted as one of the masterpieces. Because of its well-organized, lively characterization and refined poetic imagination, the work became extremely popular even before the Manchus conquered China. After the Manchu version became available in the literary market, the Manchus were enjoying it as much as the Chinese. Since the work was a love story and the heroine's action in the drama was in direct contradiction to the Confucian ethical code, the work was banned by both the Ming and Ch'ing courts.

As for the Golden Lotus, which has been regarded as a pornographic novel, it was also banned in the Ming period. Because the work was written in vernacular

Chinese it was comparatively easy to translate and could be understood by the reader of both Chinese and Manchu with limited education. Since the Romance of the Western Chamber and the Golden Lotus were no doubt more interesting than The Four Books and The Five Classics they became very popular among the Manchus. In the latter part of the K'ang-hsi reign, more than 150 licentious writings, officially classified as non-orthodox works, were openly sold at bookshops and on the streets. Since the previous bans of 1652 (SC 9), 1663 (KH 2), 1687 (KH 26), 1701 (KH 40), and 1709 (KH 48) failed to obtain the desired result, the Emperor felt that it was time to set up a specific punishment in the hope that such steps would effectivley prevent further moral deterioration of both the Chinese and Manchu peoples. On March 18, 1714 (KH 53/2/3) K'ang-hsi decreed to the Board of Rites:

> I solemnly believe that the basic principles of ruling an empire are the tradition of the nation and the morals of its people. To support the tradition and to correct the morals of people, we must respect classical learning and suppress unorthodox works. These are unchanging principles.
>
> Recently, many bookshops are selling the pornographic types of novels which are frivolous and filthy. This type of novel seduces not only the common people but also officials and scholars. . . .
>
> [The selling of such novels] seriously affects our tradition. It ought to be banned

immediately.

> Nine ministers, supervisors of instruction, and censors are hereby ordered to deliberate as to how to destroy such books and what penalty should be imposed on the sellers.[147]

After deliberation, the designated officials submitted the following memorial to the throne:

> The selling of pornographic novels, whether in the bookshops or on the streets, should be vigorously investigated and permanently banned.
>
> In the capital, [the following proposed punishment] should be enforced by the Commanding General of the Eight Banners, Court of Cenors, and the Governor of Shun-t'ien. Outside the capital, [the Imperial edict concerning the proposed punishment] should be sent to the Governors-General and Governors [in the various provinces], who should re-transmit it to their local subordinate officials, both civil and military, for execution.
>
> The printing blocks and books should be totally destroyed. Anyone who again carves and prints such books should be punished in the following manners:
>
> > If the defendant is an official, he should be removed from his post.
> >
> > If the defendant is a soldier or commoner, he should be punished with one hundred strokes of the cane and banishment for three thousand li.
> >
> > The seller should be punished with one hundred strokes of the cane and three years of banishment.

> If an official who is responsible for the execution of this order should fail to investigate, his stipend should be suspended for six months for the first offense; one year for the second offense; and demotion of one rank with transfer for the third offense.[148]

The specific punishments quoted above marked the first law enacted by the Ch'ing court in dealing with unorthodox works. However, this measure did not bring significant results, as the secret printing of banned works continued throughout the K'ang-hsi reign.[149]

Dictionaries

As has already been discussed, in the early period of the K'ang-hsi reign, the Manchu language had begun to decline. By the middle part of the same reign, second generation Manchus who lived in or were stationed in China proper were unable to use their mother tongue. Even though a small group of Manchus existed who managed to maintain and practice their language, a large amount of Chinese vocabulary was used together with Manchu. The infiltration of the Chinese vocabulary and technical terms was mainly because the Manchu language itself had a limited vocabulary that could not cope with government administration in China proper. Another factor leading to the adoption of Chinese vocabulary was the mass

translation of Chinese works, particularly the classics and works on law. Since many Manchu words contained in the Manchu versions translated from the various Chinese works under different translators were, in many cases, not uniform and, to a certain extent, confusing, the students of the Manchu language often misunderstood them.[150]

In an attempt to clarify the correct meaning and usage of each Manchu word, on May 27, 1673 (KH 12/4/12), the K'ang-hsi Emperor appointed Fudari, then the Manchu Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, to compile the first official Manchu dictionary after the pattern of its Chinese counterpart.[151] Fudari died in December 1679 before the work had gone very far. The Emperor then appointed Maci[152] and Margan to take Fudari's place. Thirty-five years later, on August 8, 1708 (KH 47/6/22), the very first Manchu dictionary was finally completed and printed.[153] Because K'ang-hsi personally worked on the dictionary, it was entitled The Manchu Dictionary, written by the Emperor (Ma. Han-i araha Manju gisun-i buleku bithe, Ch. Yü-chih Ch'ing-wen chien), in 20 chüan. The work is, in fact, an explanatory dictionary which consists of 280 categories arranged by subject with more than 12,000 total entries.[154] Each entry contains an

explanation and a classical phrase illustrating the use of that entry.

In the imperial preface to the dictionary, a usual practice of the K'ang-hsi Emperor to the important works, the Emperor outlined the langauge situation of the time.

> Because the aged and experienced [scholar-officials] have gradually withered away, for a long time, the obscure words and phrases could not be comprehended. Thus, error and confusion continued. Students learned the words without knowing their exact meanings. [As a result], broken [Manchu] was often used and words often mispronounced. The consequences greatly endanger our national language.
>
> Since all government documents and literary essays are based on the [Manchu language], it is necessary that we formulate and compile it into a book by which the usage of each word can be fixed. . . .[155]

Immediately after the dictionary was printed, K'ang-hsi ordered the distribution of the work to all high civil and military officials below the rank of prince.[156] Apparently, this first Manchu dictionary not only served the purpose of encouraging Manchu descendants to learn their own language, but also contributed to standardizing future translation of Chinese terms.

The contribution and success of the first Manchu dictionary led K'ang-hsi to start another compilation

project. This time, it was a Manchu and Mongol dictionary. This bilingual dictionary of Manchu and Mongol was compiled by Lasi and completed in 1717 (KH 56); it became the first of many multi-lingual dictionaries completed in the later reigns.[157]

In 1717, the Manchu and Mongol dictionary was printed under the title Dictionary of Manchu and Mongol Languages, written by the Emperor (Ma. Han-i araha Manju Monggo gisun-i buleku bithe, Ch. Yü-chih Man-Meng wen-chien) in 20 chüan.[158] The format of this first bilingual dictionary was fundamentally based on the 1708 edition of the Manchu dictionary. Each entry contains and explanation of both Manchu and Mongol words but without the classical phrases.[159]

No bilingual dictionary of Manchu and Chinese was officially compiled during the K'ang-hsi reign.[160] However, there were several private works, compiled by Manchu and Chinese scholars, which are listed in Table 1.

In terms of date of publication, all of these private dictionaries were completed before the official dictionaries of the same kind. The earliest one was printed as many as 81 years earlier.

Among the private works, the Enlarged and Complete Dictionary in Corresponding Translation compiled by Adun

and Liu Shun, and the Complete Book of the Great Ch'ing State compiled by Shen Ch'i-liang, are considered particularly important, as they contained old Manchu words which are extremely valuable for the study of the old Manchu script.

In addition. Shen's dictionary has an additional work attached to the end of the dictionary entitled A Guidebook to the Manchu Language (Ma. Manju bithe jy nan, Ch. Ch'ing-shu chih-nan).[161] This reference work written by Shen is believed to be one of the earliest works of this kind.

TABLE 1

MANCHU-CHINESE DICTIONARIES PRIVATELY COMPILED
BY MANCHU AND CHINESE SCHOLARS

Name of Dictionary	No. of chüan	Year of completion	Arrangement	Compiler
The Complete Dictionary of Manchu and Chinese in Corresponding Translations (Ma. Manju Nikan šu adali yooni bithe; Ch. Man-Han t'ung-wen ch'üan-shu).	8	1690 (KH 29)	Alphabetical	unknown
Manchu-Chinese Classified Dictionary (Ma. Man-Han lei šu bithe; Ch. Man-Han lei-shu).	8	1700 (KH 39)	Subject matter	unknown
Enlarged and Complete Dictionary in Corresponding Translations[162] (Ma. Tung wen guwan lei ciyuwan šu; Ch. T'ung-wen kuang-hui ch'üan-shu).	4	1702 (KH 41)	Subject matter	Adun, Liu Shun & Sangge
Complete Classified Dictionary of Manchu and Chinese in Corresponding Translations (Ma. Man-Han tung wen fun lei ciyūn šu; Ch. Man-Han t'ung-wen fen-lei ch'üan shu).	8	1706 (KH 45)	Subject matter	Unknown
Complete Dictionary of the Great Ch'ing [language] (Ma. Daicing gurun i yooni bithe; Ch. Ta-Ch'ing ch'üan-shu).	17	1713 (KH 52)	Alphabetical[163]	Shen Ch'i-liang

Source: Li, 22 and 25; Poppe, 207 and 210-12; Watabe, 16; Möllendorf, 11.

Chapter II Notes

1. For various Manchu works, see the following major catalogues:

   Li Te-ch'i, Union Catalogue of Manchu Books in the National Library of Peiping and the Library of the Palace Museum (Peping: National Library of Peiping and the Library of the Palace Museum, 1933). (hereafter cited as Li).

   Nicholas Poppe et al, Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Toyo Bunko (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1964) (hereafter cited as Poppe).

   Paul Georg von Möllendorf, "Essay on Manchu Literature," Journal of the North Chine Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1890) Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 1-45. (hereafter cited as Möllendorf).

   J. Summers, Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese, Japanese and Manchu Books in the Library of the India Office (London: India Office, 1872).

   Herbert A. Giles, A Catalogue of the Wade collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge (Leyden: E.J. Brill Ltd./University of Cambridge Press, 1898).

   Herbert A. Giles, Supplementary Catalogue of the Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge (Leyden: E.J. Brill Ltd./University of Cambridge, 1915).

   Kuntarō Watabe, "Manchū go toshō mokuroku" [Catalogue of Manchu Books], in Ajia Kenkyū, vol. 3, (1925), pp. 1-64. (hereafter cited as Watabe).

   Jirō Ikegami, "Yōroppa ni aru Manshūgo bunken ni tsuite" [Manchu materials from European Libraries], in Tōyō Gakuhō, vol 45, No. 3, (December 1962), pp. 105-121. (hereafter cited as Ikegami).

2. Edwin O. Reischauer & John K. Fairbank, East Asia, The Great Tradition, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1958), p. 364.

3. SL:TT, 5.12a.

4. K'ang-hsi cheng-yao [Political summary of the K'ang-hsi reign]. Compiled by Chang Shen. N.p. 1910. 16.1a (hereafter cited as KHCY); TCHTSL, 331.1a-4a.

5. For the biography of Ganglin, see Appendix 3, pp. 248-50.

6. SL:CT 34.24b-25a; 56.6a.

7. SL:SC 9.7a; also see 15.6a.

8. SL:SC 9.7a.

9. SL:SC 9.7a.

10. SL:SC 61.1a-b.

11. For the biography of Fudari, see Appendix 2, pp. 246-47.

12. SL:KH 41.13b.

13. K'ang-hsi Ti yü-chih wen-chi [Collected litrary works of the K'ang-hsi Emperor], (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1966), I, pp. 379, 403-04. (hereafter cited as YCWC).

14. KHCY 16.2b-3a; SL:KH 41.11b-12a.

15. SL:KH 70.16a.

16. For the biography of Lasari, see Appendix 6, pp. 256-57.

17. Located in Szechwan Province.

18. There are several editions of The Nine Classics from the Sung to the Ch'ing dynasty. The Sung edition consists of: I-ching, Shu-ching, Shih-ching, Ch'un-ch'iu, Tso-chuan, Li-chi, Chou-li, Hsiao-ching, Lun-yü and Meng-tzu. The Ming edition of The Nine Classics consists of: I-ching, Shih-ching, Shu-ching,

Ch'un ch'iu, Chou-li, I-li, Ta-hsüeh, Chung-yung, Lun-yü, and Meng-tzu. Judging from this particular passage, it is believed that K'ang-hsi was referring to the Ming edition.

19. KHCY 17.6b-17b.

20. Inaba Kunzan, Ch'ing-ch'ao ch'üan-shih [A complete history of the Ch'ing dynasty], trans. by Tan T'ao (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), Chapter 48, p. 13 (hereafter cited as Inaba Kunzan).

21. According to Kanda, this book is a very rare item. At present time only one copy is available at the Biliotheque Nationale in Paris. Kanda Nobuo, "Shen Ch'i-liang and his works on the Manchu Language," in Proceedings of the Third East Asian Altaistic Conference, August 17-24, 1969, (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1969), p. 133; Ikegami, p. 108.

22. For translaton completed between Yung-cheng and Kuang-hsü reigns, see Li, pp. 3-4; Poppe, pp. 193-96.

23. Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien [Dictionary of Manchu in Five Scripts], (Peking: Min-tsu ch'u-pan-she, 1957), III, editorial note, 1. (hereafter cited WTCWC).

24. KYCY 16.15b.

25. SL:KH 67.2a-b; 256.10a; KHCY 16.21a.

26. KHCY 16.21a.

27. Inaba Kunzan, Chapter 61, pp. 58-60.

28. SL:SC 72.10a-b.

29. SL:SC 72.14a.

30. SL:SC 72.14a.

31. SL:SC 72.17a; 73.7b.

32. Li, p. 35; Poppe, p. 191.

33. For the biography of Nionio, see Appendix 8, pp. 261-63.

34. SL:KH 115.10a.

35. SL:KH 115.10a.

36. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), I, pp. 53-61; SL:KH 115.10a.

37. YCWC pp. 1085-86.

38. SL:SC 107.2b-3b.

39. For the biography of Fu I-chien, see Hummel, p. 253.

40. (220-264) of the Three Kingdoms.

41. Four Sages refer to Fu Hsi, King Wen, The Duke of Chou, and Confucius.

42. SL:SC 107.2-3a.

43. SL:KH 28.19a.

44. SL:KH 111.29b-30a.

45. SL:KH 92.23a; Jonathan D. Spence, Emperor of China (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), pp. 44-45.

46. Spence, Emperor of China, p. 45.

47. SL:KH 115.8a; Poppe, pp. 189-90.

48. For the biography of Chang Yü-shu, see Hummel, pp. 65-66.

49. For the biography of Ch'en Ting-ching, see Hummel, p. 101.

50. SL:KH 108.8a-b; 111.29b-30a.

51. A section of the I-ching.

52. Shih-ching, Shu-ching, Li-chi, Yüeh-ching, I-ching, and Ch'un-ch'iu.

53. YCWC pp. 307-08.

54. SL:KH 98.10b.

55. SL:KH 89.18a-b.

56. SL:KH 89.17b; 90.2b.

57. SL:KH 89.21a.

58. Li, p. 39.

59. SL:KH 89.16a.

60. SL:KH 93.10a.

61. SL:KH 93.12b.

62. Ta-Ch'ing Kao-huang-ti shih-lu, 8.15-16b; Meng Shen "Pa-ch'i chih-tu k'ao-shih" [A study of the Eight Banner system], in Ch'ing-tai shih [History of the Ch'ing Dynasty], ed. Wu Hsiang-hsiang. (Taipei: Chen-chung shu-chü, 1960), p. 71. For details concerning the power struggle between Abahai and Manchu banner princes, see Lawrence D. Kessler, K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule 1661-1684 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 6-12.

63. SL:CT 30.7a-b.

64. SL:KH 27.9b.

65. YCWC p. 1088.

66. There are many editions published in the Ch'ien-lung reign. For details, see Li, p. 14; Poppe, p. 192.

67. YCWC pp. 1087-88.

68. YCWC pp. 1086-87.

69. YCWC p. 1087.

70. SL:KH 243.18a.

71. The edition of 1784 (CL 49) has included the exegetical classics of Tso-chuan, Kung-yang chuan, and Ku-liang chuan. For details and other editions, see Poppe, pp. 192-93; Li, pp. 39-40; Watabe, p. 33.

72. Li, p. 40.

73. SL:SC 74.5a-b.

74. For the biography of Feng Ch'üan, see Hummel, pp. 240-41.

75. SL:SC 97.2b-3a; YCWC p. 1089.

76. For the biography of Hsiung Tz'u-li, see Hummel, pp. 308-09.

77. SL:KH 35.11b.

78. For the biography of Yeh Fang-ai, see Hummel, p. 902.

79. SL:KH 141.5b; Hummel, p. 902. There are several later editions of The Classics of the Filial Piety extant. For details, see Li, pp. 2 and 9, Poppe, p. 197.

80. For the biography of Hesu, see Hummel, p. 281.

81. For other works of ci ben teo bithe, see Li, pp. 1-2; Poppe, pp. 275-76.

82. SL:SC 5.15a.

83. SL:SC 5.19a.

84. SL:SC 5.19a.

85. SL:SC 7.3a-4b.

86. SL:SC 7.4b.

87. SL:SC 8.4a-b.

88. SL:SC 96.7b.

89. SL:SC 96.7b; Poppe, pp. 265-66; Li, p. 16.

90. For later editions of Ta-Ch'ing lü-li and Ta-Ch'ing lü chi-chieh, see Li, pp. 16-17.

91. SL:KH 13.2b.

92. SL:KH 219.21a.

93. Li, p. 15

94. For the biography of Huang Chi, see Hummel, p. 337.

95. Li, p. 20.

96. SL:SC 16.15-16a; SL:KH 13.2b

97. SL:TT 23.14-15a.

98. Li, p. 40.

99. For the biography of Hife, see Appendix 4, pp. 251-53.

100. SL:SC 3.22b-23b.

101. SL:SC 3.22b-23b.

102. SL:SC 3.22b-23b.

103. SL:SC 3.24a.

104. Li, p. 40; Poppe, pp. 227-28.

105. For another significant edition of the Histories of Liao, Chin and Yüan which was compiled in 1781 (CL 46), see Li, p. 36; Watabe, pp. 50-55; Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chien-ming mu-lu [A simplified catalog of the Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature] (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1977), p. 189. (hereafter cited as SKCSML).

106. SL:TT 12.14b-15b; For the biography of Wang Shih-chen, see Goodrich and Fang, Dictionary of Ming Biography, vol. II, pp. 1399-1404.

107. Li, pp. 36-37.

108. SL:SC 97.1b-2b.

109. SL:KH 63.20b.

110. SL:KH 63.20b-21a.

111. For the biography of Chang Ying, see Hummel, pp. 64-65.

112. SL:KH 89.18b.

113. Li, p. 36; Poppe, pp. 228-229; SKCSML, p. 200.

114. For later editions, see Li, p. 37.

115. SL:SC 32.12a.

116. SL:SC 32.12a.

117. SL:KH 64.1b; Li, p. 40.

118. SL:KH 64.1b.

119. SKCSML p. 188; SL:KH 64.1b.

120. SL:KH 274.26a.

121. The authorship of the Su-shu and San-lüeh was traditionally ascribed to Huang Shih-kung. However, there are controversial opinions on this subject. For details, see SKCSML, pp. 369-70.

122. Li, pp. 1-2; Poppe, pp. 275-76.

123. The authorship of the Liu-t'ao was traditionally ascribed to Lü Wang, better known as Chiang T'ai-kung, the chief military strategist of King Wen of the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.). For details, see SKCSML, p. 368.

124. The Wu-ching ch'i-shu consists of: Sun Tzu, Wu Tzu, Liu-t'ao, Ssu-ma fa, San-lüeh, Wei-liao Tzu, and Li-wen-kung wen-tui or (The dialogue of Li Ching, Duke of Wei).

125. SL:KH 243.17b.

126. SL:KH 243.17a-18a.

127. SL:KH 243.18b.

128. SL:KH 244.5b.

129. Möllendorf, p. 40.

130. Möllendorf, p. 41.

131. For additional translated editions of Sun Tzu and Wu Tzu, see Li, p. 20; Poppe, p. 281; Möllendorf, p. 41.

132. SL:TT 23.14a-15a.

133. Wang Hsiao-chuan, Yüan Ming Ch'ing san-tai chin-hui hsiao-shuo hsi-ch'u shih-liao [Historical materials on the banning of fiction and drama during the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties] (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan-she, 1958), pp. 16-26. (hereafter cited as Wang).

134. Chu Yüeh pa-ch'i-t'ung-chih [The history of the Manchu Eight Banners stationed in Kwangtung], 24 chüan in 2 han n.p., n.d. 1.17b (hereafter cited as CYPCTC).

135. SL:TT 14.11b; SL:CT 48.13b; SL:KH 234.14b-15a.

136. Wang, p. 19.

137. Wang, p. 19.

138. SL:TT 12.14-15b.

139. The History of the Three Kingdoms was also translated and printed in a later time. For details, see Li, p. 40.

140. For the time of compilation, see C. T. Hsia, The Classic Chinese Novel. A Critical Introduction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 38-39.

141. Li, p. 32.

142. SL:SC 48.20b.

143. SL:SC 48.20b.

144. CYPCTC 1.17a-b.

145. The authorship of the Golden Lotus was generally ascribed to Wang Shih-chen of the Ming dynasty. For details, see Hsia, The Classic Chinese Novel, pp. 167-69; Chin-p'ing-mei (Taipei: Wen-yüan shu-chü, 1973), pp. 12-16.

146. Li, pp. 32-33; Watabe, p. 62.

147. SL:KH 258.17a.

148. SL:KH 258.17a-b.

149. CYPCTC 1.17a-b.

150. SL:KH 42.2b-3a.

151. SL:KH 42.2b-3a.

152. For the biography of Maci, see Hummel, pp. 560-61.

153. SL:KH 233.11a-b.

154. WTCWC p. 1.

155. SL:KH 233.10b-11a.

156. SL:KH 235.15b.

157. For details concerning the multi-lingual dictionaries, see WTCWC, pp. 1-7; Li, pp. 23-24.

158. For the 1743 (CL 8) edition, see WTCWC, pp. 1, 6, and 7; Li, p. 29.

159. SL:KH 241.4b-5a.

160. The first official bilingual dictionary of Manchu and Chinese was completed in 1771 (CL 36) and printed in 1773. The official title of this work is The Enlarged and Revised Manchu Dictionary, written by the Emperor (Ma. Han-i araha nonggime toktobuha Manju gisun-i buleku bithe, Ch. Yü-chih tseng-ting Ch'ing-wen chien), 46 chüan. For details, see WTCWC, p. 1; Poppe, pp. 204-205.

161. Li, p. 22.

162. Another combined edition of the same work was completed in 1702 (KH 41) under the title The Enlarged and Complete Dictionary (Ma. guwan hūi ciyuwan šu, Ch. kuang-hui ch'üan-shu) together with The Collection of String and Pearls (Ma. liyan ju ji, Ch. Lien-chu chi), 1 chüan. Lien-chu chi was written by Chang T'ien-ch'i and translated by Liu Shun. Li, p. 25; Poppe, p. 212; Watabe, p. 16.

163. The entry of this dictionary is arranged in the following Manchu alphabetical order: i, n, ng, o, r, k, t, s, b, l, m. Li, p. 22.

Chapter III

MANCHU LANGUAGE IN THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM

In 1629, Abahai, in order to achieve unitary imperial rule, began transforming the traditional collective leadership into a bureaucratic state modeled after that of China. After the establishment of the Literary Office, he adopted the Chinese examination system for the purpose of recruiting men of literary talent to serve as his personal staff and later as civil functionaries of the central government.[1] Since the Chinese examination system was designed in such a way that men recruited through examinations were selected on the basis of ability, not kinship, it served the purpose of reducing the political power of the Manchu princes. As a result of this political motivation, the Manchu language in relation to the examination during this early period was of secondary importance. Historical records indicate that the first use of Manchu in the civil examination was the trilingual examination held on May 22, 1634. However, the scale of this very first examination for the degree of chü-jen was quite small. Among the 16 successful candidates, only three (2 Manchu and 1 Chinese), namely Ganglin, Tun-to-hui, and I Ch'eng-t'e received the chü-jen

degree through the Manchu language test.[2]

When the general examination was held in September 1645, members of the banner forces were not allowed to participate as their ultimate function, after 1644, was to maintain military supremacy for the purpose of protecting the Manchu throne.

On May 18, 1651 (SC 8/3/29), the Board of Civil Appointment presented the following memorial to the throne:

> There are many talented men among the descendants of the banner forces. [The reason] that we did not select them is merely because the school and examination systems have not yet been established.
>
> When we were in Mukden, our late emperor used to raise men of talent. The precedent for recruiting capable men by means of examination had already been established. Now, it is time to hold again the [civil] examination for the [banner forces].
>
> Your subjects have deliberated [this matter] and would like to propose that those descendants of the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese banners who are well-versed in the elucidation of literature should be sent to the Commissioner of Education for [preliminary] testing. Those who pass the test should be allowed to participate in the provincial examination of Shun-t'ien prefecture.
>
> The requirement for the provincial examination should be one essay, and for the metropolitan examination two essays. Those who receive excellent grades should be appointed to official posts equivalent to those of First Class Metropolitan Graduates. By doing so, the descendants of the banner forces will devote their energies to study for the benefit of their own advancement.[3]

The above recommendation allowing the bannermen to take part in the civil examinations was approved. However, in fearing that participation of the Manchu bannermen in the general examination, which was conducted in Chinese, would inevitably cause the decline of the Manchu language, Emperor Shun-chih ordered the establishment of a separate examination for the Manchu and Mongol bannermen.[4] In the latter part of 1651, the first examination regulations for the banner forces were instituted.[5] Under the regulations, Manchu and Mongol bannermen as well as Manchu and Mongol secretaries with and without title were combined into one group and were required to use Manchu in the examinations which were administered by the Manchu officials of the Three Inner Courts and the Board of Rites.[6] Chinese bannermen were to take their examination with the regular Chinese students but were under the direction of the Chinese chief examiner.[7] The quota for the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese bannermen was fixed but generous.[8]

Through this separate examination arrangement and the use of the Manchu language in the examinations, the court not only recruit a number of Manchu literati, but also was able to maintain a high standard for the Manchu language during the Shun-chih reign.

On March 5, 1657 (SC 14/1/21), Emperor Shun-chih

suspended the banner examinations. The main reasons for the abolishment were given in the following edict issued to the Board of Civil Appointment, the Board of Rites, and the Board of War.

> The rise of our dynasty was totally dependent on our effective military system.
>
> Now, the bannermen regarded literary learning as a preeminent achievement. As a result, they are remiss in the martial arts and treat military careers as a dangerous profession; thus, [the strength of] our army has deteriorated. In investigating the cause, it is found that all of these [trends] have been due to the preliminary, provincial, and metropolitan examinations. . . .
>
> [Civil] examinations of banner forces on all levels are hereby abolished. . . .[9]

On October 22, 1667 (KH 6/9/6), at the request of Censor Hsü Kao-wu, the K'ang-hsi Emperor resumed the banner examination.[10] But previous examination regulations were drastically modified. The most important modification was the abolition of the use of the Manchu language in the examination.[11] In addition, Manchu secretaries with titles were not allowed to take part in the separate examinations.[12] From 1670 (KH 9) to 1673 (KH 12), additional changes in the examination regulations for the Manchu and Mongol were further enacted.[13]

In 1676 (KH 15), due to the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, the civil examination of the banner

forces were temporarily interrupted. It was not until 1687 (KH 26) that the examination was resumed. By this time, the separate examination for the Manchus and Mongols was eliminated. In fact, K'ang-hsi's policy of eliminating the separate examination not only blocked the Manchus and Mongols from entering the Ch'ing officialdom, but also discouraged them from learning the Manchu language thereby causing the rapid decline of Manchu in his reign.

Since the separate examination lasted only six years during the Shun-chih reign, after its abolition in 1670 (KH 9), those Manchus and Mongols who wished to participat in the civil examination were required to compete with the regular Chinese students in Chinese language and follow the rules of the general examination system. The purpose of this chapter is to examine both the general and separate examination systems in some detail in order to lay a foundation for the discussion in chapter 4, of the degree to which such a dyarchy in the examination system affected the development and evolution of the Manchu language.

Even though the structure of the separate examination was similar to that of the general examination system, the procedures and requirements were quite different from the latter. In order to understand the process of the

separate examination, it is necessary to first describe briefly the major steps of the general examination system.

The General Examination System

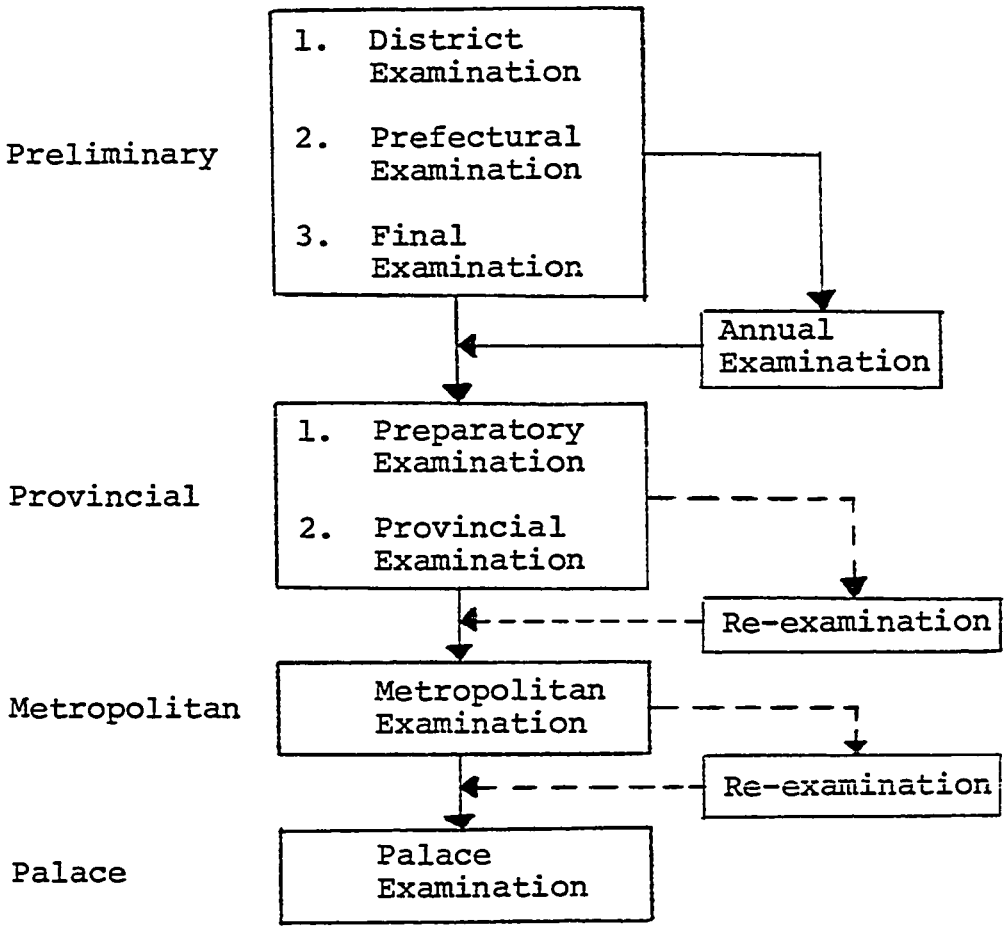
In the general examination system, as shown in Chart 1, there were four levels of examinations that a student had to go through: (1) the preliminary (Ch. t'ung-shih), (2) the provincial (Ch. hsiang-shih), (3) the metropolitan (Ch. hui-shih), and (4) the palace (Ch. tien-shih). Due to the corrupt dealings of the examiners and students, many times during this period entire classes of candidates on both the provincial and metropolitan levels had to be re-examined (Ch. fu-shih) by the Emperor or by his most trusted officials.[14]

In the preliminary level, there were three examinations: the district (Ch. hsien-k'ao), the prefectural (Ch. fu-k'ao), and the final (Ch. yüan-k'ao). To be qualified for examinations, students first had to register their residency and a detailed family genealogy through four generations, including that of the student themselves. Additional requirements, such as a certificate of guarantee endorsed by aged government stipendairies (Ch. ling-sheng) guaranteeing the students' residency, status, and name, etc., were also essential.[15]

The preliminary examinations were held as a rule

CHART 1

A SIMPLIFIED CHART OF THE GENERAL EXAMINATION SYSTEM



Broken lines (- - -) indicate irregular examinations held occasionally

twice every three years. The district examination was administered by the local magistrate, the prefectural by the prefect and final by the provincial director of education (Ch. hsüeh-cheng or hsüeh-tao), who was selected from boards and departments of the central government and appointed by the Emperor for a term of three years.[16]

There were four to seven sessions (Ch. ch'ang) of examinations for this lowest level given on a one examination per day basis. The topics of the examinations set by the Emperor included The Four Books, The Book of Filial Piety, eight-legged essays and others.[17]

In the first session, the students were usually required to write two essays on The Four Books and one eight-legged essay of not more than 700 words.[18] The second and following sessions were the same as the first one but limited to a shorter time. Even though the topics of the preliminary examinations were changed from time to time, the elucidation of The Four Books remained the basic subject.

In the final examination, the names of students were sealed and were not to be opened until the entire examination was over. Students were to be identified by the number assigned to them when they took the examination paper. Those who passed the examination were awarded the

degree of sheng-yüan, popularly called "cultivated talent" (Ch. hsiu-ts'ai). With the acquisition of this degree, they became gentry (Ch. shen-shih) and could enjoy its privileges, as described by Ku Yan-wu:

> Once one became a sheng-yüan, one was exempted from official labor, free from the oppression of the underclerks, dressed in the scholars' gowns, received by officials courteously, and not subject to the humiliation of being lashed. Thus, the reasons for persons wishing to become sheng-yüan was not necessarily for the honor of the title but for the protection of their persons and their families.[19]

Due to the limitation of the quota set by the court for each area, some of the students who had successfully passed their examination could not be awarded the sheng-yüan degree. As a general practice, they were given the title of i-sheng, better known as "half cultivated talent" (Ch. pan-ko hsiu-ts'ai), a rank which enjoyed some of the sheng-yüan's prvileges.

All sheng-yüan who wished to keep their present status had to register to take the annual examination (Ch. sui-k'ao) which was held triennially and which was administered by the provincial director of education. To avoid two examinations in one year, a rotation method was adopted and carried out in the following order: annual examination in the first year, preparatory examination

(Ch. k'o-k'ao) in the second, and provincial examinations in the third. Based on the above arrangement, those sheng-yüan who had not been awarded a higher degree were never freed from the necessity of taking these routine examinations. Therefore, a large part of their time and energy had to be devoted to continually preparing for these examinations.

Sheng-yüan who successfully passed the annual examination were classified, according to their literary attainment, into three groups: (1) "aged government stipendaries (Ch. ling-sheng), (2) "licentiates of the second class" (Ch. tseng-sheng), and (3) "secondary government students" (ch. fu-sheng). Those sheng-yüan who had passed the final examination but not yet their first annual examination were also classified as fu-sheng. Among the three groups, only the first one--ling-sheng--received a government stipend and served as guarantors of the students who participated in the preliminary examinations.

There were six grades in the annual examination. Only the first, second, and (five to ten top students of the) third grades were allowed to take the preparatory examination.

Those sheng-yüan who were eager to become officials by competing in further examinations, were required to take the preparatory examination before they could be admitted

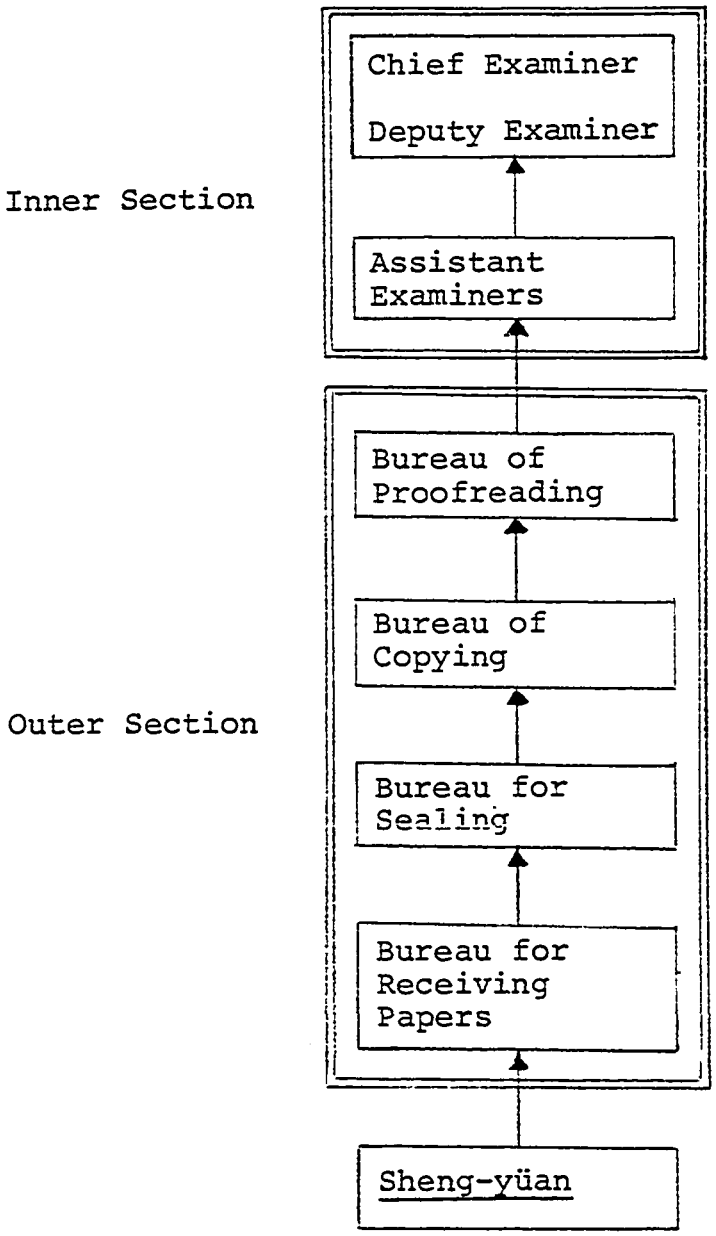
to the provincial examination which was held triennially in the capital of each province[20] under a fixed quota.[21] The examination was administered by a chief examiner (Ch. chu-k'ao) especially appointed by the Emperor. To prevent favoritism, the examination officials were divided into isolated groups. Each individual was to handle his specific work, as shown in Chart 2.

The first group in Chart 2 was made up of officials of the inner section (Ch. nei-lien kuan), and consisted of a chief examiner, a deputy examiner (Ch. fu-chü-k'ao), and a number of assistant examiners (Ch. t'ung-k'ao kuan). The second group was made up of officials of the outer section (Ch. wai-lien kuan) and consisted of four major bureaus: the Bureau for Receiving Papers (Ch. shou-chüan so), and Bureau for Sealing (Ch. mi-feng so), the Bureau of Copying (Ch. t'eng-lu so), and the Bureau of Proofreading (Ch. tui-tu so).

A candidate completed his examination by writing his essays on the official examination papers and then submitting them to the Bureau for Receiving Papers. After recording and issuing the receipt for the candidate, the Bureau for Receiving Papers forwarded the candidate's paper to the Bureau for Sealing, where the name of the candidate, written on the cover of his examination paper, was covered

CHART 2

THE PROCESSING OF THE EXAMINATION PAPERS



and sealed with another paper and replaced with a serial number. The new cover was then stamped with the seal of an official who was responsible for this process. Only after the paper had been judged and the candidate had successfully passed the examination, was the seal to be broken and the name of the candidate copied. The purpose of concealing the names of the candidates was to prevent the examiners from recognizing candidates who might be their relatives or friends. To prevent further the recognition of a candidate's handwriting, the examination paper was again sent by the Bureau for Sealing to the Bureau of Copying. One of the scribes in the bureau was to copy the original paper word by word into another examination paper with vermilion ink. Both the original and duplicated papers were then forwarded to the Bureau of Proofreading where the duplicated copy was proofread against the original one to ensure that both papers were identical. At this stage the procedure of the examination paper in the outer section was ended.

The Bureau of Proofreading presented the duplicated paper to the inner section, where it was graded and commented on--in blue ink by one of the assistant examiners and in black ink by the chief examiner.[22]

After all examination papers had been judged,

those that had passed were unsealed in the order of their serial number. The names of candidates who had succeeded were written into a list and then published.[23] The final step after the publication of the list was the award of chü-jen degree.

In the provincial examination, there were three sessions of tests taken at intervals of three days each. The first session was held on the ninth day of the eighth month, the second on the twelfth, and the third on the fifteenth.

During the Shun-chih and early part of the K'ang-hsi reigns, the examination topics for the provincial level followed those of the Ming dynasty. In the first session, there were a total of twenty-three questions set by the chief and assistant examiners. Three of them were drawn from The Four Books and one of these three was from The Book of Mencius. The remaining twenty questions were drawn from The Five Classics--four questions for each classic. The candidates were required to answer all three questions drawn from The Four Books but were allowed to select four questions from one of the five classics. All sevens essays had to be composed in the eight-legged style and each essay was not to exceed 550 words.[24]

The topics for the second session consisted of three categories: (1) one discourse (Ch. lun) on the subject of The Book of Filial Piety,[25] (2) five judgments

in judicial cases (Ch. p'an), and (3) one edict (Ch. chao), one decree of conferment (Ch. kao), or one report to the Emperor (Ch. piao). Candidates were required to answer all questions on the first and second categories but only one of the three questions in the third category.

The topics for the third session were five dissertations (Ch. t'se) on the subjects of classics, history, and contemporary affairs (Ch. shih-wu).

Those who succeeded in the provincial examination then went on to take the metropolitan examination which was held in Peking. Examination topics, procedures, restrictions on both examiners and candidates were basically the same as those of provincial level. Before the examination, all candidates were required to register in the Board of Rites with their credentials issued by the provincial authorities or baner commanders.

During the period of this study, the quota of successful candidates for each province was not fixed. Thus, it varied from time to time. However, to ensure that the whole empire was evenly represented, in 1652 (SC 9), all provinces were organized into three examination regions, north, south, and central, with a fixed quota of 153 for the north, 233 for the south, and 14 for the central region, respectively. Since the regional quota

was not further distributed among the provinces, the number of successful candidates from each province was therefore not equally represented. In 1655 (SC 12), the regional quota was abolished. Before 1711 (KH 50) several more changes were made but none of them could be worked out fairly. In 1712 (KH 51), Emperor K'ang-hsi abolished the entire quota practice. To insure that each province could receive its fair portion of the quota, the Emperor transferred the authority over the quota from the Board of Rites to himself. In justifying the transfer of such authority, the Emperor decreed to the Board of Rites:

> Recently, I have seen that the quota arrangement of the successful metropolitan candidates among the Chih-li and other provinces was not even. This is because the [total] quota in both the southern and northern regions has not yet been divided among their respective provinces. Therefore, the quota of successful candidates between the provinces is quite unequal.
>
> At the present time, our literary education is broad and ample. Our candidates are diligent in their learning. Thus, candidates who come from various provinces to participate in the [metropolitan] examination have doubled in number. Traveling over land and water, candidates come from far distances to take their examinations in the capital. Every time, because of the limitation of the quota, many of them have failed in the competition. I consider [their situation] with deep emotion.
>
> From now on, the quota of the successful metropolitan candidates is not to be pre-set. After all candidates within the empire have assembled in the capital, you [the Board of Rites] are to report

> to me in advance the total number of candidates from each province and the total number of candidates from the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese banners. I will then decide the quota for each province in accordance with its size and the number of the candidates.
>
> The [Board of Rites] is to select the top candidates of each province within the quota I set for it. By doing so, the problem of unequal quotas for all provinces will be eliminated and those who are excellent in scholarship and ability will not be omitted.[26]

The above imperial decree more or less became the standard quota policy for the metropolitan examination throughout the Ch'ing dynasty. Despite the imperial concern for the fair distribution of quotas among provinces, the ratio of failure and success in the metropolitan level was approximately 19 to 1.[27] Based on these statistics, the attaining of the chin-shih degree--particularly banner candidates--seems to have been a lifetime project.

Those who succeeded in the metropolitan competition were classified as kung-shih. From 1712 (KH 51) on, kung-shih were required to take a re-examination, which was ordered by K'ang-hsi Emperor on April 20, 1712 (KH 51/3/15) in order to prevent corruption of the examiners and wrongdoing of the candidates.

Several days after the metropolitan examination, the successful candidates were summoned to take the palace examination which was held in the palace in the presence

of the Emperor and was administered by the specially-appointed high officials. Prior to 1712 (KH 51), only those who were classified as kung-shih were eligible to take this final examination. But from 1712 onward, the participants were limited to those who had passed the re-examination.

Those who succeeded in the palace examination were classified into three rank-groups (Ch. san-chia). The kung-shih of the first rank were awarded the degree of First Class Metropolitan Graduate (Ch. i-chia tz'u chih-shin chi-ti). This first rank consisted of three places: the first on the list was given the title of chuang-yuan, the second pang-yen, and the third t'an-hua.[28] According to the traditional practice, immediately after the announcement of their names they were appointed to the posts in the Hanlin Academy. The first was appointed as Compiler of the First Class (Ch. hsiu-chuan), and the second and third as Compiler of the Second Class (Ch. pien-hsiu).

The kung-shih of the second rank were given the degree of Second Class Metropolitan Graduate (Ch. erh-chia tz'u chin-shih ch'u-shen). Those graduates whose names were listed at the top were given the title of Bachelors (Ch. shu-chi-shih) and sent to Hanlin Academy to study

either the Manchu language or the Chinese classics.

Those kung-shih whose names were on the list of the third rank received the degree of Third Class Metropolitan Graduate (Ch. san-chia tz'u t'ung-chin-shih ch'u-shen). They were to fill the posts of district magistrates. However, in 1712, this traditional practice of appointing those untrained metropolitan graduates to the posts of district magistrates was abolished. In his edict, K'ang-hsi gave a logical explanation:

> . . . district magistrates have judicial and financial responsibilities. If [metropolitan graduates] are not familiar with administrative affairs before they enter on official careers, what beneficial contribution can they offer after they become officials?. . . .[29]

Thus, from 1712 to 1722 (KH 61), the metropolitan graduates were to remain in Peking to receive practical training for a period of three years in the Hanlin Academy. Besides their scholarly training, they were required to observe occasionally the ceremonial rituals performed in the court. Moreover, the measures of reward and punishment were also taken by the Emperor against those graduates who were assigned to the training classes in the Hanlin Academy. Those who demonstrated remarkable abilities in the training process were to receive earlier appointments; while those who were considered incapable of learning were

removed from the training class.[30]

The reward of early appointment to the official posts, in fact, was the ultimate aim of all graduates. Such appointments not only increased their social privileges and brought glory to their ancestors, but also substantially strengthened their incomes, as the monthly stipend for a student in the Hanlin Academy was only three taels of silver.[31] On the other hand, the punishment of removing them from the training class meant the end of their official careers.

Obviously, these measures were quite effective in encouraging the graduates to move ahead. Unfortunately, this training practice remained only until the end of K'ang-hsi reign in 1722.

The topic for the palace examination was a dissertation on contemporary affairs, which consisted of several parts. The participants were to compose their thought in parallel prose of not less than 1,000 words.[32] Unlike the previous dynasties, participants were required to finish the entire examination before dark. Format, wording, and calligraphy were important parts of the examination. Corrections and the insertion of words were not permitted.

Since topics of the palace examinations given

in the general examination were always harder than those of the separate examination for the Manchus and Mongols, it seems worthy to translate the entire topic of 1647, the first palace examination, for the purpose of direct comparison.

> All the emperors who rule their empires wish their kingdoms to last for a long time and their [throne] to be forever inherited [by their descendants].
>
> The three dynasties[33] replaced one after another. The five elements[34] succeeded [each other] in reigning. In the beginning they were glorious. However, with the passage of time, they gradually declined. Would it be the result of the mandate of Heaven or the result of human affairs?
>
> I received the favor of Heaven and inherited the throne from my ancestors to rule China. Even though we have conquered many territories, the sea and mountains still hinder our [dynastic] fame and influence. Now, I wish to unify [China], to secure the livelihood of the people, and to strengthen our great domain so our dynasty will be able to last eternally. In order to respect the blessing of Heaven for numberless years, which doctrine should we adopt?
>
> Ministers and officials of the Inner and Outer [courts] are those who assist me in ruling the empire. Since I stay inside the palace, I have not been able to distinguish thoroughly between good and evil [ministers] and between honest and dishonest [officials]. I also have not been able to be completely clear about who is right and who is wrong, who has merit and who has not. My decision of approval or disapproval, reward or punishment is totally based on their memorials.

I have heard that the court ministers of previous dynasties separated and formed into different family cliques [for the purpose of] monopolizing [the appointment of official positions] and establishing their own factions in order to secure their power so as to gain their own interests by corrupt methods. Once cliques were formed, accomplices would immediately appear. When they separated others from themselves, then they would fall into an abyss. In addition, they linked themselves together [by the relationship of] teacher-student, friend, or by their connections through blood, peer group or position in order ot help one another and expel and isolate others. [As a result], machinations were made to mask the truth and [people who were] accused falsely were unable to defend themselves. National laws were greatly damaged and the destiny of the dynasties consequently declined. We should seriously take these occurrences as warnings. Now, I am afraid that the existing court ministers did not correct their previous wrongdoings and still maintain these evil practices which can greatly affect [our effort] to suppress chaos. What actions should be taken to eliminate completely these corrupt practices in order for me to hear the truth and [see] proper actions every day so that reputations can be compared with facts and clear laws can be enacted?

Many officials outside the capital are avaricious, cruel, and unfair. When they preside over lawsuits, their only interest is in receiving bribes. [Hence] good and evil are not distinguished, right and wrong are reversed. Since civil officials and their administrations are so bad, the people distrust them. [Therefore], crafty and cunning schemes prevail, and honest people are betrayed by trumped-up charges, This is also the incurable, chronic disease of the traditional officials. What should be done to make them incorruptible and to return [present] customs to their pure state so as to bring about peace?

> If we wish to establish a great empire, we must unite the minds of the people. Attentive officials and simple and honest people are the way of Manchu rule. Now, what method of governing should we use in order to be able to unite the minds of the officials with the Manchu and Chinese people.
>
> It is said that "man can be regulated, but not the laws." It also says, "the rulers labor themselves searching for worthies, but feel at ease when they obtain them." Now, with our vast empire and great number of peoples, there ought to be some capable and virtuous men with extraordinary talent who can assist me in ruling the empire so as to extend endlessly the prosperity of our dynasty. How can we recruit them?
>
> In your mind, you [still] mourn the former dynasty, [but] you have personally met with the destiny of the [present dynasty]. You have already prepared for the examination and understand the reasons for the rise and fall of the [Ming and Ch'ing] dynasties and know the [proper] methods of suppressing disorders. You are to answer these questions with all your wisdom. Do not be humble [in your opinion]; do not be vague [in meaning]; do not be afraid [in choosing your words], and do not conceal [your feelings]. Write clearly [your proposals] on paper and I will personally read it.[35]

The Separate Examination System

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the main purpose of Shun-chih's ordering the creation of the separate examination for the Manchus and Mongols, and the compulsory use of Manchu in the examination, was the prevention of the degeneration of the Manchu language.

When the first separate examination was held in 1652 (SC 9), the bannermen, particularly Manchu and Mongol

were given substantial exemptions in examination procedures, topics, and quotas.

The first exemption given to all banner students in the preliminary level was the elimination of the first two tests--district and prefectual. Under this arrangement, the banner students could receive their sheng-yüan degree by just passing the third test--the final or yüan-k'ao.[36] In addition, they were not required to register and submit certificate of guarantee.

The second exemption dealing with examination topics was especially granted to Manchu and Mongol students, who were combined together as one group. Because of their divergent linguistic and cultural backgrounds, their examination requirements consisted of only one translation of a Chinese work into the Manchu language or the composition of one essay in the Manchu language. Since the test was conducted in the Manchu language, it was administered jointly by the Manchu officials of the Three Inner Courts and of the Board of Rites.[37] The students of the Chinese banner were combined together with the regular Chinese students of the Shun-t'ien prefecture and their examination topics were the same as those of regular Chinese students.[38]

The third exemption was the quota of successful

students. To avoid open competition with regular Chinese students, the banner students were given their respective banner quota, which was determined by the size of the banner. With this exemption, the ratio of success was greatly enhanced.[39]

In the provincial examinations which were held in 1651 (SC 8) and 1654 (SC 11), the names of successful candidates were published in a separate Manchu list. Since their requirements consisted of only one translation of a Chinese work or the composition of one essay in Manchu, the entire examination required only one session (the Chinese candidates under the general examination system required three sessions).

In the same period, the Chinese banner candidates were required to take their examinations with their regular Chinese counterparts, but they were under the direct supervision of the Chinese chief examiner. Even though the Chinese banner students, like the regular Chinese students, had to take three sessions of tests, the number of their questions was reduced. In the first session, they were given three questions on their knowledge of The Four Books and one question on their knowledge of The Five Classics. Furthermore, they were given two choices to complete the examination: first, to

compose all three questions on The Four Books, and second, to compose two essays on The Four Books and one essay on The Five Classics. For the second session, there was only one discourse (Ch. lun), and for the third session, one dissertation (Ch. t'se).[40]

For the metropolitan level. there were two sets of examination essays--one for those who were versed in Chinese and another for those who were not. The first set consisted of a translation of one Chinese essay into Manchu and the composition of one essay in Chinese. The second set required the composition of two essays in Manchu.

In the palace examination, there were also two sets of topics. The first set was for both the Chinese bannermen and regular Chinese kung-shih, the second for the Manchu and Mongol kung-shih. Like the preliminary, provincial, and metropolitan levels, the topic for the Manchu and Mongol participants was comparatively short and easy. The sentences were clear, straightforward, and without any historical allusions. It could be answered with common logic or traditional Chinese thought. The following is the first topic given to the Manchu and Mongol kung-shih in 1652 (SC 9):

I have heard that in a period when a nation

> is under perfect rule, there are no lawsuits and no punishments. Is it because the people by nature cease from fighting each other? Or is it because a good and virtuous governor and circuit intendant? Or is it because prefecture, county, and district are filled with the right officials who love the people?
>
> You [Manchu and Mongol kung-shih] are learned scholars. You certainly have clear apprehension. Do not hesitate to express your views [on the examination paper] and I will personally read it.[41]

The topic for the the Chinese bannermen and regular Chinese kung-shih was a little longer and harder. For the purpose of comparison, the topic for the Chinese is translated below:

> I have inherited the imperial duty and established a dynasty for nine years. After personally ruling the empire, I have become increasingly cautious about daily state affairs. After pondering over the [proper] way of governing an empire, I believe that there is nothing more important than employing officials and hearing their words. Since there are good and evil officials and true and false words, it is often confusing and difficult to distinguish them. Now, I wish to establish a proper and unalterable guideline. Which doctrine should we follow?
>
> In the beginning of our dynasty, the official systems--taxes and public services, rites, and music, military and penal establishments, construction and disciplinary systems--are initially established but were by no means perfect. Can we hear from you in detail concerning all established systems starting from the time of Yao and Shun? If the continuation, abolishment, rise, and fall

> of such systems were not because of the systems themselves, then what were the other reasons?
>
> To employ upright officials, to hear upright words, and carry out the right doctrine are my daily concerns, but I do not fully apprehend them yet. You [scholars] study while you are young and utilize your learning while you are men. Each of you should express your views and frankly state your strategies. The style of your composition must follow that of Chia [I] and Tung [Chung-shu] of the Han dynasty. Do not use the traditional style of parallel prose. I will personally read [your paper].[42]

The above topic is no doubt harder than the one given to Manchu and Mongol kung-shih. However, in comparing them with the topics of other examination years, the above one, in fact, was one of the shortest and easiest topics ever given in the palace examination. The main reason for giving such a comparativley easy topic was perhaps the participation of the Chinese bannermen whose literary background was generally inferior than those regular Chinese competitors.

In the first separate examination for the Manchus and Mongols, Manchu bannermen Margi,[43] Jekune,[44] and Bahai were awarded the degree of First Class Metropolitan Graduate. Margi, the first Manchu chuang-yuan, was appointed Compiler of the First Class in the Inner Court of Literature.

In 1657 (SC 14), fearing that the continual civil examinations for bannermen would eventually weaken the strength and loyalty of the banner forces, the separate examination system established in 1651 was abolished by the Shun-chih Emperor.

In 1667 (KH 6), when the separate examination for the Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese bannermen was resumed by the K'ang-hsi Emperor, drastic changes took place. As a result of these changes, the use of Manchu in the examination was eliminated. Thus, all banner students were to take their examinations in the Chinese language. Furthermore, to normalize the examination procedure, the Manchu and Mongol students in the preliminary level were required to register in the office of their respective banner commanding general. Only qualified students were allowed to participate in the examination. Although the Manchu and Mongol students at this time were still under separate designations and quotas, their examination topics were the same as those of Chinese students. This drastic change in language requirements--from composing one essay in Manchu to several essays in Chinese--created a hardship for the Manchu and Mongol students.

Since K'ang-hsi discontinued the previous practice of separating the Manchu and Mongol students from their

Chinese counterparts, in 1669 (KH 8), the separate examination on all levels was abolished. All banner students in the preliminary level were now under the general examination system and were required to take the district and prefectual tests prior to the sheng-yüan degree examination.[45]

In the provincial and metropolitan levels, after the abolition of the separate examination system, the Manchu and Mongol candidates were merged together under the designation of the Chinese character "man" and the Chinese banner candidates under the character "ho." In addition to the elimination of the use of Manchu in the examination, the quotas for the banner candidates--particularly Manchu and Mongol--were also greatly reduced. Based on Tables 2 and 3, the quotas for Manchu and Mongol candidates in the provincial and metropolitan levels were cut by 85.8 and 92 per cent respectively, but only 80 and 88.6 per cent for the Chinese. In terms of number of companies, the Manchu and Mongol suffered additional loss in quota, since, in the year of 1669, the total number of Manchu and Mongol companies was 468 while total number of Chinese companies was only 210.[46] This figure indicates that K'ang-hsi not only reversed his father's examination policies, but also favored Chinese candidates

TABLE 2

THE QUOTA OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FOR BANNER PROVINCIAL EXAMINATION

Examination Year		Banner			
A.D.	Reign-yr.	Manchu	Mongol	Manchu-Mongol	Chinese
1651	SC 8	50	20		50
1654	SC 11	50	20		50
1669	KH 8			10	10
1672	KH 11			15	10
1687	KH 26			10	5
1693	KH 32			16	8
1696	KH 35			20	10
1699	KH 38			20	10
1702	KH 41			23	11
1705	KH 44			26	14
1708	KH 47			26	14
1711	KH 50			30	16
1713*	KH 52			30	16
1714	KH 53			30	16
1717	KH 56			30	16
1720	KH 59			30	16

* "favor" examination. K'ang-hsi's sixtieth birthday.
Source: SL:KH 30.20a; TCHTSL 348.3b-9a.

TABLE 3

THE QUOTA OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FOR THE BANNER METROPOLITAN EXAMINATION

Examination Year		Banner			
A.D.	Reign-yr.	Manchu	Mongol	Manchu-Mongol	Chinese
1652	SC 9	35	15		35
1655	SC 12	35	15		35
1670	KH 9			4	4
1673	KH 12			4	4

Source: TCHTSL, 350.1a-2b; SL:SC 59.25b; SL:KH 30.20a.

over their Manchu and Mongol counterparts, giving the former a greater chance to pass the examination.

In 1689 (KH 28), the civil examination policy for the bannermen was again changed. This time it went the other way, as they were required to take additional tests in archery and horsemanship prior to the literary examinations for the degrees of sheng-yüan, chü-jen, and chin-shih.[47] Undoubtedly, these additional tests in archery and horsemanship increased the burden on all banner students who, by this time, not only had to compete

on equal footing with the regular Chinese students in the literary examinations but also had to prepare themselves to meet the new requirements in the martial arts.

Since after 1673 (KH 12), the general examination, which was conducted in Chinese, became the only examination system in the empire, those Manchus and Mongols who wished to become civil servants had to study Chinese in order to be able to pass examinations, the decline of the Manchu language was inevitable.

Chapter III Notes

1. From 1629 to 1641, four civil examinations were held in Mukden. Through these examinations, a total of 475 Chinese, 16 Manchus, and 6 Mongols were recruited. Among them, 23 (15 Chinese, 4 Manchus, and 4 Mongols) successful candidates were awarded the degree of chü-jen. For details, see SL:TT 5.20a-b; 18.10b-11a; 18.17b-18a; SL:CT 56.6a; THL:TT 2.11a; TCHTSL 362.1a-25b.

2. SL:TT 18.17b-18a; THL:TT 2.11a.

3. SL:SC 55.20a-b.

4. SL:SC 57.27a-b; 59.2a-b.

5. SL:SC 57.27a-b.

6. SL:SC 57.27a-b.

7. SL:SC 59.2-ab.

8. SL:SC 57.27a-b; 59.2a-b; Shang, p. 53.

9. SL:SC 106.23a-24b.

10. SL:KH 24.3a-b.

11. SL:KH 24.3a-b; TCTHSL 387.1b; Shang, pp. 54 and 120.

12. Shang, p. 54.

13. TCHTSL 387.1b.

14. SL:KH 197.6a; 197.7b; 197.8b-9a; 249.18a-22b.

15. TCHTSL 386.1a-2a.

16. TCHTSL 368.1a-3b; Shang, p. 7.

17. TCHTSL 388.1a-b; Shang, p. 4.

18. Shang, p. 4.

19. Chung-li Chang, The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), p. 43.

20. With the exception of the period of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories (san-fan) 1673-81, during which time, the provincial examination in many provinces were interrupted. For details, see Shang, p. 49.

21. The quota for each province varied from time to time. It was fixed by the court and was based on the literary ability of the candidates, population, and amount of poll-tax in the province. For details, see Shang, pp. 76-85; TCHTSL, chüan 48-49.

22. For details concerning the examination papers and the comments of both the examiners and chief examiner, see Shang, pp. 66-67.

23. For details concerning the process of unsealing, writing, and publishing the list, see Shang, pp. 81-85.

24. In 1681 (KH 20), the word limit was increased to 650. For details, see TCHTSL 332.1a.

25. The subject on the first category was constantly changing. For details, see Shang, p. 63.

26. TCHTSL 350.4b-5a.

27. Shang, p. 105.

28. The amount of silver was reduced in 1652 (SC 9). For details regarding the reward of silver to the successful candidates on different levels, see TCHTSL 362.25b-26a.

29. TCHTSL 361.29a.

30. TCHTSL 361.29a.

31. TCHTSL 361.29a.

32. The use of parallel prose and word limitation were abolished in 1649 (SC 6). SL:SC 43.15b; Shang, p. 112.

33. Referring to Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties.

34. The five elements (metal, wood, water, fire and earth) referred to five different dynasties.

35. SL:SC 25.4b-6a.

36. TCHTSL 387.1a.

37. SL:KH 9.24b; TCHTSL 381.1a.

38. TCHTSL 381.1a.

39. SL:SC 57.27a.

40. In 1654, the number of questions was increased. For details, see SL:SC 59.2b.

41. SL:SC 63.24a-b.

42. SL:SC 63.25a-b.

43. For the biography of Margi, see Appendix 7, pp. 258-60.

44. For the biography of Jekune, see Appendix 5, pp. 254-55.

45. TCHTSL 387.1a-b.

46. Fang, p. 209.

47. SL:KH 140.11a-b; TCHTSL 386.1b.

Chapter IV

THE DECLINE OF THE MANCHU LANGUAGE

After China was conquered by the Manchus in 1644, Manchu became the official language (Ch. Kuo-yü) of the Ch'ing dynasty.[1]

In the early part of the Shun-chih reign, because the Emperor and most of his high Manchu officials did not know the Chinese language and the great majority of Chinese officials did not know the Manchu language, written and oral communication between the Emperor and the Chinese and between Manchu and Chinese officials required translators and interpreters. During these early times, written and spoken Manchu dominated the high levels of government, and among the Manchus the Manchu language was in daily use. Thus, in this first and short reign of the Manchu dynasty, the language, through the concern and promotion of the Shun-chih Emperor, exhibited no significant change.

In the early years of the K'ang-hsi reign, when the empire was ruled by the regent Oboi and pro-Manchu policies were adopted, the Manchu language remained dominant in court. Judging from the Manchu translations of Chinese works done at this time, there is no doubt

that Manchu standards were quite high. However, shortly after K'ang-hsi personally took over the government in 1669, the general Manchu-oriented policies and the measures to conserve the Manchu language adopted by the Shun-chih Emperor and regent Oboi were either abolished or attenuated. In the middle of the K'ang-hsi era, language proficiency began to deteriorate especially at the provincial level. For example, in 1701 (KH 40), the Emperor instructed the commander-in-chief of the Shensi and Kan-su provinces Li Lin-sheng, to report local conditions through a palace memorial (Ch. tsou-che)[2] in the Manchu language.

Since Li and his secretaries could not write a memorial in Manchu, he submitted the report in Chinese. At the end of the report, Li explained to the Emperor why he wrote in Chinese rather than in Manchu.

> Your subject ought to obey Your Majesty's edict to present the palace memorial in the Manchu language. However, even though I have some knowledge of Manchu, I am not able to write it because of my old age and poor vision. In addiiton, I am very poor in Manchu grammar. If I ask someone else to write it for me, I am afraid that the wording may be improperly written since I am not able to distinguish whether the language is proper or not. Therefore, I beg Your Majesty's gracious permission to let me use Chinese in the future memorials in order to avoid mistakes. . . .[3]

The significant point here is not Li himself, who,

according to the K'ang-hsi Emperor, was versed neither in Manchu nor in Chinese,[4] but that the entire staff of a commander-in-chief of two important provinces could not, at this early period, write a simple memorial concerning the local weather and harvest conditions in Manchu.

In 1707 (KH 46), the Emperor began to complain repeatedly of the ineptitude of Manchu officials and of the low standard of their abilities in the Manchu language.[5] In 1708 (KH 47), K'ang-hsi realized that the Manchu language situation was irremediable. Thus he wrote: "because the aged and experienced [scholar-officials] gradually have withered away, for a long time obscure words and phrases could not be comprehended. Thus, error and confusion continued. . . ."[6]

Furthermore, by this time, many Manchu language instructors in the training classes for the bachelors at the Hanlin Academy were replaced by Chinese.

In 1711 (KH 50), the Emperor started to be suspicious of the accuracy of Manchu translations done by the readers of the Grand Secretariat. To prevent the mistranslation of important documents from Chinese to Manchu, K'ang-hsi had to recall the dismissed older Manchu officials Hesu and Hsü Yüan-meng[7] to do the translation

work.[8] However, inexcusable mistakes were continually discovered by the Empror. On April 13, 1712 (KH 51/3/8), K'ang-hsi complained to his grand secretaries:

> . . . translated Manchu memorials are very important. In yesterday's [translated memorial], I discovered that "counterfeit official" (Ch. chia-kuan) was translated as "pseudo-official" (Ch. wei-kuan). This is a most absurd mistake. . . .
>
> The reason for this mistake is because translators are not familiar with the Manchu language. . . .[9]

With the passage of time, the standard of the language continued to decline. By the end of the K'ang-hsi reign, the Chinese language, through the continuous promotions of the K'ang-hsi Emperor, became dominant. It seems that practically all documents were first written in Chinese, then translated into Manchu. Thus, the national language, Manchu, came to have merely a symbolic significance.

After careful examination of various aspects in the period under study, it is found that the major factors which contributed to the rapid decline of the Manchu language in this early time of the Ch'ing dynasty were deficiencies in the Manchu language itself, lack of imperial support for the study of the Manchu language, consistent imperial promotion of Chinese language and literature, and inadequately supervised schools. These and other factors

will be discussed in the following pages.

In order for a language to maintain itself over a long period of time, the language must continue to develop and evolve. In the case of the Manchu language, development and evolution were both lacking--particularly the latter. When the Manchus, after the conquest of China, tried to use their underdeveloped language to administer the vast and complicated Chinese empire, they soon found that their language was inadequate to the task, not having evolved a sufficient vocabulary to cover the technical terms which had been used by the Chinese for milleniums. Furthermore, the Manchu writing script, though it went through several improvements and became more elaborate and serviceable than its Mongolian prototype, was only invented in 1599. Forty-five years later, in 1644, when this newly-invented tribal language was directly confronted with the far more advanced language of the Chinese, its further development and evolution was under heavy Chinese influence. The vocabulary which was needed in the daily operation of government was borrowed from the Chinese. It has been suggested that about one-third of Manchu vocabulary is derived from Chinese.[10]

Through the long Chinese dynastic history, the rise and fall of any literature was always directly dictated by the ruling class. Without the promotion of a

ruler, the emergence of new literature was impossible. The Ch'ing dynasty was no exception to this trend.

Soon after K'ang-hsi personally began to rule the empire, the Emperor, assisted by his Manchu leading advisers--Prince Giyešu,[11] Songgotu and Mingju--began to promote Chinese and thereby neglected his own native language. On March 5, 1671 (KH 10/1/25), K'ang-hsi issued his first edict on language policy, one which departed from the language guidelines of his predecessors. In the following edict, the Emperor decreed to the Board of War:

> Because the Manchu officials did not know the Chinese language, interpreters and [translators] were employed in the boards and departments and in the provincial yamen of the [Manchu garrison] generals for the purpose of transmitting [the Manchu orders to the Chinese subordinates].
>
> Now, since every Manchu officials already understands the Chinese language, hereafter all interpreters and [translators] in the boards and departments in the capital and in every yamen of the [Manchu garrison] generals in the various provinces are hereby eliminated.[12]

In fact, the abolition of all interpreters and translators in all levels of government at this early period created a serious problem for certain old Manchu officials. The belief that "every Manchu official already understands the Chinese language" is definitely

an exaggeration. For instance, Ta-du, the newly promoted Governor-General of the Che-chiang province was forced to resign, simply because he did not know Chinese.[13] In the memorial presented to the throne on January 11, 1675 (KH 13/12/16), Ta-du recommended the Financial Commissioner (Ch. pu-cheng-shih) Ch'en Ping-Chih, a young Manchu, as his replacement.[14] Surprisingly, the imperial endorsement to his request was:

> Ch'eng Ping-chih is hereby promoted to fill the post of Governor-General of Che-chiang [province]. Ta-du is still to retain his original title and to be in charge, as usual, of the affairs of provisions and payroll of Che-chiang province.[15]

The edict calling for the elimination of all interpreters and translators, along with the endorsement of Ta-du's case, not only directly jeopardized the career of certain Manchu officials who had not yet been able to master the Chinese language, but also indirectly forced them to learn Chinese in order to retain their official positions.

By the middle part of the K'ang-hsi reign, the selection criteria for high officials were further concentrated on the nominees' knowledge of Chinese as can be seen by the following decree which was issued to the Grand Secretaries on April 6, 1685 (KH 24/3/3):

> The Grand Secretariat and the Hanlin Academy must employ those who are versed in the Chinese language and know how to translate [it into Manchu].
>
> You are to conduct an examination for those who are versed in Chinese and can translate it into the Manchu language. All officials of the boards and departments [of the central government], from ministers down to secretaries-without-title together with dismissed banner officials, part-time banner officials, and bannermen without title are to participate in this examination.
>
> Employ those who have distinguished themselves in the examination with distinctive literary accomplishment. . . .[16]

From this period on, those Manchu officials who were versed in the Chinese language stood a better chance of receiving imperial appointments. The promotion of Yin T'ai to the provincial commander-in-chief of Kan-su province is a good example. As the Emperor explained to the Grand Secretary Mingju, one of the major reasons that he promoted Yin T'ai, who was only a brigade general (Ch. tsung-ping kuan) of Hsi-ning, to this important post was that he "also knew the Chinese language."[17]

In 1689 (KH 28), K'ang-hsi approved Maci's proposal of using Chinese as an additional language to record all events in the Court of Colonial Affairs (Ch. Li-fan yüan). By this action, the Chinese language and Chinese personnel finally penetrated into the last department of the central

government that was not using the Chinese language and Chinese staff.[18]

According to the historical documents available to us, the decline of the Manchu language was mainly due to K'ang-hsi's veneration of Chinese culture. In the early period of his personal rule, K'ang-hsi appointed many Chinese and Manchu scholar-officials to serve as his daily lecturers on Chinese literature, particularly The Four Books and The Five Classics, and Confucian ideology. Among the imperial lecturers, Lasari, Chang Ying and Ch'en Ting-ching were his favorite tutors and literary companions. To express his satisfaction with their lectures, K'ang-hsi not only rewarded them with valuable gifts but also entrusted them with important state affairs.[19] Since the Emperor took Chinese literature so seriously, he devoted a great deal of time to studying it. From time to time he insisted on giving lectures himself and took great pleasure in discussing Chinese literature, particularly the profound meaning of The Book of Changes.

When the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories (1673-1681) was near its end, the Emperor expanded his program of Chinese literary study and spent even more of his time studying Chinese works; and he encouraged

his Manchu ministers to do the same. Soon after the rebellion was settled, K'ang-hsi further intensified the promotion of Chinese literature, insisting that "in order to promote the tao, one must first venerate refined scholarship"; thus, he insisted on the "restoration of literature and education."[20] To implement his program of restoration, the Emperor ordered Hanlin officials to present their literary compositions and calligraphy to him for review. At the same time, he increased his own lectures to practically every day including his own birthday.[21] Because the imperial lecturers, mostly high officials of the Hanlin Academy, were engaged in their various official duties, they were often unable to prepare enough daily lectures to meet the requirements of the Emperor.[22] On November 14, 1677 (KH 16/10/20), K'ang-hsi decreed to the grand secretaries:

> I constantly read books and practice calligraphy, but among my personal attendants there is not a single person who is well-educated or skillful in calligraphy. Therefore, they are unable to discuss [literary subjects] with me.
>
> Now, I want to select two literati from the Hanlin Academy to serve as my personal attendants so that we can discuss literature. But since they have routine duties and live outside the palace, it is difficult for them to come

immediately when summoned.

> Arrange rooms inside the palace in which they can stay. Suspend their promotions and transfers. After they have served me for several years, I will consider appointing them to prominent positions.
>
> In addition, you are also to select one or two skillful calligraphers, such as Kao Shih-ch'i.[23] They and the selected literati are to stay inside the palace and to be on duty [day and night]. . . .[24]

As the result of this decree, Chang Ying and Kao Shih-ch'i, who was a well-known writer and calligrapher, were selected to serve the Emperor at all times inside the palace. They were first promoted then housed on the westside of the palace near the Imperial Study (Ch. nan-shu fang).[25] Regardless of his literary attainment, K'ang-hsi proved to be an unusual devotee of Chinese learning. According to Kao Shih-ch'i, the Emperor often stayed up very late to study Chinese books and practice his calligraphy.

Because numerous Chinese Hanlin officials were appointed as either daily lecturers or as compilers of Chinese works, the Emperor found himself with a serious shortage of Chinese hanlin in the Academy. To overcome it, he appointed more Chinese officials, thus broke the traditional practice of balancing appointments of Manchu and Chinese officials in the academy.[26]

By the middle of his reign, K'ang-hsi started to show off his Chinese scholarship and calligraphy. He boasted that he began to read books at the age of five sui and for several decades he reading nothing but Chinese books.[27] As for calligraphy, the Emperor supposed himself to be exceptional in it.[28] He claimed that in order to perfect his calligraphic skill he would "practice more than one thousand characters each day . . . and for more than thirty years I have never lost my habit of practicing it. . . ."[29] He further claimed that he could write every well-known style of calligraphy.[30] Because the Emperor was addicted to calligraphy, in the periodic examination of existing scholar-officials, their calligraphic skill became one of the important factors which determined success or failure.[31] In the opinion of the Emperor, calligraphy was one of the most important literary accomplishments of a scholar-official.[32] When Lasari, then the Manchu chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, presented his subordinates' poetry to the Emperor, K'ang-hsi demanded that Lasari himself also show his calligraphic skill.[33] Apparently, K'ang-hsi was quite satisfied with Lasari's skill; he awarded him a scroll of his own calligraphy modeled after the style of Su Tung-po of the Sung dynasty.[34]

To display further his literary accomplishment

and calligraphic skill, the Emperor often assembled Manchu and Chinese officials for a poetic gathering, where they would witness his calligraphic skill.[35] Many of K'ang-hsi's poems and examples of his calligraphy were bestowed upon meritorious ministers and kings of his tributary states as imperial gifts.[36]

In addition to Chinese literature and calligraphy, the Emperor also claimed that he had studied Chinese linguistics and dialectology for more than two decades and understood all Chinese dialects.[37] To show his accomplishments in this field, K'ang-hsi ordered that his criticism on the Phonetic Diagram of Shao Tzu (Ch. Shao-tzu sheng-yin t'u) be circulated among Chinese officials.[38]

In 1712 (KH 51), when metropolitan graduates were ordered to remain in the capital to receive further training before official appointments, the curriculum in the training classes was not law or government administration, but Chinese classics and the Emperor's collected Chinese works.[39] Moreover, the hortatory edict of Sixteen Moral Maxims (Ch. shang-yü shih-liu-t'iao),[40] written by the Emperor in 1670 (KH 9) and based on the Confucian moral code, became the official moral guide of the empire. To promote Confucian social ethics and to exhort the people of the empire to virtue, K'ang-hsi ordered

compulsory public reading of these sixteen moral maxims on the first and fifteen of each month by local officials, village chiefs, banner commanders, and teachers of all schools.[41]

As a habit or perhaps just to show off, the Emperor like to test his Manchu officials' knowledge of Chinese literature himself by asking them what kind of Chinese books they had recently read, and could they completely understand the contents of the books. If the answer was negative, the Emperor would delightedly explain the work to them in great detail and show them his own research on the subject.[42] This kind of imperial action, in turn, directly encouraged his Manchu officials to study Chinese literature.

Due to his personal admiration of Chinese culture and his addiction to calligraphy, K'ang-hsi vigorously promoted Chinese literary study. As a result, a large amount of Chinese literary material was compiled, edited, and published. In the meantime, K'ang-hsi started a vast project to collect Chinese books and literary materials. On May 31, 1686 (KH 25/4/10), the Emperor issued the following edict to the Board of Rites and the Hanlin Academy:

> To perfect their rule and to promote literature, the ancient kings and emperors in addition to compiling a complete collection of published books and records, always searched for private writings to fill the secret repository.
>
> The purpose of doing this was to broaden their knowledge and to collect more historical records. It was certainly a great undertaking.
>
> I have paid attention to works of literature and art which I have read from morning till night. Although the palace repository has collected various categories of books, the collection is by no means complete. Large cities and famous monasteries ought to have some good books and writings. Now, we should collect them extensively. In addition to the regular editions of the classics, histories, and miscellaneous writings, books on other subjects as well as secret records should also be collected.
>
> In regard to purchasing these books or borrowing them from the owners for copying, you [the Board of Rites and the Hanlin Academy] are to deliberate these matters in detail and present your memorial to me.
>
> In any event, they must be thoroughly searched out and collected in order to meet my fervent desire to search out the ancient ways and to revere literature.[43]

As a result of this collection, many great works were completed in K'ang-hsi's time and in later reigns. The following two works are excellent (if gigantic) examples: A Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature (Ch. Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu), and Syntheses of Books and

Illustrations of Ancient and Modern Times (Ch. Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-cheng).

From time to time K'ang-hsi stressed the need for preservation of the Manch culture; however, no serious effort was devoted to conserving the Manchu language. The events also indicate that K'ang-hsi's lack of full support to the study of the Manchu language by the Chinese. In 1688 (KH 27), at the completion of the palace examination, the grand examiner Isangge submitted to the Emperor the ten top essays from among 146 candidates and recommended that three out of these ten be designated as First Class Metropolitan Graduates and the rest be placed at the top of the Second Class Metropolitan Graduates.[44] Ling Shao-wen, one of ten, not only composed a brilliant essay in Chinese but also translated it into Manchu with the hope that his knowledge of Manchu might impress the Emperor. However, the result turned out to be quite contrary to Isangge and Ling's expectation since K'ang-hsi did not accept the grand examiner's recommendation; instead, he made an unprecedented decision and placed Ling among the last of the Second Class Metropolitan Graduates.[45] Since the grand examiner, who recommended Ling for high honors, was a well-known Manchu scholar, there is no doubt that Ling's command of Manchu had deeply impressed him. In

1694 (KH 33), a group of Chinese bachelors who had been assigned to study Manchu in the Hanlin Academy in 1691 were called to take their final examination (Ch. san-kuan) in the presence of the Emperor. K'ang-hsi changed the traditional examination criteria by ordering additional tests on Chinese poetry and essays. Ti I, one of the bachelors, was not able to finish the Manchu translation, but he successfully completed the Chinese test. Since Ti's Chinese was of such good quality, the Emperor not only did not expel him from the Academy but placed him at the top of the class. The grand secretaries strongly objected on the grounds that Ti had completely failed the Manchu language test and K'ang-hsi finally withdrew his order, but he still retained Ti in the Academy for three more years.[46]

In the period of his long reign of 61 years, not a single volume of a work written in Manchu relating to Manchu culture has so far been found. This seems to be so even among K'ang-hsi's own literary works, part of which are available.[47] Moreover, important documents such as the imperial announcement of the deposing of the Heir Apparent Yin-jeng,[48] and numerous inscriptions to Confucius and the sacred mountain, were first written in Chinese, then translated into Manchu.[49] Although

K'ang-hsi and his princes were trained in both Manchu and Chinese, written communication between the Emperor and Heir Apparent was in Chinese.[50]

As regards Confucianism, K'ang-hsi was more Confucian than most Chinese. In addition to his veneration of Confucian classics and philosophy, the Emperor respected Confucius with the utmost sincerity. On December 22, 1684 (KH 23/11/17), he visited Confucius' birthplace in Ch'u-fu in Shan-tung province. K'ang-hsi performed the full ritual of three prostrations and nine kowtows before the image of the sage. With awe and reverence, the Emperor declared:

> I studied the elucidations of the Confucian classics and have comprehended the perfect tao [of the sage]. I wish to praise him with words but there is none suitable to describe my respect. I therefore present a tablet with my own handwriting: "the paragon of ten thousand generations" to be hung in the temple to expound and advocate the teachings of the sage and also to illustrate them to all posterity. . . .[51]
>
> The virtue of the sage can be compared with the sun and the moon and united with the heaven and earth. It is not only imitated by all rulers but also by officials and commoners.[52]

During his visit to Confucius' temple, the Emperor attended lectures on the Confucian classics given by the sage's descendants. To demonstrate further his respect,

he granted an exemption from taxes for the sage's district and bestowed upon the descendants of the sage titles, money, land, and additional quotas on civil examinations.[53] In addition, the Emperor also arranged a special fund from the inner treasury to repair Confucius' temple.[54] Manchu, Mongol and Chinese banner officials with a rank of B2 and higher were ordered to attend the sacrificial ceremonies in honor of the sage.[55]

When the Board of Rites proposed to the throne that a stone tablet for Confucius should be erected in Confucius' temple, and that the inscription should be composed by a Hanlin official, the Emperor declared: ". . . in order to express my respect to Confucius, I will personally compose and write the inscription. . ." This he did although in Chinese.[56] By so doing, K'ang-hsi again reversed his father's decree by April 30, 1647 (SC 4/3/26) which forbade the use of Chinese in sacrificial writings to Confucius.[57]

In 1693 (KH 32), when repairs on the temple of Confucius were completed, the Emperor sent princes Yin-chen (Emperor Yung-cheng) and Yin-chih to Ch'ü-fu to represent him at the ceremony held to commemorate the completion of the temple and the erection of the stone tablet.[58]

From 1686 (KH 25) on, K'ang-hsi extended his personal cult of Confucianim to the sage's disciples Yen Yüan, Tseng Tzu, Tzu-ssu, and Meng Tzu, as well as to Sung Confucian scholars such as Chu Hsi and Ch'eng Tzu.[59]

Since the Emperor strictly followed Confucian moral guidelines, he forbade the translation of most Chinese popular dramas and novels, such as The Romance of the Western Chamber, and The Golden Lotus, into the Manchu Language. The Manchus were allowed to read only Chinese classics, philosophy, history and orthodox literature. The licentious works, the Emperor made it very clear in his edict of 1714 (KH 53), had to be "suppressed" in order to prevent "common people, officials, and scholars" from further "seduction."[60] The prohibition on translating all "unorthodox" works, was not successful since, in the middle of the K'ang-hsi era, the Manchus could read the Chinese versions, which were available on the open market. Soon after the Manchu managed to read the original versions, they became even more attracted to the Chinese language. This in turn would make them further neglect their own language. When the suppression of these works, classified as "pornographic books," was enforced by means of severe punishments in the latter part of the K'ang-hsi

reign, it did not receive the desirable result, as by this time the majority of literate Manchus were already well-versed in the Chinese language. They, in fact, preferred to read the Chinese versions which were still obtainable through the black market.

As the absolute ruler of the high Ch'ing period, K'ang-hsi's personal veneration of Chinese culture, promotion of Chinese language, and personal worship of Confucius were more than enough to cause the degeneration of the Manchu language.

Another factor that caused the rapid decline of the Manchu language was a poor educational system and the lack of Manchu schools. From the founding of the Manchu state until the end of K'ang-hsi reign, the literary education of the Manchu--especially the bannermen who comprised the bulk of the Manchu population--was neglected by the Manchu court. Before the Manchu crossed the Great Wall and gained the control of China Proper, there were no public or government schools in which the Manchus could learn their own language. Those who wished to study would have to hire private teachers at their own expense. Besides, there were not many families who could afford this luxury. In their nomadic society, the traditional emphasis of the Manchus was the military arts.

Literary pursuits at this early time were undoubtedly unpopular.

For the first eighteen years of the Shun-chih reign, the Manchus concentrated their efforts on a military campaign to unify China. Thus, before 1661, the great majority of able-bodied Manchu were engaged in military service. Literary education for adult Manchus was not even considered by the Manchu court.

Throughout the period of this study, there were several educational programs established on a small scale by the court for the literary education of Manchus. However, due to the lack of a well-organized school system, inconsistent educational policies, and limited student quotas, the general education of the Manchus was a failure and the number of literate Manchus was very low.

In 1644 (SC 1), government schools for the banner forces were first established within the banners.[61] The first enrollment of these schools was by banner youngsters selected from each banner company. The schools were under the supervision of the National College, which provided the teachers and administered periodic tests.[62]

In 1645 (SC 2), at the request of the Board of Rites, the student quota was doubled for all banner

schools and archery training was added to the literary curriculum.[63] One of the most damaging policies of the government schools was the gradual reduction of Manchu language students. As indicated in Table 4, in the first two years the great majority of the selected students were assigned to study the Manchu language. From 1661 onward, the number of Manchu language students was reduced to one half of the total enrollment. The great reduction of young Manchu language students at this early period further demonstrates the court's neglect of its own language.

Another important factor that contributed to the rapid decline of the language was the limited student quotas, which resulted in an extremely low student percentage as shown in the last column of Table 4. This figure, however, only represents the student percentage per total number of men of all companies. Assuming that each bannerman had a total of two persons in his household, the student percentage per banner population would drop another 66 per cent--or one student per 900 banner population--in the year 1644. Since after 1654 only one half of the total number of students were expected to study the Manchu language, the percentage of Manchu language students against the banner population became 1 per 1,800.

TABLE 4

THE STATISTICS OF THE BANNER STUDENTS 1644-1722

YEAR		Total Number of All Companies*	MANCHU BANNER			MONGOL BANNER			CHINESE BANNER			Total Number of Students	Total Number of Students Studying Manchu	Total Number of Students Studying Chinese	Student Percentage Per Total Number of Companies
A.D.	Reign-yr.		Student Quota Per Company	Number of Company	Number of Student	Student Quota Per Company	Number of Company	Number of Student	Student Quota Per Company	Number of Company	Number of Student				
1644	SC 1	563	1	278	278	1	120	120	1	165	165	563	553	10	0.33%
1645	SC 2	579	2	280	560	2	122	244	2	177	354	1158	1138	20	0.66%
1654	SC 11	617	1	284	284	1	126	126	1	207	207	617			0.33%
1656	SC 13	617	1	284	284	1	126	126	2	207	414	824			0.45%
1657	SC 14	617	1	284	284	1/2	126	63	1	207	207	554			0.30%
1661	SC 18**	617	2	284	568	1/2	126	63	2	207	414	1045	522-1/2	522-1/2	0.56%
1672	KH 11	730	1	368	368	1/2	152	76	1	210	210	654	327	327	0.30%
1722	KH 61	1141	1	669	669	1/2	206	103	1	266	266	1038	519	519	0.30%

*Each company consisted of 300 men.

**Descendants of combat officers and soldiers only.

Source: TCHTSL 1101.1a-4a; Fang, pp. 208-09; PCTC chüan 47.

During the K'ang-hsi reign, the total number of banner companies was increased, but the student quota was decreased. These actions further lowered the student percentage. Moreover, the curriculum of the Manchu language student was changed to include the translation of Chinese works and the frequency of tests was also reduced from once every ten days to once every month. As a result, the academic standards of both Manchu and Chinese language students deteriorated. In the edict of 1693 (KH 32), K'ang-hsi blamed the teachers of the National College for their failure to supervise effectively the banner students.[64]

Based on the above student statistics and the condition of the government schools, the maintenance of the Manchu language over a long period of time seems to have been impossible.

In 1653 (SC 9), at the request of San-tu, with the support of the Imperial Clan Court, the imperial clan schools were founded.[65] Imperial clansmen at the age of 10 were required to attend these schools to receive their Manchu language training. In 1654 (SC 11), the Shun-chih Emperor was aware that many clansmen were studying Chinese instead of Manchu. In order to prevent Chinese influence in the imperial clan, the Emperor prohibited them from studying Chinese books.[66]

Through Shun-chih's personal efforts and strict supervision, the maintenance of the Manchu language among the imperial clansmen was successful in his reign.

Shortly after the K'ang-hsi Emperor changed the language policy, the clansmen began to neglect their mother tongue. By the end of his reign, the majority of the clansmen were not versed in their own language. Some of them could not even converse in Manchu. Their ignorance, according to Ch'ien-lung Emperor, was chiefly due to the lack of close supervision on the part of their fathers and elder brothers.[67] Based on historical evidence, the K'ang-hsi Emperor seems to be the one to blame. In his long reign of 61 years, there was not a single entry made in the major historical documents concerning K'ang-hsi's efforts to enforce his clansmen to maintain the Manchu language. The reason for his lack of concern, as mentioned previously, was the Emperor's excessive admiration for the Chinese language.

Unlike in the government schools, there was no student quota in the imperial clan schools and every clansman was given the opportunity to receive a literary education. The failure to maintain Manchu was due to insufficient imperial supervision and the influence of Chinese culture.

Based on rough statistics, the number of Manchu language students in all schools is believed to be less than one per cent of the total Manchu population. With such a low percentage, the decline of a language used by a linguistic minority in a culturally superior Chinese society was inevitable.

In addition to educational problems, policy concerning the civil examinations for the Manchus also contributed to the decline of the Manchu language.

When the civil examination was held in 1645 (SC 2), bannermen were forbidden to participate in the competition. In 1651 (SC 8), at the request of the Board of Civil Appointment, bannermen were finally allowed to take the civil examinations. In the examination year of 1652 (SC 9) and 1655 (SC 12), civil examinations for bannermen were separated from the regular Chinese students. A generous quota of metropolitan candidates was also separately granted to the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese banners. The Manchu and Mongol banner candidates were also allowed to use the Manchu language at all levels of examination. As the direct result of these examinations, a total of 170 chin-shih degrees were awarded to the Manchu, Mongol and Chinese bannermen.[68]

Fearing the continuous civil examinations would greatly weaken the banners' military strength, in 1657

(SC 14) the Shun-chih Emperor suspended the banner examinations, thus discouraging literary pursuits among bannermen.

At the time the banner examinations were resumed in 1670 (KH 9), K'ang-hsi not only cut the quota of banner metropolitan candidates by 92 per cent but also forbade the use of the Manchu language on all levels of examinations.[69] These imperial decisions not only directly blocked those who were assigned to study the Manchu language from entering Ch'ing bureaucracy through examination, but also indirectly encouraged the Manchu language students to study Chinese in order to be able to compete with their Chinese counterparts.

Since those who finished their Manchu language training could only obtain the position of secretary in the various yamen, and since the promotion of secretaries to the higher positions under the Ch'ing bureaucratic system was extremely rare, enthusiasm for pursuing the Manchu language study was therefore greatly reduced.

Furthermore, one half of the young Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese banner students in Mukden were assigned to study the Manchu language, the other half to study both Manchu and Chinese. But in 1674 (KH 13), when they were permitted to participate in the civil examination, they were placed under Feng-t'ien prefecture and were required

to take their examinations in Chinese together with the regular Chinese students. Owing to their deficiencies in Chinese, they were in no position to compete with their Chinese counterparts. This examination policy, like many other policies mentioned earlier, forced the more ambitious Manchu students to study Chinese in order to acquire higher degrees.

During the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, banner examinations, including those on the district level, were again suspended. The language training of those young Manchu district students, who were supposed to be among the most important generations to be cultivated in the Manchu tradition and who were not old enough to be called into military service, was unnecessarily interrupted.

Without hope of acquiring the higher degrees and gaining positions with promise of promotion, the learning of Manchu became purposeless. This also affected the attitude of the Manchus and thus caused the rapid degeneration of the language.

Another factor responsible for the decline and, to a certain extent, the disappearance of the Manchu language, was the Manchus' failure to introduce their language into Chinese society. During the period of this study, no serious attempt was made by the Manchu court to popularize the national language among the Chinese. Based

on historical records, the Manchu elite never considered the popularization of the language among the Chinese people as a necessary step for keeping their language alive. This trend seems to suggest that they not only ignored their own culture but, to a certain extent, were also disdainful of it. Chinese officials, on the contrary, repeatedly expressed their concern on the same subject. For example, as early as February 10, 1646 (SC 2/12/25), Yang Ssu-ch'ung, a provincial censor, presented a memorial to the throne in which he emphasized the importance of popularizing the Manchu language among the Chinese. The memorial read:

> . . . a [new] dynasty must have its own system. Now, Your Majesty has already unified the empire, but all affairs of state still follow the old systems of the Ming dynasty. The new system and new laws [of our dynasty] have not yet been established and promulgated. [Your subject] is afraid that this is not the way to fulfill the desire of the people.
>
> [Your subject] humbly requests that ministers and appropriate personnel be immediately appointed to discuss the necessary procedures and to establish a perfect and unified judicial system in order to ease the minds of the people.
>
> In regard to combining the Manchu and Chinese together as one family, since the use of Manchu and Chinese languages has not yet been fully implemented, [your subject] requests that the Manchu language be made public and put into practice within the empire, so that everyone will have a chance to learn and translate it. . . By so doing, the Manchu and Chinese could

> combine together into one people which would greatly improve administrative effectiveness.[70]

Unfortunately for the Manchu language, Yang's proposal was ignored.

The only court-sponsored teaching of the Manchu language to the Chinese was to a small number of young bachelors who were carefully selected from among the top second class metropolitcan graduates. In the latter part of the Shun-chih reign, the selection critera were extended to include an imperial review and examination.[71] In 1646 (SC 3), the first small group of bachelors was selected and sent to the Three Inner Courts to study both the Manchu language and the Chinese classics. In 1647 (SC 4), on the recommendation of the Grand Secretary Fan Wen-ch'eng, the selected bachelors were divided into two even-numbered groups. The first group was assigned to receive Manchu language instruction and the second instruction on the Chinese classics. This marked, as indicated in Table 5, the first group of 10 out of 400 Chinese metropolitan graduates to concentrate on learning Manchu. In 1649 (SC 6), Yao Wen-jan of the Board of Rites presented a memorial in which he proposed popularizing the national language among the Chinese officials by selecting ". . . a large number of bachelors from among

TABLE 5

THE SELECTION OF BACHELOR
BY YEAR, NUMBER, AND LANGUAGE

YEAR		Total No. of metropolitan graduates	Total No. of bachelors selected	FIELDS OF STUDY		
A.D.	Reign-yr.			Manchu language and Chinese classics	Manchu language	Chinese classics
1646	SC 3	400	20	20[1]		
1647	SC 4[2]	300	20		10	10
1649	SC 6	395	40		20	20
1652	SC 9	447[3]	50[4]		25	25
1655	SC 12	499[3]	36[5]		18	18
1658	SC 15	343	32		16	16
1659	SC 16[2]	350	41		20-1/2	20-1/2
1661	SC 18	383	10		10	-0-
1664	KH 3	199	15		15	-0-
1667	KH 6	155	12		12	-0-
1670	KH 9	292	27		27	-0-
1673	KH 12	166	32		16	16
1676	KH 15	209	32		16	16
1679	KH 18	151	32		16	16
1682	KH 21	176	32		16	16
1685	KH 24	121	35		17-1/2	17-1/2
1688	KH 27	146	34		17	17
1691	KH 30	148	33		16-1/2	16-1/2
1694	KH 33	168	39		19-1/2	19-1/2
1697	KH 36	150	31		15-1/2	15-1/2
1700	KH 39	301	43		21-1/2	21-1/2
1703	KH 42	163	49		24-1/2	24-1/2
1706	KH 45	289	50		25	25
1709	KH 48	292	64		32	32
1712	KH 51	177	66		33	33
1713	KH 52[6]	143	53		26-1/2	26-1/2
1715	KH 54	190	44		22	22
1718	KH 57	171	55		27-1/2	27-1/2
1721	KH 60	163	62		31	31

(1) After May 1647 these bachelors were also divided into two groups and joined the groups selected in 1647.

(2) "Extra" examination (Ch. chia-k'o).

(3) Including banner graduates (Manchu 35, Mongol 15, and Chinese 35).

(4) Including banner bachelors (Manchu 4, Mongol 2 and Chinese 4).

(5) Including Manchu and Mongol banner bachelors (Manchu 4 and Mongol 2). Selection of the Chinese Banner bachelors was suspended.

(6) "Favor" examination (Ch. en-k'o). K'ang-hsi Emperor's sixtieth birthday.

Source: SL:SC 23.11a-b; 31.18a; 30.11b; 31.11b-12a; 31.18a; 43.15b; 44.1b-2a; 63.26a-b; 66.15b-17a; 90.20a; 91.2a; 91.4b-5a; 116.3a; 116.6b-7a; 128.8b; 128.13a-b; SL:KH 2.23b; 3.4a; 11.21a; 12.5b; 21.17b; 22.2b; 32.17a; 33.7b; 41.20b-21a; 42.9a-b; 60.10b; 60.18b; 80.11b; 81.1b-2a; 104.19b; 105.5a-b; 120.10a; 121.1b; 134.18a; 135.18a-b; 150.25a; 152.5a; 162.25a; 163.4a; 184.12b-14a; 198.19b; 199.4b-5a; 212.1a-3a; 212.4b-5a; 224.28a; 225.7a-b; 237.10a; 237.12b-13b; 250.3b; 250.8b-9a; 256.23a; 257.4b; 263.4a; 263.16-17a; 278.23a; 281.17b-18a; 292.4b; 292.13b-14a; Shang, p. 149.

the metropolitan graduates. . . . and assigning them to the study of the Manchu language. . . ."[72] This time, Dorgon accepted Yao's recommendation, but he only allowed the number to be increased from 10 to 20, which represented only 5 per cent of the total metropolitan graduates. Throughout the remaining period of this study, the number of Manchu language bachelors at any given period was not more than 33, or 19 per cent of the total metropolitan graduates. Even tough there were more than 100 Chinese bachelors such as Wang Hsi, Hu Chao-lung, Shih Ta-cheng, Chang T'ing-yü, Fang Ch'en, and Yun Tsung-p'u who attained a high level of proficiency in Manchu during the Shun-chih and K'ang-hsi reigns, the program of teaching the Manchu language to the Chinese bachelors, as shown in Table 5, was too small in scale. In addition, there were no Manchu language public schools in which the Chinese could learn the national language, the penetration of the language into the different strata of the host society became impossible.

Chapter IV Notes

1. SL:SC 62.15b; 63.9a-b; Wu, Communication, p. 17; Ch'en, "The decline of the Manchu language in China during the Ch'ing period (1644-1911))," p. 137.

2. For details of the palace memorial, see Wu, Communication, passim.

3. Secret Palace Memorial of the K'ang-hsi Period (August 1677-November 1708). (Taipei: Kuo-li ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 43-44. (hereafter cited as SPMKH).

4. SPMKH vol. 1, p. 39.

5. SL:KH 229.18a-b; 231.6b.

6. SL:KH 233.10b-11a.

7. For the biography of Hsü Yuan-meng, see Hummel, p. 659.

8. SL:KH 245.16a-b.

9. SL:KH 249.17a-b.

10. Ch'en Chieh-shien, "The decline of the Manchu language in China during the Ch'ing period (1644-1911)" In Altaica Collecta XVII Permanent International Altaistic Conference. June 3-8, 1974, p. 144.

11. For the biography of Giyešu, see Hummel, pp. 270-71.

12. SL:KH 35.5b-6a.

13. SL:KH 51.13b.

14. SL:KH 51.13b; CTPCTC 158.41a-b.

15. SL:KH 51.13b; KCCH 153.37b.

16. SL:KH 120.2b-3a.

17. SL:KH 229.13a.

18. SL:KH 143.5a.

19. SL:KH 69.6a.

20. SL:KH 66.7a.

21. SL:KH 120.8b-9a.

22. SL:KH 120.24a.

23. For the biography of Kao Shih-ch'i, see Hummel, pp. 431-14; Silas H.L. Wu, "Nan-shu-fang chih chien-chih chi ch'i ch'ien-ch'i chih fa-chan" [The founding of the South Library and its early development], in Ssu yü yen, vol. 5, no. 6, (March 1968), pp. 6-12.

24. SL:KH 69.25b.

25. THL:KH 5.18a; SL:KH 70.6a. For details concerning the Nan-shu-feng, see Silas Wu, "Nan-shu-fang chih chien-chih chih ch'i ch'ien-ch'i chih fa-chan." pp. 6-12.

26. SL:KH 94.8a.

27. SL:KH 87.6a.

28. In the recent reproduction of the Ch'ing documents, K'ang-hsi's handwriting does not exhibit extraordinary skill. For his handwriting and command of Chinese, see SPMKH.

29. SL:KH 216.19a.

30. SL:KH 216.19a.

31. SL:KH 256.26b; 281.17b; Ti I, Ch'ang-ch'un yüan Yü-shih kung-chi [On taking a final examination in the Ch'ang-ch'un palace] in Chao-tai ts'ung-shu. 2nd ser., chüan 17. p. 3b.

32. SL:KH 281.16a-b.

33. SL:KH 66.9a.

34. SL:KH 66.9a.

35. SL:KH 100.6a-10b; 216.18b; 296.2a.

36. SL:KH 90.21a-b; 103.14b; 104.4b; 109.5a.

37. SL:KH 249.19a; 286.3a-b.

38. SL:KH 286.3a-b.

39. TCHTSL 361.29a-b.

40. This work was amplified in 1724 by Shih-tsung Emperor entitled Sacred Admonitions with Expanded Explanation (Ch. sheng-yü kuang-hsün). TCHTSL 389.2a-b; Poppe, p. 251.

41. TCHTSL 389.2a-b.

42. SL:KH 120.6a-b.

43. SL:KH 125.18a-b.

44. From 1685 (KH 24) onward, the grand examiner was to submit ten top examination papers to the Emperor, who then selected three out of ten as the First Class Metropolitan Graduates. Their places were also designated by the Emperor. TCHTSL 352.3a-4a.

45. SL:KH 134.17b-18a; Shang, p. 115.

46. Ti I, Ch'ang-ch'un yüan Yü-shih kun-chi in chao-tai ts'ung-shu. 2nd ser. chüan 17.

47. YCWC passim.

48. For the biography of Yin-jeng, see Hummel, pp. 924-25.

49. SL:KH 114.27b; 234.14b-15a.

50. SL:KH 271.8b; YCWC, vol. 2, chuan 19.

51. SL:KH 117.28b.

52. SL:KH 117.27a.

53. SL:KH 117.30b-31a; 285.12a.

54. SL:KH 160.18a.

55. SL:KH 128.4a.

56. SL:KH 120.2b.

57. SL:SC 31.10b.

58. SL:KH 160.17a.

59. SL:KH 130.12b; 130.15a-16a; 140.20a-22a; 128.8b.

60. SL:KH 258.17a.

61. TCHTSL 1101.1a; Government schools for Mukden banners were established in 1691 (KH 30) and for He-erh-ken city banners in 1695 (KH 34). For details, see TCHTSL, 394.28a-29a; 394.33b-34a.

62. TCHTSL 1101.1a.

63. TCHTSL 1101.1b.

64. TCHTSL 1101.3b-4a.

65. In addition to the imperial clan schools, there were the Gioro school and the Ching-shan school. The former was established in 1653 (SC 10) and was under the supervision of the National College; and the latter was founded in 1685 (KH 24) and was under the direction of the Imperial Clan Court. The Gioro School was for the descendants of meritorious clansmen, while the Ching-shan school was for the young descendants of the imperial banners. For details, see TCHTSL, 393.15b; 393.21b-22b; 393.22a-b.

66. SL:SC 84.5b-6a.

67. TCHTSL 393.12b-13a.

68. For details, see Table 3.

69. For the quota of banner metropolitan candidates, see Table 3. For the abolition of the use of Manchu in the examination, see SC:KH 24.3a-b; TCHTSL 387.1a-b; Shang, p. 54.

70. SL:SC 22.14a-b.

71. SL:SC 116.6b.

72. SL:SC 43.16b-17b.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to present certain selected aspects of the rise and fall of the Manchu language in the large and multi-ethnic Manchu empire. Since the source material for this study is basically limited to Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, this dissertation did not discuss such important factors as the nomadic cultural background and linguistic aspects of the language, nor the political, social, and economic conditions which, though they partly dictated the court's language policies, were not treated in this source. Therefore, the emphasis has been focused on the personal dedication of the Manchu emperors and official court policies which were relevant to the status of the Manchu language in different reigns. We have seen that the Manchu language, though less developed than the Chinese, was made the national language of the Ch'ing dynasty. Despite its gradual decline, its official status was maintained until the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1911.

Through the efforts of Manchu scholars, the written language underwent several changes and became more serviceable before the Manchu entered Peking in 1644. During the first, and short, reign of Shun-chih, the

language policies adopted by this young Manchu emperor for the preservation of his mother language among the imperial clansmen and Manchu bannermen proved to be effective; he prohibited the former from studying Chinese books and enforced a certain degree of racial isolation or compartmentalization over the latter. This study has discussed Shun-chih's attempts to promote the national language among his own people and upper classes of the Chinese society. Even though his endeavor was not a great success, the language, to some degree, continued to evolve and develop. As a result of his vigorous effort and close supervision, the language was dominant at high levels of government, and met generally high standards.

Chapter II discusses the translation of Chinese works started as early as the 1620s in Nurgaci's time. Aiming at the creation of a new empire, these early translations were devoted to works on Chinese institutions and military science. After gaining control of China Proper in 1644, the Manchu rulers ordered translators to concentrate on the Chinese classics, law, and philosophy in an attempt to force the adoption of Confucian concepts of government on their subjects in order to centralize their rule.

From the middle part of the K'ang-hsi era onward, translation was extended to almost every field and subject. At the same time, a vast project for collecting Chinese books and private writings was initiated by the K'ang-hsi Emperor. As a result of these labors, several gigantic works were compiled. It may be concluded that K'ang-hsi's efforts to promote Chinese culture were of great importance to the development of the literary history of China.

Some space in this dissertation (Chapter III) has been devoted to a discussion of the Ch'ing examination system, most of which was modeled on that of the Ming dynasty. In an attempt to isolate the banner forces from Ch'ing society at large and thus insure their loyalty to the Manchu throne, it was not until 1652 that bannermen were permitted to participate in the civil examinations. Through these examinations, the court had recruited many able Manchu scholar-officials, such as Margi, Jekune, and Nionio, who later became prominent ministers and contributed a great deal of their talents to government administration and to literary endeavor. Nonetheless, in 1657, for fear that literary pursuits among bannermen would eventually weaken the nation's military strength, the banner examination was suspended.

The banner examination was resumed in 1670, but an important change took place when K'ang-hsi abolished the use of the Manchu language in the examination. This change not only blocked banner candidates from entering the empire's civil service, but also discouraged them from further cultivation of their own language.

The decline of the Manchu language started soon after K'ang-hsi assumed full power and reversed the general policies of his predecessors, particularly those concerning the Manchu language. In the middle of his reign, proficiency in the Manchu language among the Manchus was very low. In all probability, by the end of the same reign, the national language remained such in name only and in fact the majority of the Manchu people--including the imperial clansmen--were unable to converse with each other in their own language. K'ang-hsi's personal veneration and rigid promotion of Chinese culture and literature, as well as the lack of schools and the failure to popularize the language among the Chinese, were also major factors contributing to the decline.

Thus one major difficulty regarding the banner forces' educational opportunities were the court's policies which, to a certain degree, suppressed the bannermen's literary pursuits by placing on them a very limited quota

in the examinations. It has been pointed out in this study that less than one per cent of the total Manchu population had a formal education. These statistics further reveal that not more than one half of this one per cent was studying the Manchu language. Ultimately what spelled the doom of Manchu was the loss of Manchu as a language in the family; once children no longer learned the language at home it could only survive as an artificial literary language.

In addition to the reasons for the decline of the Manchu language that have been discussed, there were other factors such as the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Chinese and the dispersal of the Manchu population throughout China. These last topics have not been included in this study as the author lacked access to the necessary source material to complete a study of the influence of these factors.

The decline of the language continued at an increasing rate during the later reigns. Although numerous attempts were made by the later emperors to restore the language, their efforts were unsuccessful. By the latter part of the Ch'ing dynasty, the so-called national language had passed almost entirely out of use.

GLOSSARY

Abahai	皇太極
Adali	阿達禮
Adun	阿敦
age	阿哥
Ai-tsung	哀宗
ajige bošokū	小撥什庫
ah-ko	阿哥
amban i janggin	昂邦章京
Amin	阿敏
Bahai	巴海
baksi	巴克什
bayarai jalan i ejen	噶喇額真
bayari tui janggin	護軍統領
beile	貝勒
Cabuhai	查布海
Cha-mu-yang	查木楊
chan-shih	詹事
chan-shih fu	詹事府
Chang-chü-cheng	張居正
Chang Hsüan-hsi	張玄錫
Chang-sha	長沙
Chang Shih-chen	張士甄
Chang T'ien-ch'i	張天祈

Chang T'ing-yü	張廷玉
Chang-tsung	章宗
Chang wei-p'ing	張維屏
Chang Ying	張英
Chang Yü-shu	張玉書
ch'ang	場
chao	詔
Che-chiang	浙江
Chen Te-hsiu	真德秀
Ch'en Ping-chih	陳秉直
Ch'en Shou	陳壽
Ch'en Ting-ching	陳廷敬
cheng-i	正義
Ch'eng I	程頤
Ch'eng-tsu	成祖
Ch'eng Tzu	程子
ch'i	旗
ch'i-chang	旗長
ch'i-pen-t'ou	七本頭
Chia I	賈誼
chia-k'o	加科
chia-kuan	假官
Chiang Ho-te	蔣赫德
Chiang-hsi	江西
Chiang-nan	江南

Chiang T'ai-kung	姜太公
chieh-yüan	解元
Chien-chou	建州
chien-t'ao	檢討
Ch'ien I-chi	錢儀吉
Ch'ien-lung	乾隆
Chih-li	直隸
ch'ih-shu	敕書
Chin	金，晉
Chin-p'ing-mei	金瓶梅
Chin shih	金史
chin-shih	進士
Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien	欽定大清會典
Ch'in-ting Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li	欽定大清會典事例
ch'in-wang	親王
Ching-shan	景山
Ching-yün	景運
Ch'ing	清
ch'ing-an che	請安摺
ch'ing-ch'e tu-yü	輕車都尉
Ch'ing-shih kao	清史稿
Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan	清史列傳
Ch'ing-shu chih-nan	清書指南

Ch'ing-wen	清文
Ch'ing-wen chien	清文鑑
chiu-ch'ing	九卿
Chiu Man-chou tang	舊滿洲檔
Chou-li	周禮
Chu Hsi	朱熹
Chu-ko Liang	諸葛亮
chu k'ao	主考
Chu Tzu	朱子
Chu Yü	諸豫
Chu Yüeh Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih	駐粵八旗通志
chuan	傳
chuang-yuang	狀元
Ch'ung-ch'iu	春秋
Chung-ching	忠經
chung-shu	中書
chung-shu-k'o	中書科
Chung-yung	中庸
Ch'ung-te	崇德
chü-jen	舉人
chüan	卷
chün-wang	郡王
ch'ü-fu	曲阜
Dahai	達海
daise	代子

Daišan	岱善
Dorgon	多爾袞
Duyengge	都英阿
Ebilun	遏必隆
En-ke-te	恩格德
en-k'o	恩克
Erdeni	額爾德尼
erh-chia tz'u chin-shih ch'u-shen	二甲賜進士出身
Erh-shih-i shih	二十一史
Fan T'ing-yüan	范廷元
Fan Wen-ch'eng	范文程
Fang ch'en	方臣
Feng Ch'üan	馮銓
Feng-t'ien	奉天
fu-chiang	副將
fu chu-k'ao	副主考
fu-chün-hsiao	護軍參領
fu-chün ts'an-ling	護軍統領
fu-chün t'ung-ling	護軍統領
Fu Hsi	傅喜
Fu I-chien	傅以漸
fu-k'ao	副考
Fu-lin	福臨
fu li-shih kuan	副理事官

fu-sheng	生
fu-shih	試
Fudari	禮
Gagai	蓋
Ganglin	林
gašan bošokū	庫
Gioro	羅
Giybuja	嘉
Giyešu	書
gūsa	山
gūsai ejen	真
Guwalgiya	佳
Hada	達
Han	孟
Han-chün	軍
Han-pen fang	房
Han-p'iao-ch'ien ch'u	處
Hang-chou	州
Hanlin	林
Hao chieh	傑
Haoge	格
He-erh-ken	根
Hesu	素
Hešeri	里

附生試禮蓋林庫羅嘉書山真佳達孟軍房處州林傑格根素里

覆遼嘮剛什覺卜傑固額爾哈，漢本鐵杭鞠郝豪爾和舍

傳撥貿固山依漢漢票漢黑赫屯

Hetu Ala	赫圖阿喇
Hifo	希福
ho	合
Ho-nan	河南
Hoifa	輝發
Hsi-hsiang chi	西廂記
Hsi-ning	西寧
Hsi-tsung	熙宗
Hsi Tz'u	繫辭
Hsi-yu chi	西遊記
hsiang-shih	鄉試
Hsiao-ching	孝經
Hsiao-ching yen-i	孝經衍義
hsiao-ch'i hsiao	校驍騎
Hsiao-chung	孝莊
hsien-k'ao	縣考
Hsing-ching	興京
Hsing-pu hsin-ting hsien-hsing-li	刑部新定現行例
hsiu-chuan	撰修
hsiu-ts'ai	才秀
Hsiung Tz'u-li	熊賜履
Hu Chao-lung	胡兆龍
Hu K'ang-hou	胡康侯
Hu-pu	戶部

Hü T'ung-yü	胡統虞
Huang Chi	黃機
Huang Ti	黃帝
hui-shih	會試
Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou	洪承疇
Hung-pen fang	紅本房
Hung-wu pao-hsün	洪武寶訓
Hsü Kao-wu	徐誥武
Hsü Pi-yüan	徐必遠
Hsü Tsuan-tseng	許纘曾
Hsü Yüan-meng	徐元夢
Hsuan-yeh	玄曄
hsüeh-cheng	學政
hsüeh-tao	學道
I-chao	遺詔
i-cheng ta-ch'en	議政大臣
i-chia tz'u chin-shih chi-ti	一甲賜進士及第
I-ching	易經
I-Li	儀禮
i-sheng	俏生
I-wang	義王
Inggūldai	英俄爾岱
Isangge	伊桑阿
jalan	甲喇

jalan i janggin	京章京甲喇
Jamba	班珠爾胡
Jekune	哲庫納折
Jen-tsu	仁祖
Jih-chiang Ch'un-ch'iu chieh-i	日講春秋解義
Jih-chiang I-ching chieh-i	日講易經解義
Jih-chiang Li-chi chieh-i	日講禮記解義
Jih-chiang Shih-ching chieh-i	日講詩經解義
Jih-chiang Shu-ching chieh-i	日講書經解義
Jih-chiang Ssu-shu	日講四書
Jirgalang	濟爾哈朗
ju-ch'en	臣僕
kai-pen she-jen	改本舍人
Kan-su	甘肅
Kang-chien hui-tsuan	綱鑑會纂
K'ang-hsi	康熙
K'ang-hsi cheng-yao	康熙政要
K'ang-hsi Ti yü-chih wen-chi	康熙帝御製文集
kao	誥
Kao-ch'ih	誥敕
Kao Hsin-yün	高辛允
Kao Shih-ch'i	高士奇
Keng Chung-ming	耿仲明
Kicungge	杞充格

k'o	科
k'o-k'ao	科考
Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-cheng	古今圖書集成
Ku-liang chuan	穀梁傳
kuan-hsüeh	官學
Kuan Kung	關公
Kuan Yün-chang	關雲長
Kuang-hsü	光緒
kung	公
kung-k'o	工科
Kung-pu	工部
kung-shih	貢士
Kung-yang chuan	公羊傳
K'ung Ying-t'a	孔穎達
K'ung Yu-te	孔有德
Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng	國朝耆獻類徵
Kuo-ch'ao shih-jen cheng-lüeh	國朝詩人徵略
Kuo Fen	郭棻
Kuo-tzu-chien	國子監
kuo-yü	國語
Kurene	庫勒納
La-sa-li	拉薩禮
La-sha-li	喇沙里

lang-chung	中郎
Lao Man-wen yüan-tang	老滿文原檔
Lasari	喇沙里
Lasi	拉錫
li	禮，里
Li Ch'ang-yüan	李昌垣
Li chi	禮記
Li-fan yüan	理藩院
Li I-ku	李儀古
Li Jo-lin	李若琳
Li Lin-sheng	李林盛
Li-pu	禮部，吏部
Li Tsung	李悰
Li T'un	李焞
Li wei-kung wen-tui	李衛公問對
Liang	亮
Liao	遼
Liao-tung	遼東
Lien-chu chi	聯珠集
Ling Shao-wen	凌紹雯
ling-sheng	廩生
Liu Pei	劉備
Liu Shun	劉順
Liu-t'ao	六韜
Liu Yin-tung	柳寅東

Lo Kuan-chung	羅貫中
lun	論
Lun-yü	論語
Lü Wang	呂望
Ma Chien-pai	馬見伯
Ma Chung-chi	馬中驥
Ma Ta-kuo	馬大郭
Maci	馬齊
Man	滿
Man-chou	滿洲
Man-chou lao-tang	滿洲老檔
Man-chou ming-ch'en chuan	滿洲名臣傳
Man-Han lei-shu	滿漢類書
Man-Han t'ung-wen ch'üan-shu	滿漢同文全書
Man-Han t'ung-wen fen-lei ch'uan shu	滿漢同文分類全書
Man-p'iao-ch'ien ch'u	滿票錢處
Man-pen fang	滿本房
Man-wen lao-tang	滿文老檔
Manggūltai	莽古爾泰
Margan	馬爾漢
Margi	麻勒吉
meiren	梅勒
meiren i janggin	梅勒章京
Meng-tzu	孟子

mi-feng so 彌封所

Min 岷

Ming 明

Ming-huan tz'u 名宦祠

Ming hui-tien 明會典

Ming shih-lu 明實錄

Mingju 明珠

Nan-shu fang 南書房

Nara 納喇

Nei hung-wen yüan 內弘文院

Nei-ko 內閣

Nei-kuo-shih-yüan 內國史院

nei-lien kuan 內廉官

Nei pi-shu-yüan 內秘書院

Nei san-yüan 內三院

Nei-wu fu 內務府

Ning Wan-wo 寧完我

Nionio 牛鈕

niru 牛彔

nirui janggin 牛彔章京

Nurgaci (Nurhachi) 努爾哈赤

Oboi 鰲拜

Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih 八旗通志

Pai Nai-chen 白乃貞

pan-ko hsiu-ts'ai 半個秀才

Pan Ku 班固

p'an 判

pang-yen 榜眼

Pao Cheng-hsien 鮑承先

Pao Hsi 包羲

pao-i 包衣

Pei-chuan chi 碑傳集

pei-le 勒

pei-yu 備禦

pen-chi 本紀

pen-i 本義

piao 表

pien-hsiu 編修

ping-pu 兵部

pi-t'ieh-shih 筆貼式

p'i-pen ch'u 批本處

Po-erh-chi 博爾濟

pu-cheng-shih 布政司

pu-chün t'ung-ling 步軍統領

san-chia 三甲

san-chia tz'u t'ung-chin-shih ch'u-shen 三甲賜同進士出身

san-kuan 散館

San-kuo chi 三國志

San-kuo chi yen-i	三國志演義
San-lüeh	三略
San-tu	三都
Sangge	桑格
Sha Ch'eng	沙澄
Shan-hai kuan	山海關
Shan-hsi	山西
Shan-tung	山東
Shang K'o-hsi	尚可喜
shang-san-ch'i	上三旗
Shang-shu	尚書
Shang-yü shih-lu-t'iao	上諭十六條
Shao-tzu sheng-yin t'u	邵子聲音圖
she-jen	舍人
Shen Ch'i-liang	沈啓亮
Shen Neng	神農
shen-shih	紳士
Shensi	陝西
Sheng-yang	瀋陽
Sheng-yü kuang-hsün	聖諭廣訓
sheng-yuan	生員
shih-chiang	侍講
shih-chiang hsüeh-shih	侍講學士
Shih-ching	詩經

shih-erh tzu-t'ou	十二字頭
Shih-lu	實錄
Shih Ta-cheng	史大成
Shih-tai	石盛
Shih-tsung	世宗
shih-tu	侍讀
shih-tu hsüeh-shih	侍讀學士
shih-tzu	世子
shih-wu	時務
shou-chüan so	受卷所
Shu	蜀
Shu-ching	書經
shu-chi-shih	庶吉士
Shun	舜
Shun-chih	順治
Shun-t'ien	順天
Songgotu	索額圖
Soni	索尼
Šose	碩色
Su-shu	素書
Su Tung-po	蘇東坡
Su-wan	蘇完
sui	歲
sui-k'ao	歲考
Suksaha	蘇克薩哈

Sun Hsiang	孫襄
Sun K'o-wang	孫可望
Sun Tzu	孫子
Sung	宋
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu	四庫全書
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chien-ming mu-lu	四庫全書簡明目錄
Ssu-ma Fa	司馬法
Ssu-shu	四書
Ssu-shu yao-lan	四書要覽
Ta-Chin shih-tsung pen-chi	大金世宗本紀
Ta-Ch'ing ch'üan-shu	大清全書
Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien	大清會典
Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li	大清會典事例
Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu	大清歷朝實錄
Ta-Ch'ing lü-li	大清律例
Ta-Ch'ing-lü chi-chieh fu-li	大清律集解附例
Ta-Ch'ing shih-ch'ao sheng-hsün	大清十朝聖訓
Ta-du	達都
Ta-hsüeh	大學
Ta-hsüeh yen-i	大學衍義
Ta-Liao-kuo shih	大遼史
ta-li-ssu shao-ch'ing	大理寺少卿
Ta-ling-ho	大凌河
Ta-Yüan-kuo shih	大元史

tai-tzu	代子
T'ai-ho	太和
T'ai-tsu	太祖
T'ai-tsu Kao-huang-ti sheng-hsün	太祖高皇帝聖訓
T'ai-tsung	太宗
T'ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti sheng-hsün	太宗文皇帝聖訓
T'ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti shih-lu	太宗文皇帝實錄
T'ai-tzu t'ai-pao	太子太保
T'ai-yüan	太原
Tantai	譚泰
t'an-hua	探花
T'ang	湯
t'ang-kuan	堂官
tao	道
Tao-kuang	道光
Tehe	葉赫
t'eng-lu so	謄錄所
Ti I	狄億
Tien-mo	典謨
tien-shih	殿試
t'ieh-huang	貼黃
T'ien-chüan Hsing-ching	天眷興京
T'ien-chüan Sheng-ching	天眷盛京

t'ien-te	天德
T'ien-ts'ung	天聰
ts'an-chiang	參將
ts'ao-ch'ien	草籤
Ts'ao Pen-jung	曹本榮
ts'e	策
tseng-sheng	增生
Tseng tzu	曾子
Tso-chuan	左傳
tso-ling	佐領
tsou-che	奏摺
tsui-i wei-ch'ing	罪疑惟輕
Tsun-hua	遵化
tsung-hsüeh	宗學
Tsung-jen fu	宗人府
tsung-ping	總兵
tsung-ping kuan	總兵官
tui-tu so	對讀所
Tun-to-hui	敦多惠
Tung Chung-shu	董仲舒
Tung-hua lu	東華錄
t'ung-cheng ssu	通政司
T'ung-chien ch'üan-shu	通鑑全書
t'ung-k'ao kuan	同考官

t'ung-shih	童試
T'ung-wen kuang-hui ch'üan-shu	同文廣彙全書
Tzu-chih t'ung-chien	資治通鑑
Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu	資治通鑑綱目
Tzu Ssu	子思
Ula	烏拉
Uya	吳雅
wai-lien kuan	外廉官
Wan-yen liang	完顏亮
Wang Ch'ing	王清
Wang Hsi	王熙
Wang Pi	王弼
Wang Shih-chen	王世貞
Wang Shih-fu	王實甫
wang-tao	王道
Wang Ting-shen	王廷選
Wang Wen-k'uei	王文奎
Wei	魏
wei-kuan	僞官
Wei-liao tzu	尉繚子
Wen	文
Wen-chien	文簡
Wen-hua tien	文華殿
wen-kuan	文館

Wen Min	文敏
Wen-tuan	文瑞
Wu	武
Wu Ch'eng-en	吳承恩
Wu-ching	五經
Wu-ching ch'i-shu	武經七書
Wu-hsüeh ch'i-shu	武學七書
wu-pei-yu	五倫樂
Wu San-kuei	吳三桂
Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen chien	五體清文鑑
Wu-sung	吳淞
Wu tzu	吳子
yamen	衙門
Yang Ssu-ch'ung	楊四重
Yangtze	楊子
Yao	堯
Yao Wen-jan	姚文然
Yeh Fang-ai	葉方藹
Yen Tsung-p'u	嚴宗溥
Yen Yüan	顏淵
Yi Ch'eng-ke	宜成格
Yin-chen	胤禛
Yin-chih	胤祉
Yin-jeng	胤礽
Yin T'ai	殷泰

Yoto	托擊
yu-chi	岳遊
yu chi-shih-chung	右給事中
Yung-cheng	雍正
Yung-nan	雲南
Yung-yüeh	永樂
Yü	禹
Yü-chih Ch'ing-wen-chien	御製清文鑑
Yü-chih Man-Meng wen-chien	御製滿蒙文鑑
Yü-chih tseng-ting Ch'ing-wen chien	御製增訂清文鑑
Yü Hsün	余恂
Yü-hua-shan	雨花山
yü-tieh	玉牒
Yüan	元
Yüan-heng	元恒
yüan-k'ao	考
yüan-wai-lang	院外郎
Yüeh-ching	樂經

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Appendix 1

Biography of Chiang Ho-te

Chiang Ho-te (1614-1670), grand secretary and scholar, was a native of Tsun-hua, Chih-li, and belonged to the Chinese Bordered White Banner. His original Chinese name was Yüan-heng. The name Ho-te was given to him by Abahai in 1630. In 1629 (TT 3), when the Manchus invaded Tsun-hua, he was recruited by Abahai and brought back to Mukden where he received Manchu language instruction in the newly founded Literary Office. In 1636 (CT 1), when the Literary Office was expanded into the Three Inner Courts, he was appointed assistant administrator (Ch. fu li-shih kuan) of the Inner Court of Secretariat where he distinguished himself by mastering both Chinese and Manchu. By 1645 (SC 2), he was promoted to the post of subchancellor of the Inner Court of State Historiography and at the same time served as a deputy director-general for the compilation of The History of the Ming Dynasty. In 1654, he was made the grand secretary of the Inner Court of State Historiography and remained in the rank of Grand Secretary until he died in 1670.[1]

Because of his bilingual background, he was chosen as one of the first instructors for the training of the Chinese bachelors in both the Manchu language and the Chinese classics in 1646 and was reappointed in 1649. Through his closed supervision, many of his Chinese students such as Wang Hsi, Chang Shih-chen, and Chu Yü attained high proficiency in Manchu.[2] For the same reason, he was twice (1652 and 1659) imperial envoy to the Korean court.

In 1649, he was appointed a deputy director-general for the compilation of the Veritable Record of the T'ai-tsung reign. In the following year, when the translation of The Book of the Three Kingdoms[3] was finally completed, Chiang was highly praised and handsomely rewarded by the Shun-chih Emperor for his great contribution to the translation. In 1657, he was entrusted with the compilation of the Sacred Instructions of T'ai-tsu (Nurgaci) (Ch. T'ai-tsu Kao-huang-ti sheng-hsün) and the Sacred Instructions of T'ai-tsung (Abahai) (Ch. T'ai-tsung Wen-huang-ti sheng-hsün).

In government policy, he was a strong fighter against corruption. In his memorial presented to the throne in 1655, he recommended not only stern measures against corruption but also severe punishments for those who brought false charges against the innocent.

Emperor Shun-chih accepted his proposals and immediately issued an edict adopting the measures he recommended. For his daring pronouncement, the Emperor conferred upon him the title of the Grand Guardian of Heir Apparent (Ch. t'ai-tzu t'ai-pao). In 1658, when the Three Inner Courts were organized into the Grand Secretariat, he became the grand secretary of the Wen-hua Tien and concurrently president of the Board of Rites. Three times he was examiner in the palace examination (1647, 1652, and 1658).

He retired in 1660 (SC 17), but was recalled by the regent Oboi in 1662 (KH 1) to serve as the grand secretary of the Inner Court of Literature and in the following year the grand secretary of the Inner Court of State Historiography. He died in 1670 (KH 9) and was canonized as Wen-tuan.[4] In his long official career of 34 years, Chiang rose successfully to the top of the Manchu civil hierarchy. He was a prudent and sincere man respected by all.

Appendix 2

Biography of Fudari

Fudari, official and scholar, was a member of the Uya clan and the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner. He started his official career as a secretary of a department. In 1667 (KH 6), he was appointed a reader of the Grand Secretariat. Within the single year of 1671, he was promoted to the posts of reader of the Hanlin Academy, imperial classics lecturer, imperial diarist, Manchu chancellor of the Hanlin Academy and concurrently vice-president of the Board of Rites. In early 1672, Fudari was commissioned by the K'ang-hsi Emperor to translate the Expatiation on the Meaning of the Great Learning, which was completed in the same year. For his part as the chief translator, he was praised and rewarded by the Grand Empress Dowager.[5] In May 1672, he was again commissioned to compile the first Manchu Dictionary (Ch. Ch'in-wen chien). However, he died before the dictionary was completed. The work was then taken over by Maci.[6] In 1673, he was appointed a deputy director-general for the re-compilation of the Veritable Records of the T'ai-tsung reign. In September of the same year,

he was sent by K'ang-hsi to Yung-nan where he was captured by Wu San-kuei, who rebelled against the Ch'ing court. He was released two years later in 1675 and returned to Peking where he resumed his former posts. In 1674, he was dismissed from his offices for his failure to give a satisfactory classics lecture. He died soon therafter.[7]

Appendix 3

Biography of Ganglin

Ganglin, grand secretary and scholar, was a member of the Guwalgiya clan whose ancestral home was in Su-wan. At the time he jointed the Manchu forces, he was assigned to the Manchu Plain Blue Banner under Adali who was executed in 1643 for attempting to dethrone Shun-chih. He was then reassigned to the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner. As a young man, he distinguished himself by his deep knoweldge of both Manchu and Chinese. In the first literary examination of 1634, he was one of the first four Manchu to receive the chü-jen degree.[8]

When Dahai was ordered to continue the translation of the Collected Outline of the Chronological History, The Book of Mencius, The Book of the Three Kingdoms and The Six Rules, Ganglin became one of his major assistants in the Literary Office. After the death of Dahai in 1632, many unfinished translations are believed to have been completed by him.

During the T'ien-ts'ung reign (1627-1635), when the political structure of the Manchu state was shifting from collective leadership to autocratic imperial rule,

he played an important role in the founding of the central government in Mukden. At the time the Literary Office was expanded into the Three Inner Courts in 1636, he was appointed the grand secretary of the Inner Court of State Historiography, thus becoming one of the first four grand secretaries of the Ch'ing dynasty--the other three being Hife, Fan Wen-ch'eng, and Pao Ch'eng-hsien.[9] Because of his linguistic ability, he not only served as an imperial messenger during Abahai's time, but, after the seizure of Peking in 1644, was also appointed the chief delegate in the peace negotiations with the failing Ming dynasty which, at this time, still possessed a vast territory south of the Yangtze River.[10] For his service and contributions, he was granted the hereditary rank of sixth class (Ch. ch'ing-ch'e tu-yü) in 1644, a baron of the third class and the title of baksi in 1648.

As one of the leading Manchu scholars, he was entrusted with many compilation and translation projects, the most important of which were the Veritable records of the T'ai-tsu reign (1636),[11] The Book of Laws of the Great Ch'ing State (1644),[12] The Precious Teaching of Hung-wu (Ch. Hung-wu pao-hsün) (1646),[13] The History of the Ming Dynasty (1647), and the Veritable records of the T'ai-tsung reign (1649). Three times he served as the

chief examiner for the metropolitan examinations (1646, 1647, and 1649).

In court politics, he sided with Dorgon against other factions. After the death of Dorgon in 1650, he was accused of supporting the prince regent in his treacherous acts against the Manchu empire and altering the official records of T'ai-tsu Nurgaci. He was executed along with Grand Secretary Kicungge, another supporter of Dorgon, in April 1651.[14]

Appendix 4

Biography of Hife

Hife (1588-1652), grand secretary, scholar, and diplomat, was a member of the Hešeri clan and belonged to the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner. His ancestral home was in Duyengge village, northwest of Hetu Ala. In the days of his father, his family moved to Hada where he was brought up. In 1601, when Hada was invaded by Nurgaci, he and his brother Šose[15] joined the forces of the latter.[16] Because he was well-versed in Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese, he was assigned to work with Dahai in the Literary Office and was granted the title of baksi. Like Dahai, he was not only charged with the responsibility of secretarial work, but also with the translation of Chinese works and state documents into Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian. During the T'ien-ts'ung and Ch'ung-te reigns, he played an important role in Mongolian affairs. He was entrusted with various diplomatic and military missions to the Monglian chiefs who relied heavily on his help in setting up their civil and military structures. In the compilation of the Veritable records of the T'ai-tsu reign, he was the chief translator of the Mongolian section.[17]

During the T'ien-ming reign, he joined various military campaigns against Ming China and fought at the decisive battle of Ta-ling-ho in 1631. For his part in the military expeditions, he was granted an hereditary rank of the sixth class. In 1635, he was commissioned by Abahai to translate the dynastic histories of the Chin, Liao, and Yüan, which he completed in 1644. The work was highly praised by the Manchu court and he was rewarded. In 1636 (CT 1), when the Three Inner Courts were established, Hife was made the first grand secretary of the Inner Court of Literature; he thus became one of the first two Manchus to head this semi-bureaucratic form of government.

During the early period of the Shun-chih reign, the Manchu state was under Dorgon's de facto rule. Because he was feuding with Tantai,[18] a follower of Dorgon, he was accused of treason and was sentenced to death. However, due to Hife's relations with Soni, Dorgon spared his life but dismissed him from office, removed his hereditary rank and confiscated his property.[19] It was not until the Shun-chih Emperor personally took over the government in 1651 (SC 8) that his false charged were redressed and his official position and hereditary rank were reinstated and property returned. In 1652,

in remembrance of his early civil and military contributions, Emperor Shun-chih granted him the hereditary rank of viscount of the third class. At the same time, he was appointed the director-general for the compilation of the Veritable records of the T'ai-tsung Reign and a member of the Council of Deliberative Officials. Hife died in December 1652 and was given posthumously the honorary title of the Grand Guardian and the name of Wen-chien.[20]

Appendix 5

Biography of Jekune

Jekune (d. 1676), official and scholar, was a member of the Nara clan and the Manchu Bordered Blue Banner. He received his chü-jen degree in 1651. In the first banner chin-shih degree competition held in the following year, he was second on the list, thus becoming the first banner pang-yen. In the next two years, he rose from a compiler of the second class to a sub-reader (1653) then a reader (1654). In 1655, he was selected as one of the first imperial daily lecturers and was promoted to subchancellor of the Inner Court of State Historiography and then served as an imperial lecturer on the Chinese classics.[21] In 1658, when the Hanlin Academy was established as an independent department of the central government, he was made its first Manchu chancellor. In 1660, when Hanlin officials were allowed to assist the young Shun-chih Emperor in his daily execution of state documents, he and Wang Hsi, the Chinese chancellor of the academy, volunteered to serve the Emperor on alternate days.[22]

During the early part of the K'ang-hsi reign, political power was in the hands of regent Oboi. Due to Jekune's refusal to remain silent, he was charged with negligence of his official duties and was first demoted from the post of vice-president of the Board of Civil Appointment to the sub-director of the Court of Judicature and Revision (Ch. ta-li-ssu shao-ch'ing), then dismissed from the post in 1667.

Soon after K'ang-hsi assumed personal rule, he was recalled in 1670 to serve as subchancellor of the Inner Court of State Historiography and was appointed a deputy director-general for the compilation of the Imperial Genealogy (Ch. yü-tieh). Later in the year, when the Hanlin Academy was re-established, he was again made its Manchu chancellor. In the following year he became imperial lecturer on the Chinese classics, imperial diarist, a deputy director-general for the compilation of the Sacred Instructions of T'ai-tsu and the Sacred Instructions of T'ai-tsung, and vice-president of the Board of War. He died in 1676.[23]

Appendix 6

Biography of Lasari

Lasari (d. 1679),[24] official and scholar, was a member of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner. When he was young, Lasari was very fond of learning and was well-versed in both Manchu and Chinese. In 1675, he was promoted from an expositor to the post of the Manchu chancellor of the Hanlin Academy and concurrently vice-president of the Board of Rites. In the spring of 1676, he was made an imperial lecturer on the Chinese classics and the Chronological History,[25] and at the same time was apointed director-general for the compilation of the Four Books Explained in Daily Lectures which was completed a year later in 1677. In June 1679, he supervised fifty compilers who were selected through a special examination for the compilaton of the History of the Ming Dynasty and the translation of The Book of Changes, The Book of History, and The Book of Odes. As a direct result of his persistent overwork, he died in December 1679. Lasari was posthumously praised by K'ang-hsi as "a thorough and able administrator,"[26] and "one of the most devoted ministers, brilliant scholars and outstanding classics

translators."[27] Furthermore, an edict was issued to Lasari's son in which the Emperor further expressed his deep sorrow for the loss of the learned Manchu scholar. Due to his poverty, three hundred taels of silver were granted by the K'ang-hsi Emperor for his funeral expenses. In the Spring of 1680, he was posthumously made president of the Board of Rites and was canonized as Wen-min.[28]

Appendix 7

Biography of Margi

Margi (d. 1682), also known as Ma Chung-chi,[29] official and scholar, was a member of the Guwalgiya clan and the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner. In 1651 (SC 8), he passed the first banner provincial examination as chieh-yüan--the highest ranking chü-jen. In the following year, he again took his chin-shih degree with highest honors thus becoming the first Manchu chuang-yuan in the Ch'ing dynasty.

Because of his deep knowledge of both Manchu and Chinese, in 1653, by the direct order of the Shun-chih Emperor, he was promoted from first class compiler of the Inner Court of Literature to the post of reader.[30] In 1654, he became subchancellor of the same court and concurrently vice-president of the Board of Rites. In the following year, he was chosen as one of the first imperial daily tutors and classics lecturers and became one of Shun-chih's closest confidants.

At the end of 1657 or the beginning of 1658, when the Ming general Sun K'o-wang[31] surrendered to the Ch'ing authorities, Shun-chih sent Margi to Chang-sha

to confer upon him the title of I wang or "Righteous Prince." Upon his return to the capital, he was accused of demanding a personal gift from Chang Hsüan-hsi, the commander-in-chief of Chih-li province. When Chang refused, Margi humiliated him. As the direct result of the humiliation, Chang committed suicide. When the truth of the accusations was verified, the Council of the Nine Ministers recommended a severe punishment for his crime. However, Emperor Shun-chih reduced the recommended punishment to demotion of one rank.

On February 5, 1661 (SC 18/1/7), Margi and Wang Hsi were called to the bedside of the dying Emperor. Wang was instructed to draft the imperial will and Margi was entrusted with its approved version. In accordance with Shun-chih's final instructions, Margi and imperial guardsman Giyabuja were first to present the will to the Empress Dowager Hsiao-chuang and only then make it public.[32] Shun-chih died that evening and Margi acted as he had been told. To avoid entangling himself in the complicated issues of the imperial will, like Wang Hsi, he wisely refused to discuss the matter further.

In 1668 (KH 9), he was promoted to the post of governor-general of Chiang-nan and Chiang-hsi provinces where he demonstrated his administrative ability by

initiating a huge water project to prevent the flooding of areas along the Wu-sung River.

During the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, he played an important role in suppressing the rebellion. Having restored order, he devoted his time and energy to the reconstruction of ruined areas, particularly Confucian temples. One of the most significant contributions in the rehabilitation program was his efforts to reunite separated family members.

In 1682, he returned to Peking and was made a general commandant of the gendarmerie (Ch. pu-chun t'ung-ling). He died in 1689 (KH 28).[33]

To express their gratitutde, the people of the Chiang-nan province erected a monument on Rain-flower Mountain (Ch yü-hua shan) to commemorate his constructive administration. His tablet was also placed in the Chiang-nan Temple of Distinguished Officials (Ch. ming-huan tz'u).

Appendix 8

Biography of Nionio

Nionio (1647-1686), official and scholar, was a member of Heševeri clan and the Manchu Plain Blue Banner. In 1669 (KH 8), he became a chü-jen and in the following year a chin-shih of the second class and was selected as a bachelor. After several promotions, early in 1674 he was made a reader. Two years later, he was appointed as an imperial lecturer and diarist. In the performance of his duty, he accompanied the Emperor on various journeys thus becoming K'ang-hsi's literary companion. For his scholarship--particularly on the Chinese classics--he was publicly praised by the Emperor as ". . . the top hanlin scholar."[34]

Because he was well-versed in Chinese, in 1681, he was appointed as the chief imperial envoy to the Korean court. Before departure, K'ang-hsi instructed him to preserve the dignity of the Manchu empire. He was further instructed to communicate with the Koreans in Chinese if necessary. When he arrived in Korean on May 15, 1681 (KH 20/3/28), the King of Korea refused to greet

him outside the Korean capital. Nionio wrote a letter in Chinese to the Korean sovereign. In the letter he warned the latter of grave consequences if the diplomatic ritual between the Manchu empire and a tributary state were not observed. He emphasized his point by quoting passages from The Book of History. As predicted by K'ang-hsi, his knowledge of Chinese deeply impressed the Korean king who finally complied with his requests and treated him courteously. For his success in Korea, he was promoted to the post of chief supervisor of instruction (Ch. cheng chan-shih). In 1682, he was appointed the Manchu chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, and two years later was made a subchancellor of the Grand Secretariat and concurrently vice-president of the Board of Rites.

His contributions to the translation of the Chinese classics included The Book of History, The Four Books, The Book of Odes, and The Book of Changes. For the last two translation projects he served as director-generals.[35]

In the latter part of his life, he also served as instructor of the Hanlin bachelors and once as examiner for the Chinese banner examination. Nionio died in 1686 at the age of 39 (sui). In addition to expressing

his sorrow for the loss of a great Manchu scholar, K'ang-hsi sent the Chamberlain of the Imperial Body-guard to represent him at the funeral.[36]

Appendix Notes

1. CS pp. 2449-53.

2. SL:SC 31.18a; 44.2a; 101.12b-13a.

3. See p. 101.

4. SC 3730; Ch'ing-shih kao [Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty], ed. Chao Erh-sun, (Hong Kong: Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu ch'u-pan-she, reprinted), n.d. p. 1021 (hereafter cited as CSK); Man-chou ming-ch'en chuan [Biographies of eminent Manchu officials], Chü-hua shu-shih, n.d. 27.45b-48b. (hereafter cited as MCMCC); Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan [Ch'ing dynasty biographies], Chung-hua shu-chü, n.d. 5.38a-39a. (hereafter cited as CSLC).

5. KHCY 16.2b-3a; SL:KH 41.11b-12a.

6. WTCWC editorial note, p. 1.

7. PCTC 236.18b-19b; MCMCC 35.33b-34a; CSLC 6.24b-25a.

8. THL:TT 2.11a; SL:TT 18.17b-18a.

9. CS p. 2446

10. Hsiao, vol. 1, pp. 296-97.

11. SL:CT 32.9b-12b

12. SL:SC 96.7b; Poppe, pp. 265-66, Li, p. 16.

13. Li, p. 4.

14. CS p. 3786; CSLC 4.32a-b.

15. According to the Shih-lu, Tung-hua lu, and Ch'ing biographical collections, Hife was a younger brother of Šose and uncle of Soni. However, Robert Oxnam in his Ruling from Horseback, maintained that Hife was one of Šose's sons. Since Fang Chao-ying also mentioned that Hife was a brother of Šose, it seems historical sources are more reliable. SL:SC 7.7a-9a;

THL:SC 1.20a-b; CSLC 4.11a-12a; CSK p. 1003; Hummel, pp. 663-64; Oxnam, pp. 18 and 45.

16. T'ai-tsu Kao-huang-ti shih-lu, 3.2b-5a; Ta-Ch'ing Man-chou shih-lu [The veritable records of Manchu] in Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu, pp. 110-113.

17. SL:CT 32.12b.

18. For Tantai, see Hummel, pp. 898-99.

19. SL:SC 7.7a-9a; THL:SC 1.20a-b.

20. CS p. 3661; CSLC 4.11a-12a; CSK p. 1003; PCTC 147.2a-6a.

21. SL:SC 91.5b.

22. See pp. 38-40.

23. CTPCTC 179.20a-23b; Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-ching [Biographies of the elderly and distinguished in the Ch'ing dynasty], n.p. 1890. 47.25a-26b. (hereafter cited as KCCH).

24. His name was translated as La-sha-li in SH:KH and THL:KH, and as La-sa-li in PCTC.

25. SH:KH 5.3b-4a; THL:KH 18.11b.

26. SL:KH 114.10a.

27. PCTC 236.20b-21a.

28. PCTC 236.20a-21b.

29. Shang, p. 155.

30. SL:SC 74.13a-b

31. For the biography of Sun K'o-wang, see Hummel, p. 679.

32. For details concerning the forgery of Shun-chih's will, see Meng Seng, "Ch'ing-ch'u san-ta i-an k'ao-shih," in Ch'ing-tai shih, pp. 455-76; Oxnam, pp. 205-07.

33. CSK p. 1088; CS p. 3950; PCTC 191.2a-7a.

34. PCTC 237.14b.

35. SL:KH 115.10a; 108.8a-b; 111.29b-30a.

36. PCTC, 237.13b-16b; KCCH 56.15a-18b; Kuo-ch'ao shih-jen cheng-lüeh [Brief biographies of the Ch'ing poets], ed. Chang Wei-p'ing. N.p., n.d. 8.10b-11a; Pei-chuan chi [Collection of epitaphs and biographies], ed. Ch'ien I-chi (Chiang-su shu-chü, 1893), 40.7a-9a.

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