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On Intellect and Intelligence in Qing China: Languages, Education and Philology

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We consider intellect and intelligence[1] as vulnerable to military force. However, the following example from the Qing Dynasty in China shows that this idea is not correct. The Qing Dynasty was established by the Jian-zhou Jurchen people in Manchuria early in the 17th century. When conquering China, the conquest dynasties had to confront Chinese intellect and intelligence as well as Chinese arms. In the Yong-zheng period, when almost all China was dominated by Qing armies, a Chinese scholar Wang Jing-qi mocked at the Kang-xi Emperor's lack of intelligence by quoting the following anonymous poem:

> Emperor's writing was not worth a farthing. Du Zhao who dedicated his poem to the emperor was granted an Imperial poem. The Imperial poem looked like a copy from a children's textbook. It said, 'Few clouds can be seen and a wind lightly blows in the sky just before noon.'[2]

The Qing Dynasty managed to conquer China by power, but it was not easy for the Manchus to overcome the native people's distrust of the central government due to their lack of Chinese intellect or intelligence. As early as the Former Han Dynasty, Lu Jia said, "The emperor may have won the empire on horseback, but can he rule it on horseback?" (*Shi-ji,* or *Records of the Grand Historian,* vol. 97, The Biography of Lu Jia)

Throughout the history of the Qing Dynasty, the conquerors fought Chinese intellect and intelligence. The most obvious indicator of the intellectual and cultural dimensions of a civilization is the language used by the people. During the Qing Dynasty, the conquerors' Manchu and the conquered people's Chinese existed in a tense balance. The author, through an interest in philosophy and thought in the Qing Dynasty, tries to illustrate the relation between the two languages. Since the author is not, however, an expert in historical study using Manchu and files written in Manchu, this paper will only briefly outline that subject.

Just as the Chinese had the Chinese language, the Manchus had their own Manchu language, which will be discussed below. In the Qing Dynasty, documents were intentionally written in both languages or, in many cases, three languages (Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian). Although such cases existed also in the Jin and Yuan Dynasties,[3] the conquest dynasties before Qing, intentional use of two or three languages in a wide range of societal and cultural pursuits characterized the

Qing Dynasty; the following pages are devoted to this topic.

Coexistence of two or three languages had the practical effect of allowing people, whether they were Chinese, Manchus, or Mongolians, to understand writing, especially in public documents. Here are several examples. Imperial edicts were written in Manchu and Chinese ("Man-Han he-bi"), in which Manchu was written from left to right and met Chinese written right to left in the center of paper (*Jia-qing hui-dian*, or *Collected Statutes*, vol. 3, Zhong-shu-ke, or Central Drafting Office).

Two types of coins, Manchu and Chinese coins, were minted at first, and from 1657 (Shun-zhi 14), Chinese and Manchu were inscribed on both sides (*Huang-chao wen-xian tong-kao*, or *Encyclopedia of the Historical Records of the Imperial Dynasty*, vol. 13, Qian-bi kao, or Currency, 1) and this form was retained in the following eras (*Jia-qing hui-dian*, vol. 14, Hu-bu, or The Government of Outer Provinces). See figure 1. A variety of books were printed alternating lines of Manchu and Chinese. Furthermore, coexistence of the three languages (including Mongolian) can be seen in books used for the examinations (ke-ju) such as the *Four Books*, which served as a basis for Neo-Confucianism, the "official studies" (*guan-xue*) of the Qing Dynasty, and *Sheng-yu guang-xun*, the Yong-zheng Emperor's edict which officials were obliged to recite.[4] Territory maps such as *Man-Han he-bi nei-fu yi-tong yu-di mi-du* (*Confidential Map of the Whole Empire for the Court, written in Manchu and Chinese*), had Manchu and Chinese names side by side.

The cabinet system, established between the Shun-zhi era and the early years of Kang-xi, handled Chinese documents sent from various regions with translations in Manchu. The usual policy of the Qing Dynasty central government was to have almost the same number of Manchu and Chinese officials.[5] The coexistence of the two languages seems to have been indispensable at the beginning to facilitate governmental duties which might otherwise have been deadlocked due to a language barrier.

When an emperor died in the Qing Dynasty, a record of events during his reign called *shi-lu* (veritable record) was compiled, and it was always written in Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian. One record of Nurhachi (*Tai-zu Tai-hou shi-lu*) is reputed to have been compiled in 1636 (Chong-de 1) at first,[6] and later, another

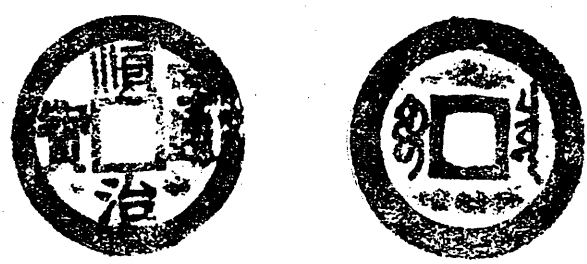

Fig. 1 The head and tail of Shun-zhi tong-bao, or Currency of the Shun-zhi period (ed. Ding Fu-bao, *Gu-qian da-ci-dian*, or *Encyclopedia of Chinese Old Coins*, upper part, p. 339a).

record called *Man-zhou shi-lu* was compiled. *Man-zhou shi-lu* is unique in its layout. In the one made in the early years of Qian-long, a page was vertically divided into columns for Manchu and Chinese. In another one made in 1781 (Qian-long 46), a page was divided into three columns with Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian, with many illustrations [YAMAMOTO 1937: 23–30; MATSUMURA 1975: 433–442]. The emperor's daily activities and pronouncements were recorded on a "qi-qu-zhu-ce" (imperial diary).[7] From 1671 (Kang-xi 10), Manchu and Chinese diarists (qi-qu-zhu-guan) began to keep every month one copy in Manchu and one in Chinese (two copies each from the early years of Yong-zheng on). Since these veritable records and imperial diaries were stored in the palace and were not available to the public, the coexistence of two or three languages did not reflect practical needs but symbolically showed the unification of the Manchus and the Chinese or of the Manchus, the Chinese, and the Mongolians, a unity repeatedly emphasized even before the Shun-zhi Emperor's ascension to the Peking throne.

As touched upon later, the Manchu people gradually turned away from the Manchu language and used only Chinese from the second half of the Qian-long period. For instance, however, the coins with Manchu and Chinese inscriptions were minted until the Xuan-tong era, and all the veritable records adopted three languages (except for the veritable record of the Guang-xu Emperor, which was the last veritable record in the Qing Dynasty and only used Chinese). As for the imperial diaries, the Manchu version originally had the same contents as the Chinese one but eventually was stripped of its contents through many omissions. However, the form of the two-language descriptions survived throughout to the Xuan-tong period. By maintaining the two-language descriptions even after Manchu became impractical, the conquerors seemed to try to maintain dignity and convey the Manchu language to their successors.

In addition, there were several unusual cases in which several languages were used simultaneously to commemorate an expansion of the Qing Dynasty's power in inner Asia. For example, *Wu-ti Qing-wen-jian*, a dictionary of five languages including Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uygur, was compiled between 1785 and 1794 (the Qian-long 50s), demonstrating Qing's power throughout its territory of five language groups [NAITO 1969: 308–310]. Furthermore, Uygur characters appeared on the tail of Qian-long tong-bao coins in 1759 (Qian-long 24), when the Qing Dynasty conquered East Torkuistan (*Huang-chao wen-xian tong-kao*, vol. 17, Qian-bi kao, Qian-long 24), and Tibetan characters appeared on the tail of Qian-long bao-zang coins in 1792 (Qian-long 57), when they cleared Gurkha soldiers out of Tibet (*Shu huang-chao wen-xian tong-kao*, or *Encyclopedia of the Historical Records of the Imperial Dynasty, Continued*, vol. 23, Qian-bi kao, Qian-long 57).

On the other hand, some public documents show no coexistence of Manchu and Chinese; for example, when the Qing Dynasty concluded the Treaty of Nerchinsk with Czarist Russia under equivalent conditions in 1689 (Kang-xi 28), only Manchu and Latin documents were signed and handed to Czarist Russia; they included

no Chinese documents. Domestic Chinese could learn the contents through a Chinese version; however, that was translated with a positive tone toward the Russian Emperor, in contrast with the equal status shown in the original treaty documents in Manchu [YOSHIDA 1971: 315–320]. This difference may reveal that the Qing government used a language barrier to maintain dignity as the sovereign of the Chinese Empire.

In addition to the coexistence of several languages, an abuse of Manchu and Chinese can be noted in some cases such as *zi-di shu* ("a book of sons and young brothers"; ballad), which was initiated by Manchu people living in Peking. In one script titled "*Pang-xie duanr*"[8], two or three Manchu words alternated with Chinese words, showing that such an abuse may have been common in the daily lives of the people then living in Peking [OKADA 1980: 17].

The custom was that conquest dynasties in China established their national characters on founding their nations, such as Khitan in Liao, Jurchen in Jin, ḥPhags-pa in Yuan, and Manchu in Qing. The Jurchen people used the Jurchen characters, made in Jin in 1119, until the conquest by Yuan, but Jurchen almost perished in the Ming Dynasty except for limited uses. The Manchus spoke in Manchu and wrote in Mongolian in many cases at that time [INABA 1914: 147–150]. The use of Mongolian in parallel with Manchu and Chinese in the above-mentioned cases may be traced back to this fact. Establishment and frequent use of the Manchus' own written language started in the reign of Nurhachi. In 1599, he ordered Erdeni and other men to establish the Manchu language[9] using Mongolian letters and expressing Manchu sounds. Nurhachi said the Chinese could understand Chinese even without knowledge of characters if it was read aloud and the Mongolians could understand the Mongolian language even without knowledge of characters if it was read aloud, but since we wrote in Mongolian, it could not be understood by Manchu who were not familiar with Mongolian although it was read aloud. It is said that Nurhachi, who was the sovereign, set out to create a language to be understood by everyone because it was his intention to translate Chinese books into a new language and to educate a wide range of the Manchus [LIN 1980: 255–260]. This intention was also indicated by the fact that *Liao-shi* (*History of Liao*), *Jin-shi* (*History of Jin*), and *Yuan-shi* (*History of Yuan*),[10] the histories of the rise and fall of the conquest dynasties, were translated into the newly created language between 1636 and 1639 (between Chong-de 1 and 4), and the lessons offered by these histories were used in ruling China after that. Establishment of the Manchu language in the Qing Dynasty may have been required to acquire the intellect and intelligence of Chinese to prepare to rule China.

Many conquest dynasties followed their original traditions and at the same time borrowed Chinese styles. For example, a "ji-guan hu" (pilgrim bottle) was a kind of porcelain of Liao and its shape originated in a traditional leather canteen used by nomadic Khitan [OTAGI 1980: 35–36]. And a similar trend can be seen in written characters.

Qi-tang and ḥPhags-pa letters[11] shaped like *zhuan-shu* (seal calligraphy) had

already been invented in Liao and Yuan, and similarly Manchu letters were tried very early [Li 1931: 17–18, Fig. 11]. In 1748 (Qian-long 13), *zhuan-shu* of Manchu letters were established with 32 variations such as *xuan-zhen-zhuan* and *yu-zhu-zhuan* following 32 types of Chinese calligraphy. Chinese and Manchu versions of *Sheng-jing fu* (*A poem on Mukden*) by the Qian-long Emperor were written in 32 versions of calligraphy respectively and published at the same time (*Dong-hua-xu-lu*, or *Dong-hua Records, Continued*, ed. Wang Xian-qian et al., Qian-long reign 28, September, Qian-long 13). The *zhuan-shu* was only partly used for stamps while *xing-shu* (running script) and *cao-shu* (cursive script), abbreviated and flowing styles of Manchu letters which also were imitations of *xing-shu* and *cao-shu* styles of Chinese calligraphy, were used in writing for practical tasks [Li 1931: Fig. 6, 7, and 8]. These characters clearly show the assimilating power of the intellectual aspects of Chinese civilization.

Before the Shun-zhi Emperor's ascension to the Peking throne, only a limited number of Manchu had a command of Chinese. Dahai,[12] serving Hong Taiji, was respected as "Man-zhou sheng-ren" (Manchu savant) for his good command of Chinese. Several surrendering Chinese joined the Qing central government at that time, and were frequently ill-treated by Manchu officials for their poor ability in the Manchu language[13] (Dong-hua-lu, or *Dong-hua Records*, ed. Wang Xian Qian et al., Tian-cong reign 6, December, Tian-cong 5). Even after the Shun-zhi Emperor ascended the Peking throne in 1644 (Shun-zhi 1), such troubles did not end. To prevent troubles due to the language barrier, it was proposed to the emperor to teach Manchu to excellent examinees when the examination (ke-ju) was held in April 1649 (Shu-zhi 6) (Ibid. Shun-zhi reign 12, April *ding-wei*, Shun-zhi 6). The idea placed a priority on Manchu, but meanwhile, Chinese was gradually learned by the Manchus. As a result, the interpreters in governmental offices were abolished in 1671 (Kang-xi 10) (Ibid. Kan-xi reign 11, January *ding-niu*, Kang-xi 10). The following Yong-zheng Emperor widely adopted the "zou-zhe" (memorial) system.[14] Under this system, the emperor gave a small box with a key to high officials who were to be dispatched to various parts of the empire. Two keys were kept by the emperor and the responsible high official respectively. The high official housed his detailed report on the political conditions in his areas and his opinions on them in the box and sent it secretly to the emperor who in turn opened the box and read the report, called *zou-zhe*. He then wrote his comments on the report in red ink and sent it back to the official. Over 22,300 of these memorials written in Chinese without translation in the Yong-zheng period still remain in the Palace Museum in Taipei [Saeki 1977: 130].

The reason why the conquering Manchus tried to master the language of the conquered may lie in the Chinese population dominance—one hundred times the population of the Manchus. Two other reasons for this are possible. The Qing government usually followed Chinese traditional government procedures and used Chinese terms to express these complicated systems since their language did not have any equivalents [Imanishi 1944: 10–13; Lin 1980: 268]. A similar trend emerg-

ed in various areas of civilization besides politics until Chinese eventually became the current language. This also provides a hint as to the use of Chinese in neighboring countries.

The idea that people other than Chinese (*yi*; barbarians) were inferior to Chinese (*hua*) and were not allowed to have sovereignty had traditionally prevailed. The Qing Dynasty thought the most effective way to face this idea was to master Chinese culture and to be like the Chinese. After the Shun-zhi Emperor's ascension to the Peking throne, the government promoted a policy to encourage the Manchu people to be like the Chinese [ABE 1971: 38–41]. This policy probably also facilitated the use of Chinese by the Manchus.

It is said that from the time of the Qian-long years, Manchu well versed in Chinese in turn began to lose command of Manchu [LIN 1980: 263]. Successive compilation of Manchu dictionaries such as *Qin-ding zang-ding Qing-wen-jian* (*Enlarged and Revised Manchu Dictionary, written by the Emperor*) in 1767 (Qian-long 32), *Qin-ding Man-zhou Meng-gu Han-zi san-he qie-yin Qing-wen-jian* (*Imperially Commissioned Threefold Pronouncing Dictionary of Manchu Script in Manchu, Mongol and Chinese Writing*) in 1779 (Qian-long 44), and *Wu-ti Qing-wen-jian* between 1785 and 1794 (Qian-long 50s), and the reopening of "fang-yi ke-ju" (an examination to employ interpreters between Manchu and Chinese) in 1778 (Qiang-long 43) may have been urged by their hope to preserve the diminishing Manchu language.[15] This trend became more remarkable through the Jia-qing and Dao-guang periods. Although the court should have been the headquarters for Manchu use, both Xi-tai-hou (the West Empress-Dowager) and Tong-tai-hou (the East Empress-Dowager), the regents of the Tong-zhi Emperor, were reputed not to have had good command of Manchu [ZAKHAROV 1943: 167]. According to his memorial, the Xuan-tong Emperor, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, could not even learn Manchu characters since his Manchu teacher died in the emperor's youth. The only word he knew was "Ili" (stand up), used to urge his ministers to leave.[16]

In the Chinese monarchy system, the emperors often had to be equipped with high intellect and intelligence. One example can be seen in the examinations (ke-ju) to employ government officials. The examination answers were originally subjectively evaluated by examiners, and not intended to be an objective test of examinees' knowledge. Therefore, examiners were regarded as teachers or benefactors who discovered the talents of the successful examinees; bureaucracy often formed factions centering around these examiners and consequently became an obstacle for the absolute monarchy. To prevent such a problem, the monarchs adopted the palace examination (dian-shi) system, in which the emperor served as an examiner [MIYAZAKI 1946: 28–30].

Since the Kang-xi era, problems on the palace examination, which required examinees to write papers on particular subjects, had long sentences of several hundred to one thousand characters and covered four subjects.[17] The first palace examination of the Qing Dynasty took place in 1646 (Shun-zhi 3). The problems

were questions about current events (shi-wu ce) that asked for plans on important current political problems (*Kang-xi hui-dian*, or *Collected Statutes*, vol. 53, Li-bu, or Ministry of Rites, 14, Gong-ju, or Examinations, 2, Dian-shi): for example, "How can really competent, rather than only seemingly competent, persons be hired?," "How can a long-standing problem since the end of the Ming Dynasty be eliminated, i.e., that the privileged bureaucratic families deprive the people of their property and fail to pay taxes," "How can collection and storage of war supplies be compatible with the reduction of people's burden?" (Shun-zhi 4) (*Dong-hua-lu*, Shun-zhi reign 8, March *bing-zhen*, Shun-zhi 4), "How can cooperation of the Manchus and the Chinese be realized?," "How can an exhausted people's productivity be restored?," and "How can those who disobey the Qing government be reformed" (Shun-zhi 6) (Ibid. Shung-zhi reign 12, April *geng-zi*, Shun-zhi 6). The palace examination grader usually composed questions, but at the 1739 (Qian-long 4) palace examination, the Qian-long Emperor issued an Imperial edict that he would compose the questions by himself as the questions had become conventional and deviated from the original objectives (*Dong-hua-xu-lu*, Qian-long reign 9, March *yi-hai*, Qian-long 4). Of course, the judgment required a wide range of knowledge on Confucian Classics and historical facts (however, after the Guang-xu era, simple questions that asked place names in Mongol or Tibet became predominant). Later emperors attended the examination only formally, and actually judgments were made by the palace examination graders [HATTORI 1905: 137–138]. At the height of the Qing Dynasty, the Yong-zheng Emperor and the Qian-long Emperor actively attended the palace examination and determined examinees' rankings according to their own judgment.[18]

As clearly seen in the above-mentioned cases related to language, the Qing Dynasty rulers abandoned their own culture and adopted Chinese culture almost completely. It is often said that they conquered China by force, but that they were defeated by Chinese culture. However, such infiltration into Chinese culture must have posed difficulties for the conquest dynasty. To maintain Chinese systems, high intellect and intelligence were required, as seen in the example of the palace examination. For example, the Kang-xi Emperor spoke reminiscently about being so exhausted with learning that he coughed up blood in his youth.[19]

In 1729, nearly 90 years after the Shun-zhi Emperor's ascension to the Peking throne, the Yong-zheng Emperor strongly claimed in a discussion with Cao Jing (1679–1735) who denied the sovereignty of the Qing Dynasty, based on the discrimination between *hua* and *yi* that then Manchu people were well-versed in Chinese culture to almost the same degree as the Chinese.[20] In the field of literature, several novels that were masterpieces of Qing Dynasty Chinese literature (such as *The Gallant Maid* by Wen Kang) were produced by Manchu authors. Immediately after the Manchu letters were devised, *Liao-shi*, *Jin-shi*, *Yuan-shi*, and Confucian Classics were translated, as were popular novels. Despite government regulations intended to curb them to prevent bad effects on people [LIN 1980: 257–258], such novels became widely available in Manchu society. Consequently, a

number of Manchu novelists were produced. An excellent author was also produced among "bao-yi," or Imperial Bond Servants (members of Manchu or sometimes Chinese families that were attached to the emperor as hereditary personal servants). Cao Xue-quan (Cao Zhan; circa 1715–circa 1764), author of *Dream of the Red Chamber*, which was written in the mid-18th century and is considered as one of the greatest Chinese classics, is said to have come of a family of "bao-yi" [FENG 1980: 335–339]. Such a capacity to acquire Chinese culture seems to be one reason the Qing Dynasty survived for the longest period of any conquest dynasty.

Qing China coincided with Tokugawa Japan. Compared with the fixed hierarchical society of Japan, Qing China was characterized by its flexible hierarchy [HO 1962]. Anyone who passed the examination (ke-ju) could join the administrators in Qing China. If unsuccessful on the examination, there were alternative paths, such as "que-yi jin-qu" which allowed persons of considerable talent to become the private secretaries (mu-you) of administrators and take part in governmental business [MIYAZAKI 1976a: 329]. Therefore, people in Qing China are supposed to have had a greater interest in learning to read and write than did Japanese people of the time. Since people's daily lives also required the skills of reading and writing (i.e., for merchants to keep books and for farmers to avoid unfair exploitation), it is said that elementary education was fairly widespread even among common people. Let us now turn our attention to the literacy of the populace of Qing China, mainly through reference to the study by Evelyn Sakakida Rawski [RAWSKI 1979].

There were educational institutions including private schools in villages, *yi-shu* (charitable schools) for orphans and poor children, and *zu-shu* (clan schools) opened by clans based on similar concepts to *yi shu*. Children between the ages of 6 and 14 learned basic writing, reading, and arithmetic for two or three years. For farmers' children, who were usually engaged in farming, short-term schools were held only during the slack winter season. *Qian-zi-wen* (*Thousand Character Classic*), *Bai-jia-xing* (*Hundred Names*), and *San-zi-jing* (*Trimetrical Classics*)[21] (so-called *San-Bai-Qian*) were traditionally used as texts, and various books called "*za-zi*" (miscellany) illustrating the meanings of Chinese characters were prevalent. See Figure 2.

It is said that knowledge of at least several thousand characters was required to read Confucian Classics such as the *Five Classics* and the *Four Books* [YOSHIKAWA 1971: 420–421]. Literacy in old China was frequently judged by very high standards such as these, and was thus considered very low. But if we employ as a literacy standard acquisition of the several hundred to 2000 characters that common people learned in the above-mentioned schools, literacy in the Qing Dynasty is assumed to have reached 30 to 45 percent among men [RAWSKI 1979: 22–23]. Higher figures can be assumed in large commercial cities; male literacy in Canton approached 50 percent in the period of Dao-guang, and a record shows that the number of boys with no experience in learning to read and write was less than 10 percent at the age of 10 or more. This record also reported that those who had been educated were generally remarkably fond of books and a great number of cir-

culating libraries were kept constantly in motion.[22] On the other hand, women's literacy was only between 2 and 10 percent because it was difficult for women to enter school in the Chinese society of that time [Rawski 1979: 22–23].

In the Qing Dynasty, the *kao-zheng* (evidential research) scholarship, a kind of philological study of Chinese classics, prevailed among scholars. Manchu scholars active in this field included Na-lan Xing-de, Kui Xu, and few others. The *kao-zheng* scholarship was dominated by Chinese scholars. The *kao-zheng* scholarship included phonology to study the rhymes of poems of the *Poetry Classic*, and to restore the phonological systems of archaic Chinese, and philology to study materials critically. The basis for this phonology and philology was established early in the Qing Dynasty by Gu Yan-wu (1613–1682) with his *Yin-xue wu-shu* (*Five*

Fig. 2 *Dui-xiang si-yan* (Illustrated Four-Character Glossary), a kind of "*za-zi*" (miscellany) [Rawski 1979, p. 131, Fig. 2].

Books in Phonology) and by Yan Ruo-qu (1636–1704) with his *Shang-shu gu-wen shu-zheng* (*An Evidential Inquiry into the "Old Text" Chapters of the Book of Documents*) respectively. The source of these two books can be traced back to the theory of Wu Yu (?–1154), a senior of Zhu Xi (1130–1200).[23]

Many phonologists were produced in succession from Gu yan-wu up until the end of the Qing Dynasty. Phonology is said to have flourished most greatly during the Qian-long and Jia-jing eras. One of the greatest scholars of the time was Dai Zhen (1724–1777) who was an extremely talented scholar but failed in the examination (ke-ju) many times until his declining years.[24] Although his life was not easy, he earnestly tackled the study of phonology to his dying day. He completed his last book on phonology *Sheng-lei biao* (*Illustration of Typologies of Sounds*) only a half month before his death.[25]

The study of archaic Chinese was neither urgent nor necessary even for scholars then. While intellect and intelligence are known to be engaged by such study, self-sacrificing efforts by Dai Zhen and other scholars suggest that this study was far from simply a means to kill time. The enthusiasm that Dai Zhen and other scholars showed toward the study of archaic Chinese, which was neither urgent nor necessary, is worth considering.

The author's interest now turns to investigating the cause for the popularity of *kao-zheng* scholarship in the history of the development of Chinese philosophy and thought.[26] We should not ignore, however, the fact that *kao-zheng* scholarship prevailed under the rule of the conquest dynasty. If we assume that the scholars were forced to be engaged in less political philology under the speech and philosophical control represented by the literary cases (Footnote 20), then the enthusiasm of Dai Zhen and other scholars for phonology cannot be explained. Rather, their enthusiasm may represent a positive and active effort to recognize and maintain their own culture under rule by other tribes.

Dai Zhen, his disciple Duan Yu-cai (1735–1815), and Duan's friend Wang Nian-sun (1744–1832) who is well-known as one of the greatest *kao-zheng* scholars in the Qing Dynasty, formed "Wan-pai" (the *Wan* school) in An-hui. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the school was succeeded by Zhang Bing-lin (1868–1936),[27] who claimed the establishment of the "guo-xue" (national study), the study of the national characteristics.

Zhang Bin-lin was exiled to Japan three times, in 1899, 1902, and 1906, and was there exposed to Japanese culture. The term "guo-xue" is said to have been borrowed from Japanese ("*koku-gaku*") [SHIMADA 1965: 247]. Dating from around the Boxer Incident in 1900, he strongly claimed the necessity of "guang-fu" (revolution) to overthrow the conquest dynasty and to restore to the Chinese their own nation. In July 1900, he rebelliously cut the queue which was the traditional coiffure of the Manchus imposed on all Chinese by the Qing government and, in February 1908, said that independence of a nation starts from the "guo-xue." ("Yin-du-ren zhi lun guo-cui", or "An Indian's Debate on National Characteristics", first published in *Min-bao*, or *People's Report*, No. 20, and later in *Tai-yan bie-lu*,

or *Extra Memorandums by Zhang Tai-yan*, vol. 2). Zhang Bin-lin originally viewed "guo-xue" as one of the methods for revolution. The "guo-xue," based on the fruits of the *kao-zheng* scholarship, may imply the same element of enthusiasm scholars had shown toward phonological study since the Qian-long and Jia-jing eras. There must have been various sources of the enthusiasm underlying the *kao-zheng* scholarship. Further consideration of this point will be welcome.

NOTES

1) The two Japanese terms "chi" (intellect; the faculty to know) and "kyōyō" (intelligence; cultivation) differ slightly in implication. However, the meanings covered by the two are expected to be revealed in the course of discussions in the symposium. Therefore, it should be commented in advance that this paper does not define the concepts of the two words or distinguish them. The idea expanded on below, which lies behind much of Chinese traditional philosophy and thought (a special interest of this author), is indicative in considering the difference between the two: Confucius said to his pupil Zi-lu (子路), "How uncultivated you are! An intelligent man, on any points that he has no knowledge of, leaves them unexplained."(*The Analects of Confucius*, Zi-lu). A similar phrase found in the field of classical study (jing-xue 経学) is that "The only instruction Master Shen Pei (申培) gave was oral exegesis of the *Poetry Classic*; he used no written commentary on the *Classic*. Any points that he was undecided about he left unexplained and did not attempt to comment on (*Shi-ji* 『史記』, or *Records of the Grand Historian*, vol. 121, The Biographies of Confucianists). Also in the *Analects of Confucius*, Confucius said, "In my early days, a historiographer, on any points that he was undecided about, would leave a blank... Recently, alas, such a scene does not take place" (The Duke Ling of Wei). Such an attitude was considered as a barometer to check the existence of morality or the prosperity of the civilization at large. Furthermore, this attitude served as a standard to judge the truth of classical books in several cases. In Southern Song, Zhu Xi (朱熹) questioned the genuineness of Kong An-guo (孔安国, a famous scholar in Former Han)'s reputed commentary on the *Book of Documents* which was, in fact, later revealed as an imitation made in the Wei and Jin Dynasties as surmised by Zhu Xi. About the reason for his doubt, he said, "Those commentaries by Han scholars left any points that they were undecided about unexplained, but this commentary explained everything. It's mysterious" (*Zhu-zi yu-lei* 『朱子語類』, or *Conversations with Master Zhu, Classified Topically*, vol. 78, the Book of Documents, 1). *Lun-yu zheng-yi* (『論語正義』, or *The Correct Meaning of the Analects*) by Xing Bing (邢昺) in Northern Song commented on the above-mentioned chapter of the *Duke Ling of Wei* as follows: "In this chapter, Confucius was sorry that people of the days were generally 'chuan-zao 穿鑿' (inquisitive)." People without that attitude were regarded as "chuan-zao," and in Chinese traditional philosophy and thought, it was most disgraceful for a scholar to be regarded as "chuan-zao." It seems that, in Chinese traditional philosophy and thought, what distinguished an intelligent person from an uncultivated one was not the presence of knowledge but the presence of a certain attitude. This characteristic attitude toward knowledge is indicative when considering the role of "kyōyō" or "chi".

2) Wang Jing-qi (汪景祺; also Wang Ri-qi 汪日祺) wrote *Du-shu-tang xi-zheng sui-bi* (『読書堂西征随筆』, or *Jottings of a Western Journey from the Studio of Reading*), and in its "Hui-xie zhi yu" (「詼諧之語」, or "A Word of Humor"), this poem (7-syllabic quatrain)

was presented following the story provided below: There lived an unidentified man in Wu-xi (無錫). When the former emperor visited there, a man named Du Zhao (杜詔), who newly became a Government Student (sheng-yuan 生員) (Footnote 24), presented a poem by the roadside. The emperor was pleased with it and gave him an Imperial poem written on a sheet of fancy paper decorated with silk. Du Zhao carefully took it back home and read the poem which said, "Few clouds can be seen and a wind lightly blows in the sky just before noon," and the other three lines. Then the unidentified man composed a 7-syllabic quatrain. This book was revealed when a high official Nian Geng-yao (年羹堯) (?–1726) was impeached in 1725 (Yong-zheng 3); after its revelation, Wang Jing-qi was executed and his family were also involved in the case. This book was withdrawn then, and when it was discovered in the court after the fall of the Qing Dynasty, the Yong-zheng (雍正) Emperor's comment on it written on the front page was discovered at the same time. The comment said, "I am very sorry that I did not see it earlier. I will keep it for reference so that no one like this can elude observation" [MIYAZAKI 1976c: 260–262].

3) For inscriptions of Jin (金) and Yuan (元), refer to [ISHIDA 1931: 1271–1277] and [LUO and CAI 1959: 16–29].

4) For example, *Catalogue of Classic and Modern Chinese Books in the Institute of Oriental Culture* (『東京大学東洋文化研究所漢籍分類目録』, 1973), contained *The Four Books in Translation, Written by the Emperor*, with a preface dated Qian-long 20 (1755), xylograph, which are written in three languages. [Li 1933: 5] recorded *San-he sheng-yu guang-xun* (『三合聖諭公訓』, or *Trilingual saintly precepts broadly inculcated*) in Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese. (Li (李) says the blocks were cut in Tong-zhi 13)

5) Ethnic construction of a total of 2054 high officials, *Da-xue-shi* (大学士, or Grand Secretaries), *Jun-ji da-chen* (軍機大臣, or Grand Ministers of State), *Bu-yuan da-chen* (部院大臣, or Ministers and Vice-Ministers in the Six Ministries), *Zong-du* (総督, or Governors-General, and *Xun-fu* (巡撫, or Provincial Governors) in the Qing Dynasty is provided below [NARAKINO 1975: 337].
Manchu: 680 (33.1%)
Mongol: 55 (2.7%)
"Han-jun 漢軍" (the Chinese army of eight banners): 271 (13.2%)
Chinese: 1048 (51.0%)

6) Refer to [MATSUMURA 1975: 438–442].

7) For qi-qu-zhu (起居注), refer to [KATO 1979].

8) Refer to [HATANO 1967, KIM 1968, GUAN and ZHOU 1984: 771–787].

9) Words of Nurhachi in establishing the Manchu language are recorded in *Man-zhou shi-lu* (vol. 3, February *ji-hai* 己亥, Wan-li 万歴 27.). In the record, he explains his plan: "If we use Mongol characters, there is no difficulty. For example, we put Mongol characters 'a' and 'ma' to make 'ama' (meaning a father) and put 'e' and 'me' to make 'eme' (meaning a mother)."

10) The foreword of the *Liao-shi* (『遼史』), *Jin-shi* (『金史』) and *Yuan-shi* (『元史』) written by Xi Fu (希福) and others, dated Shun-zhi (順治) 1 mentioned that the translation started in Chong-de (崇徳) 1 and was completed in Chong-de 4. The book, published in Shun-zhi 3, was one of the earliest of printed and published Manchu books [Li 1933: 40].

11) For Khitan and hPhags-pa letters, refer to [TAMURA 1976: 5–8, LUO and CAI 1959: 18], respectively.

12) For Dahai, refer to [YAMASHITA 1933: 192–195].

13) For prosperity and decline of Manchu in administrative systems, the author referred to [MIYAZAKI 1963].

14) For "zou-zhe" (奏摺), refer to [MIYAZAKI 1976b: 297–322].

15) The Qian-long (乾隆) Emperor issued the following edict in 1776 (Qian-long 41): "Twenty years have passed since the Provincial and Metropolitan Examinations in the course of interpreters were stopped. Since few Manchus learn Manchu or are good at translation recently, the Provincial and Metropolitan Examinations will be held in Qian-long 43 (the year being *wu-xu* 戊戌) and Qian-long 44 (the year being *ji-hai* 己亥) respectively as incentives for learning Manchu" (*Qing-ding ke-chang tiao-li* 『欽定科場条例』, 1816 edition, vol. 59, Fang-yi xiang-hui-shi 繙訳郷会試, upper part).

16) Aisin Gioro Pu-yi (愛親覚羅溥儀), *Wo-de qian-ban-sheng* 『我的前半生』 (Half My Life) (1964, Qun-zhong chu-ban-she 群衆出版社), p. 62, p. 64.

17) For problems of the palace examination, refer to [Fu 1933: 5b–6a].

18) For example, the Yong-zheng Emperor issued the following edict: "I looked through answers of the palace examination examinees. Asked how the officials should be fair, faithful and devote themselves to the nation, the fifth examinee's answer was written in good hand and remarkably honest as if it had been written by the great ministers of the past, saying, "if they encourage good and punish evil among colleagues...the officials at the same post will unite together...And if it is spread throughout all the offices, why aren't all the officials joined as if they were the parts of the body?" I decided to employ him as the third rank of the leader group (yi-jia san-ming 一甲三名) and on looking at his name, I felt very glad to find that he was Zhang Ruo-ai (張若靄), a son of Da-xue-shi (Grand Secretary) Zhang Ting-yu (張廷玉)" (Dong-hua-lu 東華録, ed. Wang Xian-qian 王先謙 et al., Yong-zheng reign 22, April 1, the day being *ren-zi* 壬子, Yong-zheng 11). Besides the palace examination, for example, there was the following case: A bibliography of Ruan Yuan (阮元), who is known as a famous kao-zheng (考証) scholar and politician in the latter half of the Qing Dynasty mentioned the following story: In Qian-long 55, when a da-kao (大考, or Grand Examination) was held for the Metropolitan Graduates of Hanlin (翰林) Academy and Zhan-shi-fu (詹事府, or Household Administration of the Heir Apparent), the Qian-long Emperor selected Ruan Yuan as a Shao-zhan-shi (少詹事, or Vice Supervisor of the Household of the Heir Apparent) by himself and said, "I have not imagined I would meet such a talented person in my 80s" (Guo-chao xian-zheng shi-lue 『国朝先正事略』, vol. 21) [SUGIMURA 1961: 45–46, 144].

19) The Kang-xi (康熙) Emperor reflected on his boyhood in *Ting-xun ge-yan* 『庭訓格言』 (*Moral*): On becoming an emperor at the age of 8, I recognized that I had to work hard on learning. At that time, palace attendants Zhang (張) and Lin (林) taught me how to read books. Both had read a lot of books during the Ming dynasty. They attached great importance only to the Confucian Classics. As to literary works, they regarded them as of secondary importance. Around the age of 17 or 18, I became more enthusiastic about learning. I got up before sunrise and read books until morning duties. When duties were not tight in the evening, I engaged in discussions. In the end, I got too tired and vomited bloody phlegm.

20) Cao Jing (曾静), influenced by the anti-Manchu philosophy of Lü Liu-liang (呂留良) (1629–1683), and his pupil Zhang Xi (張熙) tried to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and this incident developed into one of the largest literary cases in the Yong-zheng period. The Yong-zheng Emperor argued with and beat Cao Jing, and recorded their arguments, which were published in *Da-yi Jiao-mi-lu* 『大義覚迷録』 in 1729 (Yong-zheng 7). In Volume 1, to refute Cao Jing's statement that tribes other than Chinese were not allowed to rule China, the Yong-zheng Emperor claimed as follows: "Han Yu (韓愈) in Tang (唐) (in his "*Yuan-dao*" 「原道」, or "*Inquiry into the Way*") said that even other tribes, when

acquiring Chinese culture, were regarded as Chinese." In this refutation, he seems to have claimed that the Manchus finished mastering Chinese culture and became as Chinese.

21) *San-zi-jing* (『三字経』) which begins with the phrase "Ren-zhi-chu, xing-ben-shan 人之初，性本善 (People originally have virtue)..." served not only as a basis for educational material, but also as a text of Confucian ethics. After dissolution of the Old China, this concept focused criticism on the evils of conventional moral education. During the first half of the 1970s, when Lin Piao (林彪) and Confucius were criticised (pi-Lin pi-Kong 批林批孔), criticism against *San-zi-jing* was also obvious in elementary schools, for example, as shown in [HAMAGUCHI 1976: 167–168].

22) This is according to *The Chinese Repository*, vol. II, E.C. Bridgeman's "Description of the City of Canton," pp. 252–253, which records Chinese situations between May 1833 (Dao-guang 道光 13), and April 1834 (Dao-guang 14) viewed from a Westerner's eyes.

23) *Shang-shu gu-wen shu-zheng* (『尚書古文疏証』) by Yan Ruo-qu (閻若璩) was remarkable in proving that 25 of 58 of the chapters in the *Book of Documents*, one of the *Five Classics*, were forgeries. The first to question the genuineness of the 25 chapters is considered to have been *Shu-pi-zhuan* (『書裨伝』) (no longer in existence) by Wu Yu (呉棫). He also played an important role in the classification of archaic Chinese rhymes (divided into 9 by him for the first time), which had become more sophisticated since the study by Gu Yan-wu (顧炎武). Cao Xue-quan (曹学佺) states this as follows in the foreword of *Yin-xue wu-shu* (『音学五書』) by Gu yan-wu: "By referring to a book by Wu Yu, Chen Di (陳第) (1541–1617) from my province wrote *Mao-shi gu-yin kao* (『毛詩古音考』),.. still leaving some uncertainty. However, Gu-yan-wu put everything in order." [RAI 1958: 90–98].

24) He became a *sheng-yuan* (生員) (a Government Student qualified to apply for the Provincial Examination) at the age of 29 in 1751 (Qian-long 16) and passed the Provincial Examination (xiang-shi 郷試) to be certified as a *ju-ren* (挙人, or Provincial Graduate) at the age of 40 in 1762 (Qian-long 27). However he failed the Metropolitan Examination (hui-shi 会試) in 1763 (Qian-long 28), 1766 (Qian-long 31), 1769 (Qian-long 34), and 1772 (Qian-long 37). In 1773 (Qian-long 38), since his knowledge was indispensable for compilation of *Si-ku quan-shu* (『四庫全書』), he was selected to be a compiler, exceptional for a *ju-ren*. He again failed the Metropolitan Examination in 1775 (Qian-long 40), two years before his death, but was granted a special qualification equivalent to one given to successful examinees and the title of "Han-lin-yuan shu-ji-shi" (翰林院庶吉士, or Hanlin Bachelor).

25) Duan Yu-cai (段玉裁), a disciple of Dai Zhen (戴震), wrote a chronological biography of Dai Zhen, saying the following (some passages omitted) in a chapter in 1777 (Qian-long 42): "The teacher completed 9 volumes of *Sheng-lei biao* (『声類表』) early this May, just 10 and several days before he died. According to Mr. Kong Ji-han (孔継涵), the Director of the Ministry of Revenue, he completed the book in about 5 days. Of course, its plan had already been completely matured, but such a hard work must have really exhausted his mind. When overused, the body burns out and the mind wears out. Oh, who could have imagined this book would be his last writing!"

26) Refer to [YU 1970].

27) Refer to [RAI 1958: 90–98].

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GLOSSARY

An-hui　安徽
Bai-jia-xing　百家姓
bao-yi　包衣
bing-zhen　丙辰
cao-shu　草書
Cao Xue-quan　曹雪芹
chi　知
Chong-de　崇德
Dai Zhen　戴震
Dao-guang　道光

dian-shi 殿試
Ding Fu-bao 丁福保
ding-niu 丁丑
ding-wei 丁未
Dong-hua-lu 東華録
Dong-hua-xu-lu 東華続録
Dong-tai-hou 東太后
Dong-zhi 同治
Dui-xiang si-yan 対相四言
fang-yi ke-ju 翻繹科挙
geng-zi 庚子
gong-ju 貢挙
guang-fu 光復
Guang-xu 光緒
guan-xue 官学
guo-xue 国学
Gu-qian da-ci-dian 古銭大辞典
hua 華
Huang-chao wen-xian tong-kao 皇朝文献通考
hu-bu 戸部
Jian-zhou 建州
Jia-qing 嘉慶
Jia-qing hui-dian 嘉慶会典
ji-guan hu 鶏冠壺
Jin 晋
Kang-xi 康熙
Kang-xi hui-dian 康熙会典
kao-zheng 考証
ke-ju 科挙
koku-gaku 国学
Kui Xu 揆叙
kyōyō 教養
Liao 遼
li-bu 礼部
Ling 霊
Lu Jia 陸賈
Man-Han he-bi 満漢合璧
Man-Han he-bi nei-fu yi-tong yu-di mi-du 満漢合璧内府一統輿地秘図
Man-zhou sheng-ren 満州聖人
Man-zhou shi-lu 満州実録
Min-bao 民報
mu-you 幕友
Na-lan Xing-de 納蘭性徳
Pang-xie duanr 螃蟹段児
qian-bi kao 銭幣考
Qian-long 乾隆
Qian-long bao-zang 乾隆宝蔵
Qian-long tong-bao 乾隆通宝
Qian-zi-wen 千字文
Qin-ding Man-zhou Meng-gu Han-zi san-he qie-yin Qing-wen-jian 欽定満洲蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑑
Qin-ding zang-ding Qing-wen-jian 欽定増訂清文鑑
Qing 清
qi-qu-zhu-ce 起居注冊
qi-qu-zhu-guan 起居注官
que-yi jin-qu 絶意進取
San-zi-jing 三字経
Sheng-jing fu 盛京賦
shi-lu 実録
shi-wu ce 時務策
Shu huang-chao wen-xian tong-kao 続皇朝文献通考
Shun-zhi 順治
Shun-zhi tong-bao 順治通宝
Tai-yan bie-lu 太炎別録
Tai-zu Tai-hou shi-lu 太祖太后実録
Tian-cong 天聡
Wang Nian-sun 王念孫
Wang Xian-qian 王先謙
Wan-pai 皖派
Wei 魏
Wei 衛
Wen Kang 文康
Wu-ti Qing-wen-jian 五体清文鑑
xing-shu 行書
Xi-tai-hou 西太后
Xuan-tong 宣統
xuan-zhen-zhuan 懸針篆
yi 夷
yi-hai 乙亥
Yin-du-ren zhi lun guo-cui 印度人之論国粋
yi-shu 義塾
yu-zhu-zhuan 玉箸篆
za-zi 雑字
Zhang Bing-lin 章炳麟
Zhang Tai-yan 章太炎
zhong-shu-ke 中書科
zhuan-shu 篆書
zi-di shu 子弟書
zu-shu 族塾