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Söderblom Saarela, Mårten

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MANCHU AND THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE IN CHINA (1607–1911)

Mårten Söderblom Saarela

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Abstract

The present work treats the Manchu script's influence on language studies in Qīng China, roughly covering the period 1607–1911. The Manchu script, which had its roots in the Near East, was used to write the language of the Qīng ruling house and parts of its hereditary military elite. The Qīng empire emerged as a regional power in Northeast Asia in the first decades of the seventeenth century, and subsequently ruled China and parts of Inner Asia from the mid-seventeenth century until 1912, when a republic replaced it in China and parts of the other former imperial possessions.

This study argues that Qīng thinkers theorized the Manchu script in reference to ideas from the Inner Asian and partially Buddhist Chinese traditions. As such, the Manchu script formed the basis of a distinct method of serial lexicographic arrangement, eventually applied also to Chinese corpora, and heavily influenced how speech sounds were transcribed across writing systems in Chinese and Manchu dictionaries, thesauri, and language manuals. The study demonstrates this thesis by discussing the development of elementary Manchu language pedagogy, lexicography, and phonology.

The dissertation introduces the languages historically spoken and written in China; gives an overview of education in imperial China and traces the development of Chinese lexicography and phonology as disciplines before the late imperial period; describes the history of script creation in Inner Asia, including in Manchuria; discusses the Manchu bureaucracy, education, and publishing in China in the period of Manchu rule; presents the history of the Manchu syllabary; traces the development of Manchu dictionaries as tools for managing information; argues how the encounter with the Manchu script compelled Chinese scholars to develop new methods of indicating the pronunciation of Chinese characters; and, finally, shows that the Manchu script came to be used to clarify the pronunciation of the emerging standard Chinese language of Mandarin. An appendix problematizes and traces how European scholars came to think of the Manchu script not as a syllabary, as they thought of it in China, but as an alphabet similar to the European script.

Conventions

Transcription and Translation of Foreign Languages

- Transcriptions of word in non-Roman scripts as well as foreign words natively written in Roman script are italicized with the exception of names of people and places, including institutions (e.g., Nèiwù fǔ 內務府, 'The Imperial Household Department').

  The sound-values of Chinese words are transcribed according to the *pīnyīn* system used in the People's Republic of China. However, I have at times departed from the *pīnyīn* rules regarding capitalization and spacing between words. In general, complex noun phrases (that include other noun phrases nested in them) have been written with a space between the first constituent noun phrase and the second (e.g., *yīnyùn xué*, 'phonology'). Exceptions include a few common words like *túshūguǎn*, 'library' and *chūbǎnshè*, 'publishing house.'

- Manchu is transcribed using the Möllendorf transcription system as seen in Norman 2013, with a few exceptions. Furthermore, in the transcription of Manchu graphs used to transcribe Chinese sounds, I have tried to reflect the original orthography by adding a vowel that I see written out in the Manchu, but which would normally not be transcribed in the Möllendorf system. Thus *sye* is used instead of *sy* to transcribe the Manchu rendering of the Chinese syllable *sì* 四. My intention is to more closely reflect the original orthography as it would have been conceptualized by the writer.

  The sixth vowel in Manchu is transcribed with a circumflex (*û*), not a macron, so as not to confuse it with similarly transcribed Chinese and Japanese syllables.

  No capitalization is used in Manchu or Mongol[1] transcriptions except for in personal names and in book titles quoted in the text that have no Chinese version.

- The Mongol, Japanese, Korean, and Russian transcriptions should present no surprises. However, bisyllabic Korean personal names have been written without a hyphen.

- Publication titles in Asian languages, Latin, Russian, and Swedish have been translated to English whenever they appear in the main text or in the bibliography. Titles in French and German have not been translated. Book titles in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean are presented in transcription and in their original form at first occurrence in the text and in the bibliography.

- The transcription of names of Qīng subjects is a complicated issue. Names of Chinese civilians, written in Chinese characters, have been transcribed using *pīnyīn*.

  Names of Manchus (including bannermen of unknown ethnicity) and Mongols have been transcribed based on their Manchu- or Mongol-script form whenever available. I

[1] I will generally use the term 'Mongol' rather than 'Mongolian' in reference to the language, especially in its written form, of the Mongols in the period covered by this study. My ambition is that this usage is in accord with the taxonomy presented in Janhunen 2003 (notwithstanding that this book operates with a much more elaborate terminology).

have followed this principle even when the names look Chinese (e.g., Sioi Yuwan Meng and not Xú Yuánmèng for 徐元夢) or appear to be renderings of Chinese sounds (e.g., Hi Hiya and not Xī-xiá for 谿霞). All parts of Manchu names have been capitalized, the spacing always reflecting spacing in the original. When the Manchu but not Mongol form of a Mongol individual's name is available, I have preferred it to the Chinese form.

Names of a Manchu or Mongol individual that are only available in Chinese characters have been transcribed as one word with every syllable connected with a hyphen (e.g., Fú-gé 福格). The names of contemporary Mongol scholars publishing in Chinese, however, have been transcribed as one word, without hyphens, using *pīnyīn*.

Very well-known Manchu and Mongol individuals are referred to using their well-known forms (e.g., Hong Taiji).

Citations and Bibliography

- The citations generally follow the author-date system as described in *The Chicago Manual of Style* (2010). Many cited items have an original date and a date of publication; both are given in citations (the original date in parentheses, followed by the date of publication). The original date sometimes refers to the original date of publication, sometimes to the date of composition. The bibliography entry for each item should make clear which applies in each case.

- The bibliography is divided into two parts. The first part contains items that (1) have no date (cited as 'n.d.') or (2) have an original or only date from before or including 1911 (the year that marks the fall of the Qīng empire). Thus the reader should look for the entry for Gù Yánwǔ (1695) 2006 in the first section of the bibliography, since the original date is 1695.

- Letters edited and published in (early modern European) books or journals are cited as articles. Letters published as part of an archival collection without editing are cited as unpublished letters. This will not affect locating them in the bibliography.

- Some items are cited using abbreviations or shortened titles of various sorts. They are sorted in the bibliography according to the abbreviation or shortened title. That is, there is no 'list of abbreviations.'

- Pages in East Asian thread-bound books are cited according to the formula: [*chapter number or chapter title*]:[page number]['a' for *recto*, 'b' for *verso*]. The chapter number or title is taken from the fold in the page that constitutes a *recto*'s right margin and also carries the page number. Sometimes the additional, Western-style pagination of a reprint is also given in parentheses.

- Bilingual (Manchu-Chinese) or trilingual (Manchu-Chinese-Mongol) book titles mentioned in the main text are given only in their Chinese version. However, I have taken all versions of such titles into into account when translating them.

- All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Other

- Chinese and Manchu dates follow the formula Year/Month/Day (in the lunar calendar).

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Part I

Preliminaries

Chapter 1

Synopsis and Purpose of This Study

The present work treats the Manchu script's influence on language studies in Qīng China, roughly covering the period 1607–1911. Manchu was the language of the Qīng ruling house and parts of its hereditary military elite. Called, among other things, the 'dynastic language' and 'script' (Ch. *guóyǔ* 國語, *guóshū* 國書), it was an Inner Asian language written in a script with roots in the Near East. The Qīng empire, in which Manchu developed and was used, emerged as a regional power in Northeast Asia in the first decades of the seventeenth century and subsequently ruled China and parts of Inner Asia from the mid-seventeenth century until 1911, when a republic replaced it in China and parts of the other former imperial possessions.

This study argues that Qīng thinkers of both Manchu and Chinese backgrounds theorized the Manchu script in reference to ideas from the Inner Asian and partially Buddhist Chinese traditions. As such, the Manchu script formed the basis of a distinct method of serial lexicographic arrangement, eventually applied also to Chinese corpora, and heavily influenced how speech sounds were transcribed across writing systems in Chinese and Manchu dictionaries, thesauri, and language manuals. The study demonstrates this thesis by discussing the development of elementary Manchu language pedagogy, lexicography, and phonology. It also offers a historicization of the Western conception of the Manchu script not as a syllabary but as an alphabet by studying the writings of European missionaries and scholars in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

As all historical scholarship, the study is empirical in that it seeks to understand how the Manchu language and especially its script were studied in Qīng China, and by extension how that study affected the disciplines and arts treating language more generally in the period. Language is multifaceted and, being a social institution, can be observed in a variety of contexts and from a variety of perspectives. This study posits that people living in what is now considered the Chinese interior had encountered languages different from what they themselves spoke under various circumstances throughout history, but that the sustained interaction—in the form of cohabitation or organized study and on a scale of thousands of people over a period of decades or centuries—with another written language using a script radically different from Chinese characters was a much rarer event. The introduction of Buddhism in the medieval period, carried out using Indic languages and scripts, had been one such instance,[1] and one whose influence extended into the late imperial period studied here. The introduction of the Manchu language and script to China in the mid-seventeenth century was another such instance.

The fact that the Chinese encounter with Manchu included facing a new script not only made it different from, for example, the encounter with the languages of the highland southwest in the Míng (1368–1644) period, but it also made it similar to the Chinese encounter with European languages from the sixteenth century onward. European script had appeared in print in China in the decades preceding the Manchu conquest, but it was in the nineteenth and especially the early twentieth centuries that European languages in written form came to be studied on a large scale in China. At that time, the differences between the European alphabet and Chinese characters became stressed by educators and language reformers who claimed that a reform of the Chinese writing system, or even language, would improve the literacy levels and social development of their country. Similarly to that later Western influ-

[1] Behr 2004 stressed the lack of theoretical interest in foreign languages in China before the encounter with Buddhism.

ence, the Manchu script in particular influenced the language studies and arts in China in the Qīng period.

The grammar of the Manchu language, also radically different from Chinese in both its classical (literary) and modern forms, was also studied in Qīng China, and the history of that study and its consequences deserves close examination. Yet the present study will leave the Chinese study of Manchu grammar largely unexplored for three reasons.

First, no printed books on Chinese grammar openly referencing Manchu grammar as a source of inspiration ever appeared in the Qīng period. By contrast, not only was the Manchu script and the sounds it represented often referenced in the discourse on Chinese words and sounds in the Qīng, but some of the books thus influenced by Manchu even count among the period's best known works of lexicography and phonology.

Second, the Chinese study of Manchu grammar did not lead to any readily visible attempts at reforming the Chinese language either in the Qīng period or thereafter.[2] By contrast, the study of the Manchu script and its sounds inspired attempts in the Qīng to facilitate the use of Chinese characters or even their reform. The project of language reform that was thus initiated continued into the twentieth century, turning into a momentous project that gave us the *pīnyīn* transcription system and simplified characters that have characterized the educational experience of hundreds of millions of people to date. These similar and to some extent related developments make the influence of the Manchu script on Chinese language studies appear particularly important.

Third, the present study has been written in explicit recognition of what the humanities dissertation has become in the United States: a preliminary examination of a topic that its author is expected to in subsequent years explore in greater depth in view of eventual publication in a different form. The inclusion of a more substantive treatment of the Chinese study of Manchu grammar is something that I see could possibly enter into a later continuation of this project. For now, the study remains largely concerned with the Manchu script and the sounds it represented.

Furthermore, by focusing on the Manchu learning in the capital, outside the loci of intellectual production in southeastern China much studied by intellectual historians, the study draws attention to intellectual trends concerned with contemporary problems of language, as opposed to the restoration of the classical past.

In addition to the empirical study of the Manchu language and script's influence in China, this study also takes the Chinese experience with the Manchu script, that it outlines, as the starting point for a contribution to the study of writing systems in general. Recent scholarship on the history of Chinese writing in East Asia has already begun to question many long-held assumption regarding the relationship between speech, writing, and their role in literacy.[3] This study makes similar claims, but it does not focus on the Chinese writing system, whose importance for the conceptualization of language in East Asia it nevertheless acknowledges. I believe that the Chinese study of Manchu in the late imperial period is informative with regards to our understanding of how the structure of a script relates to its conceptualization by a community of users. This aspect of the present study is only sketched relatively briefly here,

[2]The fact that 'grammar' was not recognized as a field of study or a genre of books in late imperial China (Alleton 2004, 212–216) was most probably related to this circumstance.

[3]Lurie 2011.

as its validity and ramifications are far from definitively worked out. Nevertheless, I choose to state it here as I now understand it in the hope of developing it further in discussion with interested readers.

Research for this study was carried out at the following libraries and archives: the Gest collection of Princeton University, Harvard-Yenching Library, and Yale University (where I consulted microfilms of items from the collection at Tenri University, Japan) in the United States; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Collège de France, British Library, and the Royal Asiatic Society in Europe; National Palace Museum (Běijīng) the National Museum of China, Capital Library, Peking University, Minzu University of China, the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the First Historical Archives, the Palace of Nationalities, Dalian Library, Sun Yat-sen Library, Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences, Inner Mongolia University, and Inner Mongolia Normal University in the People's Republic of China; National Palace Museum (Táiběi), Academia Sinica, and Taiwan Normal University in Taiwan; Kyujanggak Archives and Korea University in South Korea; the University of Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, the Diet Library, the Naikaku Bunko, and Keio University in Japan.

In addition, by email I verified the identity of an item at Leiden University. I also consulted photocopied material from the Vatican Apostolic Library, microfilms from the Hunterian Collection of the University of Glasgow, and digitized books from various other locations, notably Waseda University, Tokyo and the Prussian State Library, Berlin.

The relevant holdings at the National Library of China, Běijīng; Liaoning Provincial Library, Shěnyáng; and Inner Mongolia Library, Hohhot were unavailable (I attempted visits in 2012 and 2014). Furthermore, I could not make full use of the Manchu books at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London because the current call-numbers did not correspond to those in the specialized printed catalog.

Archives not visited in preparation for this study, but which would certainly provide material to improve it, include the libraries in Halle, St. Petersburg, the Russian Far East, and Rome. I hope to visit at least some of them in the future.

In addition to archival material, the study makes frequent use of sources reprinted in facsimile in series such as *Xùxiū "Sìkù quánshū"* 續修四庫全書 (Sequel to the *Complete books of the four repositories*; 1995) and *"Sìkù quánshū cúnmù" cóngshū* (Collectanea of books noted by their title in the *Complete books of the four repositories*; 1997). Since these collections are topically organized, I found several sources just by browsing the relevant volumes in them. In addition, one chapter in particular makes heavy use of reprinted Manchu administrative documents.

The dissertation has eight chapters, divided into four parts, and an appendix. The **first part**, "Preliminaries," contains two chapters. Following the present synopsis, **Chapter 2**, "Language and Its Study in China," introduces the languages historically spoken and written in China, including Chinese and Altaic languages like Manchu and Mongol. It also gives an overview of education in imperial China and traces the development of Chinese lexicography and phonology as disciplines before the late imperial period.

The **second part**, "The Manchu Language in History," consists of two chapters. **Chapter 3**, "The Manchu Language Before the Conquest of China (1607–1644)," describes the history of script creation in Inner Asia from the tenth century CE to the Manchu conquest of China

in 1644. **Chapter 4**, "The Manchu Language in Qīng Society (1644–1911)," discusses the Manchu bureaucracy, education, and publishing in China in the period of Manchu rule.

The **third part**, "The Manchu Syllabary and Lexicographic Arrangement," consists of two chapters. **Chapter 5**, "The Manchu Syllabary and the Pedagogy of Writing," is a history of the Manchu syllabary as a genre of language pedagogy. It shows how the teaching of Manchu developed from oral instruction by a teacher to self-study of both language and script through textbooks. **Chapter 6**, "Manchu Dictionaries and Their Arrangement," traces the development of Manchu dictionaries as tools for managing information.

The **fourth part**, "The Manchu Script and Chinese Phonology," finally, also consists of two chapters. **Chapter 7**, "The Reform of Syllabic Spelling," shows how the encounter with the Manchu script compelled Chinese scholars to develop new methods of indicating the pronunciation of Chinese characters, which facilitated transcription between the languages used in the empire's multilingual administration. **Chapter 8**, "The Manchu Script and Mandarin Chinese in the Late Qīng (1728–1911)," shows that the Manchu script came to be used to clarify the pronunciation of the emerging standard Chinese language of Mandarin. Although Mandarin appeared in the twentieth century as a post-imperial result of Chinese nation building, I argue that it had its roots in the multilingual linguistic regime of the Manchu Qīng empire.

The first part of the **appendix** introduces various types of scripts and problematizes their common subdivision into logographies, syllabaries, and alphabets. Its second part, "The European Invention of the Manchu Alphabet (1682–1807)," traces how European scholars came to think of the Manchu script not as a syllabary, as they thought of it in China, but as an alphabet similar to the European script.

1.1 The Point of Departure: Previous Scholarship

This study would have been impossible without reliance on scholarship in at least three areas: Manchu bibliography; the bibliography and historiography of Chinese phonology; and the study of Qīng scholarship and intellectual trends more broadly defined. I have relied heavily on the scholarship on Manchu and phonological bibliography, although my concerns perhaps at times differ from those of the authors whose bibliographical studies I have used. To give the reader an idea of the textual landscape underlying this study, I will take as my point of departure a review of the relevant bibliographical scholarship.

The scholarship on Qīng intellectual history, by contrast, has been important in that it guided me to the issues explored in these chapters. The issues I will bring up and the arguments I will make in this study have been formulated in reference to that scholarship. In part, this study is intended as a response to some trends in Qīng intellectual history and an attempt to draw attention to previously neglected actors and interests. At times, scholars whose work I have relied on for its bibliographical qualities have also engaged in this brand of intellectual history. I will therefore bring up some authors twice in the following discussion, first in the capacity of bibliographers, philologists, or linguists, and then as intellectual historians.

Bibliography

Often (always?) in the study in history, it is difficult to draw a definite line marking the beginning and the end of some process or event. The history of Manchu language learning appears to be an exception, as we know roughly when Manchu was first committed to writing in the early seventeenth century and precisely when the Manchu empire fell in 1911–12. The beginnings of the story will be left to chapter 3. In order for us to identify an unambiguous ending for Manchu language studies, we would have to find a point in time after which Manchu language studies was no longer seen as an ongoing activity, but as the object of historical study. However, the fall of the Manchu house in the early twentieth century does not seem to provide the clear ending point to Manchu language studies thus defined.

Láo Nǎixuān 勞乃宣 (1843–1921), who lived most of his life under Qīng rule, will feature as an actor in the story told here. His book *Děngyùn yīdé* 等韻一得 (Quick introduction to graded rhymes; 1898), xylographically printed and written in Literary Chinese according to all the typographical conventions of late imperial literature, is undoubtedly a primary source for the study of Chinese phonology on a par with Lǐ Guāngdì's 李光地 (1642–1718) and Wáng Lánshēng's 王蘭生 (1680–1737) *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* 欽定音韻闡微 (Imperially authorized elucidation of the subtleties of phonology; 1726). Yet Láo's references to *Yīnyùn chǎnwéi* read almost as the result of the author's investigation of a much earlier scholarly tradition with the purpose of creating something new. Indeed, many twentieth-century accounts of the history of Chinese phonology treat Láo's book almost as a reference work or as the first point of entry to the Qīng tradition, whose closing it represents. The example of Láo's book suggests that already before the fall of the dynasty writers appeared to consider the imperial scholarly tradition as something they needed to recover. In the case of phonological scholarship, then, the collapse of the empire in 1911 does not appear as the obvious dividing line marking the end of era.

Even in the case of Manchu bibliography is it difficult to draw a sharp dividing line between Manchu language studies as a continuous activity, that is, the subject of the present investigation, and the history of its study, of which the present investigation is part. From the early nineteenth century at least, collections of jottings on topics related to the Manchus, including matters of language, were being produced by Qīng scholars, showing an interest in explicating the Manchu tradition in writing.[4] Can we see that as a step toward a historical consciousness among Manchu language studies scholars? The remarkably scanty historiography of Chinese phonology that appeared before 1911, however, made almost no mention of Manchu learning.[5] Yet even Manchu bibliography cannot be said to have definitely begun only after the fall of the empire. Ēn-huá 恩華 (b. 1876), a Mongol bannerman, included some discussion on 'philology' (*xiǎoxué* 小學, lit. 'lesser learning')[6] in his bibliographical survey of the Qīng Eight Banners. The survey dates from the Republican period, but the author was to some extent a product of Qīng education and culture.[7] Fēng-kuān 奉寬 (1876–1943) likewise wrote his bibliographical summaries of many key Manchu works on language learning under

[4] I am thinking of Fú-gé (1850–1900) 1984.

[5] E.g., there is no mention of it in *"Yùnxué yuánliú" zhùpíng* (1820–1850) 1988.

[6] See below in this chapter and page 79 in chapter 2 for this term.

[7] Ēn-huá (1936) 2006.

the Republic, but was also a bannerman who had been educated in the Qīng period.[8] The work by Láo, Ēn-huá, and Fēng-kuān represent a bridge between the Qīng tradition and the later study of it. Láo and Fēng-kuān in particular have greatly informed this study.

Even the next generation of scholars do not represent a clear break with the tradition that represented their object of study; on the contrary, they were rather closely connected to that tradition. Láo Nǎixuān obtained the highest-level civil service degree in the same year as Qián Xuántóng's 錢玄同 (1887–1939) father.[9] Qián, an iconoclast who will make an occasional appearance the present work, engaged with Láo's phonological ideas as a contemporary.[10] In 1928, Qián taught phonology at Peking University to a group of students including Zhào Yīntáng 趙蔭棠 (1893–1970), who has influenced this work in several ways. By 1931 Zhào was running all across Běipíng (as the city was called in those days) looking for phonological sources from the Míng and Qīng periods in every little street-side stall he could find.[11] In 1941 he published the first edition of his groundbreaking work *Děngyùn yuánliú* 等韻源流 (The development of rhyme table phonology), the definite edition of which appeared in 1957. Zhào's work has never really been superseded; it remains indispensable for any work on the history of late imperial phonology. *Děngyùn yuánliú*, based on its author's personal collection of sources, on the most basic level impresses by the number of works studied, several of which had previously been ignored by scholars.

At the same time that Zhào was retrieving the Qīng tradition from Běijīng bookstalls, the city also attracted several other scholars whose bibliographical work constitute the foundation of this study. The fact that the city of Běijīng was the locus of Republican-era scholarship on Manchu studies and phonology represents another respect in which the study of the Qīng Manchu language studies tradition transformed into the self-aware historical study without any clear break. Luó Chángpéi 羅常培 (1899–1958), a Běijīng native born into an impoverished Manchu family,[12] studied several aspects of Qīng phonology that I will also focus on in these pages, including the improvement of phonetic transcription under Manchu influence. He was a twentieth-century linguist and a historian of language studies, yet his social background as a metropolitan bannerman makes him similar to many scholars of the Manchu language in the late imperial period.

Foreign scholars also made it to Běijīng in the Republican period. Nagashima Eiichirō 永島栄一郎 (1909–1978), from Japan, interacted with Zhào in Běijīng and seems to have benefited substantially from access to the older Chinese scholar's books and expertise. Nagashima also built up his own collection, and in 1941 published a long, two-part article on Míng-Qīng phonology that also referenced Zhào's work and his collection.[13] In the work of Zhào, Luó, and Nagashima we see that Běijīng was a center for Republican-era phonological scholarship.

Běijīng was also the center for Manchu bibliography. Walter Fuchs (1902–1979), who was born in Berlin, spent many years in Běijīng, not leaving until he as a German national

[8]On Fēng-kuān, see Xú Lì 2011.
[9]Qiū Wēi 2006, 35.
[10]Qián Xuántóng (1918) 1999, 57; (1920) 1999, 108–117.
[11]Féng Zhēng 1996, 50.
[12]Luó Chángpéi (1950) 1984.
[13]Nagashima Eiichirō 1941a, 1941b.

was repatriated after the Second World War.[14] As a scholar trained in Germany, Fuchs represented the continuation of a tradition of Manchu studies that had at that time already yielded the important bibliographical overview *Skizze der manjurischen Literatur* (1908) by Berthold Laufer (1874–1934).[15] When Laufer's study was published the Qīng empire still stood, making it difficult to demarcate his work from that of the long line of European sinologists who will appear here not as earlier researchers in the field, but as the very object of study on a par with late imperial Chinese and Manchu scholars. As in the case of the Chinese scholarship, there is no clear boundary between primary and secondary sources in the European material.

While in Běijīng, Fuchs wrote one book-length study on Manchu bibliography and several articles, all of which remain indispensable for the researcher today. The précis on Manchu books in his *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*, published in Tokyo in 1936 but based on research carried out in China, the articles that complemented and corrected it, and Fēng-kuān's work provided much of the bibliographical basics for me as I began this study. Another foreign scholar active in Běijīng before and during the War was Imanishi Shunjū 今西春秋 (1907–1979), who returned to Japan in 1954.[16] Imanishi knew Fuchs and referred to their discussions on Manchu bibliography in his own research on early Manchu books.[17]

The degree to which the present work is dependent on the efforts of the Běijīng-based scholars of the Republican period is greater than the preceding overview would suggest. The early twentieth-century scholars were not just more than often the first to write about a certain source, they were at times also the first to locate them. We owe to Luó Chángpéi, for example, a study of a seventeenth-century fragmentary phonological treatise that was once in his possession but has since been lost, never to be seen by any later scholar in the field. The collections amassed by other scholars have fared better and are now accessible as part of library holdings in East Asia and beyond. Fuchs, for example, was unable to bring his collection of Manchu books with him when he left Běijīng, depositing it with the Yenching University library in the city. After the Communists took power in 1949 and Yenching was merged with Peking University, his books went to the Peking University library, where they can now be read. Opening a Qīng-period Manchu language primer and finding Fuchs' marginalia written gently in pencil was one of the great pleasures experienced as I was carrying out my research. My feelings of surprise were even greater (I had known beforehand that the Peking University books once belonged to Fuchs) and thus perhaps also more pleasurable when I noticed that some of the books I was reading at Minzu University of China had belonged to Imanishi Shunjū, who according to the ex libris had kept them at his home in the Xīdàn area of downtown Běijīng, just west of the Forbidden City. At the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and at Peking University I also found books annotated or repaired by Fēng-kuān. I do not know how Fēng-kuān's books ended up in these two institutions, but I was overjoyed to find them there, having previously relied on his bibliographical scholarship.

The case of the phonological sources is hardly different. In a testament to the difficulties

[14]Gimm (1979) 1982.

[15]Laufer 1908.

[16]Kawachi Yoshihiro 2000, 237.

[17]See Imanishi's notes cited in Huáng Rùnhuá 1999, 221.

of the times, Zhào Yīntáng was not able to bring his book collection when he left Běijīng for a teaching opportunity in 1946. When he returned to the city in 1949, his family, probably experiencing financial difficulties in a period of civil war, had sold the books. Zhào spent the remainder of his career teaching in Gānsù, in China's far west, before dying of illness during the Cultural Revolution. For decades thereafter, the whereabouts of Zhào's collection remained unknown to scholars on the Chinese mainland. In 1984, Féng Zhēng 馮蒸, a linguist of a later generation whose work I have also benefited much from, learned from a bookseller in one of the antique shops at Liúlí Chǎng in the southern part of the city that Zhào's phonological collection had gone to a small bookshop in the alleys around the still standing Drum Tower. The owner of the shop had been a heavy drinker who lost both his books and his business sometime shortly thereafter; Zhào's collection would have disappeared along with it. Some years later, however, Féng learned that whatever truth there might have been to the story of the Drum Tower collection, a large portion of Zhào's books were held at Taiwan Normal University library in Táiběi, Táiwān. Probably one of the many scholars who left the mainland together with the Nationalist government in 1949 had brought the books to the island.[18] Access to Zhào's books in the Taiwan Normal University collection was greatly beneficial to me as I was researching this study.

The books that Nagashima Eiichirō had collected under Zhào's guidance also left mainland China and were taken to Japan.[19] When consulting some of them at Keio University Library in Tokyo I discovered among other things an edition of a late seventeenth-century Manchu textbook that had not previously been identified in the literature. As the examples of Fuchs, Fēng-kuān, Imanishi, Zhào, and Nagashima show, the scholars of the Republican period thus did not only make this study possible through the scholarship they published, but also by finding and preserving the very sources that I have used.

I have also relied heavily on the work by later generations of bibliographers, philologists, and historians of the language arts in China. I already mentioned Féng Zhēng's papers. In the area of phonology I also benefited substantially from the work by Lǐ Xīnkuí 李新魁 (1935–1997), a scholar active mostly in the south.[20] Manchu bibliography developed greatly after the War. I gained substantially from the resulting catalogs. I should especially mention the work by Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫 (1921–2003), whose research gave particular attention to Manchu language studies. I was also greatly helped by Hartmut Walravens many bibliographical contributions.[21] Many other studies also proved very useful.

Other scholars whose writings have guided me are Gěng Zhènshēng, whose magisterial *Míng-Qīng děngyùn xué tōnglùn* 明清等韵学通论 (Comprehensive discussion of Míng-Qīng rhyme table learning; 1992) is the only book-length study specifically dealing with late imperial phonology as a discipline to have appeared since Zhào Yīntáng's work. Chūnhuā's survey of Manchu dictionaries from the Qīng period is an indispensable resource for anyone working on Manchu language studies.[22] Among recent studies on Manchu bibliography, I should also

[18] Féng Zhēng 1996, 50–51.

[19] See Kin Bunkyō and Takahashi Satoshi 2002.

[20] In terms of bibliography, notably the work he co-authored: Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993.

[21] E.g. Walravens 1976; Walravens et al. 2006.

[22] Chūnhuā 2008c.

mention the work by Huáng Rùnhuá, Pamela Kyle Crossley, Evelyn S. Rawski, Mark C. Elliott and James Bosson.[23]

Intellectual History

The products of Manchu linguistic scholarship have been studied mostly with regards to its role in Qīng imperial ideology. Jiāng Qiáo saw the Kāngxī emperor's commission of a Manchu thesaurus as an assertion of Manchu command of the world.[24] The Qiánlóng emperor's multilingual publications have similarly been seen as contributing to an imperial ideology with the emperor, at the center, as the sole point of convergence of many languages and cultures. In Crossley's words they reflected "the luminosity of imperial intelligence in the eyes of a staggered public."[25] The imperial "language ideology" has also been studied by Loretta Kim.[26] Shorter mentions of the ideological role of multilingual lexicography are also found in the work by James A. Millward,[27] among others.

I take no issue with the study of officially sponsored lexicography from the point of view of imperial ideology, but my concerns in this study lie elsewhere. The role of language learning in the development of a universalist imperial ideology in the eighteenth century cannot be neglected, especially since it in a longer historical perspective appears as a moment in the development of government attitudes toward the empire's language that in the nineteenth century contributed to the development of a normative form of northern Chinese (which is the subject of chapter 8). I will try to situate the imperial government's involvement in Manchu lexicography in this perspective in chapter 4, hoping to give it fuller treatment at some later date in as a continuation of the research presented there.

The main thrust of this study will be on the role of the Manchu language and script in the development of the disciplines and genres in which the study of language was organized in late imperial China. The arguments I make are not formulated in reference to Qīng ideology, but to the received understanding of the development of linguistics and philology as disciplines and their contributions to Chinese modernity. On the most general level, I will argue for the study of the language arts as disciplines with their own internal logic, shaped by and contributing to larger cultural processes, and thus not fundamentally different from the areas of inquiry more commonly grouped under the rubric of 'science,' such as astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. My argument in this regard will be supported by the study of certain methods or technologies: pedagogical regimes, lexicographic organization, and phonetic transcription.

Philology in Europe and East Asia

As the questions motivating this study of the late imperial period have been formulated with one eye to the dénoument of the tradition of Manchu-inspired language studies in the early twentieth century, two things deserve some explanation at this point: the role of language study

[23] Huáng Rùnhuá 1996, 1999; Crossley and Rawski 1993; Rawski 2005; Elliott and Bosson 2003.
[24] Jiāng Qiáo 2009a.
[25] Crossley 1999, 265.
[26] Kim 2007.
[27] Millward 1998, 197–199.

in (1) Qīng China and contemporary and similar societies and (2) the Republic of China, the would-be nation-state, that succeeded it.

Sheldon Pollock has offered the most general characterization of the role of language in Eurasian societies during the common era. He is, to my knowledge, the scholar who has made the most sustained efforts at relating the social and cultural history of language in Asia with that of Europe with the ambition of developing our understanding of both. I will therefore begin this discussion with him. With reference mainly to Europe and South Asia, he has proposed that the first millennium CE was "cosmopolitan," characterized by languages such as Latin and Sanskrit, whereas the second was "vernacular," witnessing the rise of nation-states defined by national languages in Europe and more cautiously termed "vernacular polities," associated with languages such as Kannada and Telugu, in South Asia. In both cases, Pollock argued, "the bearers of vernacularization in both southern Asia and western Europe were the cultural and political elites who were associated with or directly controlled the royal court."[28] Pollock has since continued to explore the role of classical languages and their study in the vernacular period.

The key word in this context is 'philology,' which is often used in different and sometimes almost opposite senses in the scholarly literature and has been theorized by Pollock. The term can refer to a form of active reading; the pre-modern European approach to written traditions generally; a period in the history of European language studies specifically; or the episteme[29] or paradigm[30]—if I may use these terms casually (and perhaps incorrectly)—of other pre-twentieth-century societies, such as that of late imperial China. As is evident from the preceeding list, only some of the meanings of 'philology' come close to what I have hitherto referred to as the 'study of language.' In this section I will discuss the term 'philology' and conclude, on the one hand, that it is unsatisfactory as a label for the subject matter of this study, which I will continue to refer to as the 'study of language,' and, on the other hand, that there is a historical explanation for why the study of language in China has often been characterized as an expression of philology.

In the title of James Turner's recent book, 'philology' is glossed as "the forgotten origins of the modern humanities." For Turner, philology refers to the varied activities by early modern European scholars. Their main institutional support was patronage, which could change or be withdrawn, and did not encourage specialization on one body of materials or set of issues throughout a scholarly career. During the nineteenth century, the nebulous philology of early modern scholars would have been replaced by new disciplines defined by university departments and professorships, which did favor specialization. Finally, when higher education was de-Christianized, the new university disciplines emerged as the humanities as known in the twentieth century, including history, literary studies, Classics, etc. If the development of the humanities took longer in Great Britain and America than in Germany, Turner seems to argue, it was only because of the slow reception of German learning in Anglo-American scholarship. Indeed, much of Turner's book can be read as a study of growing German influence across

[28]Pollock 2000, 610. The ideas were later developed in Pollock 2006, the arguments of which I cannot pretend to have fully taken into consideration for this discussion.

[29]Foucault 1969, 250–251.

[30]On the "paradigm shift": Kuhn (1962) 1996, 66.

the English channel and Atlantic.[31]

Turner's book is organized both chronologically and thematically. One of the themes or fields that he follows in the eighteenth and nineteenth century is the study of language. Among students of the newly proposed Indo-European language family in Germany, and to some extent among scholars of the native languages of North America, Turner argues, the study of language became almost a "specialized modern" discipline before the mid-nineteenth century, sometimes called 'linguistics' by the people involved. Thereafter some linguists wanted to associate their work more with the emerging natural sciences, rather than the humanities. In these efforts Turner sees the origin of the highly formalized terminology of twentieth-century and contemporary linguistics, which he, being a historian, professes he cannot easily understand.[32] The reader of Turner's book gets the impression that early modern European philology was very different in its ambitions, subject matter, self-understanding, and institutional support than the comparative Indo-European linguistics of the nineteenth century, which is treated as one of the new academic disciplines of the nineteenth century.

Pollock treats philology differently. For one, it is not, in his view, the pre-historical state of the humanities disciplines, but one of their number. Speaking this time about our present, Pollock argues that philology "is, or should be, the discipline of making sense of texts." He distinguishes it from neighboring disciplines by specifying that philology "is not the theory of language—that's linguistics—or the theory of meaning or truth—that's philosophy—but the theory of textuality as well as the history of textualized meaning." It "merits the same centrality among the disciplines as philosophy or mathematics." Be that as it may. Pollock's argument becomes relevant for the student of language in late imperial China when he discusses the history of the discipline. He adopts a critical attitude toward the view of philology in the sense of a fundamentally new way of studying language in the West, as a discipline focused on the totality of language, including its sound system, history, and so on in a decidedly antihumanistic (natural-scientific) fashion. Yet Pollock acknowledges that this view, which he locates in the work of Michel Foucault (1926–1984)[33] among others, has some merit in that disciplines that purported to study language in that way did indeed flourish in nineteenth-century academia precisely under the name of 'philology.'[34] We see that philology in this sense more or less encapsulates nineteenth-century linguistics as Turner defined it.

As indicated already by the previously quoted statements, Pollock wants to give philology a broader meaning than afforded by its use as a label for nineteenth-century and largely German Indo-European studies. Yet rather than just reappropriating the word for other purposes, Pollock questions the very validity of the claim that Indo-European studies would have represented something radically new. He asserts, on the basis of earlier scholarship, that the "fertile seed of modern comparative philology," the Indo-European studies that developed from the European encounter with Sanskrit in the nineteenth century, "may in fact lie in non-Western premodernity"; the linguistic kinship theory supporting Indo-European philology had already

[31] Alternative frameworks for understanding the emergence of the modern humanities are certainly possible. I find one in Gusdorf 1960, who chose to include also the development of medicine in the history of the *sciences humaines*.

[32] Turner 2014, especially chs. 5 and 9, quote on 146.

[33] Foucault 1966.

[34] Pollock 2009, 934.

been formulated in India before it was trumpeted by English and German scholars.[35] The force of Pollock's argument does not lie in this ultimately minor "priority debate,"[36] but in the idea that philology was "a remarkable early modern moment of innovation across Eurasia" and its consequences for our understanding of European and Asian history.[37]

According to the strong version of Pollock's argument, it seems to me, the reading of old texts consciously understood to represent a culture different from that of the present, and the attendant study of ancient or otherwise alien languages would not be the invention of early modern or nineteenth-century Europe, but the continued development in Europe of tendencies already present in South or East Asian scholarship with which the Europeans had come into contact. In its weak version, the European attempt to retrieve classical Latin as a language perceived to have been corrupted or lost, and the contemporary and later attempts to learn the other languages of the ancient Mediterranean and Asia, would still not be unique, but a local expression of the study of language in the Eurasian 'vernacular millennium.' Pollock's suggestion is a challenge to historians of Asia to find out what expressions philology took in their regions of expertise in the early modern period, but also to establish the broader social and cultural developments characteristic of that period that would have enabled the almost contemporaneous emergence of philology in different linguistic traditions.

Joined by Benjamin A. Elman and Ku-ming Kevin Chang, Pollock has recently edited a volume titled *World Philology*. Collecting essays exploring the 'making sense of texts' across time and space, it illustrates the feasibility of using 'philology' as an umbrella term for a certain brand of textual studies in early modern Europe and Asia, but also the problems that the ambiguity of the term continues to create for scholarship on the phenomenon's history.

In the introduction to the book, Pollock, elaborating on his thesis, presents the editors' "hypothesis that an early modern transformation of philology," the latter still being "the problem of how to make sense of texts," "may be detectable across much of the world."[38] In his chapter in the volume, Pollock presents an example in support of this hypothesis by arguing that the commentary developed as a genre for Sanskrit textual criticism in the early second millennium CE, close in time and character to the tools of the philologists of the European Renaissance.[39] Similarly, Muzaffar Alam sees the development of precise tools of textual criticism take place in the Mughal empire before European colonization,[40] and Khaled El-Rouayheb argues that new reading practices developed in the Ottoman empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries similar to what we are used to today.[41]

[35]Pollock 2009, 938.

[36]For the term (in a different context): Elman 1984, 221.

[37]Pollock 2009, 935.

[38]Pollock 2015a, 1.

[39]Pollock 2015b.

[40]Alam 2015.

[41]El-Rouayheb 2015. Rouayheb's essay stands out for proposing an institutional innovation, that of impersonal academic examinations as opposed to oral-aural transmission from a teacher, as a contributing factor in this development. Presumably more such linkages will be made in the future as the research on early modern 'world philology' develops. Asian developments continue to be studied as parallels to phenomena European history in Michael Lackner's essay, but whereas both Pollock's European and South Asian actors remained in the second millennium, Lackner compares the aims of

The complex character of the term 'philology' appears most clearly in the essays in the volume that deal explicitly with the encounter between the European and Asian scholarly traditions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That encounter certainly changed all the involved parties, but just as the term 'philology' comes out of the European tradition, so does the history of philology in Asia after the encounter in part become a history of adaption to perceived Western models, sometimes under colonial or semi-colonial conditions. Elman's essay, treating China from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, deals with the Chinese encounter with Western learning by incorporating it into its acceptance of 'philology,' which thus comes to include things such as Chinese books and scholarly projects inspired by the reading of Jesuit translations of Euclid. There are good reasons for discussing Chinese readings of Western advances in astronomy, then relatively recent, conjunctly with attempts to retrieve the lost mathematical corpus of Chinese antiquity: the association between new Western learning and native philology was made by Chinese scholars at the time, who handled the encounter with an alien body of knowledge by construing it as off-shoots of a tradition they themselves once possessed.

Important for the definition of the term 'philology,' the reader of Elman's account might get the impression that it in the context of early modern (or late imperial) China is almost a synonym for the intellectual interests of a certain group of scholar-officials, who dominated the court-sponsored editorial projects and other influential organs of state, notably the civil service examination system. Indeed, Elman refers to the work of this group with a term used at the time as "evidential learning" (*kǎozhèng* 考證).[42] "Evidential learning" appears as a Chinese alternative to the European concept of 'philology' that unlike *xiǎoxué* (mentioned above) refers more to the methodology than the subject matter, which can be linguistic or otherwise.

Elman's usage of 'philology' appears similar to that of Turner, discussed above, in that the word refers to the organization of knowledge in the early modern period, be it in this case in China and not in Europe. It is also similar to the survey of Renaissance philology offered by Anthony Grafton, which includes chronology, a discipline that comprised a historical, text-based approach but made use of astronomical data.[43] Yet Elman's inclusion of European mathematics and natural studies in late imperial Chinese philology takes the subject very far from philology in the sense of comparative Indo-European studies in nineteenth-century Europe, mentioned above as another common understanding of the term and the closest in meaning to the 'study of language.'

Chinese textual criticism from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries as similar to Western medieval theology and biblical exegesis (Lackner 2015), which was very different from the philological mode that is commonly understood to have developed in Europe's 'vernacular millennium' beginning in the Renaissance. To be sure, Anthony Grafton in his chapter to the volume presents an argument to the effect that Renaissance scholarship was only partially historical, remaining in to some extent utilitarian, and without a sense of historical distance, in its service to the teaching of Latin as the official written language of documents (Grafton 2015). Lackner's argument does not undermine the editors' hypothesis; on the contrary, the reader would quickly grow suspicious were there no chronological imbalances and mixed forms of scholarship in a collection of studies covering several centuries and at least two continents.

[42]Elman 2015, 229.

[43]Grafton 2015, 172–173.

The understanding of philology as a particular brand of European scholarship is in fact represented also in *World Philology* in ways relevant for the present study. Tellingly, Fan-sen Wang, a scholar well-acquainted with both nineteenth-century European philology and the intellectual history of late imperial China, in the foreword to the volume uses the word almost exclusively in reference to the Western Indo-European tradition, sometimes qualified as "Western" or "modern" philology.[44] Susan L. Burns's and Ku-ming Kevin Chang's chapters, which deal respectively with nineteenth-century Japan and early twentieth-century China, also face the problem of the polysemy of 'philology,' as does other work treating similar topics. In what follows I will discuss how philology has been understood in the scholarly literature and show that it reflects how philology was understood by the historical actors treated in that literature.

Burns's story of philology in early modern Japan focuses on Japanese nativism, which appeared as a movement in the late eighteenth century out of an intellectual climate conducive to philological studies, and was committed to the study the Japanese linguistic and cultural heritage and its separation from those of China. In the first years of the twentieth century, Burns argues, the nativist tradition was transformed into a state-supported discipline of national literary studies, which were seen as analog to the more Romantically inflected strands of nineteenth-century German philology.[45] Language studies are at the center of Burns's narrative and they are closely tied to nation-building.

Burns's essay indicates that the Japanese encounter with European, primarily German, philology or Indo-European studies in the late nineteenth century was very consequential for the study, use, and development of language in Japan in that period. That Japanese encounter with Indo-European studies differs from Chinese scholars' engagement with Western learning in the eighteenth-century, discussed by Elman and referenced above, in both character and consequences. Judging by Burn's essay, it appears that by the second half of the nineteenth century we are no longer dealing with the philological traditions of the 'vernacular millennium,' but with a new association of language, people, education, and the expanding state. In this new situation of the late nineteenth century, we gain little from studying philology as a case of 'making sense of texts,' but all the more if treating it as the transposition to East Asia of precisely that kind of comparative language study that was institutionalized in Germany in the nineteenth century and seen by Foucault to represent the "birth of philology" (*naissance de la philologie*).[46]

Studies on other aspects of language in Japan in the period have shown just how much changed during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Animated by a will to change society, intellectuals and administrators wanted to raise literacy levels and unify language in speech and writing across the country. Ostensibly set on narrowing the gap between spoken and written language, Japanese educators and writers defined a standard spoken language based on the Tokyo dialect but also created a new Japanese literary language that in fact incorporated elements of pre-existing traditions of reading Literary Chinese, as Atsuko Ueda has shown.[47]

[44]F. Wang 2015.
[45]Burns 2015.
[46]Foucault 1966, 294.
[47]Ueda 2008; cf. Twine 1978, 1988.

In nineteenth and early twentieth-century Japan, changing written language involved reforming the orthography or even the script. Ueda has argued that techniques used in Japanese nativist and Chinese studies scholarship in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (for our purposes, still within the 'vernacular millennium') "intersected" with nineetenth-century Western ideas, giving rise to proposals to write Japanese using the Roman alphabet, or even to replace the Japanese language with English. The Japanese reformers found support for their proposals in the privileging of sound ("phoneticism") that they saw in contemporary Western scholarship. It is relevant to note that Ueda does not refer to the body of Western writings as 'philology' but as "Western linguistic theories,"[48] showing the confluence of these terms in the period that she studies.

As in Japan, Western scholarship on language played an important role in China around the turn of the twentieth century and later. 'Philology' is insufficient as a name for the interests of the scholarly elite in this period, in which Chinese intellectuals encountered the institutionalized Indo-European philology of the recent Western research universities. Chinese scholars also associated the reform of spoken and written language with a (by them) welcomed transformation of their society. The events in China were complicated by the fact that many of the reformers were in conflict with the Manchu imperial government, before its fall in 1911, and both threatened and inspired by developments in Japan, whence the Western tradition in part reached China, especially after the Chinese defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95.

Elisabeth Kaske has studied the unraveling of late imperial Chinese philology after the war. In the first years of the twentieth century, scholars in the philological tradition, that we encountered as studied by Elman, attempted to "assert their place in defining the nation in China." "The nationalists," Kaske argued, "imagined a renaissance of China's ancient glory" by creating an "alternative antiquity."[49] Part of their inspiration came from the London professor Terrien de Lacouperie (c. 1845–1894), who was indeed a Western philologist, but hardly of the school then ascendant in Indo-European studies; Lacouperie's hypothesis of a Babylonian origin for Chinese civilization seems to fit better in the centuries of nebulous early modern philology as understood by Turner. The Lacouperian interlude in Chinese intellectual history was brief, and the construction of the nation through philology continued more along the lines also seen in Japan. In an ephemeral national education system instituted by the imperial authorities and subsequently under Republican auspices, attempts were made to standardize the Chinese written language, its pronunciation, and the spoken language (which is not the same thing as the pronunciation of the written language) wherewith it was taught. Through the activities of largely Western-trained writers, the written language was from the late 1910s replaced also in formal contexts by a new standard based ostensibly on current spoken language, but in reality remaining far from the speech of most people. Throughout the period, Chinese intellectuals made references to presumed European precedents in the rediscovery of classical languages and creation of new vernaculars from the Renaissance onward.[50]

The Western tradition also played an important role in the academic study of language. Ku-ming Kevin Chang, focusing on one prominent research institution founded in China in

[48]Ueda 2014, 236.

[49]Kaske 2008, 324, 348.

[50]E.g. Hú Shì (1920) 1961, 235; Kaske 2008, 323.

1928, has argued that Western-trained Chinese scholars of their country's language and written tradition were inspired by two different approaches to language study then current in the West. One was the German heritage of philology, including both in its expansive form still practiced in the early nineteenth century (*Altertumswissenschaft*), as well as in the more recent discipline of comparative Indo-European studies.[51] The other European approach to language study that Chang identifies as influential on Chinese scholars was the new linguistics, represented in Anglo-French scholarship and identified most famously with Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). In Chang's account, Chinese scholars steeped in the German tradition identified "the greatest strength of traditional Chinese scholarship in historical and philological studies," which appear to have referred largely to the group of scholars at the center of Elman's discussion of late imperial philology mentioned previously. The native tradition of philological studies was now, in the early twentieth century, given a comparative dimension inspired by Indo-European studies. In contrast, scholars influenced by the more recent brand of Anglo-French "linguistics" worked on dialectology, involving fieldwork, and language and script reform. Chang frames the two scholarly projects represented by these different efforts as the choice between "philology or linguistics."[52]

Two things emerge from a reading of Chang's essay that are relevant for this study: (1) some scholars in early twentieth-century China saw a similarity between late imperial Chinese scholarship and European philology as it appeared around the turn of the nineteenth century, which was also the starting point for the development of the disciplines that would eventually replace it in Turner's narrative; and (2) early twentieth-century Western ("Anglo-French" in Chang's parlance) linguistics became associated with language reform in the Chinese Republic. The two things are not unrelated. Just as Chang's actors belonged professionally to the same research institute, so did their various efforts contribute to relating China's linguistic and scholarly heritage to its present, informing the understanding of their mission as intellectuals in the new Republic. Without denying that the German tradition of philology and Indo-European studies was used for different ends in China than was Saussurian linguistics, we might point out that the Indo-European program of the late nighteenth century might also have contributed to the Chinese language reform project just as well as did the Anglo-French scholarship. German philology influenced the Chinese scholars studied by Kaske in the early years of the twentieth-century at least indirectly: the Chinese observed the efforts of their Japanese counterparts to argue for the reform language and script with reference to European ideas. Similarly, the focus on contemporary dialect studies among scholars trained in 'Anglo-French' linguistics was not unrelated to the German-style recovery of the pronunciation of earlier forms of Chinese. More important for the understanding of the term 'philology' and its application to late imperial Chinese scholars, the twentieth-century intellectuals trained in the 'Anglo-French' tradition do not appear to have questioned the characterization of the late imperial Chinese scholarly tradition as similar to European philology before its Indo-European turn.[53]

[51] Some aspects of the conflict between these two brands of philology around the turn of the twentieth century are studied in Kaplan 2015.

[52] K. Chang 2015, quote on 326 and in the title.

[53] For example, Zhào Yuánrèn 趙元任 (Yuen Ren Chao; 1892–1982), the scholar singled out by Chang as representative of the 'Anglo-French' school, interacted, as Chang also notes, with the

We see, then, that the influence of the Western tradition of language studies, be it in its late-nineteenth century and largely German form, or its early twentieth-century 'Anglo-French' form, had a great impact on Chinese scholarship and research methods and also inspired attempts to reform the Chinese language and script. Furthermore, the new linguistics and the efforts at language reform were formulated against the background of a certain understanding of Chinese scholarship in these areas during the recently concluded late imperial period. In this study I want to challenge the narrative, which I see formulated in the early twentieth century, of late imperial Chinese scholarship as essentially 'philological.' The reader should not misinterpret this to mean that I see no use for the term 'philology' in reference to late imperial intellectual history. Far from it; only thanks to the successful description of the contributions and role of the classically oriented, philological scholarship in the Qīng period was the story told in these pages able to emerge in contrast. What is more, many of the scholars appearing in these chapters engaged with old texts in a way that was clearly philological. My choice not to use 'philology' as the framework for understanding their actions and interests perhaps represents a shift of emphasis for the sake of argument, as much as it represents a shift toward a new body of source material. With that caveat, I propose that the terms 'study of language' or 'language studies,' rather than 'philology,' are more appropriate for characterizing my subject matter, being the Manchu-inspired late imperial Chinese tradition that most closely resembled the work of the new brand of early-twentieth century Chinese linguists. I will substantiate that claim in subsequent chapters.

In the context of Qīng China, 'philology' is best left to translate either *xiǎoxué*, implying a focus on classical texts (but note the problematic nature of this term, discussed in chapter 2),[54] or *kǎozhèng* and related terms, implying a focus on the methodology; in either case, the word thus used refers to scholarly practices resembling the early modern European endeavors studied by Grafton and Turner. However, the intended European point of reference should be clarified in such instances, lest the reader be brought under the misapprehension that Qīng philology was, like some brands of late nineteenth-century Indo-European studies, a discipline focused on language as such.

The term 'study of language' has already been used in the context of European history with implications for my argument here. Hans Aarsleff has in a series of studies argued that the "great academic philological tradition," referring to the historical and comparative language studies of the nineteenth century, was "a closed period" or "an aberration": in large part a conservative reaction against the speculative enquiries into the origin and nature of language that had flourished in the eighteenth century and had come to be associated with the radical ideas behind the French revolution. Aarsleff disagrees with the view that privileges the emergence of Indo-European studies as the major breakthrough in the development of linguistics

Swedish sinologist Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978), whom I think we can characterize as close to the nineteenth-century philological school in his understanding of language studies. Zhào also contributed to the reconstruction of the pronunciation of the Chinese language in its earlier stages that Karlgren championed. Zhào did indeed bring a Saussurian structuralist approach to these efforts, but the late imperial Chinese scholarship that he brought to the discussion (the work of Chén Lǐ 陳澧 [1810–1882]) belonged to the tradition that, as we saw, was identified as a counterpart to European philology (Chao 1941, 205).

[54] Page 79.

as a discipline, arguing instead that the comparative studies of the nineteenth century owed a great deal to the polyglot endeavors of the seventeenth, and conversely that Saussure's redefinition of linguistics in the early twentieth century did not represent an *ex nihilo* stroke of genius but the culmination of a rediscovery of the eighteenth-century heritage that had begun in the second half of the nineteenth century in France.[55] Congruently with this view, Aarsleff has used "the study of language" as the overall term to frame the subject matter in a book spanning both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[56]

Aarsleff's argument is important for our understanding of how the late imperial Chinese tradition of language studies came to be identified with philology. "[T]he nineteenth century," Aarsleff wrote, "became so overpoweringly successful in creating its own mode of philological, historical language study that all linguistic problems that did not fit this mode came to be considered trivial, irrelevant, or worse yet, unscholarly and unscientific."[57] The standing of comparative, historical studies of language in late-nineteenth century European intellectual life helps explain why Chinese scholars with exposure to this tradition identified a similar approach to linguistic issues in their own history. However, these Chinese intellectuals certainly had their own scholarly and political agendas, which the ideology of European philology was merely conveniently made to serve.

The motivations underlying the ideas of early twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals, such as the conviction that the Chinese language, script, and education system needed reform and standardization, naturally lie beyond the scope of this study, which focuses on the late imperial period. Yet part of my purpose is to show that the developments that I will consider in this study do not represent fringe phenomena far removed from the mainstream of Chinese intellectual history. On the contrary, I argue that they contributed to the cultural and sociolinguistic order that late imperial China bequethed to its Republican successor. The late imperial intellectual heritage was presented in the early twentieth century largely without reference to the individuals, books, and processes that I will treat here not because the latter were without consequence, but for other reasons entirely, among which the influence of European philology was only of minor importance. In the following section, I will argue that the southern training and identification of some of the most influential early twentieth-century scholars contributed to the elision of pre-existing traditions of language study that did not fit the philological model.

Qīng Language Studies and the Southern Philological Tradition

The elision of language studies in the Qīng period in favor of philology is related to a certain understanding of the late imperial past that originated in the early twentieth century. Expressions of that particular understanding are found among the 'nationalists' whom we encountered in the work of Kaske, quoted above. Kaske, in no unambiguous words, characterized the

[55] Hausmann 1976 makes a similar point on the basis of the conceptualization of a language's lexicon that the author sees manifest in a continuous lexicographical tradition in the nineteenth century.

[56] Aarsleff (1966) 1983. I should note that Aarsleff has chosen not to use the term 'history of linguistics' to summarize his own work, arguing that it cannot easily encompass the concerns and investigations of European scholars before the early nineteenth century: Aarsleff 1982, 4.

[57] Aarsleff 1982, 32, 289.

project of this group of scholars as "the attempt of philologists in the tradition of anti-Manchu southern Chinese schools of evidential scholarship to assert their place in defining the nation in China." Even individuals who served the Manchu imperial government were not interested in "preserving the very recent past of the Qing dynasty," but "imagined a renaissance of China's ancient glory. By creating an alternative antiquity, the national essence scholars freed themselves from the need to identify with China's subdued and poor present, and at the same time rejected the models of the past adhered to by the Qing government and Japan."[58] The intermittent loss of imperial control over the country's territory during the rebellions of the nineteenth century and repeated defeats in wars with foreign powers compelled elite individuals both inside and outside the government to look beyond the ruling dynasty for ideological support.

The view that emerged from the actions and writings of this group is often referred to as something like the 'May Fourth' narrative of Chinese history, thus named in reference to the nationalist student movement of May 4, 1919 that brought a new generation of partially Western-trained writers to national prominence. In light of the preceding discussion, I think the narrative can be more descriptively characterized as the result of mixing a selection of nineteenth and early twentieth century Western ideas with a certain understanding of the Chinese cultural tradition. The Western ideas included an association of history, society, and language within the then prominent notion of the 'nation'; the certain understanding of the Chinese cultural tradition was that held by the reformist inheritors of a primarily southern and classicist intellectual tradition in the late nineteenth century. Let me explain further what I mean by that characterization.

As mentioned, early twentieth-century intellectuals were eager to promulgate a standardized Chinese language in both spoken and written forms as a means of nation building. Partially following Japanese precedent (*kokugo* 国語), the Chinese word *guóyǔ* was reappropriated to mean not the 'dynastic [Manchu] language' but the 'national language,' referring to a new conceptualization of Chinese.[59] As the promulgation of the nascent national language involved teaching it to others, it had to be pedagogically efficient and supported by easy-to-use reference works.[60] In that context many proposals to reform the Chinese writing system were put forth, resulting eventually in the introduction of an official romanization of Chinese and simplified Chinese characters, similarly to what we saw happened in Japan. Many of the proposals for language reform were inspired by the Roman alphabet or the Japanese syllabaries. In this context, the Chinese tradition was part of the problem, not a source of inspiration. The best scholars, including Luó Chángpéi and Zhào Yīntáng whom I mentioned above, indeed recognized that efforts to reform the Chinese writing system went back at least to the seventeenth century. Their studies, which I will use more extensively in chapters 7 and 8, were instrumental in drawing attention to that neglected tradition of late imperial language studies. Yet their writings on the topic often ended in a criticism of the Chinese writing system in tune with the opinions of many 'public intellectuals' of their day. Dissatisfied with the social and cultural order that the new Republic had inherited from the Manchu empire, reformist and

[58] Kaske 2008, 324, 348.

[59] Kaske 2004, 285–287.

[60] The development of new forms of lexicographic arrangement was repeatedly mentioned as a goal of the language reform: Milsky 1974, 82, 96, 318, 410 (discussing the 1950s).

revolutionary intellectuals tended rather to highlight the novelty of their own efforts. When they mobilized history in support of their views, it was the philological scholarship and national vernaculars of early modern Europe that was help up as the exemplar, not the heritage of the defunct Qīng empire. Partially in the image of recent European history, these intellectuals created a historical narrative focused on a largely southern group of scholars from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whom they stressed were independent if not hostile to the Manchu government and thus not responsible for its perceived failures.

The narrative of southern intellectual prominence was not wrong as much as one-sided. Especially the wealthy extended families of the lower-Yángzǐ region, in what in strict geographical terms is actually central-eastern China, dominated the civil service examination system in the Qīng period by investing substantial resources in education and books.[61] Partially, their influence on the national stage depended on their ability to control the discourse on statecraft and the cultural order in general by presenting themselves as the expert interpreters and guardians of the canonical texts officially acknowledged as its basis.[62] Those same ancient texts could also be used to justify hierarchical and paternalistic social organizations known as 'lineages' or 'clans,'[63] which were able to amass and allocate the resources for sustaining the educational and scholarly activities that promised examination success and discursive authority. These circumstances go a long way in explaining why the scholarship, including the language studies, of this group was both largely philological and very influential in their own time.

The great focus placed on the lower-Yángzǐ intellectual establishment in the early twentieth century helps explain why the occasional recognition of a late imperial tradition of non-classicist, non-philological language and script reform appears to have remained a minority view. Indeed, the more influential accounts of late imperial language studies came from intellectuals relatively ill-placed to appreciate the sophistication of the lexicographical and phonological tradition as it developed outside the confines of lower-Yángzǐ scholarship in the Qīng period. Liáng Qǐchāo 梁啓超 (1873–1929), whose influence on twentieth-century Chinese thought was enormous, was educated in a southern and essentially classicist tradition. The history of the Qīng humanities (or *Geisteswissenschaften*, or *sciences humaines*) was for Liáng mainly the history of a group of scholars, many of whom were associated with the lower-Yángzǐ establishment (Liáng called them *Qián-Jiā xuépài* 乾嘉學派), who in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century dismissed speculative philosophy as without foundation, basing their work instead on a careful textual criticism of the Confucian classical texts. Liáng was highly appreciative of their efforts, but lamented that they did not apply their method of careful scrutiny in other fields.[64]

Liáng discussed Chinese language studies while guided by the overarching idea that in the Qīng period, a precise methodology developed in Chinese classical studies but not in the natural sciences. He did not discuss lexicography in this context, only phonology. For Liáng, "phonology [*yīnyùn xué*] was a biproduct of the Qīng Confucians' work on the Classics."[65]

[61]The lower-Yángzǐ scholarly establishment and their research is the subject of Elman 1984.
[62]Elman 1990.
[63]Chow 1994.
[64]Liáng Qǐchāo (1923) 2004, 200.
[65]Liáng Qǐchāo (1923) 2004, 238: 音韵学为清儒治经之副产物.

Liáng recognized two subfields of the study of language sounds in the Qīng period: historical phonology (*gǔyīn xué* 古音學) and phonetics (*qièyùn xué* 切韻學). The latter, he wrote, was "uniquely concerned with the production of sound."[66] These concerns he appropriately associated with efforts to reform the Chinese writing system in the early twentieth century. Liáng recognized the importance of the Buddhist tradition in the efforts to improve phonetic transcription in China, but despite dropping the names of a few relevant scholars, his discussion still centered on southern classicists whose contributions in this area were comparatively small. He made no mention whatsoever of the entire tradition of Manchu phonology, including the work of the southern scholar Lǐ Guāngdì, with whom he must nevertheless have been familiar. In the end, the reader of his book is left with an impression that phonology in the Qīng period had first and foremost been an auxiliary to classical or philological studies. Liáng was dissatisfied that scholars in the Qīng period did not invest their energy in other areas but textual criticism. Yet had he considered phonologists outside the narrow circle of southern Confucians, he might have found examples of a much wider range of interests and applications. It is not surprising that an intellectual history heavily influenced by Liáng's narrative would be comparatively little interested in the history of language studies.

The classicist narrative of Qīng language studies, of which Liáng was a major proponent, carried over into Western research. We find it in the work of Joseph Needham (1900–1995). The second volume of his series *Science and Civilisation in China* was titled *History of Scientific Thought* and presented an overview of the series's subject matter, which included the various areas of scholarly inquiry that could be considered to have contributed to the development of the scientific method. Needham asserted that "China was the very home of the humanistic sciences, the 'Geisteswissenschaften'," and that these sciences were "maintained at a higher level over a longer continuous period than in any other civilisation."[67] Yet the works cited as examples of the humanistic sciences in Needham's account make it clear that for him, as earlier for Liáng, the core of those sciences was research into the classical heritage. Needham did not mention linguistic studies that would have had any other purpose than elucidating the Confucian canon. However, as I will argue in following chapters, such studies were numerous and contributed to the development of twentieth-century linguistics and language planning in significant ways.

This study is not the first to have considered the development of Qīng language studies as a discipline with a positive development in its own right. More than thirty years ago, Elman brought Qīng language studies into the center of late imperial intellectual history. Elman focused on the textual criticism of the classicists, and showed that even as an auxiliary to philology, the development of phonology had an internal logic that allowed for "cumulative results." Notably, Elman showed that historical phonology from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries developed from an initially somewhat rough analysis of the rhymes of Old Chinese (the syllable-final elements) to an understanding also of the consonants occurring in syllable-initial position. He showed that the work carried out by the Qīng classicists became integrated in Chinese historical linguistics as practiced in the twentieth century.[68] Making the linkage to the new disciplines of the post-imperial period, Elman demonstrated that research

[66]Liáng Qǐchāo (1923) 2004, 239: 专从发音方面研究的.
[67]Needham 1956, 390.
[68]Elman 1982.

carried out within the late imperial disciplines was not irrelevant to the concerns of the modern sciences in China. Yet in this context, Elman chose to focus largely on the same group of scholars discussed by Liáng Qǐchāo (*Qián-Jiā xuépài*) and their particular classicist agenda.

In the past decades, scholars often trained as linguists have also studied Chinese phonology as as a developing discipline.[69] I have made heavy use of this body of technically precise scholarship in this study. Yet my impression is that to date, the study of Chinese phonology as a discipline has been written largely for linguists or for historians of the language sciences as a global phenomenon. Historians of late imperial China have, understandably perhaps, not engaged much with such research.

The relevance of the late imperial heritage has, then, been asserted for at least one subdiscipline of twentieth-century linguistics: historical phonology, a discipline that in its European version developed out of the comparative Indo-European studies that flourished under the name of 'philology' in the nineteenth century. However, the debates on language and script reform that so animated Chinese intellectuals from the last years of the Qīng to the 1950s were not directly related to historical linguistics as it developed in the same period. Rather, stressing the historical aspect of Qīng-period phonology served to strengthen the association between late imperial scholarship and the much-vaunted philology of Europe. One consequence was that the divide between early twentieth-century concerns in matters of language and the late imperial tradition still appeared complete in all fields of language planning and study except diachronic linguistics.

Today the stress on the historical aspects of Qīng-period language studies can no longer as easily serve to argue the eminence of lower-Yángzǐ scholarship in a positivist narrative of scientific progress, if such a narrative were still of interest to anybody. The development of historical linguistics in the past few decades has seen the research agenda move beyond the methods practiced by both the Qīng classicists and early twentieth-century linguists both in China and abroad. Both the late imperial and modern schools have thus come under criticism,[70] the result being that there is not, at present, a consensus regarding the historical significance of the Qīng research on Old Chinese phonology for our present understanding of that subject. Wolfgang Behr has criticized the idea that a conceptualization of diachronic linguistic change comparable to that developed by students of Indo-European in late nineteenth-century Europe ever existed in China,[71] in a sense undercutting some of the southern nationalist historical narrative. Elman has since questioned some of Behr's claims,[72] and it appears that the question is still open. At the same time, David Prager Branner has shown the Qīng classicists, whom he call "the Chinese purist school," because of their very classicism were inclined to certain interpretations not necessarily prompted by the facts.[73]

Both the relationship between the classicists to the concerns and problems animating the language arts in the China of their day, as well as the relationship of their studies to linguistic research and language reform in the twentieth century, remain unclear and in need of further study. It is my ambition that the present work will contribute to a better contextualization

[69]E.g., Malmqvist (1990) 1994 and the articles on China in Auroux et al. 2000.
[70]E.g. Baxter 1992, 139–140.
[71]Behr 2005.
[72]Elman 2010.
[73]Branner 2003, 53–54.

of the classicist school by introducing the contemporaneous movement of Manchu-inspired lexicography and phonology. I will not in these pages be able to fully account for the development from Qīng language studies to twentieth-century linguistics and language planning, but I hope to show that the development of precision in research on sound and script was not necessarily limited to, nor limited by, a southern brand of Confucian classicism.

Themes and Issues Engaged in This Study

Turning away from the philological language study of the lower-Yángzǐ school means that this study will introduce other people, places, and issues. The geographical focus will be on Běijīng, capital of the Manchu empire. The people will include many individuals in the imperial service, including Manchus and Mongols but also southern officials well known from the literature on Qīng intellectual history but appearing here in a different capacity. Other individuals who will feature prominently in these chapters will be new acquaintances to some readers: they were not holders of high office, but teachers of language and writing, sometimes attached to the banner garrisons of the empire. Overall, the considerable number of individuals with various ties to the Manchu military establishment shows how closely tied this story is to the Qīng imperial formation, which unlike the lower-Yángzǐ milieu only came into existence during the course of the seventeenth century.

Placing the history of scholarship close to the Qīng imperial center is not new. I already mentioned the common association of certain Manchu lexicographical works with imperial ideology. Studies on the largely classicist and philological school have also shown the importance of the imperial capital and court for the intellectual life of lower-Yángzǐ scholars; several decades ago, R. Kent Guy's study of the most extensive editorial project undertaken by the Manchu court in the eighteenth century effectively discredited the idea that the lower-Yángzǐ scholars existed in opposition to the Manchu court and suffered under its yoke, by highlighting a much more complicated set of relationships and interests.[74] More recently, William T. Rowe dedicated a magisterial study to an eighteenth-century Chinese official in Manchu service, whose career involved strengthening imperial institutions and ideology in the then still weakly integrated and ethnically diverse southwestern regions of China.[75] Catherine Jami, in a study on Jesuit learning and mathematics at the Qīng court, has stressed that the inclusion of China into a Manchu, Inner Asian empire of which its territory only constituted one third needs to be taken into consideration in the history of science. Jami also argued that conversely, "the Qing empire needs to be fully integrated into the narrative of science and empires in the early modern age—a narrative so far mostly concerned with the overseas empires established by European powers."[76] Elman, finally, has shown that the Manchu imperial capital's connections to Chosŏn Korea and thereby indirectly to Japan entailed a circulation of people, books and ideas in Northeast Asia with consequences for the history of Chinese science and scholarship.[77] The direction I take in this work has been inspired by these and other studies.

[74]Guy 1987.
[75]Rowe 2001.
[76]Jami 2012, 4.
[77]Elman 2014.

The issues treated in this study are, as already mentioned, not matters of philology and historical linguistics but some of the language problems that people faced in the Qīng empire during China's 'vernacular millennium.' The problems were prompted, among other things, by the multilingual character of the imperial administration and, at certain times and places, everyday life; a developed print culture and substantial numbers of people literate in some form of Chinese or in other languages; and the prominent role played by book learning in the social and professional life of the elite. An administration in several languages and scripts necessitated translations and transcriptions of documents and successful oral communication using a common linguistic form. Maintenance and spread of literacy were aided by teaching materials, which in a commercialized print culture led to the development of textbooks, dictionaries, and other tools for the learning and use of language. An elite sociability that involved the exchange of poetry written in an older (indeed, a cosmopolitan[78]) form of the language, finally, created a demand for phonological books that could help clarify the readings and appropriate use of Chinese characters in poetic meter and perhaps speech. The individuals whom I will study here were among those who tried to address these problems in one way or another.

The reader will notice that the Qīng language studies that I will deal with can count as 'applied,' as opposed to 'theoretical,' in so far as they can be construed as responses to the aforementioned problems. To be sure, the distinction between applied and theoretical studies of language might make little sense outside the context of the contemporary university's separation of the discipline of linguistics into these two categories. Indeed, apparently theoretical and disinterested writings might have great social or political import, certainly so in late imperial China where a discussion of ancient texts could have a bearing on the imperial succession, the pivot of power.[79] Still, I believe it permissible to say that the brand of language study treated here, motivated by contemporary language use, was 'applied' in a more immediate sense than the philological investigations of the classicist school, which nevertheless had notable and immediate political consequences.

In part this turn to 'applied' language studies reflects the increased attention paid in cultural and intellectual history to practices (as opposed to ideas), evident in the rise of the history of science and the decline in the history of philosophy, as well as to the material support of scholarly work, such as the book as an artifact separate from its contents. In part it reflects the influence of scholarship on language studies outside the Qīng empire. I think that Sylvain Auroux's book *La révolution technologique de la grammatisation* demonstrates well the great potential that the history of language studies holds for our understanding of the early modern world and its legacy in the present. Auroux's book presents a narrative very much in accord with Pollock's idea of the 'vernacular millennium': focusing on the codification of vernacular languages in books of grammar, and to some extent lexicography ('grammatization'), in Europe from the Renaissance onward, Auroux argues that languages were made into commensurable objects of knowledge for the emerging European states and their mercantile and spiritual representatives in other parts of the world. Auroux does not associate this process primarily with philology, but with the contemporaneous development of other branches of

[78]Murai 2009.
[79]Elman 1996.

knowledge, including the new experimental sciences, which facilitated European ascendancy of much of the early modern and nineteenth-century world:

> The European Renaissance is the point of inflection of a process which caused the production of dictionaries and grammars for all the world's languages (not only the European vernaculars) on the basis of the Graeco-Latin tradition. This process of 'grammatization' has profoundly changed the ecology of human communication and given the West the means of knowledge and domination (*moyens de connaissance et de domination*) over the other cultures on the planet. It is actually question of a technological revolution, which I do not hesitate to consider as important for the history of humanity as the agrarian revolution of the neolithic, or the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century.[80]

'Grammatization' of the European vernaculars created homogenous linguistic spaces that made possible the diffusion of the new scientific knowledge broadly in the eighteenth century. From there, Auroux argues, it extended to other parts of the world:

> The technological revolution of grammatization would create a relatively homogenous communication grid which was initially centered on Europe. Every new language that was integrated into the grid of linguistic knowledge, by the same token as every new land represented by European cartographers, would increase the efficacy of the grid and its disequilibrium in favor of only one of the world's regions. This grid would drain a considerable mass of knowledge towards the major European countries, knowledge that was not only of a linguistic nature, but, more generally, cultural, social, and scientific.[81]

From the point of view of the historian of China, Auroux's book appears to in part perpetuate the narrative of European global dominance that was woven by the agents of 'grammatization' that is at the heart of his story. Not that China, or other parts of the non-Western world, is uninteresting to Auroux; on the contrary, he suggests that the cultural and political position of India, China, or the early Graeco-Roman empires could have contributed to a

[80] Auroux 1994, 9: *la Renaissance européenne est le point d'inflexion d'un processus qui conduit à produire des dictionnaires et des grammaires de toutes les langues du monde (et pas seulement des vernaculaires européens) sur la base de la tradition gréco-latine. Ce processus de « grammatisation » a profondément changé l'écologie de la communication humaine et donné à l'Occident des moyens de connaissance et de domination sur les autres cultures de la planète. Il s'agit proprement d'une révolution technologique dont je n'hésite pas à considérer qu'elle est aussi importante pour l'histoire de l'humanité que la révolution agraire du néolithique ou la révolution industrielle du XIXe siècle.*

[81] Auroux 1994, 72: *La révolution technologique de la grammatisation va créer un réseau relativement homogène de communication initialement centré sur l'Europe. Chaque nouvelle langue intégrée au réseau des connaissances linguistiques, au même titre que chaque nouvelle contrée représentée par les cartographes européens, va accroître l'efficacité du réseau et son déséquilibre au profit d'une seule région du monde. Ce réseau va drainer vers les grands pays européens une masse considérable de connaissances, non seulement de nature linguistique, mais aussi, plus généralement, culturelles, sociales et scientifiques.*

similar development in other parts of the world and at other moments in history, but asserts that it did not happen.[82] That conclusion is clearly premature. If anything, Auroux's book, for the obvious contributions it makes for our understanding of the European situation, should encourage us to look at the development and role played by language studies in China and Asia more generally.

I see this study as one step toward the reevaluation of the role of language studies in late imperial China. It is certainly not the first step, except for me personally. The study will present no coherent narrative or comprehensive treatment of the study of language within the organization of knowledge of the Qīng empire. It will, however, suggest that as early modern European grammarians were defining and codifying the languages around them, civil officials, military men, school teachers, clerks, and the occasional emperor in various ways tried to reconcile different languages and scripts into some common framework in China. They knew little of the model of Latin grammar, but much of theories of script and sound inherited from Chinese antiquity and Indic Buddhism. With these tools they engaged the linguistic world around them, thereby contributing to change it into the way it is today.

[82] Auroux 1994, 78.

Chapter 2

Language and Its Study in China

By any definition, Chinese is one of the world's major languages. In aggregate its speakers number significantly more than a billion people. Even some of its so-called dialects have more speakers than many European languages. The Chinese literary tradition is also one of the world's longest and best documented. It is not surprising, then, that concepts and analytic models developed to explain the historical development of language in Europe would be inappropriate or at least inadequate to explain the Chinese linguistic experience. This much has long been known, yet the history of language use, attitudes, planning, and study remains one of the outstanding issues in the history of linguistics. The late imperial period is of particular importance in this regard, as the situation in China appears to have some striking but perhaps superficial similarities with contemporary developments in Europe. It is thus possible that a more accurate understanding of the Chinese case will also prompt a reconsideration of widely held truths regarding European sociolinguistic development.

The present chapter will describe the Chinese and Manchu languages and the sociolinguistic situation of China, primarily Běijīng, in the Qīng period. It will then outline the history of the study of language in China up until that period. The focus will be on understanding the linguistic landscape of north China from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries. I will try to ignore aspects of the Chinese or other languages or their study that are not relevant to this purpose.

2.1 The Languages of China

The People's Republic of China (PRC) counts as one of the world's largest countries in terms of territory, encompassing several long-settled regions of great variety in terms of terrain, climate, ecology, and thus of economies sustained in both past and present. Many different languages are also spoken across these regions, or were spoken there in the past. In the far west of the PRC, the inhabitants of the Tibetan plateau in the south speak an array of highly divergent varieties of Tibetan, a language with a long literary tradition and developed metalinguistic disciplines, and in the north speak Uighur, a Turkic language partaking in the heritage of the rich early modern Chagatai linguistic commonwealth. China's northwest also still includes speakers of Oirat or Western Mongol, who played an important role in the history of the Qīng empire. East of the Uighurs and Oirats, people speak varieties of Eastern Mongol, commonly considered the successor to the Classical Mongol and its ancestor language, the language of the rulers of the Mongol Empire. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Mongolian parts of the Qīng empire included more than the current Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of the PRC; what is now the Republic of Mongolia was also under Qīng control, sending both people and documents to the capital at Běijīng. Further east still, beyond the Khingan range, the forested mountain slopes were in the early Qīng period inhabited of speakers of Manchu and other Tungusic languages and dialects. The Korean peninsula, where Korean is the dominant language, is separated from this area only by the Yalu and Tumen rivers. Throughout historical time, speakers of Korean have also lived in the now Chinese territory across these rivers, or communicated with the people there for the purposes of diplomacy or trade.[1]

[1] See further Ramsey 1987, ch. 10.

The southwestern periphery of the PRC is also very linguistically varied. The southeastern part of the country used to be so as well, but Chinese colonization of the area stretching back at least to the first millennium CE has reduced much of the variation that once existed. Off the southeastern coast the mountainous terrain of the island of Táiwān, in our day under separate political administration, still harbors speakers of many non-Chinese languages. Throughout China south of the Yángzǐ river, which crosses the country from the Tibetan plateau in the west to the Pacific Ocean in the east, Chinese-speaking populations have long lived interspersed among speakers of other languages. Numerous and profiting from the support of an organized state, the Chinese-speakers came to settle on agriculturally productive land close to rivers. The indigenous populations of these areas migrated to higher ground, often living in the relatively inaccessible and heavily forested mountains. In the southwest large-scale Chinese settlement is more recent, becoming significant enough to alter the linguistic map of the area only in the late imperial period. Speakers of the languages nowadays classified as Zhuang, Naxi, and Lolo thus remain in greater numbers; in the case of the Zhuang languages, the speakers number in the millions.[2]

The location of China between Zhuang and other languages in the southwest and Tibetan, Turkic, Mongol, and Manchu in the north and west (the country being bordered in the east by the Pacific Ocean) can also be stated as the country's location between two linguistic areas. In the north, Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu share certain characteristics in terms of grammar. Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether these languages developed out of a common Altaic ancestor (thus named in reference to the mountain range around which the language would have been spoken), but it is clear that they have certain common characteristics that contrast with those of Chinese. The northern languages commonly use words of two or more syllables; conjugate verbs and place the finite verb at the end of sentences; and do not use pitch accent or tone (*shēng* 聲) to distinguish words. Tibetan is not counted among these languages, as it is probably very distantly related to Chinese. Yet Tibet has acted as a mediator for Indian literature and thought (largely contained under the rubric of Buddhism) to the speakers of Mongol and Manchu, influencing their ideas and usage of language and writing to an important extent. The Indian and Tibetan tradition, although also important in China proper, has existed as an alternative to Chinese culture for the peoples in the north, contributing to their difference from the Chinese in terms of script and language.

The languages spoken in China's southwest can be said to represent another cultural sphere, extending across the Chinese border into Southeast Asia. Many languages in Southeast Asia, such as Vietnamese, are structurally much more similar to Chinese than are the Turkic, Mongol, and Manchu languages of the north. Like Chinese, Vietnamese morphemes often consist of only one syllable, and like Chinese Vietnamese use pitch accent to distinguish words. The region where Chinese is spoken is thus located between two very different linguistic areas. In fact, some of the more striking differences between the varieties of Chinese spoken in the north and those spoken in the south have been explained as the acquisition of features from the groups of languages spoken in the two areas through prolonged contact with them.[3]

[2]See further Ramsey 1987, ch. 11.

[3]Hashimoto 1976, 1980. Especially Hashimoto 1986 makes very strong claims for the intimate relationship between the Altaic languages and the northern Chinese topolects.

2.2 Typology and Periodization of Chinese

All varieties of Chinese spoken today have developed out of a few historical languages. Most, but not all, modern varieties descend from the language spoken in the Táng empire (618–907 CE). That language, in turn, descended from a language spoken in north China at the time when written records start to appear in the form of inscribed bones and turtle shells, the so-called oracle bones, in the period c. 1200–1045 BCE.[4] The written language represented by these inscriptions and the language in the later *Classic of Poetry* (*Shījīng* 詩經; c. 1000 BCE) is sometimes called "Preclassical Chinese." The language of the *Classic of Poetry* has been studied throughout Chinese history, but the oracle bones became known only at the end of the nineteenth century and thus played no part in the linguistic studies of scholars before that time. The written language of the canonical prose works composed between the fifth century BCE and the early third century CE is called "Classical Chinese,"[5] although that term is sometimes used in reference to the written language modeled on Classical Chinese proper used in formal and much literary prose throughout the imperial period up until 1911 (or even later).

The spoken language thought to be represented in the Classical Chinese texts is customarily called Old Chinese (*shànggǔ Hànyǔ* 上古漢語).[6] In the words of Jerry Norman (1936–2012):

> Old Chinese morphemes are almost entirely monosyllabic; moreover, most words are also monomorphemic. Not only is there a total lack of grammatical morphology, but even derivational morphology is very scant. In typological terms, Classical Chinese is an almost perfect example of an isolating language.[7]

In other words, most words in Old or Classical Chinese consisted of only one syllable, and as a rule that syllable remained unchanged regardless of the word's placement in the sentence. There are signs that Chinese at a very early stage contained a subsyllabic morphology, but it seems that by the classical period, the forms of one morphological paradigm were interpreted as separate words.[8] As we will see, the isolating, monosyllabic, and lexical monomorphemic character of Old Chinese was a factor affecting the development of the Chinese script and the entire Chinese tradition of language studies.

[4]Boltz (1994) 2003, 31.

[5]Norman 1988, 83.

[6]The Chinese terms for the periods of the Chinese language are taken from Wáng Lì (1980) 1984, 44–49.

[7]Norman 1988, 84.

[8]For example, the character that in the modern standard language is pronounced *wú* 吾 and means 'I, me' in the classical language meant only 'I' and not 'me', whereas the character now pronounced *wǒ* 我 and meaning 'I, me' in the classical language meant only 'me' and not 'I'. In the subject position, the singular first person pronoun was written as *wú*, whereas it was written *wǒ* in the object position. The distinction between *wú* and *wǒ* can thus be understood as a difference in case (something like nominative/accusative). A subsyllabic morpheme indicating case has been posited for these two words in the classical period, which would be responsible for their diverging pronunciation in later times. The fact that the shift in case is treated by the writing system as a lexical difference (i.e., being written using two different characters) suggests that in the classical period words were generally understood to consist of single immutable syllables, with a difference in pronunciation meaning that we were dealing with not one but two words.

After the classical period, the Chinese language is customarily divided into Middle (*zhōnggǔ* 中古) and Early Modern (*jìndài* 近代) Chinese. The separation of these two stages, as well as the finer gradations recognized within them, has mostly been done in reference to the language's phonology, in practice tantamount to the pronunciation of the Chinese characters in either period. Grammatical and lexical differences have also been identified, and it seems likely that historical lexicology and syntax will become even more prominent in historical Chinese linguistics in the future. In terms of grammar, the aspectual particles and syntactical constructions that we associate with the modern language are seen already in texts from the Táng period.[9] A common language of interregional communication is believed to have existed in this period of imperial unity, and Middle Chinese would have been it.

Following the fragmentation of China after the Táng and then again preceding the rise of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, the Táng standard developed differently in the various regions of China, leading to the many Chinese varieties spoken in the country today. The language spoken in north China, where the land was flat and communication relatively easy, grew less divergent than in the south. In the Mongol Yuán, Míng, and Qīng periods, a vernacular literature developed that incorporated many grammatical and lexical features of the northern language. The literature of this northern vernacular (see below for this term) circulated widely and became the basis for the Chinese written language in the twentieth century, when 'postclassical' Chinese finally receded and eventually disappeared altogether as a productive literary language. The language of modern books, pronounced using standardized character readings promulgated through the PRC education system, is broadly called 'Modern Chinese' (*xiàndài Hànyǔ* 現代漢語). A more precise English term is 'modern Standard Mandarin,' corresponding to the Chinese *Pǔtōnghuà* 普通話, 'common speech' and *guóyǔ* 國語, 'national language.' The latter term us used mainly in Táiwān, where far from all interested parties would agree that Standard Mandarin is 'national.'

In modern Standard Mandarin, like in the languages that preceded it, morphemes are generally monosyllabic and unaffected in their pronunciation by syntax. Phonological rules might lead to changes in the realization of a syllable, but this is not due to the place in a word or sentence per se, but to the pronunciation of surrounding elements. In this regard, Standard Mandarin is similar to Classical Chinese. However, the words of Standard Mandarin differ from those of Classical Chinese in that they are no longer almost uniformly monomorphemic. Whereas Classical Chinese words most often consisted of only one morpheme, which corresponded to only one syllable, a great many words in Standard Mandarin consist of two morphemes, meaning that those words contain two syllables. In writing, they are thus represented by two Chinese characters instead of one. One implication of this circumstance is that the lexicon of Standard Mandarin is very different from that of Classical Chinese. Some words in Standard Mandarin, including very common ones, are very old and are seen in classical texts with the same meaning that they have today. Many other words, however, have been replaced with new coinages or loans throughout history, leading to the disappearance of previously used words. Naturally, the many things and phenomena known to the modern world but unknown in antiquity have had to be expressed using new words as well.

[9]Norman 1988, ch. 5.

The Chinese Script

Bone and bronze inscriptions from c. 1200 BCE are the earliest examples of glottographic writing of Chinese. The inscriptions already present a mature writing system.[10] It is often called the oracle-bone script in English or 'shell-and-bone script' (*jiǎgǔ wén* 甲骨文) in Chinese. The signs used in this system are not pictographs.[11] That is to say, they do not depict things the way a portrait of a person depicts that person. Nor are the signs ideographs, the ostensible representation of ideas as opposed to words or sounds.[12] Rather, the early writing system was logographic: the signs represented words. The origin of logographic writing in China has links to earlier marks with an identifying or other function, but we cannot assume a gradual emergence of the writing system over a prolonged period before its attestation late in the second millennium BCE.[13] We have clear evidence of glottographic, more specifically logographic, writing when signs are clearly used to represent the names of things, e.g., animals, in language. It is often difficult to say, when faced with a sign, whether it constitutes a drawing of an animal or a representation of the word for the animal in question. Yet when we see the drawings become simplified and formalized to an extent that they can no longer be treated as drawings, they have probably come to represent the word for the animal. More unambiguous proof of this development is obtained when we see the formalized drawing used not for the name of an animal, but for another word that sounds the same as the name.[14] This stage has clearly been attained in the oracle bone inscriptions. Writing functioning in a similar way also developed in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. However, in those places the link between the sign and the word it had originally represented was further weakened to the point where the sign represented only the sound, which was generally a syllable. The fact that Old Chinese, as discussed above, had monosyllabic morphemes and monomorphemic words probably contributed to the circumstance that the Chinese writing system "remained permanently logographic,"[15] in the words of one authority.

The logographs of the Chinese script, which I in the following will often call 'characters,' developed substantially in terms of their shape. In addition to the inscriptions on shell and bone, characters were cast in bronze, written on slips of bamboo, and carved on stone or other mineral surfaces. The different media encouraged the development of different styles, as did the need to write quickly, copiously, and unambiguously in government administration. During the period from the third to the sixth centuries CE, the forms of the characters in common use today came into being as the so-called 'standard script' (*kǎishū* 楷書).[16] This script, as its predecessors down to at least the second century BCE, represented monosyllabic morphemes by single characters written generally from top to bottom in columns which were in turn arranged from right to left. The characters were written in succession, without superimposing one on top of another, and without modifications such as diacritics. In principle each character occupied the same amount of space. The internal structure of the character consisted

[10] Qiu 2000, 29, who gives the date of fourteenth to eleventh centuries BCE.
[11] Boltz 2006.
[12] See Boodberg 1937 and Boodberg 1940, which criticized Creel 1936, 1939.
[13] Boltz (1994) 2003, 51–52.
[14] Boltz (1994) 2003, 57–60.
[15] Boltz (1994) 2003, 71.
[16] Qiu 2000, ch. 5.

of formalized strokes that recurred in certain combinations in several characters. Generally, an individual trained in the script would know from observing a character of which strokes it consisted, how many they were, and in what order they should be written. The components of the script can thus be said to be:

- Characters representing each a single syllable and a single morpheme;
  - Recurring combinations of strokes inside the characters;
    * Formalized strokes of limited number making up either the recurring combinations constituting characters or directly forming characters on their own.

Thus the character *yī* 一 consists of only one stroke, but is one of two strokes making up the character *dīng* 丁, which in turn is a recurring combination of strokes seen in other characters, such as *dǐng* 頂, *dīng* 釘, and *níng* 寧. As these examples show, recurring combinations of strokes inside characters often serve to indicate their pronunciation, although not entirely systematically. Other combinations serve to associate the morpheme or word represented with other morphemes or words having a related meaning, such as the element 釒 in *dīng* 釘, 'nail [that one hammers].' This recurring combination also occurred in the form *jīn* 金 as a character on its own meaning 'metal.'

Contemporaneously with the standard script, several ornamental and cursive styles were in common use in imperial China in inscriptions, art (calligraphy), and casual or ephemeral writing of various kinds. The appearance of strokes changed in the various styles, being more elaborate or more simplified than in the standard script. Yet the general principle of morphemic and syllabic characters consisting of formalized strokes remained.

Historical Phonology of Chinese

As mentioned, the periodization of the Chinese language has been carried out mostly in reference to changes in its phonology as reflected in the prescribed readings of Chinese characters. The details of Old Chinese phonology are not that important for the purposes of this study, except for in one regard: as the language of the *Classic of Poetry*, a collection of rhymed verse, Old Chinese phonology was of great interest to classically oriented scholars in the late imperial period. Scholars came to the realization that the language represented in the poems of the *Classic* was very different from what they themselves spoke, and also from other historically attested forms of the language with which they were better acquainted. They thus tried to work out how their own language related to that of the *Classic* so as to better understand its poetic form and by extension its meaning.

The identification of Old Chinese phonology with the sound system underlying the poetic meter of the *Classic of Poetry* shows an important characteristic of the historical periodization of Chinese phonology. Ostensibly, the periodization might rely on changing characteristics in the pronunciation of Chinese, but in reality it to a very large part depends also on the availability of relevant sources from different periods. Some stages in the development of the pronunciation of Chinese are better attested than others, meaning that the researcher can say substantially more about language as used in those periods. Notably, the identification of a stage of Middle Chinese owes a great deal to the appearance in the medieval period of so-called rhyme books, a kind of dictionary that conveniently codified real or idealistic forms of

Chinese character-readings sharing traits with both the language of the *Classic of Poetry* and what we can observe today as Standard Mandarin and other regional Chinese varieties. In contrast, the demarcation of the Early Modern vernaculars from 'Modern Chinese' sometime in the early twentieth century does not reflect the appearance of new kinds of sources so much as changes in the political and sociolinguistic situation during the shift from empire to republic. The dependence of the historical periodization on the availability of sources has the important consequence that the study of language, as reflected in the composition of for example rhyme books, has influenced also how people think of the language itself, both in the present day and in late imperial China.

Middle Chinese

The phonology of Old Chinese changed into what we today recognize as Middle Chinese sometime in the fourth century CE. Edwin G. Pulleyblank (1922–2013), followed by William H. Baxter, distinguished two phases of Middle Chinese: Early and Late Middle Chinese, where the first phase is represented by the first rhyme books from the seventh century onward, and the second by the rhyme tables from roughly the tenth century and later.[17] Ultimately this division is inspired by the existence of two distinct corpora of medieval source material, and it has been contested as a valid model for the development of the Chinese language.[18] Yet there is little doubt regarding the distinctive characteristics of Middle Chinese phonology (be it Early or Late) in comparison to modern Standard Mandarin.

Middle Chinese was a tonal language, although its ancestor Old Chinese might not have been. Middle Chinese had four tones, known in the Chinese metalinguistic discourse as *píng* 平, 'even,' (pronounced *biajŋ* in Early Middle Chinese [EMC]); *shǎng* (EMC *dʑɨaŋ'*) 上, 'rising'; *qù* (EMC *kʰɨə̆hʰ*) 去, 'departing'; and *rù* (EMC *ɲip*) 入, 'entering.'[19] It has been suspected that the names of the four tones refer to the way they sounded, the Even tone being pronounced in an even pitch and so on, but scholars have also pointed out that the names themselves also illustrate the pronunciation of the tone to which they refer. The character *píng*, for example, was pronounced in the Even tone, the character *shǎng* in the Rising tone etc. It is thus unclear how much the names can tell us of the tones' pronunciation, which remains largely unknown to us today.[20] Whereas the Even, Rising, and Departing tones were likely distinguished by pitch accent, the Entering tone was characterized not by pitch but by the nature of its coda. The Entering tone syllables all ended in an unreleased stop consonant (*-p, -t,* or *-k*). Syllables in the other tones were either open (i.e. had no consonantal coda) or ended in a nasal consonant (*-n, -ŋ,* or *-m*). The Middle Chinese tones are important, because they played a key role in the metrics of regularized verse (*lǜshī* 律詩), functioned as an organizational device in certain kinds of dictionaries, and differed dramatically from the tones of early modern Northern Vernacular Chinese.

[17] Pulleyblank 1970, 1971; Baxter 1992, 14–15. The general framework is adopted but given a new meaning in Chan 2004.

[18] Norman and Coblin 1995.

[19] EMC reconstructions are from Pulleyblank 1991a, which also explains the pronunciation of the reconstructions.

[20] Norman 1988, 52–53.

Beside the tone, two other aspects of the Middle Chinese syllable are relevant for understanding the problems facing Chinese language studies in the late imperial period: the initial and the rhyme. Both the number and pronunciation of the Middle Chinese initials and rhymes changed during the development into the varieties of Early Modern Chinese, with some important consequences for how scholars approached phonology. Among other things, changes in the Middle Chinese initials involved certain initials splitting into two according to what vowel or vowel-like sound (medial) followed them. As we will see, that split affected the usability of the spelling system used to indicate the pronunciation of characters in Middle Chinese sources, which posed an important problem for late imperial phonologists. As for the rhymes of Middle Chinese, they changed primarily by becoming fewer in Early Modern Chinese, especially in the north. In addition to affecting the aforementioned spelling system, the reduction of rhymes had consequences for the organization of dictionaries and, even more importantly, for the composition of regularized verse.

When discussing Middle Chinese rhyme, we cannot avoid to consider the nature of the sources. As I mentioned above and will explain in greater detail shortly, one of the main sources for Middle Chinese phonology are the rhyme books, notably Lù Fǎyán's 陸法言 *Qièyùn* 切韻 (Spelled rhymes; 601 CE), which was known in the late imperial period mainly in the form of a later redaction titled *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 (The expanded rhymes; 1008).[21] These books listed Chinese characters according to their 'rhyme' (*yùn* 韻). The 'rhyme' of a Chinese syllable is generally defined as its nucleus and coda, roughly translating to its vowel and final consonant (in case there is one). Sometimes, but not always, the tone is also considered part of the rhyme. In *Guǎngyùn*, the tone was thus considered, as similar-sounding characters of different tone were listed separately.[22] With rhyme defined as including tone, *Guǎngyùn* contained 206 rhymes, corresponding to as many unique combinations of vowel, final consonant, and tone. Now, this system did not represent "a dialect of a particular place and time," but was "a kind of composite phonological inventory based on earlier works and different regional usage."[23] The compilers of the dictionary had tried to reconcile several partially conflicting earlier lists of rhymes. When one of those earlier lists made a distinction that was not made in the others, the distinction was included in the final amalgam. Thus the number of rhymes in the finished dictionary contained more rhymes that ever existed in any one of its sources. Whatever Middle Chinese language was spoken in the seventh century CE, it contained fewer rhymes than the *Qièyùn* and *Guǎngyùn*. The varieties of Chinese that developed out of Middle Chinese thus also contained fewer rhymes than did these books. Especially in the north, reduction of the number of consonants that could end syllables meant that the number of rhymes decreased even further. In late imperial poetics, a certain reduction of rhymes was acknowledged and accepted. The rhyme book that came to be canonical in the definition of the number of rhymes and the distribution of characters among them, retrospectively often referred to as *Píngshuǐ yùn* 平水韻 (The rhymes from Píngshuǐ [a location in north China]; 1227), contained 106 rhymes.[24] Even this system did not accord with Early Modern Chinese as actually spoken in the north in the Míng and Qīng periods.

[21] Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 19, 35.
[22] Yáng Yìmíng and Wáng Wèimín 2002, 244.
[23] Norman and Coblin 1995, 580.
[24] Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 43–44.

The initials of Middle Chinese can likewise not be defined without reference to the problematic nature of the sources. The main source for what has been called Early Middle Chinese, the rhyme books, did not explicitly distinguish initials, only rhymes. Yet within every rhyme, the pronunciation of one representative character was indicated more fully using a spelling system that I will explain in more detail presently. Using an ingenious method often referred to as the 'method of interconnections' (*xìlián fǎ* 系聯法),[25] the number of initials represented in the *Qièyùn* and *Guǎngyùn* can be retrieved. However, the previously mentioned fact that these books incorporate earlier material drawn from different sources meant that they were internally inconsistent in their spelling of syllables, leading to contradictions in the reconstructed system that have to be solved with recourse to other sources and to inference. The number and sound value of reconstructed initials thus vary slightly between analyses. In Wáng Lì's 王力 (1900–1986) version, the phonological system represented in *Guǎngyùn* contained thirty-five initials. A later kind of source, the so-called rhyme tables that I will also discuss in more detail presently, distinguished thirty-six initials,[26] which was often the number assumed by late imperial phonologists studying the sounds of Middle Chinese. The system with thirty-six initials corresponds to what Pulleyblank called Late Middle Chinese. The numbers of thirty-five and thirty-six are deceptively similar; in reality, between Early and Late Middle Chinese (as spoken around the tenth to the twelfth century) some initials split while others merged.[27] The numbes of thirty-five and thirty-six only differed by one, but the initials they represented differed by several.

In the development from Middle Chinese to Early Modern Chinese, we do not see a dramatic reduction of initials similar to the reduction in rhymes, although some Middle Chinese initials did merge in the north in the late imperial period. The important differences developed instead from conditioned splits in the Middle Chinese initials, which disrupted the spelling system inherited by late imperial phonologists from the Middle Chinese sources.

Early Modern Chinese

I have in the preceding repeatedly used the term Early Modern Chinese in translation of the term *jìndaì hànyǔ*. Usually, this term is taken to refer to the language from which modern Standard Chinese developed, based on the literary vernacular of the late imperial period and the phonology of educated Běijīng speech. I have used it more broadly to refer to the many varieties of Chinese spoken in China from about the twelfth century.[28] The latter are also largely spoken today in the form of what is often called the Chinese 'dialects.' In discussing the linguistic situation in late imperial China, I will try to avoid the word 'dialect' when referring to the major divisions within Early Modern Chinese. Often I will, as I have in the preceding sections, refer to them as 'varieties.' Sometimes I will refer to them as 'vernaculars' to indicate their relationship to Literary Chinese. In modern Chinese, the term generally used in reference to any regional variety of the language is *fāngyán* 方言, 'regional speech.' This term is often translated as 'dialect,' which many scholars have found unsatisfactory. I

[25]The method was introduced in Chén Lǐ (1837–1880) 2004, ch. 1, 3–5.
[26]Wáng Lì (1980) 1984, 67–68.
[27]Wáng Lì (1980) 1984, 141.
[28]Wáng Lì (1980) 1984, 44–49.

will outline the variation seen within modern Chinese and then discuss what terminology is best used in reference to that variation in the late imperial period.

In geographical terms, the varieties of Chinese currently spoken in the PRC can be divided into three major groups: a Northern Group, including the varieties spoken on the north China plain down to the Yángzǐ river, the Běijīng area, Manchuria, and the north- and southwest. The remaining two groups, the Central Group and the Southern Group, are both located in the southeast. The varieties of the Central Group are spoken south of the eastern section of the Yángzǐ (the western section, flowing through Sìchuān, being part of the Northern Group). The Southern Group, finally, comprise varieties spoken along the southeastern coast (Fújiàn) and the far south (Guǎngdōng).[29]

The varieties in the Northern Group are all dialects of what we can call 'Northern Vernacular Chinese' in translation of the modern Chinese term *Běifāng huà* 北方話. The same term also corresponds to 'Mandarin' in the broad sense of that term. The varieties of the Central Group, including among others the variety spoken in Shànghǎi, have certain traits in common with the Northern Group and some traits in common with the Southern Group, which is both geographically and linguistically farthest removed from the Northern Vernacular.[30]

If we as a hypothetical scenario assume an encounter of three speakers, each speaking one and only one variety of Chinese from the geographical center of each of the three groups (e.g., one from Běijīng in the inland North, one from Shànghǎi where the Yángzǐ river empties out into the Pacific, and one from Xiàmén on the southeastern Pacific coast east of the mountainous inland), they would have as much of a difficulty communicating with each other as would a Spaniard, a Frenchman, and an Italian speaking only their respective languages. Differences within each group would not be as severe, but in the Central and Southern Groups would still be considerable.

This study is largely concerned with developments in the north, especially the capital at Běijīng. It will deal almost exclusively with texts referencing or representing variants of the Northern Vernacular. As we will see, it was also from this group that modern Standard Chinese developed. I will therefore explain the nature and degree of linguistic variation in the north in a little more detail.

The population of the area corresponding to Northern Group constitute about seventy percent of all Chinese people. It is thus by far the largest group. The varieties of the Northern Group are also relatively uniform and largely mutually intelligible. Congruent with the purposes of this study, I will describe some characteristics of the Northern Group by contrasting it with Middle Chinese.

Changes from Middle Chinese to the Northern Vernacular (including in the number and phonetic value of initials and rhymes) affected the work of phonologists in the late imperial period for several reasons. The composition of regularized verse, whose meter was based on the Middle Chinese tones and rhymes, became difficult when many rhymes merged; one tone category disappeared altogether; and the tone of other characters shifted from one cat-

[29]The tripartite division is from Norman 1988, 182–183.

[30]It is often thought that all varieties except those spoken in the inaccessible southeastern province of Fújiàn (Mǐn 閩) developed out of the common language of the Táng empire. According to that theory, the speakers of Mǐn would have originally inhabited the lower-Yángzǐ area, from where they were pushed south following immigration from north China.

egory to another. Middle Chinese had, as mentioned, four tones: Even, Rising, Departing, and Entering. Of these, the Entering tone was characterized by the finals *-p, -t* and *-k*. In the dialects of the Northern Vernacular, these finals were weakened. In Běijīng and several other varieties, they disappeared altogether. The characters that had been pronounced in the Entering tone thus came to be pronounced with one of the other three tones. This change was important, as regularized verse demanded that Even tone characters alternated with characters in the other three tones in certain fixed patterns. As many Entering tone characters came to be pronounced with the Even tone, speakers of Běijīng Chinese could not be sure that their verse was in accord with the proscribed meter. Consultation of rhyme books or phonological tables became a necessity in such cases. The need to participate in the essential form of upperclass sociability that poetry writing represented sustained a relatively broad interest in phonology among the highly educated. Readers' interest in regularized verse was also an important reason for late imperial phonologists to aspire to continue to represent a Middle Chinese sound system in the reference books they compiled.

New dictionaries and phonological charts were needed, furthermore, because of the fact that old books from the period of Middle Chinese became hard to use or even incomprehensible to late imperial readers as the pronunciation of the language changed. The Middle Chinese system of phonetic transcription became impossible to rely on for accurate information of how characters listed in the rhyme books should be pronounced. The tonal development from Middle Chinese to the early modern Northern Vernacular was affected by the disappearance of the Middle Chinese distinction between 'clear' (*qīng* 清) and 'turbid' (*zhuó* 濁) syllables. These terms had appeared in the medieval period to characterize groups of syllables that we now know contained two different series of initials. One series was unvoiced and one was voiced. Most probably, the pronunciation of the vowel following the initials also changed depending on the voicing, giving rise to the terms 'clear' and 'turbid' to characterize its sound. The distinction between voiced and unvoiced disappeared completely from most early modern vernaculars, including those of the north. For the Běijīng variety, the following rule generally applied: voiced initials became aspirated voiceless initials in the Even tone but unaspirated voiceless initials in the Rising, Departing, and Entering tones.[31] From the writings of late imperial phonologists it appear that the distinction between 'clear' and 'turbid' came to be reinterpreted as two categories of rhymes, not of initials, as we understand it today. The identification of 'turbidity' with the rhyme happened because, during the development from Middle Chinese to the early modern vernaculars, the voicing of the initial affected the tone of the syllable before it disappeared, so that Middle Chinese syllables that had been 'turbid' might no longer be in the same tonal category as their erstwhile 'clear' counterparts. In order to assign syllables to their appropriate Middle Chinese rhyme groups, late imperial phonologists still needed to know which syllables had once been 'clear' and which 'turbid,' but they also had to convey the information to the reader in a way that would make sense on the basis of his own language.

Other splits among the initials also occurred, but the point has already been made: not only did the sound value of certain initials change, the change depended on elements belonging to the rhyme of the syllable.[32] In case of the voiced initials, it depended on the tone. In other

[31] Wáng Lì (1980) 1984, 143–144.

[32] An example not discussed here in detail is the subject of Pulleyblank 1986.

cases, it depended on the quality of the following vowel.[33] As we will see, the fact that the initials changed under influence of the rhyme had important consequences for the development of phonetic transcription in the late imperial period.

There was also an overall reduction of syllabic initials. At most, dialects of the Northern Vernacular use twenty-four consonantal sounds, not all of which can function as initials in all dialects.[34] A system of twenty-four initials is seen already in sources from the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, some sources represent a system with only twenty.[35] The initials are thus considerably fewer than the thirty-six reconstructed for Late Middle Chinese. Changes in the initials between Late Middle and Northern Vernacular Chinese made early dictionaries and phonological treatises inaccessible to late imperial readers, a situation which provided much of the impetus for the phonology discipline's development in the Míng and Qīng periods.

The Difference Between Regions and the Emergence of a Contested Standard

In the preceding sections I have described how the differences between varieties of Chinese appear to contemporary linguists. It was not, however, how the situation was understood in late imperial China. Several orders of language can be distinguished in the Míng and Qīng periods. In terms of spoken language, there existed the regional varieties of Chinese, outlined above, and the prestige variety, which was spoken in some circumstances but also used when reading certain kinds of documents out loud. In terms of written language, there was Literary Chinese, used as mentioned in administration, formal prose, and elevated verse, and Written Early Modern Chinese, used notably in certain genres of fiction and drama. The spoken and written varieties were not unrelated. On the contrary, they interacted in important ways. Nor were the regional varieties of Chinese unrelated to the prestige variant, which research has shown changed under the influence of the dialects. In this section and the next, I will introduce the dynamics of the different orders of language, so that we can better situate the Manchu language in the sociolinguistic landscape. I will begin by discussing the emergence of a standard of pronunciation and recitation. In the next section, I will continue by discussing the relationship between the regional varieties, the standard, and Literary Chinese.

First we need to understand how regional differences were conceptualized. Jerry Norman explained linguistic difference in late imperial (and contemporary China) cogently:

> One often hears it said that the Chinese dialects are really different languages. In practical terms they must often be treated as such; in some universities, for example, Cantonese is offered alongside the standard language in Asian language departments, just as German and Dutch are both taught in departments of Germanic languages. But the question of what constitutes a language and what con-

[33] E.g., no later than the twelfth century, labiodental initials (notably *f-*) developed out of bilabials (e.g., *p-* and *b-*) under certain circumstances. The exact circumstances under which this split occurred involved a distinction made in Late Middle Chinese phonological treatises whose meaning remains somewhat controversial, but it involved the quality of the vowel or glide that followed. (It involves the notion of 'grade' [*děng* 等] and its relationship to vowel quality; Wáng Lì [1980] 1984, 147–148).

[34] Norman 1988, 192 (table 8.4).

[35] Wáng Lì (1980) 1984, 142–143.

> stitutes a dialect cannot be answered in an absolute way; nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that the differences among the Chinese dialects are very considerable. To the historical linguist Chinese is rather more like a language family than a single language made up of a number of regional forms. The Chinese dialectal complex is in many ways analogous to the Romance language family in Europe … In view of these parallels, it would not be surprising if we found about the same degree of diversity among the Chinese dialects as we do among the Romance languages, and in fact I believe this to be the case.[36]

The big difference between the linguistic development of post-Roman Europe and post-Hàn China seems to be that with a few very interesting exceptions, the Chinese language of formal prose, elevated poetry, and government remained Literary Chinese for the entirety of the imperial period until 1911. In Europe, by contrast, government administration, elevated literary and epistolary genres, and after the seventeenth century also scholarly prose was commonly written in one of the major vernacular languages (e.g., Italian, German, French, English). Parallels to the European process of vernacularization existed in China, as we will see, but the crucial differences just outlined remain.

Norman said the differences observed among regional varieties of Chinese are comparable to the varieties within the Romance language family in Europe. Often, languages and dialects are in a European context distinguished by a criterion of mutual intelligibility: if the monolingual speakers of two varieties of Romance are able to understand each other, what they speak can be considered dialects of the same language. If, by contrast, they cannot understand each other, what they speak should be considered different languages. All sorts of objections can be raised against this criterion (What does it mean to 'understand'? Just what is a 'monolingual speaker'? etc.), but even if we accept it at face value it seems hard to apply to the situation in China.

For not only did the regional varieties of Chinese coexist with Literary Chinese as the language of most written texts, they at times also coexisted with a variety of the spoken language used in interregional communication. The degree to which that language was known and mastered throughout the country certainly varied over time, as did both the circumstances in which its use was expected or demanded, as well as its degree of standardization. Disregarding for a moment the fluidity of the notion of a spoken standard language in late imperial China, we simply assert its existence by calling it the 'koinē' by analogy with the linguistic situation in post-classical Greece, where one dialect of Greek was in general use to facilitate communication by people from different areas. (Paul Demiéville [1894–1979], making an analogy with South Asia rather than Greece, described the Chinese spoken standard as a "kind of pan-Chinese Prakrit" [*(une) sorte de prâkrit pan-chinois*].)[37] The existence of a koinē affected the development of regional varieties of Chinese. Pulleyblank described this situation:

> Even in remote parts of the country dialects have never developed in isolation. They have been influenced not only by their immediate neighbors but even

[36] Norman 1988, 187.

[37] Demiéville 1950, 47.

> more importantly by provincial and national standards spreading from successive political centers. The educated elite who have governed the country as the imperial bureaucracy have been the prime source of this influence, but itinerant traders have no doubt also played a role at a lower social level. The result is that all dialects are more or less multilayered.[38]

What Pulleyblank here calls "dialects" are what I referred to above as *fāngyán*. It follows from Pulleyblank's description that the boundary between the *fāngyán* is not clear, and the criterion of 'mutual intelligibility' would like have yielded different results if members of the elite from different regions, as opposed to uneducated commoners, were speaking to each other; a knowledge of Literary Chinese and a general cosmopolitan awareness that language differed across the land might have compelled elite individuals to adapt their language usage sufficiently for communication to be possible across regional boundaries, although they could perhaps not be said to therefore have been bilingual.

The term *fāngyán* can thus not easily be translated as 'dialect.' Nor can it be translated as 'language,' for which there are other words (see the appendix). Victor H. Mair, having examined the use of the Chinese term both in the Qīng and contemporary periods, concluded that it does not correspond to any English linguistic term. He proposed a new translation of the constituent morphemes of the Chinese word: "topolect," but also asserted that they could be referred to as 'varieties' of Chinese, as I have done.[39]

In the late imperial period the topolects coexisted with a prestige pronunciation (the pronunciation of the koinē) used in certain spheres of life. Just what that pronunciation was and how it related to the topolects remains a matter of debate. Many scholars have attempted to pinpoint the prestige pronunciation used at any given time in the Míng and Qīng periods, often on the basis of one or other rhyme book. This is probably a futile exercise, as the rhyme books were all the products of conservative, idealist, imaginative, or otherwise opinionated writers, and not an undistorted reflection of language as actually spoken.

The simple projection into the late imperial past of distinctly twentieth-century notions of standard and substandard language, occasionally encountered in the Chinese linguistic literature, ignores the particularities of late imperial sociolinguistic realities, and must by necessity fall short of its ambition to explain the emergence of a national language in China. Because of the dominance and relative permanence of Literary Chinese as the written medium, and the indirect relationship between Chinese characters and sound, it is very difficult to determine what the high forms of the spoken language were in China. A spoken language can uncontroversially be said to contain a phonology, a grammar (including rules of morphology and syntax), and a lexicon. Both in the Qīng period and in the twentieth century, debates on what constituted standard Chinese in the era of Manchu domination has focused on its sounds. The question of what words and grammatical particles to use has been relatively less discussed. Presumably, this is related to the fact that a focus on phonology left the question of the relationship between the spoken and the written language open; 'correct sounds' (*zhèngyīn* 正音) could refer both to the pronunciation used when reciting or announcing a document, as

[38]Pulleyblank 1998, 200.
[39]Mair 1991.

well as to the dialect adopted in oral communication, regardless of the manifest differences in lexicon and grammar between spoken and written language.[40]

Yet even the identity of Qīng prestige pronunciation has been a matter of debate. It seems clear that norms shifted over time, as the pronunciations of Nánjīng in the south, Hénán in the center, and Běijīng in the north have all been identified as standards for various moments of the late imperial period.[41] This variation of opinion should not make us forget the point on which everybody agrees: in the Qīng period, elevated forms of spoken Chinese that held any currency on the national level were all based on dialects of the Northern Group (the Northern Vernacular), over time increasingly identified with the language of Běijīng, the imperial capital. We saw that the Northern Vernacular counted by far the largest number of speakers of any topolect group, and that it was relatively homogeneous. Furthermore, the political center of the early Chinese empires, including the Hàn and the Táng, had been in the north. In the Míng and Qīng periods, the Hàn and Táng were considered formative periods in the history of the cultural and literary tradition. Hàn prose and Táng poetry was widely emulated and the sociopolitical situation of the country during the reign of some of their emperors was widely admired and idealized. Varieties of Chinese native to the north had some prestige by virtue of their association with this illustrious history. Furthermore, the capitals of both the Míng (Nánjīng and Běijīng) and the Qīng (Běijīng) lay within the Northern Vernacular area; educated men had to travel there to take the high-level civil examinations, and they would work there if assigned to posts in the central government. The emperors and the court also spent most of their time in the capital and would thus acquire the local topolect.

Yet other factors worked against the rise of a dialect of the Northern Vernacular to the position of koinē. Compared to topolects of the Central and Southern Groups, the Northern Vernacular had developed far from the sounds of Middle Chinese. Middle Chinese poetry that might still have rhymed in topolects of the Southern Group was less likely to do so when read in the Northern Vernacular, which made the latter seem uncouth to some Southerners. Furthermore, much of China's wealth was concentrated to the linguistically central and geographically southern region of the lower Yángzǐ, which was also the locus of scholarly and literary production. Some of the most brutal episodes in the Manchu conquest of China that established the Qīng empire in 1644–45 took place there. Efforts at raising the government's tax revenue later in the seventeenth century was also largely directed at the elite in this region. Being wealthy, educated, and domineering in their local communities, the elite of the lower Yángzǐ probably also felt that they were entitled to more than the Qīng government was willing to accord them. The imperial throne and many key posts in the central and provincial administration were occupied by Manchus and thus out of reach for southern literati. They consequently developed a strong sense of local pride and seem to have resisted the rise of the Northern Vernacular at least for some time. Ultimately they were unsuccessful.

We know, then, that the koinē was based on Northern Vernacular Chinese, but other questions remain. The problematic seems to subdivide into two issues. First, there is the issue of what variety of the Northern Vernacular occupied the prime position at what time (and, by extension, what was the pronunciation of that variety). Much ink has been spent on this

[40] Ishizaki Hiroshi 2014 offers a survey of the terms *zhèngyīn, guānhuà* etc. and their partially overlapping meanings in Qīng-period discourse.

[41] A recent summary of this debate is found in Zhāng Yǒngméi 2011, 214–215.

problem, and the failure to reach a consensus to me indicates that there is something wrong with its point of departure: the formulation of the problem of the late imperial koinē as a choice between Nánjīng and Běijīng pronunciation.

By tacitly assuming that the pronunciation or accent (*yīn* 音) of any late imperial city was uniform under all circumstances, the question as thus formulated forgets what might be a prerequisite for understanding the sociolinguistic situation of late imperial China, being the asymmetrical relationship between the Qīng empire and twentieth-century China in terms of language use. We cannot take the twentieth-century notion of a 'standard pronunciation' (*biāozhǔn yīn* 标准音) and transpose it onto the Qīng.[42] In the late imperial period, there did not exist a single uncontested, officially established, and universally accepted standard of pronunciation that was also actually used in all instances in which the topolects would not suffice. Taking as the definition of a 'standard pronunciation' a language thus recognized and used, Gěng Zhènshēng concluded that late imperial China did not have one.[43] Yet there remain the incontestable facts that the government made efforts to influence (and perhaps even control) language use; more generally, that empirewide communication demanded that individuals of different geographical background adapt their speech; and, finally, that some pronunciations were considered more appropriate than others in certain contexts. This leads to the second issue of the problematic of the Qīng koinē: the role of the prestige pronunciation in social life, regardless of regional basis.

The seemingly contradictory evidence[44] with regards to the geographical basis for the 'correct sounds' of the Qīng period can be partially reconciled if we acknowledge that pronunciation norms might have differed depending on context. The general term for a the language used by Míng and Qīng officialdom, 'official-speech' (*guānhuà* 官話), historically the basis for the term Mandarin, dates from 1483.[45] Whatever their precise relationship, Mandarin referred to one or several forms of speech that were mutually intelligible with most of the topolects comprising the vast dialect stratum of Northern Vernacular Chinese, stretching from approximately the Liáodōng peninsula in the northeast to Guìlín and Yúnnán in the southwest. Scholars disagree with regards to the sounds of this form of the Northern Vernacular and its relationship to the regional vernaculars in the Míng and early Qīng periods, but as mentioned, everybody admits that the end of the story includes the Běijīng dialect emerging as a national standard. By the late nineteenth century the prestige pronunciation had incorporated many features found in the Běijīng dialect, the status of which at that time had thus risen in comparison with the vernaculars of Nánjīng or the central plain.[46] This situation succeeded one in which a Mandarin with a southern inflection had coexisted and competed with a mutually intelligible variant that including more traits associated with the Běijīng vernacular.[47] In terms of regional basis, it is the exact timing of the shift to Běijīng pronunciation that is at

[42]Chén Niángāo 2005, 106.

[43]Gěng Zhènshēng 2007.

[44]E.g., cf. the arguments for the weak position of the Nánjīng dialect on the national scene in Zhāng Zhúméi 2007 with the argument that Nánjīng pronunciation remained the national standard until 1850 in Lǔ Guóyáo 2007.

[45]Zhāng Yùlái 2007, 16.

[46]One authoritative view: Coblin 2000a.

[47]Coblin 2003b, 353.

the core of the debate.

Second, there is the problem of gradations within the koinē and their use in different contexts. The language called 'official-speech' comprised several registers, including at least one suitable for the recitation of texts (*shūmiàn zhèngyīn* 書面正音) and one used in dialogue (*kǒuyǔ zhèngyīn* 口語正音).[48] The pronunciation considered proper for reciting literature did not correspond completely with the pronunciation used in conversation among officials or merchants from different regions. Lǐ Xīnkuí, acknowledging just that, convincingly argued that the normative pronunciation started to converge with Běijīng dialect in the second half of the eighteenth century, but that this did not prevent writers of phonological treatises from continuing to exalt archaicizing or dialectal versions of the 'sounds of the central region' (*zhōngzhōu* 中州) as preferred reading pronunciation until the late nineteenth century.[49] Among phonologists too, there might have existed a preference for a reading pronunciation based on Northern Vernacular Chinese, but the situation was certainly not one of unanimity.[50] In economically and culturally prominent regions, phonologists and lexicographers promoted reading pronunciations based largely on local vernaculars sometimes quite different from the empire-wide koinē. A multivolume work with prefaces by several prominent officials published in 1684, for example, proclaimed as "neutral and correct" (*zhōng zhèng* 中正)[51] what in fact represented the reading pronunciation of the one lower-Yángzǐ city of Hángzhōu.[52] Furthermore, late imperial Mandarin most probably contained even finer gradations than a dichotomy of a literary and a spoken register would suggest, as remarked by nineteenth-century Western observers.[53]

Scholars have noted that the often socially humble defendants in late imperial criminal cases were recorded as speaking in koinē, to the extent their accent can be inferred from their syntax and choice of grammatical particles. In case they did not master the koinē and spoke their own topolect, the recorder would rewrite (in a sense, translate) their statement to a written form consistent with the koinē.[54] According to one authority, "guidebooks for magistrates regularly counseled … legal writers to remove all vulgarity and local dialectical expressions from recorded testimony in order to enhance its comprehensibility."[55] Civil officials and examination candidates had to compose their memorials and essays in the appropriate discursive and documentary styles of Literate Chinese, but the emperor himself, of theoretically unlimited power, was free to use whatever form of language he wanted. On the Manchu documents that arrived on his desk he thus routinely scribbled the word 'noted' (*saha*). On Chinese documents this phrase corresponded to the koinē expression *zhīdào le* 知道了. Even today, one often hears this phrase, when read in this context, vocalized in a more literary way as *zhīdào liáo*, with the koinē sentence final particle given the full syllabic weight of a character in Literary Chinese. It appears that the emperors' endorsement of the koinē has

[48]Zhāng Yùlái 2007, 30–37. Furuya Akihiro 1998, 152–153 also discusses this issue.
[49]Lǐ Xīnkuí 1980, 47–52.
[50]On variation among proponents of the 'correct sounds': Gěng Zhènshēng 1992, 117–26.
[51]Yú Déshēng 1684, *fánlì*:1b.
[52]Zhāng Yǒngméi 2011, 269.
[53]Coblin 2003a, 237–238.
[54]Wei 2014, 284–285.
[55]Hegel 2007, 84. Karasawa (2007) 2014, Also:

become counter-intuitive to some people today. In reality, however, the koinē was officially sanctioned or mandated by the Qīng state in certain contexts alongside Literary Chinese.

In sum, it is clear that the sociolinguistic situation of late imperial times was qualitatively different from that of the PRC. There existed a prestige pronunciation or koinē used in interregional communication and certain other contexts. However, the koinē was not as precisely defined as the standard language of many twentieth-century societies, including that of the People's Republic of China. Rather, it was graded, comprising several registers appropriate for different contexts, and changing, eventually coinciding with a certain form of the Běijīng vernacular from having previously been based on the speech of either Nánjīng or the Central Plain.

Recognizing that more work is needed on the nature of late imperial Chinese koinēs, I will take for granted in the chapters that follow that the late imperial koinē was not based simply on the pronunciation of any one topolect, but represented learned and conservative reading pronunciation that for a long time included many distinctions not made in the casual pronunciation of the Northern Vernacular.[56] I will return to the topic of increased identification of the koinē with Běijīng and the Manchus in chapter 8.

2.3 Literary Chinese in the Late Imperial Period

The previous section established that in addition to the spoken topolects, there existed in Qīng China a form of Chinese, a koinē, used in certain formal or elevated situations, in the recitation of literature, and in interregional oral communication. I will now turn to the question of how the koinē and the topolects related to the written language. In the preceding sections, we schematically distinguished two forms of written Chinese as used in the late imperial period: Literary Chinese, written in emulation of certain prose works of the classical period, and Written Early Modern Chinese, used in some genres of drama and fiction and featuring a vocabulary and grammatical markers associated with the spoken Northern Vernacular. Victor Mair, who has argued for the radical difference between the two varieties, has also less controversially traced the origin of Written Early Modern Chinese to Buddhist translations and original texts with a religious purpose. In that sense, the origin of Written Early Modern Chinese can be traced to the first millennium CE.[57]

In discussions of the late imperial sociolinguistic order, the two forms of written language are often referred to as 'writing in literary language' (*wényán wén* 文言文) and 'writings in plain speech' (*báihuà wén* 白話文). As Shang Wei has remarked, however, the dichotomy represented by these terms is not an invention of the late imperial period, but the early twentieth century. When the empire crumbled and eventually fell, intellectuals grouped as belonging to the 'May Fourth movement' of 1919, mentioned in chapter 1, or the 'New Culture movement' (*xīn wénhuà yùndòng* 新文化運動), elevated the question of language reform to one of the acute problems facing the new nation. Based on a certain understanding of the rise of the various national languages and the decline of Latin in early modern Europe, some Chi-

[56]This is the view espoused in Yè Bǎokuí 2001, 1–25. It is also congruent with the comments in Coblin 1997, 292 on the nature of Chinese koinēs.

[57]Mair 1994.

nese intellectuals at that time saw Literary Chinese as analogous to Latin, with Written Early Modern Chinese corresponding to Italian, English, French etc. Just as these latter languages had replaced Latin as the vehicle of written communication in their respective countries, so should a form of Written Early Modern Chinese, it was argued, replace Literary Chinese as the written medium of choice in China. The term 'plain speech' thus came to be interpreted in the sense of 'vernacular' as used in the European context. Our understanding of the sociolinguistic order of late imperial China has been heavily influenced by this view ever since. Shang Wei has argued, however, that it distorts the facts. "For instance," he writes,

> despite their adamant endorsement of *baihua* as the people's language, the May Fourth scholars tended to associate the written *baihua* with Mandarin (*guanhua* 官話), a sort of koine of the Ming and Qing era that was employed by officials, traveling monks, and merchants for oral communication and that was therefore transregional and cosmopolitan by nature, defying the very definition of "vernacular" as it is used in the European context. In advocating *baihua* writing as the common linguistic ground for nation-state making, [these intellectuals] harnessed the koine of the empire in service of a new and modern mission.[58]

Thus Wei criticizes the idea that the language of late imperial novels and plays was a vernacular; associated with an elevated form of the spoken language that existed in opposition to the regional vernaculars (topolects), *báihuà* prose was not vernacular at all. Wei did not deny that there was a connection between Northern Vernacular Chinese and Written Early Modern Chinese (if we use my preferred terminology), nor that such a connection was perceived by people in the late imperial period (it was), but he refused to characterize that language as a popular language. Like Literary Chinese, Written Early Modern Chinese was a written medium that demanded prolonged study to master. (We saw in chapter 1 that Elisabeth Kaske made a similar point.) However, unlike Literary Chinese, uneducated individuals in the north were more likely to comprehend a passage in Written Early Modern Chinese when read out to them in using a pronunciation with which they were familiar, than they would have had the recited passage been written in Literary Chinese. There was a link between Written Early Modern Chinese and spoken Northern Vernacular in terms of vocabulary and grammar.

The relationship between Written Early Modern Chinese and topolects outside the Northern Group is more difficult to evaluate. Wei seems to say that although the most vernacular segments of dramatic dialogue incorporated traits from local speech, there were limits to the extent that the written text could accommodate regional phonologies.[59] I infer that he is referring to the fact that the topolect alluded to in the vernacular-sounding dialogue can most often only be gleaned from the use of pronouns, grammatical particles, and other distinctive function words in the text. As much of the remaining vocabulary would be shared between many topolects, albeit pronounced in a different accent, the reader cannot tell which accent is intended just from looking at those words. The words are written in Chinese characters and thus to some degree underdetermined with regards to their intended pronunciation. Yet this does not mean that the Chinese characters as a medium are incapable of representing regional

[58] Wei 2014, 260.
[59] Wei 2014, 276.

accents. All it means is that those accents have to be supplied by the reader, who would also, for that matter, have to supply the koinē reading should he prefer to read the characters in that pronunciation. This circumstance implies that only accents that the reader would know either natively or through training would be available for him to add to the text when he was vocalizing it.

Wei summarized the underdetermined character of the written text in terms of pronunciation as "the characteristic demarcation of writing and speech as two separate realms in early modern China," which was "more congenial to the survival of regional tongues" than was the early modern European linguistic order.[60] Late imperial China would thus have had two written linguistic media, both of which had only a weak relationship to speech. As in Wei's essay, the relationship between these two media have been defined largely in terms of the genres in which they were often encountered, genres that I have also listed above. In a sense, it is therefore possible to understand the two media as representing two stylistic registers of what to many individuals in late imperial China was probably understood quite simply as the written word.

The phonetic underdetermination of written forms of Chinese should not be understood to mean that there was no interaction between writing and speech in late imperial China. Wei mentioned the very different kinds of language spoken in plays by characters of elevated social standing compared to those of low standing. In plays, the speech of elite individuals was full of literary expressions.[61] Before Wei, Furuya Akihiro and Christoph Harbsmeier had already taken this argument further to say that the pronounced literary character of elite individuals' speech was not confined to the stage.[62] In a wonderfully apt comparison between the mixed Latin and German speech of Martin Luther (1483–1546) and the Chinese philosopher Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130–1200), he showed that the boundary between what we today consider entirely different languages was far from rigid in the medieval and early modern periods. Harbsmeier juxtaposed two texts of similar origin and purpose: Luther's *Table Talks* (*Tischreden*), recorded by his disciples, and Zhū's *Yǔlèi* 語類 (Classified sayings), produced in a similar way. Not only is Luther recorded as alternating sentences in Latin with sentences in German, he shifts from one language to the other also within the same sentence. According to Harbsmeier, the language of Zhū's *Classified sayings* is comparable in its mixture of casual and learned expressions. Harbsmeier concluded:

> For many a scholar, writing colloquial or vernacular Chinese would mean actually *not* writing as he would speak to his peers, in spite of what propagandists of *baihua* kept repeating to the contrary. The notion of 'sayable Chinese' is deeply misleading insofar as it suggests to the unwary that there is a clear borderline between the written and the spoken which does not in fact exist. The whole point of bookish gentry in a society is that its members have a disconcertingly natural tendency to use elements of the written language in their speech, to try to 'speak written Chinese.' When talking about sayable Chinese one has to ask: 'sayable by whom?', 'sayable on what occasion?', 'sayable to what kind of intended au-

[60] Wei 2014, 291.
[61] Wei 2014, 276.
[62] Furuya Akihiro 1998, 149.

> dience?'. It is astonishing how much bookishness even modern bookworms can manage in their speech.[63]

Wei is doubtlessly right to argue that what I have called the phonetic underdetermination (Wei does not use the term) of Chinese characters made possible a separation of speech and writing into two spheres in late imperial China. Yet as Harbsmeier so convincingly argued, the speech of highly literate individuals in a society that placed great emphasis of learning probably approached the written language in its vocabulary and perhaps even syntax. Taken together, the two circumstances stressed by Wei and Harbsmeier show that the relationship between Literary Chinese, Written Early Modern Chinese, the koinē, and the topolects cannot be satisfactorily explained as the relationship between a learned and exclusively written language and a native and spontaneously spoken language. Literary Chinese was not Latin, nor was Written Early Modern Chinese Dante's Italian. The appreciation of the varieties of written Chinese by individuals in the Qīng period will become clearer when we look at how people learned how to read and write.

[63] Harbsmeier 2001, 391–392.

2.4 The Study of Language in China

The preceding chapters and sections have been written on the basis of certain assumptions. We have assumed the reality of the social institution of language; the identification of language with speech in both European and Asian languages; and the role of writing to record speech. In doing so we have participated in what scholars characterize as metalinguistic discourse: the use of language to talk about language. Indeed, the various terms for 'language' that we reviewed are by definition metalinguistic. Metalinguistic statements do not necessarily involve the study of language; linguists include casual references to someones 'words' or what someone 'said' as metalinguistic, as they refer to acts of language. Such terms are also informative with regards to the conceptualization of language by those who use them, as the term 'word' itself suggests an understanding of the flow of speech as constituted by discrete semantic units.

Societies that have documented their intellectual life using writing have also engaged in very different kinds of metalinguistic discourse and praxis, including in our present world among other things the academic discipline of linguistics. Thanks to the ability of writing to produce durable records, a literate society tends to accumulate textual artifacts. The need to handle (sort, read, teach) and produce (write, edit) such artifacts inspired the development metalinguistic knowledge. According to Sylvain Auroux, metalinguistic knowledge developed only after the invention of writing. In other words, the first appearance of writing is not the result of prior reasoning regarding the functioning of language; such reasoning developed only after written records had already been produced by improvisation.[64] Auroux distinguished several types constituting the practical metalinguistic knowledge (i.e. knowledge serving toward the mastery of language) that developed in early literate societies:

1. The mastery of enunciation (mastery to convince, to represent the real, to slander);

2. The master of language(s), including the comprehension of one's own or a foreign language;

3. The master of writing (the capability to read and write);

4. The mastery of texts (the ability to manipulate or produce a corpus of texts) consisting or relatively long linguistic sequences, such as tales, mythical accounts, or poetry. The production of such texts is transformed by writing.[65] (This last type would correspond to Pollock's definition of 'philology,' discussed in chapter 1.)

The quest for mastery of these types inspired explicit reflection on the nature and functioning of language.

In China as elsewhere, such reflection appeared after the invention of writing, which in China as in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Mesoamerica was indigenous.[66] In the West, the Near Eastern script gave rise to first the Greek and then the Roman alphabet, which provided the prerequisite for explicit reflection on the nature of language in Europe. In both China and

[64] Auroux 1994, 36.
[65] Auroux 1994, 25.
[66] Boltz (1994) 2003, 10.

Europe, it is possible to identify several fields within the general rubric of language studies. In the following sections, I will briefly outline four of the fields: general or even philosophical reflection on the structure and nature of language; the teaching of reading and writing; the arrangement of the elements of the script and the lexicon into dictionaries (lexicography); and the more specialized, either theoretical or applied, study of speech sounds (phonology).

Naturally, these four fields can only be kept separate up to a certain extent, all of them potentially feeding the others. Furthermore, other fields might be identified as existing on a par with the four just mentioned. Still, I will focus on these four, as they will be most relevant for the discussions in the chapters that will follow. I will pay special attention to the development of lexicography and phonology.

Theoretical Reflection on Language

For context, it might be useful to consider Chinese metalinguistic discourse in relation to its European counterpart. Just as the Roman alphabet used to write Western European languages is derived from the Greek alphabet, that radical development of the Phoenician script, the Western tradition of the study of language can be traced to Greece. One of the factors contributing to the Greeks' interest in language was the awareness of other languages spoken in their vicinity and dialectal divisions within the Greek language itself.[67] Linguistic knowledge was initially entirely practical, with the word *grammatikos* signifying "one who understood the use of letters," and *technē grammatikē*, "the skill of reading and writing."[68] Yet scholars also discussed philosophical problems involving language and tried to determine what constituted correct language. In these discussions, terms were introduced to describe the structure of the Greek language, leading to the development of the "technical metalanguage"[69] that became ancient and medieval grammar and, later, the study of syntax and morphology.

The development of grammar as a field of study continued in Roman antiquity, represented notably by Donatus (fourth century CE) and Priscian (his work dates to c. 500 CE). For Priscian, the letters of the Roman alphabet, "as for the rest of western antiquity," was "both the minimal graphic unit and the minimal phonological unit."[70] The distinction between the elements of writing and the elements of speech was not strong, and in a sense the alphabet was language.

Antiquity came to an end. As Roy Harris wrote, "by the middle ages … the province of grammar had been drastically reduced":

> It had been promoted in importance to the status of a university subject, being one of the branches of the trivium, ranked alongside logic and rhetoric; but its content had shrunk. Grammar was to all intents and purposes what was set out in the two most famous grammar books of antiquity; the Latin grammars of Priscian and Donatus. The notion of the 'grammar' of any non-Classical language was simply not entertained, and since Priscian and Donatus were neither phoneticians

[67] Robins (1967) 1976, 11.
[68] Robins (1967) 1976, 13.
[69] Robins (1967) 1976, 27.
[70] Robins (1967) 1976, 58.

> nor lexicographers, medieval grammar was in effect simply Latin morphology and syntax.[71]

Chinese metalinguistic discourse developed relatively early. Harbsmeier has characterized the interest in language seen in Chinese writers of the Classical period as "social, not theoretically linguistic in a narrow sense."[72] Like in European antiquity, language primarily meant speech. Speech expressed thought and writing represented speech.[73] Speech considered a typically human characteristic, its purpose being communication. Some writers acknowledged the conventional character of language and its ability to change from time to time and place to place. The normative role of language was also recognized; through the 'right use' or 'correction of names' (*zhèng míng* 正名), social behavior would also begin to converge with the ideals expressed by those names or words.[74]

In terms of grammar, the most fundamental distinction made by Chinese writers were that between 'full words' and 'empty words.' They referred respectively to words with a lexical meaning and words with primarily a grammatical meaning. The terms used to indicate these two categories changed over time. In the first centuries CE, one source expressed the notion of full words using the term *zì* 字, which later became the generic term for 'Chinese character.' In other sources, both earlier and later, the term *míng* 名 was used in the sense of lexical word. The same source used the terms *cí* 辭 and *yǔ* 語 to refer to grammatical words, or particles.[75]

We thus see the terms *zì* and *míng* used to refer primarily to full words as a unit of speech. The distinction between a spoken word and its graphic representation does not seem to have been very strong in the early period, as indeed the distinction of letters as units of the script and sounds as units of speech had not been pronounced in Europe before the Renaissance (as discussed above).

The term for a written word appears to in China originally have been *wén* 文, which originally meant 'pattern.' "Before the Spring and Autumn [period; 770–476 BCE]," Gù Yánwǔ 顧炎武 (1613–1682) asserted, "people said *wén*, not *zì*."[76] As the distinction between written and spoken words was not very marked, Gù also identified instances in which written characters were referred to as "names" (*míng*) in the pre-imperial period. The term *zì*, which in Gù's time had become the standard word for 'written Chinese logogram' or 'character' originally meant 'give birth to,' 'treat as one's own child,' or 'care for.' Only in passages describing the bestowal of courtesy names (referred to as *zì* also in later periods) on young males "does the meaning come somewhat close to 'written character' (*wénzì*), but even in such passages 'writing' (*wén*) has yet to be designated by 'character' (*zì*)," Gù asserted.[77] Only by the time of the early empire, he argued, did the term *zì* become used in the sense of 'written character.'[78]

[71] Harris 1990, 62.

[72] Harbsmeier 1998, 46.

[73] Harbsmeier 1998, 31–32.

[74] Harbsmeier 1998, 47–53.

[75] Harbsmeier 1998, 88. A common reading of the same early source holds that it also distinguished *wén* and *zì* as two structurally different types of characters, but this has been revealed as a misconception: Bottéro 2004.

[76] Gù Yánwǔ (1695) 2006, 1169: 春秋以上，人言「文」不言「字」.

[77] Gù Yánwǔ (1695) 2006, 1169: …與「文字」之義稍近，亦未嘗謂「文」爲「字」也.

[78] Gù Yánwǔ (1695) 2006, 1170.

From having been thought of as an instance of a more general category ('names'), written characters thus came to be referred to using a special term.

When Gù was writing, the general term for a Chinese character had changed to *zì*. Especially in reference to Chinese characters in aggregate, scholars used the compound word *wénzì* 文字, which also serves as the term for 'writing' or 'written characters.' The declaration by one seventeenth-century writer that "the meaning and principles of the world are gathered in the written characters"[79] shows that writing in the most general sense of the word was construed as an inclusive collection of *wénzì*.

After the shift from *míng* to *zì* as the most common term for 'written character,' the notions of 'full' and 'empty' words came to be designated using the Chinese terms that were later the origin of the English translation of the concepts: *shízì* 實字, 'full characters' and *xūzì* 虛字, 'empty characters.' They became widely used in this sense from the Sòng period (960–1279 CE).[80] The distinction was also later made in discussions of Manchu grammar. A basic recognition that language consisted of words of different kinds, which were in turn represented in writing by characters, provided a theoretical foundation for lexicography.

The Late Imperial Chinese Book

The book was a common artifact throughout the late imperial period, but especially since the late sixteenth century when commercial publishing expanded rapidly.[81] The format of the late imperial book was similar to European codex format. It existed as chirographs (manuscripts), xylographs (blockprints), or prints produced using movable type.

Chirographs were produced by writing on paper using a brush dipped in ink. I will explain the writing implements used in China below in the context of elementary education, so I will not talk about them here. It should be noted, however, that manuscripts remained very important for more than private uses in the Qīng period. The support for all three kinds of books was generally paper made from the vegetable fibers of various plants, including hemp and bamboo.[82]

Xylographs, as their name indicates, were produced using woodblock printing. Blocks made out of wood of even texture and medium hardness were carved a mirror image of the text to be printed. First, a professional calligrapher would transcribe the text on a sheet of paper, which was then placed face down on the uncarved block so as to transfer the ink onto the block. The inked wood could then be carved by cutting away the wood around the ink characters. A skilled printer could print between 1,500 to 2,000 double-page sheets per day; one block could yield up to 15,000 printed pages, followed by another 10,000 after a slight touching up of the carving.[83] Xylography could thus generally satisfy the needs of the expanding print market in late imperial China. In the absolute majority of books, all print was in black ink, but printing could also be done in a combination of colors.

[79]Zhāng Zìliè (1671d) 1672, *Gōng xù*:5b–6a: 天下之義理統于文字.
[80]Harbsmeier 1998, 89.
[81]Chow 2004; McDermott 2005, 2006.
[82]Tsien 1985, 52–64.
[83]Tsien 1985, 196–197, 201.

From the late fifteenth century, bronze movable type was also used in Chinese printing. The Qīng court practiced movable type using this method on large scale, involving the casting of 250,000 pieces of bronze type.[84] In aggregate, however, the importance of movable type printing was negligible compared to the enormous output of xylographed books.

The late imperial book was produced by printing on one side of the (thin) paper, which was then folded double and bound together with other similarly folded sheets using string. The open side of the folded sheet was placed in the spine of the book, the fold forming the outer edge of the page. The center of the printed page, which would eventually form the fold, contained information such as page number and the chapter title or number, allowing the reader to navigate the book.[85] By Chinese reckoning, one page corresponded to one printed sheet, which after folding formed two pages recto verso. Unlike in European book culture, the page number referred to the sheets, not to the sides after folding. Covers were sturdier than the pages, but were still made of paper or other vegetal material. The sturdier covers were common in luxury publications, but all kinds were bendable. There were no 'hard cover' books in late imperial China.

Books were generally divided into *juàn* 卷, literally 'scroll,' thus named in an earlier time, when sections of books consisted of bundles of bamboo slips or rolled sheets of paper or silk. In the late imperial period, the term is more appropriately translates as 'chapter,' as it no longer corresponded to a physical subdivision of the book but to a division of the text. One or several chapters formed a volume (*cè* 冊), meaning the actual codices, which in comparison to early modern European books were generally thin. In works of several volumes, the codices were placed in a hard cover 'box' (*hán* 函) containing several volumes each. When placed on the shelf, loose volumes were positioned face up in stacks with their spine toward the right, not like in Europe standing with the spines toward the onlooker.[86] The spine consequently did not carry the title of the book, which was instead often written across the edges of the pages at the bottom of the book. Facing outward from the shelf, the titles could be scanned to locate the right volume. When inside boxes, the volumes were similarly placed, with stickers on the box advertising its contents.

Books opened from right to left, with the text running in columns from top to bottom. In the Qīng period, the characters were cut in a relatively crude craftsman's version of the regular script. Especially in the Míng period, prefaces would be cut in calligraphic styles. The technology of xylography allowed the printed text to approach manuscript writing in appearance. The running text was divided into sections by headings separated from its surroundings by whitespace and empty columns. The running texts existed on two levels: the main text, where one character occupied the width of a column, and the commentary, where two characters side by side filled the width of the column. This convention of the layout allowed main text and commentary to be clearly separated. Martin J. Heijdra has shown, furthermore, that in the Qīng period the makeup of the printed page became increasingly standardized, effectively consisting of a 'grid' as opposed to merely of columns. In pages printed in the model of a grid, each column contained the same number of characters (assuming that the columns compared

[84]Tsien 1985, 211–215.

[85]The elements of the Chinese printed page are described in Tsien 1985, 222–223.

[86]The storage of Chinese books is discussed in more detail in Edgren 2015.

contained only main text and no commentary), which thus became aligned horizontally across columns.[87]

Xylography allowed for the inclusion of carved illustrations, graphs, and tables. Phonological texts made frequent use of such devices. The page could also be divided into sections, which was frequently done in the Míng period and called *hébì* 合璧, 'to match jade discs.' This flowery expression used the joining of two semicircular discs of jade to form a round whole as a metaphor for the printing of one text on the upper part of the page and another one on the lower part. Presentation of information on the printed page was thus both regular and flexible. We will see that Manchu language studies made use of the resoures offered by late imperial Chinese book layout for presentation and analysis of linguistic matters.

The Mongol-Manchu Book

The history of the book in Mongolia during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, although contemporary with that of the late imperial Chinese book, is not obviously a part of late imperial Chinese history per se. For much of the period, the Mongols and the Chinese were not part of the same polity. Mongol book culture was also heavily influenced by the Indo-Tibetan tradition.[88] Yet Běijīng became a center for Mongol publishing in the Qīng period, which succeeded an era of limited but noteworthy printing in Mongol in the city under Míng rule. The Chinese format of the book in that context influenced also the appearance of Mongol-language books. The Manchus were early very influenced by Mongol culture. After the conquest of China, Běijīng became the definite center for Manchu book production, but the results of Mongol influence never disappeared.

Format and binding, writing and cutting implements, and page layout all differed in the Mongol tradition of book production. György Kara notes that the generic Mongol word for 'book,' *nom*, which "goes back to the very same Greek root denoting 'law,'" historically was used in reference to a broader category of inscribed surfaces than the codex implied by the corresponding English term. In the period under discussion here, the Mongol book was a very inclusive category: "an assemblage of hand-written or printed sheets."[89] A similar situation pertained in Manchu discourse. The Manchu word for 'book' was *bithe*, which could also refer to written documents outside the purview of what we today consider to constitute books.

Printed books in Mongol or Manchu were all xylographs,[90] which as we in the Chinese case saw were produced on the basis of a handwritten original. In consequence, the technology used in manuscripts affected the appearance of printed Mongol and Manchu books. Whereas Chinese manuscripts were written using a brush made from hair, Mongol and Manchu were originally written using a *calamus*, "a little stick, the end of which was chisel shaped." The calamus could be of reed, bamboo, wood, or bone. The use of the calamus instead of the Chinese-style brush determined the appearance of written or printed Mongol or Manchu text.

[87] Heijdra 2009.

[88] Some features of Tibetan book are discussed in Kretschmar, Allinger, and Eimer 2006 (the essay is followed by detailed descriptions of a few manuscripts, one of which [item 27] is from the fifteenth century, relatively close in time to our period of interest).

[89] Kara 2005, 199.

[90] See footnote 178 on page 504.

Kara explains that "the chief feature of handwriting style when using a calamus is the sharp contours and the well-known angularity of the endings."[91] In some Manchu manuscripts, especially of the nineteenth century, the Manchu text appears to have been written using a Chinese brush. In such manuscripts, the Manchu graphs have smooth curves instead of sharp angles. The Manchu Imperial Household Department, a major producer of books, retained the use of the calamus.

When a manuscript page was transferred onto a woodblock for printing, the look of the handwritten script was maintained. Cutting was a professional process. Mongol block cutters "made use of different chisels for engraving different signs" on the blocks.[92]

The most notable difference between the xylographed Mongol and Chinese books is that of the format and binding. Whereas late imperial Chinese books were most often in codex form, Mongol books generally had the so-called 'palm leaf' or *poti* form. The model for such books was ultimately Indian collections of inscribed palm leaves stringed together. In Mongolia the sheets were of paper that were not bound together. They had a "fixed page size in shape of an elongated parallelogram, the long side of which is three to five times larger than the short side."[93] Since Mongol is written vertically, that means that each page consisted of many rather short columns of text. The appearance of such a book, which had to be placed on a flat surface, such as a table, is very different from reading a codex that can held in one's hand and follow the reader around. The large and unbound sheets also makes browsing the book quite a different experience. The voluminous Buddhist collections that were printed in Manchu at the Qīng court also had the 'palm leaf' format. Some Mongol books also used other kinds of binding also known and practiced in China to some degree.

Dictionaries and Lexicographical Arrangement

Lexicography has been recognized as one of the most developed fields of Chinese language studies. I will focus mostly on the function of lexicography to organize words, and less on its ability to define and explain them. The origin of Chinese lexicography is distinctive when compared to the developments of dictionaries in the Near East and in Europe.

In Auroux's schema of the kinds of practical metalinguistic knowledge that encouraged the development of theoretical reflection on language, discussed above, especially the mastery of language(s), the mastery of writing, and the mastery of texts seem relevant for the development of lexicography. It is also clear from the definition of these kinds of mastery as practical knowledge that lexicography does not originally have to be theoretical in any sense. Nor does it seem to have been when the forerunners of dictionaries appeared in the Near East.

There is no obvious definition of what a dictionary is that could be readily used in reference to all literate societies known to history. Yet throughout these pages I use the term 'dictionary,' borrowed from our daily English usage, as an umbrella term for various Chinese, Manchu, and European books. To some extent this serves to smooth over and hide the variety of the geographically and linguistically diverse sources. Still, adopting a terminology to facilitate the historical analysis is not a cheap trick, but a necessity. Indeed, it is one of the best ways

[91] Kara 2005, 213.
[92] Kara 2005, 222.
[93] Kara 2005, 229.

to make historical material intelligible and relevant to the present. The terminology used, however, needs to be explained and justified. I will critically discuss the terminology after having first introduced the various books that could potentially enter under the definition of dictionary in the Near East, Europe, and China.

Even without defining what constitutes a dictionary, we will all agree that the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) is one.[94] Before being transformed into an online database, the *OED* consisted of twenty printed and bound volumes. The bulk of the volumes contained a list of words organized according to the structure of their representation in writing (alphabetic order, to be discussed presently). Each word was the heading of an article outlining the history of its usage and accumulated meanings inferred from that usage. The *OED* can thus be said to have a dual structure: a macrostructure arranging words in a certain order, and a microstructure grouping information relative to each of those words.[95] The fact that the macrostructure is based on the words' representation in writing means that a reader needs only to be familiar with a word's spelling in order to find the relevant article. The macrostructure thus allows the reader to go from the known (the word's spelling) to the unknown (its usage and meaning) without having to read the whole dictionary. The dictionary is in that sense a reference work.

Its characterization as a work of reference is not a sufficient definition of what distinguishes a dictionary. For the exact same structure as in the *OED* can be seen in, for example, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[96] which is nevertheless not a considered a dictionary by common parlance. The difference between the two multivolume works could be stated in a simple and perhaps facile manner as the difference between a book that offers information about words and one that offers information about things. Yet it is undeniable that a reader can learn many words from reading the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, just as he can learn about some things in the *OED*. Most readers would not, however, go to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to look up a word, nor would they be likely to turn to the *OED* to look for information on dinosaurs or the War of 1812.

The difference appears to lie in the function of either work: one is intended and understood as a tool for understanding a word and one as a tool for gaining knowledge about the world. Both, however, are reference works that allow the reader access to new information by using the written representation of words, assumed to be known to the reader, as a bridge between the known and the unknown. We will see that the former characteristic, having a macrostructure based on the script, is more general in the history of dictionaries than is their function as reference works.

The forerunners of dictionaries can be traced to the third millennium BCE. We possess lists of Sumerian words from that time. These lists are the predecessors of both dictionaries and encyclopedias, in that they do not clearly distinguish between words and things. Rather, they list both, often organizing them according to subject matter. Their function appears to have been didactic (teaching the writing of the listed words) and the structure did not allow for them to be used as reference works in the sense outlined above. However, the fact that they presented single lexical items in the form of a list is enough for us to classify them as the

[94] Simpson and Weiner 1989.

[95] Svensén 2009, ch. 21.

[96] *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* 1994.

earliest products of what Jean-Claude Boulanger has called 'dictionaristics' (*dictionnairique*), the creation of dictionary-like texts before the advent of reasoned lexicography.

The next step toward the creation of dictionaries as we now know them came in the last quarter of the third millennium BCE, when the Akkadians conquered Sumer and established a bilingual society in Mesopotamia. The Akkadians adopted Sumerian logography to write their own, unrelated language, thus creating the cuneiform syllabic script. They still used Sumerian as a written language of great prestige, somewhat comparable to Latin in medieval Europe. The Akkadian scribes' need to study Sumerian even after the latter disappeared as a spoken language compelled them to compile bilingual lists, where the meaning of Sumerian terms was indicated by their Akkadian translations. Such bilingual lists are more dictionary-like than they are encyclopedia-like, as the information given about every word is clearly linguistic. Already from the very beginning of Near Eastern 'dictionaristics' we thus see an important role being played by bilingual texts.

The principle of using a macrostructure based on the writing of the words was also introduced in the Sumerian-Akkadian word lists, which started to group words that began by the same sign together, as opposed to grouping them according to their meaning.[97]

A similar role played by bilingualism can be seen in the development of dictionaries in Europe. Western Europe in antiquity and the Middle Ages was largely monolingual as far as writing was concerned. The predecessors of European dictionaries thus appear in the medieval period as Latin glossaries, lists of difficult words culled from Latin texts and explained. It is hard to draw a clear line between a glossary and a dictionary, but a dictionary tends to be more comprehensive than a glossary, which originated as a companion to a given text or group of texts. The first text to be titled a *Dictionarius* dates from c. 1195–c. 1272, but that title was rare before the early modern period: "The large and popular Latin dictionaries from the Middle Ages have titles such as *Elementarium* (i.e. for beginners), *Derivationes* (i.e. assembling word-families), *Catholicon* (i.e. a comprehensive collection), *Medulla* (i.e. the quintessence), etc.," writes Hans Sauer.[98]

Dictionaries of the European vernaculars (English, French, etc.) all appear first as bilingual works listing words in one language and giving translations in the other. Their rise is simultaneous or perhaps posterior to the development of letter-press printing in the West. In the late fifteenth century, both an English-Latin and a Latin-English dictionary were printed on the basis of older works that had circulated in manuscript. The sixteenth century witnessed a break with the older manuscript tradition, however, as humanists sought independence from medieval models. The new Latin-English dictionaries were instead based on recent monolingual Latin dictionaries compiled afresh on the continent and reproduced by print.[99] In the early seventeenth century, the first monolingual English dictionaries started to appear based on earlier, bilingual publications.[100] That tradition eventually led to the *OED*.

The history of 'dictionaristics' and lexicography in China shows some similarities with their Mesopotamian counterpart. Starting from at least the fifth century BCE we have rhymed primers of writing intended for the training of scribes. Several others existed, but many have

[97] Boulanger 2003, ch. 2.
[98] Sauer 2009, 22.
[99] Bately 2009, 41–42.
[100] Starnes and Noyes (1946) 1991, 1–2.

been lost. One popular text that has survived listed characters belonging to different semantic categories, which the student was supposed to copy and thus memorize. Other works, including *Ěryǎ* 爾雅 (Approaching refinement), which already existed by the second century BCE,[101] were similar to glossaries in that they listed only words from an elevated register of the language.

The closest we get in Chinese antiquity to the bilingual works of ancient Mesopotamia is *Fāngyán* 方言 (Regional expressions), traditionally dated to sometime around the beginning of the common era. *Fāngyán* was organized similarly to *Ěryǎ*, but listed regionalisms.[102] Yet all words listed are structurally indistinguishable from what we recognize as Chinese, as they are all represented by single Chinese characters. In later centuries readers treated it as listing words from different Chinese topolects. *Fāngyán*, then, did not represent a truly bilingual work like the Sumerian-Akkadian word lists. Yet truly bilingual works developed out of the tradition of thematically organized collections of words. For a long time, the bilingual glossaries still only used Chinese characters, listing the foreign words in transcription. Such was the case of the explanations of words in Buddhist texts appearing in the seventh century CE.[103]

After the retreat of the Mongols from China proper in 1368, the new Míng government established government agencies to deal first with envoys from the Mongolian steppe, then with other peoples and polities on the border in the southwest, northeast, and overseas. The Míng Translators Institute (Sìyí Guǎn 四夷館; founded 1407), an agency under the Board of Rites responsible for the reception of foreign envoys, and the Interpreters Institute (Huìtōng Guǎn 會通館; founded 1408),[104] an agency under the Board of War responsible for the escort of the envoys, both compiled bilingual glossaries for foreign languages. The first, in Mongol and Chinese, appeared in 1382, already before the institutionalization of the compilation of such books. Many others followed, including among other languages Jurchen, the language of the Manchus' ancestors. The dating of the glossaries is difficult, as most of them exist as manuscripts scattered in libraries worldwide.[105] The two Míng agencies survived the Manchu conquest in 1644, but were merged into one in 1748. Under the Qīng, they continued to produce glossaries, eventually including also European languages such as English and French.[106] These thematically organized bilingual glossaries do not seem to have influenced the compilers of Manchu dictionaries in the Qīng period in any way.

Two kinds of lexicographic arrangement developed in China for use in dictionaries proper, considered in the sense of linguistic reference works as discussed above: graphological organization based on the structure of the Chinese script and phonological organization based on the pronunciation of the characters. These two forms of arrangement filled a function comparable to alphabetical order in Europe. I will outline the history of European alphabetical order before describing its Chinese counterparts. The resulting survey of lexicographical arrangement will lead us into a final consideration of how to define what a dictionary is in the late imperial Chinese context.

[101] Harbsmeier 1998, 66–67.
[102] Harbsmeier 1998, 76–77.
[103] Chien and Creamer 1986, 36.
[104] Translations from Hucker 1985, 448 (5656).
[105] See e.g. Yamamoto Mamoru 1950.
[106] Niè Hóngyīn and Sùn Bójūn 2010, 5–12.

The Western Concept and History of Alphabetical Order

As a concept, 'alphabetical order' is intimately tied to the alphabet, a hallmark of Western civilization. Indeed, both the terms 'alphabet' and 'alphabetical order' have historically been used in way difficult to disentangle from their original European context. What we are talking about when we refer to alphabetical order is the conventional order in which the Latin script was organized by its community of users. Although such a concept is applicable to some writing systems, such as the more or less open-ended Chinese writing system, only with great difficulty, it has analogs in other written tradition, including that of Manchu (as chapter 6 will show).

In Europe, alphabetization began in ancient Greece, where its application eventually extended to *materia medica*, literary collections, and business and tax records. The Romans were less interested in the technology, and not until the second millennium CE did alphabetical order start to again be applied with greater consistency in an increasing number of fields. In Renaissance France, alphabetization was applied to government records,[107] from where its use was generalized to encompass the organization of the wide variety of corpora with which we now associate it.

The situation in the European Middle Ages, from which alphabetization eventually emerged, bears some similarity with the situation in Qīng China, where the new Manchu system competed with various pre-existing forms of arrangement. Alphabetization in dictionaries and archives was rare in the Middle Ages, even as documents proliferated. Based on mnemonics and pictograms, the non-alphabetic ordering systems used by medieval writers seem so alien to readers proficient in the technology of alphabetization that their very existence has appeared as a historical puzzle to recent investigators. "Why did schoolmen … use such peculiar and clumsy methods of retrieving information? Why not make an alphabetical index"?, asks one authority on medieval England. "Ingenious as these various systems of symbols are, the question remains: why not make an alphabetical index instead?", he asks again a few pages later.[108] Such bewilderment is unproductive for our purposes. Rather, we should let the slow development of European alphabetization, and the proliferation of alternative systems, remind us that methods for information management do not develop *sui generis*, but are technological inventions.

The idea that the alphabet had an order was old. As we saw, the early Near Eastern dictionaries organized words according to their spelling, which implied a fixed order of the signs. When the Greeks adopted the Phoenician script and created their alphabet, the new script was probably ordered similarly to its Near Eastern predecessors (e.g., with the forerunner of the Greek alpha α being the Near Eastern *aleph*, etc.).[109] The very word 'alphabet,' made up of the names of the first and the second letters of the Greek alphabet, implies a certain order. The name is attested already in antiquity.[110]

It was not consistently used to organize dictionaries, but the alphabet clearly had an order in the mind of medieval literates; indeed, the first task of learning how to read might have been to

[107]Daly 1967.
[108]Clanchy 1993, 177, 180.
[109]Krebernik 2007, 140.
[110]Krebernik 2007, 133.

master the order of the letters. As early as the thirteenth century, familiarity with alphabetical order was necessary in order to efficiently use an almanac or a collection of medical recipes.[111] Medieval European writers did not take the alphabet for granted as an arbitrary but fixed sequence of letters; on the contrary, they sought justification for the order in scripture and in the words associated with the letters. The medieval alphabet was thus rationalized as a meaningful part of the cosmic order.[112] Furthermore, the seamless integration of the order of the alphabet's letters with the order of things encouraged the compilation of books in which alphabetical order and arrangement based on semantic principles coexisted.[113] Semantic and alphabetical arrangement also coexisted in some Manchu works,[114] although the reasons for choosing such a hybrid structure were rarely made explicit.

Alphabetical order itself developed from initially ordering words only according to their initial letter. From our present vantage point of complete alphabetization down to the last letter of the word, it is tempting to infer that alphabetization developed by gradually arranging words according to first their initial letter, then their first two letters, followed by the first three letters and so on, until all the letters of the word had been taken into account. As is often the case, however, history turns out to be more complicated than initial appearances would suggest. In fact, alphabetical order did not develop gradually, but passed through a few very different systems.

As Karin Miethaner-Vent has shown, medieval European lexicographers developed a lexicographic order that reinterpreted the Latin alphabet as a "syllabic alphabet" (*Silbenalphabet*). This alphabet organized the words not according to the initial letter of the word, but according to the initial syllable. In its simplest form, attested in the ninth century CE, the system organized words according to abstract syllables consisting of a consonant plus a vowel. All words whose first syllable contained a given consonant and vowel would be organized under the heading of that syllable, regardless of any other consonants that the first syllable for the thus organized words might actually contain. In other words, any consonant standing between the initial consonant and the vowel were ignored by the system.[115] In a further development (attested in the twelfth century), words were organized under syllables consisting of a consonant plus a vowel plus another consonant. In this system, after all words beginning with a certain consonant–vowel–consonant combination had been exhausted, words were listed whose initial syllable contained the same three letters, but with the vowel and the second consonants switched.[116] Behind this arrangement lay a reliance on the pronunciation, as opposed to the spelling, of words; letters were treated differently depending on the sound they represented in a given syllable. In a period of great divergence between orthography and pronunciation, reliance on the consonance of similarly structured words might have been more dependable than their spelling.

[111] Alexandre-Bidon 1986, 8–9.

[112] Miethaner-Vent 1986, 85–86.

[113] Miethaner-Vent 1986, 86–87.

[114] Daigu 1722a, E.g.

[115] E.g., *Gastrimargia, Gallicinium, Gratuitum, Gramma, Glaciale, Gnatius* etc. were all gathered under the syllable GA without any further organization: Miethaner-Vent 1986, table 1.

[116] E.g., after *Galaad, Galbanus, Gallus* had been listed under the syllable GAL, *Glacies, Gladius, Glarea* were listed under the syllable GLA: Miethaner-Vent 1986, "Tafel 1."

Irregular spelling hindered the development of the "mechanical alphabet" (*mechanische Alphabet*), the letter-by-letter alphabetical order that we are familiar with today. An alphabetical order based entirely on the spelling of words would not be efficient as long as there was no agreement among writers and readers with regards to orthography. Complete alphabetization of an orthographically well-defined corpus did not appear until the early sixteenth century.[117]

Although the problems stemming from an insufficiently uniform orthography was of a lesser magnitude in Qīng China than in Europe, the difficulties that European writers had in explaining and applying the principles of the mechanical alphabet have analogues in the Qīng case. Shortly after 1053, the Italian lexicographer Papias finished a dictionary, that, although based on alphabetical order, did not apply it with absolute consistency. Papias' choice of alphabetical order was very pioneering in his time, but the novelty of the system also made it difficult for him to conceptualize it and communicate it clearly to his readers:

> Anyone who wish to find anything quickly must also notice that this whole book is composed according to the alphabet, not only in the first letters of the parts but also in the second, third, and sometimes even in the further determinative arrangement of the letters. The first indication of division, then, will be made by .a.b.c. and the other letters in order. This will be subdivided in the second order of differentiation by the same letters .a.b.c. etc. in larger form before any change of letters. In the third order of subdivision, however, all that is included under one variety (combination?) of three letters will be distinguished by a third paragraph so that whatever is sought will be found within exactly this space. But once the first, second and third order of these letters has been observed, the same cannot be maintained in the following letters to the extent that one does not put them in the wrong order. Even in these first, second and third steps the relationship will sometimes vary because of the writing of different letters.[118]

Two Europeanists who tried to make sense of this passage commented that Papias "seems to suggest that he thinks of his vocabulary as a whole, of which the divisions are parts. All the words beginning with A will then be the first division; words beginning with Ab-, Ac-, etc. will represent the first stage of subdivision, and words beginning Aba-, Abd-, etc., will represent

[117] A uniform and standardized orthography was obtained by completely restoring the spelling used in Roman antiquity: Miethaner-Vent 1986, 102; On the history of alphabetical order with special reference to France, see Quemada 1968, 322–337.

[118] Both the translation and the original Latin are from Daly and Daly 1964, 231, 233: *Notare quoque cuilibet aliquid citius invenire volenti oportebit quoniam totus hic liber per alfabetum non solum in primis partium litteris verum etiam in secundis et tertiis et ulterius interdum ordinabili litterarum dispositione compositus erit. Prima igitur divisionis notatio per .a.b.c. et ceteras sequentes fiet litteras, que in secundo quidem distinctionis ordine per easdem .a.b.c. ceterasque maiores litteras ante quaslibet commutatas subdividetur. In tertio vero subdivisionis ordine, quicquid sub una trium litterarum specie continetur, ut in toto ipso spatio inveniatur quod queritur, uno paragrapho tertio subdistinguetur. Cum vero earundem litterarum primus, secundus, tertius ordo observatus fuerit, idem in sequentibus litteris non adeo custodiri poterit quod non prepostere quis eas posuerit. In ipsis quoque primis secundis vel tertiis modis, propter diversarum litterarum scripturam, interdum ratio variabitur.*

the second stage."[119] I will show in chapter 6 that Qīng lexicography offers analogues both to Papias' idea of words sharing the same initial letter as belonging to the same *divisio*, as well as to his habit of referring to the alphabetical order as a whole synecdochically using its first three letters.

Papias had tried to explain alphabetical order to his eleventh-century readers, but mastery of the system does not seem to have become common knowledge for several centuries. In 1286, Giovanni di Genoa still felt the need to explain the principles of alphabetical arrangement in the preface to his widely influential Latin dictionary,[120] and as late as 1604, Robert Cawdry explained in his English dictionary, that:

> If thou be desirous (gentle Reader) rightly and readily to vnderstand, and to profit by this Table, and such like, then thou must learne the Alphabet, to wit, the order of the Letters as they stand, perfecty [sic] without booke, and where euery Letter standeth: as (b) neere the beginning, (n) about the middest, and (t) toward the end. Nowe if the word, which thou art desirous to finde, begin with (a) then looke in the beginning of this Table, but if with (v) looke towards the end. Againe, if thy word beginne with (ca) looke in the beginning of the letter (c) but if with (cu) then looke toward the end of that letter. And so all the rest. &c.[121]

It is clear from Cawdry's explanation that not only might his readers not be familiar with alphabetical arrangement in dictionaries, they might not have known the order of the alphabet at all. Alphabetical order remained a novelty in need of explaining in the vernacular print culture of Europe in the early 1600s.

Alternative Methods for Organizing Text in China

Technologies for organizing text are older than dictionaries in China. In fact, an ordering device still used in modern Chinese might represent one of the oldest components of the writing system. The set of Chinese characters that make up the *gānzhī* 干支, or sexagenary cycle of '[Heavenly] Stems and [Earthly] Branches,' consists of twenty-two characters subdividing into ten 'stems' (甲乙丙丁戊己庚辛壬癸) and twelve 'branches' (子丑寅卯辰巳午未申酉戌亥). The two series are used to form sixty combinations that can be used to record years or days in periods of sixty, each year or day being designated by a character from the 'stem' series followed by a character from the 'branch' series. The combinations are systematic, beginning with the first members of each series and continuing with the second member of each series, etc. Thus they do not represent all combinations that are theoretically possible.

According to Edwin Pulleyblank, this set of characters might originally have constituted a kind of alphabet, each character representing through its initial a sound from the consonant inventory of a very old form of Chinese. Since at least the second millennium BCE, the *gānzhī* characters have been used in China to indicate time, but the graphs and even their application in this sense might be several hundred years older. If the characters originally designated only

[119] Daly and Daly 1964, 233–234.

[120] Daly and Daly 1964, 237.

[121] Cawdry 1604, no pagination, last of page of section "To the Reader." On Cawdry's dictionary: Starnes and Noyes (1946) 1991, 13–19.

sounds, not meaning, it is not surprising that they today possess the unusual characteristic of having no meaning separate from their place in the sequence. They might have been given this sequential meaning by an association of the characters representing 'stems' with the words for the ordinals on the basis of their pronunciation, which was similar to that of the ordinals. From the resulting numeral sequence the calendrical system now in use would have developed, Pulleyblank suggested.[122]

Later research has strengthened the link between the 'stems' and 'branches' and serial arrangement: the calendrical usage of the character set might have been original. David W. Pankenier, who does not agree that the *gānzhī* at first represented the consonant-inventory of (very) Old Chinese, agreed with Pulleyblank that they originally had no meaning but as parts of a sequence. Pankenier suggested instead that the characters for the 'branches,' rather than the 'stems,' might have been purposefully selected; they might have been chosen so as to rhyme when recited. The reason the series is divided into two probably reflected the fact that the 'stems' represented days of a ten-day period, three of which would have constituted one month in the archaic calendar, whereas the 'branches' represented the twelve months of a lunar year. Rhyme and easy recitation would have been motivated by the need to memorize the sixty combinations of 'stems' and 'branches' used also in the mature calendar.[123]

Even if we disregard Pulleyblank's hypothesis that the twenty-two characters making up the two series originally represented the language's consonant inventory, we see a similarity in the 'stems' and 'branches' with the alphabet. Both were fixed and (in part, at least) arbitrary sequences that were memorized by many people. Just like the alphabet, then, the sexagenary cycle lent itself easily to ordering things. In the late imperial period we see the *gānzhī* characters used for that purpose. However, in terms of organizing words in dictionaries, the sexagenary cycle was not used to its full extent of sixty. Rather, the 'stems' were used to divide a longer sequence that organized words based on different principles into smaller sections. Each of those sections, each marked with one character from the sequence of 'stems,' could then be made to correspond to the volumes of an unabridged dictionary.[124] A volume's 'stem' could be written on the cover to facilitate browsing the dictionary.

Another organizing device used in late imperial print culture was based on a Chinese language primer called *Qiānzì wén* 千字文 (Thousand character essay), commonly dated to the sixth century CE. The essay consisted of couplets of parallel prose and was convenient to use for teaching since it only used any given character once. In a context where all literate people knew the *Qiānzì wén* by virtue of being literate, the sequence of characters it presented became a useful organizing tool. One voluminous literary collection that needed ordering was the Buddhist Tripitaka (*Dà Zàngjīng* 大藏經). The Chinese Tripataka was written on sheets rolled into scrolls, around ten of which constituted one sutra. The scrolls of one sutra were bound together into bundles and marked with characters from *Qiānzì wén* to mark their place in the order of the collection as a whole. Later, the format of the Tripataka changed into codex style books organized into boxes. The *Qiānzì wén* sequence was thus written on the box.[125] The system seems to have been in existence by the tenth century CE. It was also

[122]Pulleyblank 1991b.
[123]Pankenier 2011.
[124]This system is explained in Yáng Zǎiwǔ 1993.
[125]Fāng Guǎngchāng 2006, 403–404.

applied outside the Buddhist context, being used, for example, to organize the volumes of the original Manchu archives when they were edited in Běijīng in the eighteenth century.[126] As these examples show, the *Qiānzì wén* was used to arrange books rather than words. It was not used as a lexicographical arrangement.

Graphological Order in China

As mentioned, the concept of alphabetical order cannot easily be transposed to a discussion of Chinese dictionaries, written in a script that unlike the Graeco-Roman alphabet is essentially open-ended. That is, whereas the European alphabet, despite having been augmented by a few letters at various points in its history, is easily understood by its users as a finite sequence of letters, literate users of Chinese have no such conception of the Chinese script. Indeed, commonly cited figures for the extent of the Chinese script include the number of characters included in prominent Chinese dictionaries, or the number of characters expected to have been learned at various stages of education. In the absence of a finite set of signs, serial arrangement in the case of Chinese instead developed as a set of organizing principles for the graphic constituents of characters, the strokes, which can successfully be theorized as constituting a small, finite number. The "serial arrangement," the term is George A. Kennedy's,[127] of Chinese characters that was made possible on the basis of a segmentation and ordering of strokes developed in a tradition of dictionaries that continues into the present day.

Lexicographical arrangement based on an analysis of the characters into strokes and recurrent combinations of strokes began in the early empire, when Xǔ Shèn's 許慎 (c. 55–c. 149 CE) book *Shuō wén jiě zì* 說文解字 (Analyzing graphs and explaining written words; 100 CE),[128] listed characters in groups according to graphic constituents, commonly called 'radicals' in English. Xǔ's radicals and lemmata were written in an older form of the script, while the glosses were written in the script current at the time of the book's composition.

The radicals were configurations of strokes that reoccured in great numbers of characters, and in many cases could function independently as characters on their own. In dictionaries in the tradition inaugurated by Xǔ, the radicals formed groups into which characters, the lemmata, that contained them were seen to belong. As the radicals, no matter their number, formed a finite sequence, they could be arranged in a fixed order that could in turn be used to arrange all characters subsumed under them.

In the late imperial period, the system of radicals was clearly an arrangement intended to facilitate easy word-retrieval, or the passage from the known to the unknown. Yet Xǔ Shèn did not develop the system with that end in mind. In an article that is among the best that has been written on the history of language studies in China, Françoise Bottéro and Christoph Harbsmeier have shown that the 540 radicals used to group the lemmata in *Shuō wén jiě zì* were not intended to make it easy to find characters in the text; thirty-six of the 540 radicals in Xǔ's book did not even contain any characters, making them useless from the point of view of word retrieval. However, the number of radicals had a great philosophical significance for the book's compiler. The reason Xǔ wanted to sort characters according to radicals was to draw attention

[126] Kim Tuhyŏn 2008b, 271.
[127] Kennedy 1941.
[128] My translation of the title is based on Bottéro 2004, 28.

to those graphic elements of characters that did not carry any phonetic information.[129] Xǔ was interested in analyzing the structure of Chinese characters, not arrange them for easy retrieval by readers interested in learning the pronunciation or meaning of the words to which they referred.

In the centuries that followed the appearance of *Shuō wén jiě zì* several books inspired by its arrangement appeared. Many of them have been lost. One work that is still extant in part is *Yùpiān* 玉篇 (The jade chapters; 543 CE). *Yùpiān* contained 542 radicals, the result of the addition of several new ones and the suppression of several others found in Xǔ's book. The entries for the lemmata provided the meaning of the words represented by the character in question, from which we can infer that the book was intended as a linguistic reference work.[130]

With the development of a highly literate civilian bureaucracy in the Táng empire, graphological dictionaries rose in popularity. In the same context they also underwent substantial innovation. Lexicographers experimented with the number of radicals, reducing it to as low as 160. The radicals were also changed to conform better to the emerging regular script of the period, as opposed to being based on an old version of the script which was no longer in common use already when Xǔ Shèn compiled his book.[131]

Graphological dictionaries developed substantially after the Táng, as did the new genre of phonologically organized dictionaries (to be discussed presently). Remarkable in the period is the confluence of the two traditions of character-based, graphological dictionary and rhyme-based, phonological dictionaries into new forms of arrangement. As I will discuss some of the most noteworthy examples of that confluence in the following section, I will not go into it here. The same works that introduced new hybrid forms of graphological and phonological arrangement also proposed improvements to the graphological system itself, however. Rather than just grouping characters according to the radicals to which they were assigned, we from this point on also start to see an organization of the radicals according to their number of strokes.[132]

The system of radicals and stroke count reached perfection in the early seventeenth century amidst a flurry of lexicographic activity[133] that accompanied the development of commercial printing. The landmark dictionary in this tradition was Méi Yīngzuò's 梅膺祚 (n.d.) in *Zìhuì* 字彙 (The characters collected; 1615), which would be an important inspiration for the nascent tradition of Manchu lexicography. Dictionaries like *Zìhuì* were associated with the ancient divinatory symbols of the *Yìjīng* 易經 (Change classic). The study of the divinatory symbols was the study of lines and numbers, which was also at the center of the lexicographic system perfected by Méi Yīngzuò.[134]

[129]Harbsmeier and Bottéro 2008.

[130]Bottéro 1996, 88–96.

[131]Bottéro 1996, 118, 125–127.

[132]Bottéro 1996, ch. 4.

[133]Fukuda Jōnosuke 1960; 1979, 393–405.

[134]Dǐngzuò's 鼎祚 preface mentioned his brother Yīngzuò's study of the *Change Classic*, but it was Dǐngzuò who there displayed his knowledge of *Yìjīng* cosmology, writing that "the *Changes* are divinatory symbols … They also say, that the *Changes* are numbers" …『易』者象也…又曰：「『易』者，數也」. He added that, "when [my brother Yīngzuò] was young, he studied the *Changes*" 誕生少學『易』. According to Dǐngzuò, a characteristic feature of *Zìhuì* was precisely that it "organized all [of

Méi solved the problem of how to quickly locate a character in the dictionary based on its form.[135] His dictionary is well-known as the basis for two of the most influential Chinese dictionaries of the past few centuries: *Zhèngzì tōng* 正字通 (Mastery of correct characters; 1671) and the imperial and normative *Kāngxī zìdiǎn* 康熙字典 (Prescribed characters of the Kāngxī period; 1716).[136] It was also tremendously popular in its own right. As one observer wrote in 1710: "In recent times, people have not treasured any [character] book more than *Zìhuì* … old teachers and experienced scholars, beginning pupils and small boys all gather to study it."[137] The many editions that Méi's dictionary went through further attests to its popularity.[138]

Since its original appearance in the early empire in the analysis and classification of Chinese characters, stroke-based order had with Méi's dictionary developed into a bipartite system. First, he like his predecessors organized the lemmata into groups according to their radicals, that is recurrent combinations of strokes. The sequence of radicals was, as in earlier books, arranged in rising order of number of strokes, which obviated the need to memorize an otherwise arbitrary sequence from beginning to end. In Méi's book also the characters grouped under a given radical were organized according to their number of constituent strokes, resulting in a bipartite order in which Chinese characters were organized first according to radical, and second according to the number of strokes.

Kennedy explained the system as perfected by Méi and still used today:

> To the eye a Chinese character is a combination of lines of various shapes. … The stroke sequence systems begin by a classification of all strokes according to their shape. … By using the total number of strokes in characters, a sequence can be made for them in the form of a progression from simple to complex. The number of groups that appear is, however, very small, since characters range only from one up to about thirty-three strokes in complexity, with a high concentration in the neighborhood of twelve or thirteen. The arrangement is therefore effective only for a relatively small list of characters. A large dictionary would have a thousand or more characters in a single group, and some subsidiary classification would obviously be required.[139]

The "subsidiary classification," the second structural principle used in graphological dictionaries, was that the radicals, which since Méi's time commonly number around 214. Kennedy continued:

> The 214 radicals are themselves put in order according to the total-stroke system already described, to produce seventeen groups, of which those containing

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the characters] according to their number [of strokes]" 悉以數多寡 (Méi Yīngzuò 1615, *xù*:1b, 2b–3a, 4b).

[135]These paragraphs partially restate what I wrote in Söderblom Saarela 2014a.

[136]Fukuda Jōnosuke 1979, 414–417; Vedal 2013.

[137]Fán Téngfèng (1710) 1997, *xù*:1a: 近世之所流傳，而人人奉為拱璧者，莫如『字彙』…老師宿儒、蒙童小子莫不羣而習之.

[138]Sixteen overall, including three from Japan and eight from seventeenth century China: Lǔ Ruìshēng 2000, 16–18.

[139]Kennedy 1941, 2–3.

> three and four strokes are the largest. By counting the number of strokes in a radical, then, its approximate position in the alphabet can be determined. Beyond this the arrangement is arbitrary.[140]

The system of radicals and stroke count could perhaps be considered as close to an alphabetical order as is possible in the case of the Chinese script, it is still very different from Graeco-Roman alphabetical order. Like the lemmata lists of stroke-and-radical-based Chinese dictionaries, the alphabet was a sequence whose structure had nothing to do with the pronunciation of the graphs. Whereas a sequence that took pronunciation into consideration might, for example, have grouped all the vowels and letters sharing phonological features together, the alphabet was an arbitrary jumble of vowels and consonants. However, when applied as an organizing tool in dictionaries, alphabetical order was intimately tied up with the pronunciation of the words. This was a consequence of the fact that alphabetic writing relies on graphs representing subsyllabic sounds regardless of meaning, whereas Chinese characters in general represent a monosyllabic morpheme. Orthographic irregularities and the use of one letter to spell several sounds in European languages split up groups of similarly pronounced words and mixed in others with different pronunciations, but in alphabetically arranged dictionaries, words beginning with the same sounds still tend to be grouped together. This was much less likely in Chinese dictionaries organized according to the radical and stroke count system, which tended to group characters that only looked similar, but did not sound similar.

Despite the similarities, European alphabetical order and Chinese radical and stroke count order produced very different lemmata sequences because of differences in the structure of the writing systems in which they were used. As the Manchu script was structurally more similar to the European alphabet than to Chinese characters, the application of Manchu graphological order would have similar effects as European alphabetical order, grouping words that were similar in writing and thus also in pronunciation. This process will be studied in chapter 6.

Phonological Order in China

Rhyme books (*yùnshū* 韻書) organized lemmata according tone (*shēng*) and rhyme (*yùn*) and indicated their pronunciation using a system of syllabic spelling that I will describe presently.

Rhyme books were very important from the medieval period onward, as they served to establish which words would be allowed to rhyme in regularized verse. The writing of appropriately rhymed poetry had been an integral part of the early civil service examination system and was reintroduced by the Manchus in 1756.[141] The lettered elite in its entirety was thus familiar with rhyme books as reference works.

The first complete rhyme book which is still extant is *Qièyùn*. We know, however, that it represented merely the synthesis of a tradition that was already well established by the time of its compilation in 601 CE. In the late imperial period, the book was known but not generally seen. As mentioned, the closest a late imperial reader could get to it was through the expanded version *Guǎngyùn* from 1008. The arrangement seen in these dictionaries, based on rhymes grouping characters with the same medial, final, and tone together, continued in a series of rhyme books.

[140] Kennedy 1941, 6.
[141] Elman 2000, 550, 559.

In 1039, *Jíyùn* 集韻 (Collected rhymes) appeared in print. In ten chapters, it contained even more lemmata than *Guǎngyùn*. The entries became more encyclopedic too, containing information otherwise associated with paleographical dictionaries.[142]

A development in the other direction, toward simplicity rather than comprehensiveness, was represented by *Lǐbù yùnlüè* 禮部韻略 (Outline of rhymes from the Board of Rites), finalized in 1037 on the basis of earlier models. The book contained just under 10,000 characters, less than *Guǎngyùn*, but retaining the division into 206 rhymes.[143] As the title of this dictionary indicates, rhyme books had by the eleventh century become important as reference works in preparation for the civil service examinations, administered by the Board of Rites, which at times included a poetry composition component. As mentioned above, the rhyming standard for examination poetry became fixed in 1227 as the 106 rhymes of *Píngshuǐ yùn*.[144]

Characteristic of the arrangement of books in this tradition is that the tone is considered part of the rhyme, and that different rhymes with the same tone are grouped together. Organization by tone thus formed the highest level of the arrangement, so that rhymes in the Even tone were listed first, followed by the Rising, Departing, and Entering tones. Since words in the Even tone were the most numerous, the section listing them was often much more voluminous than the others. The tradition remained important in the late imperial period. Court-sponsored rhyme books in both the Míng and Qīng periods, such as the early Míng *Hóngwǔ zhèngyùn* 洪武正韻 (Correct rhymes of the Hóngwǔ reign; 1375) and the mid-Qīng *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* 音韻闡微 (Elucidation of the subtleties of phonology; 1728), were in this tradition.

As reference works, books in the *Qièyùn* tradition suffered from having a largely arbitrary arrangement. The one hundred or two hundred odd rhymes grouped many thousands of characters. Simply knowing to which rhyme a character belonged was thus not enough for precisely locating it in the dictionary. Characters in the same rhyme only had the same tone and final, but differing initials. Inside the rhymes, characters that also shared the same initial and were further grouped into 'small rhymes' (*xiǎoyùn* 小韻). All characters included under one small rhyme were ideally complete homophones, sharing the same initial, medial, final, and rhyme. In order to locate a character, the user would have to first look under the relevant rhyme for the 'small rhyme' pronounced exactly like the desired character. In case the character was included in the dictionary, it would be listed in that 'small rhyme.'

As a tool to facilitate word retrieval, the arrangement based on rhymes and 'small rhymes' suffered from the same problem as would all phonologically organized dictionaries in the imperial period: the discrepancies between the sound system represented by the dictionary and the varying pronunciations used by its readers, a problem that became aggravated over time as dialectal pronunciations diverged. Strictly speaking problematic of varying pronunciations extended beyond the scope and power of lexicography, but sound-based order in the rhyme book tradition also suffered from structural problems that could have been resolved within the lexicographic tradition itself. For in fact, the efficiency with which rhyme books as a genre could play the role of linguistic reference work was reduced by the arbitrary order in which they listed the 'small rhymes.' The rhyme groups were grouped in basically the same order in each

[142]Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 40–41.
[143]Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 41–43.
[144]Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 43–44.

of the four tones, so that if a reader had seen a certain rhyme in a certain place in the sequence inside the Even tone category, he would find the same rhyme at the same relative place inside the other tones as well. Yet the sequence of 'small rhymes' reproduced inside the tonal groups followed no obvious principle.[145] As a European living in the Qīng empire remarked, "[t]he natives consult these works with facility from knowing by the habit of reference where a word is to be expected."[146] Habit of reference implied that they had simply memorized the order of the 'small rhymes' by rote learning, just as many of us have memorized the order of the alphabet.

Alternative phonological arrangement appeared a few centuries after the emergence of rhyme books. One early example was *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* 中原音韻 (Sounds and rhymes of the Central Plain), compiled in 1324. The book was written to facilitate the writing of a northern tradition of vernacular verse. The sound system it represented was thus much closer to the northern topolects than to the Middle Chinese variants seen in the *Qièyùn* tradition. Dictionaries like *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* did not include tone in the definition of 'rhyme,' which they used as the organizing category of the highest order. Characters with the same medials and finals, but of different tone, were thus grouped together instead of in separate chapters of the dictionary, as they had in *Guǎngyùn*, which treated the tone as part of the rhyme.

The new form of arrangement had an interesting consequence: as Entering tone characters were characterized not by pitch accent, like the other tones, by their stop finals (*-p, -t, -k* in Middle Chinese; a simple glottal stop in many late imperial vernaculars), they by necessity belonged to a different rhyme than other characters, even if tone in the sense of pitch accent was no longer considered important for the rhyme in *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn*. Characters ending in a vowel or a nasal could have any of the three pitch tones (Even, Rising, Departing), and could be found within the same rhyme according to *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn*'s definition. Yet as long as the compiler of *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* recognized the phonological specificity of the Entering tone syllables, characters with that tone would only rhyme with each other also in his system, where rhyme was more loosely defined.[147] Retaining the distinction of this category would have caused problems for *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn*'s arrangement. Instead of keeping the Entering tone characters separate in their own rhyme groups, the compiler of *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* decided to dispense with the Middle Chinese distinction of Entering tone syllables as having stop finals. As we saw, the Entering tone was no longer thus distinguished in the pronunciation of some varieties of Northern Vernacular Chinese anyway. Not very concerned with retaining Middle Chinese phonological categories that were in any case irrelevant in northern vernacular verse, the compiler of *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* abolished the Entering tone rhymes as organizational categories and distributed the Entering tone characters among the other tones, reflecting their pronunciation in the northern topolects of his day.[148] We see, then, that late imperial users of rhyme books were presented with two kinds of differences: in the principles behind the arrangement and in the sound system it acknowledged.

Roughly around the same time as *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* revised the phonological arrangement inherited from *Qièyùn*, lexicographers also reformed it in other ways, beginning in Jurchen-

[145] Baxter 1992, 34.
[146] Edkins 1864, part I, 74.
[147] Níng Jìfú 2009, 7.
[148] Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 57.

controlled north China. In its finished form, the arrangement is represented in Hán Xiàoyán 韓孝彦 and his son's Hán Dàozhāo's 韓道昭 *Wǔyīn jíyùn* 五音集韻 (Rhymes collected under the five sounds; *1208, 1212),[149] but they were not the originators of the arrangement.[150] Concurrently with *Wǔyīn jíyùn*, Hán Dàozhāo also published *Sìshēng piānhǎi* 四聲篇海 (Sea of chapters under the four tones; 1208),[151] which used a hybrid order somewhere in between the radical and stroke count system and the new phonological arrangement. The Háns' two dictionaries met with varying degrees of success.

Hán Xiàoyán's, and especially his son Dàozhāo's, experiments with lexical arrangement drew on two traditions. One was the aforementioned tradition of radical-based dictionaries, which in Hán Dàozhāo's time suffered, among other things, from an unwieldy number of radicals and a lack of order among the characters listed under a given radical (this was before lemmata were generally organized according to stroke count).[152] In his attempts to improve dictionary arrangement, Dàozhāo made several editorial choices, some of which were logical in the light of the tradition of radical-based dictionaries whereas others were not.[153]

In order to reduce the arbitrariness of the sequence of radicals, Dàozhāo organized them according to their pronunciation. Dàozhāo could not do much about the discrepancy between the sound system reflected in the dictionary's structure and that used in the speech of his contemporary or future readers, but he could and did seek to reduce the arbitrariness of the order of the 'small rhymes.' Following the precedent of a recent dictionary now lost, Dàozhāo organized the 'small rhymes' according to the conventional list of Middle Chinese initials (*zìmǔ*). They had originally numbered thirty-six, but Dàozhāo simplified them somewhat. He then grouped the initials according to their place of articulation.[154] As I will discuss presently, the initials was the result of a phonological analysis originally inspired by Indic learning, that had been introduced to China along with Buddhism in the mediaeval period. Although the initials distinguished were those of Middle Chinese, and not Sanskrit, the order of the initials might have been inspired by the order of Indic syllabaries.[155] The initials constituted a linear sequence of single sounds and were thus similar to an alphabet. Yet unlike many alphabets, they did not include all the sounds found inside Middle Chinese syllables, only those that were found in initial position. Furthermore, unlike the Roman alphabet in literate European societies, knowledge of the initials belonged to the specialized body of knowledge that was Chinese phonology. Learning to use *Wǔyīn jíyùn* as a reference work would thus have necessitated that readers familiarize themselves with the discipline of phonology. Still, Dàozhāo had managed to bring order where previously there had been none.

In the other dictionary compiled by the Háns, the graphologically organized *Sìshēng piān-*

[149]There probably was a first edition in 1208, but it has been lost: Ōiwamoto Kōji 2007, 146.

[150]On the originator of the arrangement: Ōiwamoto Kōji 1998.

[151]The title is a later abbreviation of the book's originally very long title. Some scholars refer to it using a different title, e.g., Ōiwamoto Kōji 2007, 139.

[152]Jìfú 1987b, 124; restated in Jìfú 1987a, 333–7.

[153]Dàozhāo borrowed the principle of order according to stroke count from another recent work. It is no longer extant, and the identity of its author(s) is unclear: Bottéro 1996, 156–157; Liáng Chūnshèng 2004.

[154]Ōiwamoto Kōji 2007, 62–65.

[155]Tán Shìbǎo 2009, 191.

hǎi, the initials were also used, this time to arrange the radicals under which characters were grouped. Like the 'small rhymes' in dictionaries of the rhyme book tradition, the radicals in graphologically organized dictionaries were at this time found in a largely arbitrary order. *Sìshēng piānhǎi* represented an attempt to reduce the arbitrariness of the list of radicals by making use of the list of initials. However, with time, the organization of the radicals according to their number of constituent strokes, and not the thirty-six initials, would become the default form of arrangement in graphologically organized dictionaries,[156] and *Sìshēng piānhǎi* eventually fell out of favor. Perhaps a contributing reason for the failure of *Sìshēng piānhǎi*'s system to take root was the perceived difficulty of using the initials, knowledge of which remained somewhat arcane. Hán Dàozhāo's two dictionaries would be superseded by other publications, but a great number of editions appeared until the mid-seventeenth century.[157]

In the Qīng period, experiments with an order based on the initial sounds of syllables continued. One example of phonologically organized Chinese dictionaries, drawing on the rhyme book tradition and printed too early to have been influenced by Manchu lexicography, was the dictionary *Xiéshēng pǐnzì jiān* 諧聲品字箋 (Characters classified into groups with homophonous finals, with annotations). Written chiefly by Yú Déshēng 虞德升 (d. 1677) and edited and published by his son, Yú Sìjí 虞嗣集 (fl. 1684–7) in Hángzhōu in 1684,[158] it described the literary register of the Hángzhōu dialect of Chinese.[159]

Like many others, Yú *père et fils* tried to develop a method of phonological organization that allowed for quick word-retrieval. They came up with a system in which characters were nested like Russian dolls on three levels of increasing phonological abstraction. The user of the dictionary had to work his way down these levels. On the third and uppermost level, the user had to choose one among 57 broad categories of syllables, some of which subdivided into two categories on the second level. On the first level, the user finally had to pick a character homophonous with the desired word, which he would then look for in the advised section of the dictionary.[160] Instead of rhyme, the Yús used a category they called 'small genera' (*xiǎomǔ* 小母). These numbered, according to the book's editorial principles, 1500,[161] under which were arranged absolutely homophonous syllables. In order to facilitate word-retrieval, the 'small genera' were organized based on phonological features into 96 'gates' (*mén* 門). However, even this was a considerable number compared to the 26 letters of the alphabet used to order the words in English dictionaries. To further reduce the arbitrariness of the system, the Yús arranged phonetically similar syllables next to each other in an order predictable to users familiar with conventional rhyme order. However, this regrouping on a higher level of abstraction still left 57 'notes' (*shēng* 聲; also 'tone'), the order of which remained arbitrary.

Another dictionary experimenting with an initial-based phonological order was *Wǔfāng*

[156]Jìfú 1987b, 129; 1987a, 337.

[157]For *Sìshēng piānhǎi*: Ōiwamoto Kōji 1999. With reference to the reprinted Míng edition of *Sìshēng piānhǎi*: Wéi Lè 2010. Editions of *Wǔyīn jíyùn* include one from the very late Míng: Hán Xiàoyán and Hán Dàozhāo (1212) 1630.

[158]There exists two editions, which differ in the ordering of the prefatory material, i.e. Yú Déshēng 1684, (1687) 1997.

[159]Zhāng Yǒngméi 2011, 269.

[160]Zhāng Yǒngméi 2011, 13–17 describes the system in different terms.

[161]Yú Déshēng 1684, vol. 1, *fánlì*:2b.

yuányīn 五方元音 (Primordial sounds of the five regions; 1654–73, 1710),[162] a dictionary with a popular appeal. Although published in the period of Manchu lexicography, and featuring a division of rhymes into twelve, conceivably influenced by the Manchu syllabary,[163] the dictionary made no overt reference to the Manchu language.[164] Over time, as I will discuss in chapter 8,[165] its association to Manchu language studies grew stronger.

The arrangement of *Wǔfāng yuányīn* was similar to that used in *Xiéshēng pǐnzì jiān*. Antonio Montucci (1762–1829),[166] discussing various Chinese dictionaries in view of their utility for the European Sinologist, thought that the reduction of rhymes to twelve was excessive. He described the dictionary's arrangement in the following terms:

> In this work the Initials are exactly twenty, … and the Finals only twelve …; but then a very great inconvenience arises from this excessive simplification: for, we find, almost under each section other subdivisions of sounds, without any appropriate characters to point them out. For instance under the Initial L represented by this character 雷 *Lui*, and the Final IEN which the Character 天 *Tien* is appointed to denote, we ought to find only those characters, which are pronounced LIEN: yet this section is subdivided into four Sets of Characters, the first of which is really pronounced *Lien*, the second *Lan*, the third *Luon*, and the last *Liuen*…[167]

From Montucci's description we see that *Wǔfāng yuányīn*'s arrangement was both by initial and by rhyme. Unlike in a European alphabetic dictionary, the user would look up a word by first identifying its final among the twelve rhymes into which the dictionary was divided. He would then find the desired character listed under the relevant initial. The dictionary thus relied on two linear sequences, one of finals and one of initials, to create a serial arrangement of characters.

There is a paradox in the fact that phonologically organized dictionaries became used as reference works. Originally, rhyme books like *Qièyùn* were intended to show the reader which characters could be treated as rhyming for the purposes of writing poetry. The grouping of characters according to tone and rhyme was thus assumed to present the reader with new information. The arrangement, then, did not originally allow the reader to go very easily from the known to the unknown, as we would expect from a linguistic reference work as discussed above. The fact that they were obviously used as reference work regardless indicates that the user often had a hunch of the pronunciation of a character, enough to locate it in the dictionary with some effort. By contrast, the inclusion of encyclopedic information in the definition of the lemmata, as in *Jíyùn*, also shows that phonological arrangement could be assumed to be known by the reader, thereby allowing him to go to a different kind of unknown, such as a character's meaning, usage, or graphic etymology.

[162]Fán Téngfèng (1710) 1997.

[163]Lǐ Xīnkuí 1983, 74–75.

[164]The book is described in Zhào Yīntáng 1937, 23–24; Lǐ Xīnkuí 1983, 305–33; 1986, 77, 256–257; Gěng Zhènshēng 1992, 180–182.

[165]Page 387.

[166]On Montucci Walravens 1992, 1–68.

[167]Montucci 1817, 28–9.

Lexicographers tried to make phonological arrangement more efficient as a means for going from the known to the unknown by appending tables to the rhyme books. The so-called 'rhyme tables,' which I will discuss in greater detail below, were in such cases intended to help the reader understand the sound system reflected in the dictionary and thus the distribution of the characters inside its lemmata list.

Reconciling Dictionaries and Bibliography

The discussion in the preceding sections assumed that a dictionary was a reference work that allowed a reader to go from the known to the unknown by virtue of its organization. To distinguish the dictionary from the encyclopedia, the 'unknown' was specified as constituted by primarily linguistic information. This definition does not clearly correspond to late imperial Chinese notion of the books discussed as examples of dictionaries above.

As a label of a certain kind of book, the dictionary can be seen as a genre within European or Qīng literature broadly defined. However, as far as I am aware, the debate over what constitutes a genre has been largely carried out with reference to literature narrowly defined as poetry and fiction.[168] David B. Lurie is an exception, using the concept of genre in the sense of a "printed product category" to discuss texts that are not necessarily literary.[169] René Étiemble (1909–2002), furthermore, experimented with reading dictionaries as works of creative literature, even including a Chinese example in his discussion, but he did not neglect to indicate that this was only possible by using a "(very) general" definition of literature.[170] Indeed, Étiemble's treatment of the dictionary as literature was conditioned by reading it as a narrative, thus sacrificing its character of reference work.

Dictionaries might not have entered into the genre problematic, but much of what has been written about literary genres applies to them. Tzvetan Todorov has pointed out that any description of any a work by necessity becomes a discussion of genre, since a description that does not generalize would be identical to the work described.[171] We can infer from Todorov's axiomatic statement that the imposition of a classificatory scheme by the present-day researcher is a necessity if we are to make sense of any kind of text, reference works included. Todorov has also pointed to the difficulty of distinguishing literature in the narrow sense from other kinds of texts; a structurally based separation into genres is impossible, only by using functionalist criteria, perhaps, could literary genres be satisfactorily defined.[172] The social function of the dictionary as a reference tool for linguistic information is precisely what I will appeal to here as a distinguishing feature of the lexicographic genre.

In our contemporary everyday parlance, a dictionary is a book arranged following alphabetical order. The kindred thesaurus, in contrast, is organized according to semantic groups (themes or topics). A lexicon is a dictionary for an ancient language, and an encyclopedia, finally, is a work that aspires to explain things and concepts and not the meaning of words.

[168] This is the impression I get from Cavitch 2012.
[169] Lurie 2011, 320.
[170] Étiemble 1975.
[171] Todorov 1970, 7–27.
[172] Todorov 1987.

This terminology has its roots in the sixteenth century,[173] and by 1680, "dictionary order" was used synonymously with alphabetical order in France.[174]

I will use the word 'thesaurus' in reference to thematically organized collections of words in one or several languages. This usage reflects the view that the lowest common denominator for thesauri is their semantically based arrangement, not their role as finders of synonyms, which became common in the nineteenth century. Thematically organized word collections appeared in Europe in the Renaissance as aids for travelers and where thereafter compiled for a variety of reasons,[175] some of which resemble the motivations behind their Manchu counterparts that will appear in subsequent chapters.

Students of the books grouped under the above-mentioned categories have complicated this neat topography of genres. Even the great Enlightenment *Encyclopédie* itself has, contrary to the common tetrapartite scheme, been treated in the literature as a dictionary.[176] Furthermore, the European genre of the dictionary, scholars have argued, underwent major changes from its inception in the Renaissance to the nineteenth century. When the Grimm brothers in 1854 announced that a dictionary should be a "sanctum" (*Heiligthum*) for language, where it would be preserved in its totality, they were thinking of the dictionary as something quite different from the Renaissance schoolmen who compiled dictionaries to aid in the teaching of a foreign language.[177]

The Manchu dictionaries I will be discussing here fit well alongside early modern European dictionaries, originating as bilingual publications to which the reader turned to find the translation of a certain word. Yet even monolingual Chinese collections of words can arguably be considered dictionaries by virtue of their similarities with early modern European examples. In the seventeenth century, Jesuit missionaries reported that late imperial Chinese dictionaries were used "in the same manner as a contemporary European would consult a Latin dictionary whenever encountering an unknown word."[178] Scholars writing in Chinese have thus applied recent coinages of Western inspiration to describe such late imperial works as dictionaries.[179] As will become apparent in chapter 6, Manchu dictionaries were also used in a way similar to what we see in the early modern and modern European context. It is the function of linguistic reference work that I will treat as the common denominator for the various Manchu and Chinese dictionaries discussed in this study.

[173]The source for the tetrapartite division of today's parlance is Sauer 2009; The usage of the term *dictionnaire* has been traced to Henri Estienne (c. 1531–98): Nies (1974) 1978.

[174]Quemada 1968, 328.

[175]Marello 1989–1991.

[176]E.g. in Quemada 1968.

[177]Bierbach 1997, 7 *et passim*.

[178]Mungello (1985) 1989, 78. The reference was to *Hǎipiān*, a Chinese dictionary I will discuss presently.

[179]E.g., Liú Yèqiū 1983; Lín Yùshān 1992; Yōng Hémíng 2006. The English version of the last title (Yong and Peng 2008) should only be used with the greatest care (see Bottéro 2010). Naturally, in using the new terminology, the scholars have also noted the differences between a nomenclature inspired by the West and that used historically in China: e.g., Zhāng Mínghuá 1998, 3–6. Sometimes the difference is acknowledged but insufficiently historicized, being explained simply as an automatic consequence of linguistic difference: Zhào Zhènduó 1986, 1–3; Qián Jiànfū 1986, 1–4.

The application of the term dictionary to discuss various Qīng sources allows us to stress an aspect common to them by virtue of their use, but which was not emphasized by late imperial bibliographers. A problem with regards to Manchu dictionaries is that they were almost entirely ignored in bibliographical treatises and catalogs.[180] The prolonged neglect of Manchu books is still causing difficulties for bibliographers in China today, who are trying to make room for the Manchu sources inside a classificatory scheme designed in reference to Chinese literature.[181]

The Qiánlóng emperor's court bibliographers, who in a very influential treatise written in the late eighteenth century helped define the bibliographical classification used in China today, separated what we would today think of as dictionaries into "rhyme books" and "character books," two categories within the"philology classification" (*xiǎoxué lèi* 小學類, lit. 'lesser learning classification'). Judging by the placing of the philological works inside the broader "classics division" (*jīngbù* 經部),[182] the bibliographers seem to have assumed the function of dictionaries to have been mainly exegetical. It was certainly true that dictionaries served people who sought to understand texts, but the fact remained that character books and rhyme books had a weak connection to the classics. Graphological analysis had been practiced in Chinese antiquity, which we saw, but rhyme books were a later invention from the very beginning linked to the writing of poetry, not classical studies. Some of the 'character books' were,[183] furthermore, arranged according to topic. They can conceivably be considered encyclopedias in the sense of collections of 'classified texts' (*lèi shū* 類書), just as well as they can be considered dictionaries. Jean-Pierre Drège has drawn attention to the porous boundary between encyclopedias and dictionaries in China,[184] and Elman brought *lèishū* and dictionaries together further by including "phrase dictionaries" in his survey of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century encyclopedias.[185] Neither bibliography nor genre theory allow us to delineate the genre of the dictionary in relation to that of encyclopedia in a way that would be entirely satisfactory in all instances.

I have, contrary to Qiánlóng's court bibliographers, considered the dictionaries' role as linguistic reference works as their most defining characteristic. I will treat as dictionaries those works used when reading or writing to verify the meaning or translation of a word.[186]

[180] According to Hú Shì 胡適 (1891–1962), bibliographers' lack of interest extended even to Chinese books produced by the Qīng government. Hú (Hu Shih 1954, 135) wrote that "many of the voluminous works published by the Manchu government and often printed on very good paper were usually ignored by Chinese collectors and their market-price has never been high. Even in the old days, incomplete sets of such bulky works were often sold to dealers by weight, and the pages were sometimes used for 'paddings' in rebinding of old and rare books. (In recent years, such Palace and government editions are being collected in Red China to be delivered to state-controlled paper factories to make pulp)."

[181] Lǐ Tíng 2002. It is telling that the first catalog of Manchu books to be published in China (Lǐ Déqǐ 1933) opted for a classification inspired entirely by Western categories. Already in the Qīng period, the Chinese classification was a problem for catalogers of Buddhist literature, who opted to divide books into those written "here" (*cǐ fāng* 此方) and in the "Western lands" (*xī tǔ* 西土; Lái Xīnxià 1997, 6–8).

[182] *"Sìkù quánshū" zǒngmù* (1789) 1965.

[183] The examples are Manchu, see chapter 6.

[184] Drège 2007.

[185] Elman 2007, 136.

[186] Unlike in France (Quemada 1968, 325), Manchu dictionaries do not seem to have been used to

In chapter 6 I will use this definition to discuss Manchu lexicography.

Phonology and the Transcription of Sound

There are several words available to talk about recording sound either on the basis of speech or a previous written record. Unfortunately, the two terms available in English, 'transcription' and 'transliteration,' are used in reference to European alphabetic writing in particular.[187] They cannot be used as such when talking about Chinese writing. In the Western context, 'transcription' can mean either the written record of speech (heard or recorded), at varying levels of detail, or the rewriting of a text written in non-European script using the Roman alphabet. The goal of transcription in this latter scenario is to represent the sounds assumed to lie behind the non-European text, so that a reader of the Roman alphabet can reproduce those sounds on the basis of the transcription alone. Thus a Korean word, e.g., 곳, 'place,' can be transcribed using the McCune-Reischauer system as *kot*. A reader familiar with the sound values of the letters as used in this particular transcription system can successfully produce the Korean word for 'place' based on that transcription. A reader could not, by contrast, reproduce the original Korean orthography of the word based on the transcription *kot* without prior knowledge of the Korean word for 'place' which it is intended to represent. This is because in Korean, the word is written with the last letter being not *-t* ㄷ but *-s* ㅅ. As a result of a pronunciation rule reducing *-s* to *-t* in syllable-final position, the letter otherwise pronounced *-s* is pronounced *-t* in the word *kot*. In order to enable a reader to reconstitute the original Korean orthography, we can write the Korean word for 'place' instead as *kos* and somewhere inform the reader that *-s* in this position should be pronounced as a *-t*. In the conventional English-language terminology, our transcription would thus have become a 'transliteration': the transposition of a text from a non-European script to the Roman alphabet in such a way that the original orthography can be reconstituted on the basis of the romanized version alone.

We quickly realize that although a dichotomy of 'transcriptions' and 'transliterations' can account for the two ways to rewrite Korean texts in the Roman alphabet, it cannot account very well for the rewriting of Chinese texts using other scripts. Chinese characters, as mentioned, generally represent monosyllabic morphemes. Two characters that are pronounced the same will contain additional graphic information identifying the intended morpheme, which will be lost when writing their pronunciation in the Roman alphabet. The only way to prevent such loss of information is to append letters, numerals, or diacritical signs to the Roman transcriptions, essentially recreating the morphosyllabic Chinese script using the sign inventory of the Roman alphabet. Such a recreation is possible and has indeed been attempted in a Western pedagogical context. It is also the only real 'transliteration' of Chinese possible using the Roman alphabet, since any writing of Chinese words in Roman letters that does not take into consideration the morphemic information encoded in the Chinese characters cannot be used to reconstruct the original orthography of those words without the reader having prior knowledge of the Chinese language (as opposed to an ability to draw Chinese characters).

Yet calling all rewriting of Chinese text using phonographic script 'transcription' still cannot account for the range of possibilities that have historically been explored by language

verify the spelling of words (perhaps because it was predictable).

[187] Their history in the West is the subject of Wellisch 1978.

scholars in China and elsewhere. The extra graphic information carried by every Chinese character, allowing the reader to associate them with a specific morpheme, also carries supplementary phonetic information. An educated reader in late imperial China, when faced with a character such as *yào* 藥, 'medicine,' will know, or at least have the means to find out, that the character in addition to its current reading in the koinē also represents a certain reading in Middle Chinese. We can note the Middle Chinese reading as something like *jɨak*, which represents an approximation of what the Middle Chinese word for 'medicine' might once have sounded like.[188] More accurately, we can represent the extra phonological information that a late imperial reader of Chinese characters would obtain from the character as *yak-3*,[189] where the spelling and numeral represent not sound per se, but information regarding the relationship of the character's pronunciation to the pronunciation of other characters, as represented in Middle Chinese phonological literature, which our late imperial reader could have turned to for reference. This extra information would have been useful in a variety of contexts, such as when using the character *yào* 藥 in poetry, when trying to anticipate its reading in a topolect other than one's own, or when trying to locate it in a phonologically organized reference work. A single Chinese character can thus be represented by Roman transcriptions of different levels of detail, even without any of them constituting a complete transliteration in the sense outlined above. The point to retain is that for a literate Chinese speaker in the late imperial period, a character did not simply represent one spoken syllable, but a set of phonological characteristics and/or pronunciations that were sometimes understood as related, sometimes as superposed on one another for no other reason but custom.

The range of possibilities for transcribing Chinese characters using the Roman alphabet existed also for Chinese scholars in the Qīng period. As this study will show, transcription was practiced both using systems derived from Chinese characters and using other scripts entirely, such as Manchu. The layering of sound in Chinese characters was a problem that all scholars working with transcription faced, and some of them tried to deal with it explicitly. The following history of Chinese phonology is intended to give some background on the transcription efforts we will see unfolding in the Qīng period.

To the greatest extent possible, I use the word 'phonology' to mean the tools serving to analyze and describe the sounds of language. I have tried to avoid the other sense of phonology, in which the word refers simply to the system of sounds used in a given language. Phonology in the sense used here refers to a learned discipline. The history of Chinese phonology can schematically be divided into two periods, each seeing the rise of new analytic and descriptive tools. First, in the medieval period, phonetic notation for Chinese syllables appeared. Second, in the tenth century (or earlier) appeared the display of syllable spellings on a two-dimensional grid called a 'rhyme table.' Phonology as it appeared to scholars in the Manchu period comprised both the tools of syllabic spellings and rhyme tables. They made great use of both. The study of Manchu influence on Qīng reforms of syllabic spelling in chapter 7 will be concerned mainly with syllabic spelling, not rhyme tables. The summary of Chinese phonology in the following paragraphs will therefore also focus on syllabic spelling.

[188]Pulleyblank 1991a, 363.
[189]Branner and Weng 2004–2009.

Syllabic Spelling (*fǎnqiè*)

Throughout its history, speakers of the Chinese language has been in contact with other languages in spoken or written forms. Contact between speakers of different languages or translation from one language to the other at times led to words from non-Chinese languages to be written down using Chinese characters. The voluminous Buddhist translations of the medieval period notably contained many words from the Indic languages Sanskrit or Prakrit transcribed using Chinese characters. In such transcriptions, the often polysyllabic foreign words were written down using Chinese characters in what was an approximation of their original sound. Sometimes one Chinese character alone could stand for the foreign sound. At other times the transcription used two or even three characters for what in the source language was only one syllable. The Buddhist scholars theorized the method, describing it as 'tripartite' (*sānhé* 三合) spellings. That is, the combination of three characters to spell a single foreign syllable.[190] The glossaries of Jurchen, Mongol, and other languages produced by the Míng and Qīng government agencies responsible for the reception of foreign envoys also used this technique to represent foreign words. In our day, it is used to transcribe the names of foreign individuals or places.

There is no doubt that Indic learning, transmitted along with Buddhism, played an absolutely crucial role in the development of Chinese phonology. Indic influence might have been the reason Chinese scholars turned to phonological analysis in the first place in the fourth century CE. Exposure to writings on poetics in Indian languages might have led to the development of metrics based on 'rhyme' (the character *yùn* 韻 did not occur in the canonical texts of the classical period) and 'tone' (*shēng*). Although rhyming words and pitch accent already existed in the Middle Chinese spoken in the fourth century, the encounter with Indic metrics might have been what led poets to discuss them metalinguistically for the first time.[191] The most important of the poets who turned to rhyme and tone was Shěn Yuē 沈約 (441–513 CE). Shěn wrote a "tone register" (*shēngpǔ* 聲譜), which used the concept of tone in the context of poetry, but the text is now lost. The identification of tones in Chinese was an important step toward the development of phonology as a discipline.

During the centuries that followed Shěn Yuē, a new kind of source appeared that analyzed the Chinese language phonetically: the rhyme book. The earliest rhyme books are lost. We know they existed, since material from clearly heterogeneous sources was included in *Qièyùn* from 601 CE. As discussed above, the arrangement of that dictionary and those that followed it was based on an analysis of the Chinese syllable. The same analysis was also the basis for the syllabic spelling system used to indicate the pronunciation of groups of homophonous lemmata. New rhyme books continued to be compiled in the *Qièyùn* tradition. Many of them included syllabic spelling glosses.

'Syllabic spelling' refers to the method called *fǎnqiè* 反切 in Chinese. The name *fǎnqiè* is controversial down to its pronunciation. Throughout this study, I will assume the reading

[190] Zhōu Guǎngróng 2004, 160.

[191] This is the view espoused in Mair and Mei 1991. Ráo Zōngyí 1990, 21 questions whether there was a direct Indian influence already at the earliest time. Goh 2010, in contrast, discusses the poetry of Shěn Yuē and his friends against the backdrop of Sanskrit and Buddhist influence and seems to accept Mair and Mei's argument.

fǎnqiè, translated as 'syllabic spelling.'[192] For readers reared in an alphabetic culture, used to linear segmentation of speech sounds on a level beneath the syllable, the *fǎnqiè* method is not very hard to understand. For the same reasons it is very easy to misunderstand how it was conceptualized in medieval China. The most important point that we need to retain from the following description of *fǎnqiè* is that it was not thought of as a linear operation but as a description of aspects of a syllable in the abstract. It was not intuitive.

The "method," in Pulleyblank's words, "was devised whereby the pronunciation of one monosyllable was explained in terms of two monosyllables, one of which had the same initial and the other of which had the same final. Thus, in modern terms, *dōng* 東 ('east') could be spelled as *dé* 得 ('get') + *gōng* 公 ('public')."[193] In the following paragraphs, I will briefly discuss *fǎnqiè*'s origins and its conceptualization in the imperial period.

The origins of the *fǎnqiè* method are obscure. Some scholars have argued that it was inspired by Indic learning.[194] As many other aspects of Chinese phonology clearly have their origin in India, suspecting a similar history for *fǎnqiè* is reasonable. As mentioned, many Buddhist scriptures were translated from Indian languages in the medieval period. Some of the Indic texts studied by Chinese scholars dealt explicitly with the Sanskrit language and the scripts used to write it. The Chinese study of Sanskrit developed within several of the Buddhist sects.[195] It is clear that the Chinese early came into contact with two Indic scripts: Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. They can be positively dated to the middle of the third century BCE and the fourth of fifth century BCE respectively.[196] In these scripts, "the basic sign always has the value of a consonant plus *a*, while other vowels are expressed by means of short strokes, in all cases attached to the sign with which they form one unit." In these Indic scripts, the strokes used to indicate vowels "are always attached to the respective syllabic signs."[197] One order in

[192]The compound (反切) is sometimes glossed as 'reversing and cutting,' but it is arguably more accurately translated simply as 'spelling.' According to one tradition, the reading *qiè* is preferred when the character 切 is part of the compound *fǎnqiè*. It is, however, gradually falling out of favor in the PRC, where the character is often heard pronounced *qiē* also by students of historical linguistics. Some leading scholars see no problem with this development (Gěng Zhènshēng, personal communication, 2013). Tán Shìbǎo 2000, 264 argues that it should be pronounced *qiē* and be taken to mean "cut apart." Tán further argues that *fǎn* 反 is shorthand for *fān* 翻, and that the term should therefore be read *fānqiē*. I have not followed this but remain agnostic with regards to the value of Tán's proposal. In English usage, the translation 'to cut' (which can be traced to Bernhard Karlgren; see footnote 53 on page 19) would require the now dominant reading *qiē*, which as mentioned was traditionally not favored in this context. Coblin 2006a, 105 (including in note 2) pointed out that the word *qiè* (as opposed to *qiē*) on its own could mean to 'fit together,' thus 'to spell' in a linguistic context. The two characters seem to have been first used separately to refer to the same spelling method. Sometime in the Northern Sòng (960–1279) would it have become used as a compound, replacing the term *qièyùn* 切韻, 'initial[s] and rhyme[s],' today used only in reference to the eponymous rhyme book from 601 CE (Tán Shìbǎo 2009, 81).

[193]Branner 2000b, 37.

[194]I should note that Branner 2000b argues against Sanskrit influence.

[195]One example is studied in Hirata Shōji 1994.

[196]Salomon 1996, 373.

[197]Gelb 1963, 184–187. The scripts in their Chinese context are extensively discussed in Zhōu Guǎngróng 2004.

which Kharoṣṭhī was commonly presented clearly constitutes a list of syllables, not individual letters: *a ra pa ca na la da ba* etc. This order was "widespread in Buddhist tradition."[198] Used in northwestern India, it also became influential in China. Influential, that is, as a kind of syllabary, not an alphabet. The Chinese called Brāhmī *fàn* 梵, a term that later came to mean the Sanskrit language, and Kharoṣṭhī *hú* 胡, a character otherwise often translated as 'barbarian.'[199]

Chinese studies of Sanskrit mostly developed around another script, however. Called Siddhaṃ, the script probably originated in India or Buddhist Central Asia, but is known only from its use in East Asia. Siddhaṃ is typologically an 'alphasyllabary' like other Indian scripts, not an alphabet noting consonants and vowels independently like the Greek or Roman alphabets.[200] Its study spread from China to Japan,[201] influencing the development of writing also there.[202]

Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, and Siddhaṃ all seem to have operated with the syllable, further subdivided into two parts, as the basic unit of analysis. In the Indian tradition, the key term had been *akṣara*, which there acquired two senses. In one sense, it referred to the spoken syllable. In the other sense, it signified the two constituent parts of a syllable, defined as onset and nucleus on the one hand, and coda on the other.[203] Richard G. Salomon described the structure of Indic scripts in reference to Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī:

> This system is based on the unit of the graphic "syllable" or *akṣara*, which by definition always ends with a vowel (type V, CV, CCV, etc.). Syllables consisting of a vowel only (usually at the beginning of a word or sentence) are written with the *full* or *initial* vowel signs … But when, as is much more frequently the case, the syllable consists of a consonant followed by a vowel, the vowel is indicated by a diacritic sign attached to the basic sign for the consonant … However, the basic consonantal character without any diacritic modification is understood to automatically denote the consonant with the "inherent" vowel *a* [ə] … A graphic "syllable" consisting of a cluster of two or more consonants followed by a vowel (type CCV, CCCV, etc.) requires that the consonants be joined together in a *conjunct* character to indicate the cancellation of the inherent *a* vowel of the preceding consonant(s).[204]

We should remember the word *akṣara* used to describe a unit of the graphic syllable. The notion, if not the word, of *akṣara* remained very important in East Asia in at least this sense, as we will see in relation to the Manchu script in chapters 5 and 6.

[198] Salomon 1996, 377.

[199] Boucher 2000.

[200] Bright 1996, 384 (no reference to Siddhaṃ). Tán Shìbǎo 1996; Tán Shìbǎo 2007; Tán Shìbǎo 2009, 11, 101 forcefully stressed that Siddhaṃ is a syllabic writing system (as opposed to alphabetic).

[201] van Gulik (1953) 1980.

[202] Pagel 1937, 736–750.

[203] Patel 2007, 173. Deshpande 2000, 140 less specifically writes that it referred to "individual sounds." Furthermore, for reasons that elude me, Allen 1953 did not mention the sense of *akṣara* that will be important in this study (but some discussion of the word's etymology is found on 80–81).

[204] Salomon 1996, 376.

For Chinese students, to write a Sanskrit word or syllable using one of the Indic scripts would not have appeared as a linear operation of pairing a consonants and vowels in the form of letters. Rather, it involved pairing the basic consonant-vowel signs with the appropriate diacritics. In extant Chinese treatises on Siddhaṃ, which all postdate the invention of *fǎnqiè*, the script was often presented as a series of twelve vowels and consonants, with which the onsets were coupled to form complex syllables.[205] It is possible that similar charts were used also in an earlier period when translating texts in Indic script into Chinese. Writing Sanskrit syllables in Indic script and in transcription using Chinese characters was referred to as *fān zì* 翻字, 'turning characters.' Indeed, the character *fǎn* 反 in *fǎnqiè* might have originally been a shorthand for *fān* 翻. Indeed, in the late imperial period many scholars chose to refer to the *fǎnqiè* operation as *fānqiè*. The pairing of a basic consonant-vowel element with diacritics might have inspired the analysis of the Chinese syllable into two parts as well, giving rise to the *fǎnqiè* method as we find it in the early rhyme books.[206]

For readers used to an alphabetic writing system based on a division of the syllable into smaller units (letters), it is natural to look at a pair of *fǎnqiè* spellers as a linear sequence of sounds to be read first for the initial, then for the rhyme. In such an understanding, the first speller, although otherwise used as a normal Chinese character representing one syllable, inside the *fǎnqiè* pair only represents the first sound in the spelled syllable. Likewise, the second speller represents not a complete syllable, but only the one, two, or more sounds constituting the spelled syllable's nucleus and coda (rhyme). Thus construed, *fǎnqiè* spelling appears simply as a pseudo-alphabetical system, be it a remarkably unwieldy one.

Yet, as hinted at above, that pseudo-alphabetic model does not represent the understanding of the *fǎnqiè* method most intuitive to readers living and breathing the paradigm of the Chinese character, according to which the atomic unit of writing was the syllable, corresponding in writing to one Chinese character. Chinese scholars and readers do not initially seem to have envisioned a pair of *fǎnqiè* spellers as a sequence, but as each indicating one aspect of the syllable. In such an understanding, the initial would be understood as a feature of the syllable, as would the rhyme, and not as two independent units of sound paired together. In the words of one nineteenth-century pedagogue, "the first speller forms an alliterative pair (*shuāngshēng*) with the spelled character, and the second speller forms a rhymed pair (*diéyùn*) with it."[207] Such an explanation is not incompatible with a sequential analysis such as that implied by alphabetic thinking, but nor does it demand it.

The circumstance that spelling pairs were not necessarily read sequentially meant in turn that the *fǎnqiè* method was far from intuitive to late imperial readers lacking a training in phonology. Phonological and lexicographical works intended for beginners (*chūxué zhě* 初

[205]Pulleyblank 1999, "Appendix One" gives a translation of a canonical text of Chinese Siddhaṃ studies, including a presentation of a series of twelve sounds. Pulleyblank does not stress that the vowels and syllabic consonants are paired with onsets in the operation of the syllabary, but he points out that the Chinese commentator seems to have associated the twelve with the second half of a pair of Chinese syllabic spellers, which would correspond to the nucleus and coda. I should note that Pulleyblank transcribes some elements of the series as syllabic consonants, whereas they are elsewhere, e.g., in Zhōu Guǎngróng 2004, 85, transcribed as *a* + consonant.

[206]Coblin 2006b, 126–127.

[207]Lì Héng 1880, 2a–b: 上字與所切之字是雙聲，下字與所切之字是疊韻.

學者) confirm this inference. A dictionary directed at beginners reprinted several times declared not to indicate the pronunciation by means of *fǎnqiè* as long as a simple homophone was available;[208] *fǎnqiè* was too complicated for inexperienced readers. At least one text purporting to teach the method made no reference to either initial nor final in the instructions, but suggested that the student recite several example spellings in a row to thereby internalize the method by osmosis.[209]

In the Qīng period, the question of the *fǎnqiè* method's origins was politicized, as classical scholars spent much ink in order to disprove any connection to Buddhist learning.[210] The debates animated only a few scholars, but in the late imperial period *fǎnqiè* glosses could be seen in rhyme books, which circulated widely and were familiar to a large segment of the elite.

Rhyme Tables (*děngyùn tú*)

The second major tool of Chinese phonology was the 'rhyme tables,' *děngyùn tú* 等韻圖, literally translating as 'table of rhymes [divided into] grades.'[211] The tables were, in Pulleyblank's words, "an elaboration of the *fanqie* method in which the syllables of the language are displayed on a two-dimensional grid. Words with the same initial, and therefore capable of using the same initial speller, are placed in columns from right to left and words with the same final are set out horizontally in rows beneath … the categories by which words were classified in this system analyzed the two parts of a *fanqie* spelling, the initial and the rhyme, in terms of phonologically significant contrasts."[212] In the words of David Prager Branner, the rhyme tables "are one type of historical solution to the problem of representing speech sounds in a language without a phonetic script. What those solutions have in common is the pigeonholing of syllables according to discrete units of phonology, themselves analyzed into various groups."[213] This "systematic syllabary's"[214] use of a grid to display contrasting features bears some similarity with the work of John Wilkins (1641–1672), which anticipated the development of phonetic notation in the West some centuries later.[215] In the twentieth century, Western phonologists also proposed to "write our results in the form of a matrix in which each phoneme is given with the distinctive features which are necessary for its identification,"[216] in a sense complementing their alphabetic notation with a Chinese-style rhyme table. In the West, the Chinese rhyme tables became used as a tool to reconstruct Middle Chinese, as had the similar syllabic grids developed in the early modern period by European scholars been used to decipher Near Eastern scripts,[217] but the validity of that approach to

[208]Huà Gāng (1756) 1876, *xù*:2a for the target audience and further "Statement of Editorial Principles" (*fánlì* 凡例) for the use of *fǎnqiè*.

[209]Xú Jiàn (1817) 1995, 2a–b.

[210]Some Qīng opinions on the matter are summarized in Liú Míngāng 1994.

[211]On the alternative translation "division" for "grade," see Branner 2006a, 19–20.

[212]Pulleyblank 1999, 113.

[213]Branner 2006a, 12.

[214]Branner 2006a, 2.

[215]Albright 1958, 7 (without reference to the Chinese rhyme tables).

[216]Halle (1954) 1972, 341.

[217]Pope (1975) 1999, 42 (no reference to Chinese).

Chinese diachronic linguistics has been questioned.[218]

Terminology later seen in relation to rhyme tables is attested at least from the eighth century.[219] The kind of phonological analysis practiced in the rhyme tables appear in excavated fragmentary documents from the Táng period, ascribed to the Buddhist monk Shǒuwēn 守溫.[220] The so-called "Shǒuwēn fragments" notably presents a list of *zìmǔ* 字母, literally 'character mothers.' The word *zìmǔ* represented a notion borrowed from Indian linguistics, where it referred to the "syllabic productive elements" of Sanskrit.[221] The character *zì*, by the medieval period definitely having the meaning of 'Chinese character,' in phonological analyses from about this period onward existed as a part of a dichotomy whose other element was *yùn*, 'rhyme'. Whereas the rhyme referred to the latter part of a syllable, *zì* in this sense referred to a syllable's initial. The character *mǔ*, furthermore, also appears in other technical terms in Chinese phonology, and can best be translated as 'genus,' as it can 'generate' or produce (*shēng* 生, 'give birth to') other sounds. The *zìmǔ* or 'initial genera' were a list of characters that each had a separate initial. Supposedly the initials represented by the *zìmǔ* contained all the sounds that could occur at the beginning of a syllable in Middle Chinese. Shǒuwēn recognized thirty, but later rhyme tables as a rule used thirty-six.

Rhyme tables properly speaking are extant from the Sòng period. The oldest of these, *Yùnjìng* 韻鏡 (The rhyme mirror), was lost in China and only retrieved in a print from 1161 from Japan in at the end of the Qīng period. A table available to late imperial readers was *Qīyīn lüè* 七音略 (Outline of the seven sounds) from 1162. Similar tables are known also from the thirteenth century.[222]

In the late imperial period, rhyme tables were often appended to rhyme dictionaries as a form of index helping the reader to establish the location of a character in the main body. Indeed, a commonly held view is that the tables originated as handbooks to help readers convert old *fǎnqiè* to current pronunciation. W. South Coblin has explained very clearly how they achieved this goal. "The principle is simple," he says, "if somewhat laborious to describe." Let us listen to his description regardless:

> The idea that the rime [i.e. rhyme] tables were really handbooks for looking up the current pronunciation of *fǎnqiè* combinations is actually quite old. … Assume that one is an eleventh century reader. If given a *fǎnqiè* formula for a problematic word, one identifies by ear the general, 'ball-park' sound value of the final in the *fǎnqiè* lower character … of the formula and turns to the broad grouping of charts (nowadays called *shè* 攝) which seems to share the overall sound characteristics of the final. Then, noting the tone of the lower character, one 'flips' (or, in pre-printing times, quite literally 'scrolls') back and forth through the charts of the appropriate *shè* until he finds in one of them a horizontal line of cells containing characters having the same final as the lower character. Next, one identifies the initial of the *fǎnqiè* upper syllable … of the formula and

[218] Norman and Coblin 1995.
[219] Branner 2000a, 50.
[220] Coblin 2006a.
[221] Coblin 2006b, 128.
[222] Lǐ Xīnkuí 1983, 233–240.

> locates that initial among the list of initial types listed along the top edge of the chart. (For aid in doing this there is usually a guide chart attached to rime tables, allowing readers who are unfamiliar with the technical nomenclature of initial classification to perform the identification entirely by ear.) Then, at last, one goes down the vertical column under the identified initial type and finds the point where this intersects the above-mentioned horizontal line. At this point one will find a cell containing a common, easily recognized character having the pronunciation represented by the original, problematic *fǎnqiè* combination. By looking in the left margin of the table, one will also immediately find there the name of the *Qièyùn* rime to which the target syllable belongs. … The character found in the rime table cell will usually be the head character of the requisite homophone group, and somewhere in that group will be the problematic word itself, with its attendant semantic glosses. The finding process, though long in the telling, can in fact be executed in seconds. It requires no technical knowledge of initial classes or of the nature and characteristics of the four levels, nor any other sophistication in the field of traditional phonology. It is open to anyone who has the book and is able to pronounce syllables in something approaching the general phonological system associated with the tables.[223]

By the Qīng period, however, the rhyme tables had acquired other functions, including as tools for phonological analysis.[224] Although rhyme dictionaries were essential for the successful composition of regularized verse, and thus well known by the literati, phonology as a discipline centered around the rhyme charts became highly specialized in late imperial China. Indeed, "if one were to introduce [the full complexities of phonology] to beginners, they would feel intimidated and lost as soon as they open the book,"[225] one Chinese scholar wrote in 1817. By the end of the period, it was perceived as a difficult field requiring special training to understand even in its most general outlines.[226]

Language change was part of the reason phonology was perceived as so difficult in late imperial China. Since the compilation of the first rhyme books, language had changed drastically. The centuries that separated the early, canonical rhyme tables from the time of Míng and Qīng scholars had also included a fair amount of change, making them difficult to use as handbooks without updating them in various ways. As immediate guides to pronunciation, *fǎnqiè* spellings as used in the phonologically conservative Sòng rhyme books had become largely useless for speakers of the early modern vernaculars. Not surprisingly, we see them used less and less in the many rhyme books published in the Míng,[227] which still remained useful for readers as the positioning of a word in the dictionary defined its rhyme and was in itself enough indication with regards to its use in regularized verse.

If a reader wanted to learn the koinē pronunciation of a character, or the pronunciation in a vernacular other than his own, knowing the rhyme group was not enough. *Fǎnqiè* had orig-

[223] Coblin 2006a, 121–122.
[224] Lǐ Xīnkuí 1983, 6–9.
[225] Xú Jiàn (1817) 1995, 21a: …爲初學言之，則開卷茫然，轉欲望洋而嘆.
[226] Liáng Qǐchāo (1923) 2004, 238 gives this impression.
[227] Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 94.

inally been necessary for such precise information, but in the Míng period, language change prompted some phonologists to abandon the method altogether in favor of techniques derived from the rhyme tables. Wáng Yìngdiàn 王應電 (fl. 1540–1554), for example, marked the pronunciation of the lemmata in his phonological glossary by arranging them according to tone and specifying the phonological characteristics of series of syllables in the top margin of the page. In Wáng's view, this method meant that "there is no need to add separate syllabic spellings" for the individual lemmata.[228] In the Míng, syllabic spelling needed a major overhaul in order to stay relevant.

The reform of *fǎnqiè* began in earnest in the sixteenth century and continued into the Qīng period,[229] when the introduction of the Manchu language and script further encouraged the perfection of the system. Language change was one of the reasons for the urgency of *fǎnqiè* reform, but it was not the only one. Had Míng and Qīng scholars felt that the problem was limited to the old *fǎnqiè* relying on character readings that were no longer current, all they had to do was to replace the old spellers with new ones, which would produce the right sounds when read in koinē or vernacular pronunciation. The fact that they did much more than that indicates that *fǎnqiè* notation was perceived as structurally deficient. Accordingly, the reforms that it underwent in the late Míng and early Qīng left it more intuitive and accessible than it had been even at the time of its invention. Chapter 7 will focus on that development.

The fact that the old syllabic spellings were outdated could manifest itself in the following way, and did so already by the time of the writing of the original rhyme tables. Some dental sounds that in Middle Chinese had appeared before various vowels later came to be pronounced differently depending on the vowel that followed. From having been pronounced with the tongue pressed against the back of the teeth, they came to be pronounced with the tongue pressed against the roof of the mouth when followed by a vowel that was pronounced with the tongue held in that general area. The process by which a consonant's articulation is moved towards the roof of the mouth is called 'palatalization'; it was very important in the development from Middle Chinese to modern Mandarin (we will encounter it again, and not only in relation to dental sounds). Palatalization of the dentals was a problem for *fǎnqiè*, which indicated a characters pronunciation by taking only the initial sound from the first speller, relying on the second speller for the rest of the syllable. Because of palatalization, a character whose expected Mandarin reading would have *zhuān* 顓 might originally have been spelled using the *fǎnqiè* pair *d*[*īng*] 丁 + [*q*]*uán* 全, which would have given the erroneous reading *duán* and not *zhuān* (the change in tone, stemming from an originally voiced initial in *quán*, is unrelated but is another example of the *fǎnqiè* being outdated).[230] In an earlier time, *d-* would stayed *d-* in both cases, but in the late imperial period, it had transformed into the palatalized consonant *zh-* in front of the medial vowel *-u-*. The character *zhuān* 顓 was very rare, so a late imperial reader might conceivably have been in need of a pronunciation gloss in order to read it. Had he read it *duán*, however, he would have committed a mistake in the

[228]Wáng Yìngdiàn (1540) 2001, *píngshēng*:1a (877): 不必別加反. Rusk 2007, 87 comments in a different context on the unclear date of the printing of this work. It is studied in Níng Jìfú 2009, 303–313; Gěng Zhènshēng 2000.

[229]Overviews of late imperial *fǎnqiè* reform include Luó Chángpéi (1956) 1980, 91–120; Gěng Zhènshēng 1992, 78–85; Níng Jìfú 2009, 462–468 (Míng period only); Yáng Xiùmǐn 2011.

[230]I have chosen the example under the influence of Láo Nǎixuān 1898, *wàipiān*:28b.

eyes of many of his peers. The solution in the early rhyme tables for spellings resulting in such erroneous readings was to use a series of ad hoc methods instructing the reader when and how to reinterpret such *fǎnqiè* in a way that would produce the appropriate readings in the current koinē.[231] What happened with *fǎnqiè* spellings, and by extension also with the "overgrowth of mnemonic tools and other arcana"[232] associated with the rhyme tables often used to interpret them, might be expressed in Thomas S. Kuhn's (1922–1996) words as something that "one generation admiringly describes as subtle, flexible, and complex become[s] for a later generation merely obscure, ambiguous, and cumbersome."[233]

Elementary Education in Late Imperial China

The teaching of the Chinese written language and script, although not by necessity belonging to the realm of theoretical reflection on language, contributes to the learner's conceptualization of what language is and how it is structured. We saw above that language primers like *Qiānzì wén* were used as tools to organize book collections precisely because they were known to all those who had received elementary education. The organization of a script into a certain order, such as the alphabetical order of our European script, can even be argued to be part of the script itself (see the appendix).

In medieval and Renaissance Europe,[234] the Roman alphabet was presented in several ways, including as a simple linear sequence and in matrices organizing letters into groups. European alphabets separated letters and groups of letters using punctuation and whitespace in order to facilitate recitation. European pedagogy even seems to have witnessed a development from the teaching of a simple, uninterrupted sequence of letters to their display in isolation so as to more easily grasp their graphic particularities. However, the teaching of writing in Europe retained a strong oral component; in Renaissance Italy, children were expected to have memorized not only the shapes of letters, but also punctuation and parts of the orthography and grammar before learning how to write. As the following discussion will suggest, Qīng children also seem to have been asked to commit much information to memory before they were allowed to pick up the brush.

In Europe, the teaching of the alphabet often took place within the household, with adults 'nourishing' the children by feeding them pastries or pieces of fruit in the shape of letters. Letters were also written, engraved, or sown on household objects and clothing to increase children's exposure to the script. Scholars have remarked that this shows a prolonged period of elementary education that started in early childhood and was carried out largely by female members of the household.

In China, elementary education was much discussed since the Sòng period (960–1279), prompting Jacques Gernet to identify a "discovery of childhood" in this period, comparable to what we see in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the Sòng onwards,

[231]The method used in cases like the one cited here is explained in Zhào Yīntáng 1957, 125–126; Lǐ Xīnkuí 1986, 291; Branner 2006b, 157.

[232]Branner 2000a, 53.

[233]Kuhn (1957) 1995, 76.

[234]The sources for the discussion of European education in these paragraphs are Alexandre-Bidon 1986, 1989, 1990.

Chinese pedagogues were very concerned with the early education of the child, which was theorized to include also 'education *in utero*' (*tāijiào* 胎教). Sòng writers dressed detailed rules for the comportment of the child, including prescription for where he should rest his eyes when speaking to a teacher. Centuries later in Europe, school rules were still limited to prescriptions that students do not knock over the wine bottle or pick their teeth with a knife.[235]

Reading and Writing

The teaching of writing was also outlined in detail in Chinese educational treatises. Preparation for teaching of the script was laid by training the students' memory. Children might have been too young to understand the Confucian classics or the significance of a regimented comportment, but while young they could easily memorize both words and actions that would serve them later in life.[236] A curriculum based on rote memorization in its early stages seems to have existed at least since the Sòng and to some extent throughout the imperial period.

Late imperial education in written Chinese was a prolonged process that began with the memorization of texts and of the sound of individual characters in early childhood, continued with the reading of a few common primers for their content and instruction in writing simple characters, and essentially ended with the reading of either more difficult Confucian books or books intended for various professions.

Learning to read preceded learning to write, and reading began by reciting after the teacher in what Li Yu has called the "aural-oral" paradigm.[237] The teacher recited a text bit by bit and the students repeated after him or her until all of it had been committed to memory.[238] In some cases, there might have been little exposure to actual written text at this stage; the teacher was certainly reading from a book, but the students might just have initially repeated what the teacher recited.

At least elite learners who studied in the home with a tutor or senior family member might have had their own book from the very beginning. Testimony from the eighteenth century presents an example of the student sitting with the book open in front of him. On one side of the book the instructor has placed one hundred copper coins. After reading a given passage once, the student moves one coin to the other side of the book. He immediately repeats the action until all the coins have been moved to the other side. Only then, after one hundred uninterrupted recitations, is he allowed a few minutes to catch his breath. Memorization continued literally day and night: the same student was made to recite what he had memorized at bedtime and again the next morning.[239] Memorizing single words or pieces of text sometimes began very early, perhaps already at ages two to three in some cases. Late imperial writers often criticized this method, which they themselves had experienced.[240]

After around two thousand characters had been memorized in the sense that the students could recognize and vocalize them, they would start reading with the purpose of understanding

[235]Gernet 2003, 7–20.
[236]Gernet 2003, 38.
[237]Yu 2012.
[238]Yu 2003.
[239]Diény 1994, 184.
[240]Gernet 2003, 42–43.

the text. The most common texts used for this purpose were *Qiānzì wén*, *Sānzì jīng* 三字經 (The three character classic), and *Bǎijiā xìng* 百家姓 (The hundred surnames).[241] The two former books were in parallel prose, making the text easy to parse, and had a morally edifying content. *Bǎijiā xìng* was little more than a list of surnames. The language of the three books was Literary Chinese.

For learning how to write these books were not ideally suited, however. Many of the characters they contained were structurally complex, being made up of many strokes. Instead of following the books, teachers would begin by letting the students draw structurally simple characters with a brush, such as *shàng* 上, 'up'; *dà* 大, 'big'; and *rén* 人, 'person.'[242] One reason for delaying the practice of actually drawing characters to a relatively late stage in the education process was the difficulty of handling the writing implements. The brush used to write Chinese characters had to be held and wielded delicately, which was difficult for very young children with undeveloped motor skills. Changes in pedagogical practice in the Qīng period might have included an increased intention paid to the teaching of how to write characters. With the goal of improving retention of the lessons, students would have to a greater extent been asked to recognize individual characters rather than reciting passages of texts following the teacher's lead.[243] Looking at written characters would in that way have become more familiar to students of a progressively younger age in the Qīng period. Students usually learned ten or so characters per day.[244]

Calligraphy, the drawing of characters in the aesthetically sanctioned manner, was an important aspect of learning how to write. For elite male learners, calligraphy was essential, as mastery of the regular script was demanded in the civil service examinations. First, students learned the proper positioning of the body and the holding of the brush. A good brush consisted of three layers of hair of different stiffness. Paper came in different qualities, the kinds most appropriate for writing having long fibers and thus being relatively sturdy. Characters were written using ink made most often by soot and a gluelike binder, mixed and pressed into cakes. To make the ink usable, the cake is ground using water and a stone.[245]

The teacher taught the student to hold the brush by holding his hand and draw characters for him.[246] After the students had been allowed to hold it themselves, the movements needed to draw characters were repeated to the point that they became instinctual. To achieve such mastery, students were not initially asked to write stroke by stroke. We saw above that graphological dictionaries were based on a segmentation of the characters into a limited set of components. Those components were taught to the student as dots and strokes to be written using the brush in a certain order.[247]

In artistic (as opposed to educational) calligraphy, brushes became softer in from the late Míng period, making dots and strokes appear more full and round. The change accompanied an increased interest in large hanging scrolls at a time when more art works were traded on

[241] Rawski 1979, 45–52; Leung 1994, 393.
[242] Zhāng Zhìgōng 1962, 38.
[243] Yu 2012, 9.
[244] Leung 1994, 393.
[245] Knight 2012, 35–36.
[246] Leung 1994, 393.
[247] Knight 2012, 19–21.

the market and buyers wanted to display their purchases for visitors to their homes or offices. Members of the elite thereby came into increased contact with a new appearance of the written language. On the hanging scrolls, characters were written larger than before, which led to changes in how the brush was wielded. Calligraphers started to focus not only on moving the fingers, but also the hand or even the entire arm when drawing a character. On the scrolls, the large characters were often seemingly written together, the dots and strokes being connected. Technical terms appeared for such connections, e.g., the 'vertical hook' (*shùgōu* 豎勾). Through calligraphy, the pre-existing paradigm of understanding Chinese characters as consisting of dots and strokes, manifest for example in graphological dictionaries (discussed above), was complemented with a paradigm considering them made up of (connected) lines.[248] Contemporaneously but slightly later than this trend towards connected writing on large scrolls, calligraphers took an increasing interest in older forms of the Chinese script gleaned from stele. The imitated old form of the script had more discrete strokes, that were nevertheless markedly different from those used in the standard script of the late imperial period. Educated members of society would also have been exposed to this kind of writing in painting, on stone, and on the title pages of books.[249]

In some curricula, the memorization of around two thousand characters; reading and understanding the primers; and learning how to write common characters beginning with the less complicated ones were followed directly by reading *Sì shū* 四書 (Four books), a collection of shorter canonical texts drawn from the Confucian literature of the classical period. These books are both elliptical and sometimes complicated in terms of argument and subject matter. Late imperial educators therefore introduced new books containing information from various fields of knowledge for the students to read.[250] Among the new books were primers catering to people of a certain region or trade, such as merchants or townspeople.[251] These books replaced the *Four books*, which students destined for a literary education would read as preparatory stage for the later study of the much more voluminous and at times impenetrable classics needed for success in the civil service examination system. The system of formal education preparing elite males for the civil examinations presupposed that they had already learned to read and write.[252]

In preparation for advanced examination preparation, students receiving a literary training would also learn composition in various genres, including poetry and prose in Literary Chinese. At this stage they also were also made to familiarize themselves with the relevant reference works, including graphologically organized dictionaries (for the verification of meaning and usage) and rhyme books (for the successful composition of regularized verse). The Literary Chinese prose genres taught included imitations of the style of the classical period (*gǔwén* 古文) and so-called 'contemporary prose' (*shíwén* 時文) associated with the civil service examinations.[253]

Students' exposure to the discipline of phonology would have come through learning to

[248]Xue 2012.
[249]Huang 2012.
[250]Zhāng Zhìgōng 1962, 40–45.
[251]Wú Huìfāng 2005.
[252]Elman 2000, 240.
[253]Zhāng Zhìgōng 1962, 118–125.

write poetry. However, as mentioned, phonology was generally considered a very difficult subject. Teachers thus often avoided to introduce the students to specialized works, relying instead on summaries and jingles.[254] The jingles helped students remember which characters rhymed in the Middle Chinese sound system that they could not, in the late imperial period, intuit on the basis of only their native topolect. Yet the jingles did not explain how phonological analysis worked or the problems and issues facing the discipline in their day.

It is important to note that education in written Chinese in the late imperial period meant education in Literary Chinese. Education always started by reading texts written in the literary language, and for many people might never have formally involved training in writing Early Modern Written Chinese at all. Yet the pedagogy acknowledged that there was a divide between the literary language taught and the vernaculars spoken by both teacher and students. Often the divide between the literary and the current language necessitated a running commentary by the teacher as the students were reading a given text. Such glosses often took the form of the teacher explaining the meaning of a character using the current contemporary word. However, the need for glossing does not seem to have always implied an awareness that the students were in fact learning a language different from their own. On the contrary, some pedagogues' testimony suggests that glosses were provided to help the students learn new words, explained using familiar words from the 'local language' (*fāngyǔ* 方語).[255]

Sometimes the pronunciation prescribed for reading differed from that used in the students' topolect. In such cases the teacher would instruct the students how to pronounce the characters. It is difficult to determine whether the desired pronunciation was perceived as corresponding to the current koinē or the literary language. Given that many current varieties of spoken Chinese contain two strata of pronunciations, one literary and one vernacular, used for the same character in different words, we would assume that corrections of the students' pronunciation was intended to make it conform to the literary register of the topolect in question. Most probably, that register was closer to the pronunciation of the koinē than was the vernacular readings, but might still have differed from it substantially. It was not pronunciation in Old Chinese or even Middle Chinese except as in the sense that the literary readings might have attempted to retain distinctions made in Middle Chinese rhyme books or rhyme tables using contemporary, and not archaic, sound values.

One writer who grew up and underwent elementary education in mid-eighteenth century north China recounted that his father tutored him from a very young age. As the father taught him to recognize simple characters, he also explained the four tones, which we must infer referred to the four tones of Middle Chinese. When the boy in his fifth year began reading one of the *Four Books*, his father had marked the tones by adding a circle in red ink in one of the four corners of the space occupied by a character on the page.[256] In this case we see the pronunciation being taught both by oral example and by visual means, making it very clear that it is different from that of casual speech. Yet the teaching of the literary language is not presented as the teaching of a different language; it is simply the teaching of its written register.

[254]Zhāng Zhìgōng 1962, 110.
[255]Gernet 2003, 40, 44.
[256]Diény 1994, 183–184.

The Educated People of Late Imperial China

The literate members of late imperial society can be divided into several groups. Arguably the term 'literacy' meant different things for all of them. Benjamin Elman has highlighted the important fact that in terms of literacy, the so-called literati were distinguished from lower social strata in that they did not learn only how to read, but also how to write. Writing in this case meant writing the essays needed for the civil service examinations.[257] The prominent position of the literati in social and political life compelled David Johnson to call late imperial China a "grammatocracy," a rule by the educated.[258]

Passing the civil service examinations on some level was the mark of the literati stratum. Literati often belonged to corporate-style lineages with substantial holdings in land and other lucrative industries. Such lineages had an interest in keeping at least some of their male members highly literate. Success in the lower examinations meant legal privileges. Passing the upper echelons gave access to official administrative posts of great power and potentially substantial wealth as well.

Wealthy and educated prominent figures in counties all over China proper can be counted among the literati, but the most prominent families came from the south, especially the lower Yángzǐ region. Despite government attempts to limit their share of the awarded examination degrees, the prosperous southern cities and counties dominated officialdom generation after generation.[259]

Below the most privileged stratum, whose members were often trained in the home by senior family members or tutors, were those men trained in 'charitable schools' (*yìxué* 義學), alternatively translated as "public, or free, school,"[260] or in some areas, in clan schools.

Clan schools were common in the lower Yángzǐ region, and they taught basic literacy as part of their 'introductory section' or curriculum (*méngguǎn* 蒙館). Lucky poor members of a clan could gain access to the clan school, where the boys would sometimes receive room and board. Education was formalized with regular examinations, written progress reports, and grades. The clan had an interest in investing education also in poor but gifted members, since success in the civil examinations for any of them would benefit the whole clan.[261]

The charitable schools were something in between government-operated schools and the private academies (*shūyuàn* 書院). In the Qīng period, the government schools do not seem to have taught basic literacy but only offered more advanced training in preparation for the examinations. In the absence of strictly public schools, the charitable schools filled an important function. They had state approval, to be sure, and were managed by members of the local elite. Their organization was inspired by the less inclusive clan schools.[262]

At least in economically advanced regions of the empire, such as the lower Yángzǐ, access to education for boys seems to have been quite good. Only the richest stratum probably gained more than the basic literacy awarded by learning to read and write around two thousand characters. Yet very basic literacy could be achieved in about a year's time. Printed

[257]Elman 2000, 276.
[258]Johnson 1985.
[259]Elman 2000, 239–260.
[260]Rowe 1994, 426.
[261]Leung 1994, 389–391.
[262]Leung 1994, 381–388, 390.

texts were common in late imperial society, as were incentives for learning to read. Literacy was highest in the cities, but every village probably had people who could read or write. The needs to keep records for the collection of taxes and security purposes; to avoid being cheated in business deals, including the buying and selling of agricultural land; and a general desire to gain a more elevated social standing in a society that valued education highly all meant that even peasants might find incentive to learn to read at least at the level of the primers.[263]

Judging from what was observed in Hong Kong villages in the second half of the twentieth century, written material common in rural areas might have included genealogical records; handbooks on social practice (e.g., how to greet people of different social standing); almanacs; poetic couplets for weddings and other important events, as well as other popular poetry; educational primers; guides to letter writing or business and contract forms; encyclopedias of daily use; fiction; and morality books, including Buddhist and Daoist texts distributed by temples. Writing was common, but writing specialists still played an important role, providing fortune telling services, or producing written charms and the like.[264] We might perhaps guess that the written material available in other southern Chinese villages by the nineteenth century was comparable to that seen in twentieth-century Hong Kong.

The preceding discussion has dealt implicitly with the education of men, who were the only ones eligible for higher levels of schooling. However, within the elite also women were often highly literate. Scholars have identified two groups of highly educated women: the wives of literati and courtesans. Courtesans were expected to participate in otherwise male forms of literate sociability, including the reading and writing of poetry. Married elite women, in contrast, generally lived more secluded lives but were often surrounded by books, as the expansion of commercial printing from the late sixteenth century led to a growth of private libraries.[265] When they became mothers, elite wives were also often the children's first teachers. Naturally, teaching reading and writing presupposed that they knew it themselves first.

Like the education of men, female education and literacy can be divided into levels, of which only two involved learning how to read. On the first level, the uppermost stratum received a classical education destined to make them 'cultured' (*wén* 文). On the second, lower level, a broader group received 'formal instruction' (*jiào* 教) from didactic books directed towards women.[266] There does not seem to be any evidence that the pedagogy for teaching girls to recognize or write characters would have been any different than for boys.

In this chapter I have offered a presentation of the Chinese language in relation to neighboring languages; its historical development in so for as it impacted the life of the educated elite; and the genres that developed within Chinese language studies, most important the graphologically arranged dictionary, the rhyme book, and the system of syllabic spelling. To better situate the study and use of language in the period, I have described the appearance of Chinese books and writing implements. One of my aims has been to show that through

[263]Rawski 1979, ch. 1.

[264]Hayes 1985.

[265]Ko 1994, 154 for private libraries.

[266]On the most basic level, finally, women were educated in a "nonliterate" way, by public displays of the ideology regimenting women's lives. Most women, even those that the government and elite society took an interest in instructing in various ways, thus remained unable to read and write: Mann 1994.

the structure of the Chinese script and the way it was written, taught, and used in books, educated individuals in late imperial China were likely to form certain ideas of what language and script were. The implication is that these ideas influenced how the Manchu language and script became understood once introduced to China. Similarly, the genres of Chinese language studies influenced the development of Manchu thesauri, dictionaries, and other books in the Qīng period.

Part II

The Manchu Language in History

Chapter 3

The Manchu Language Before the Conquest of China (1607–1644)

This chapter will focus on the development of Manchu as a written language before the conquest of Běijīng in 1644. I will chronologically discuss (1) the history of the adaptation and development of scripts in Eastern Inner Asia and Korea before the rise of the Manchus in the early seventeenth century and (2) the development of Manchu record keeping from 1607, whence date the earliest Manchu documents; language education and literacy; and the emergence of the reformed, standard script later attested in the form of a Manchu syllabary in twelve sections.

By the term Eastern Inner Asia, I refer roughly to the area bordered in the west by the Altai mountains and the Gobi desert and in the east by the Pacific coast and the Tumen and Yalu rivers dividing Manchuria from the Korean peninsula. No definite northern border is needed for my purposes here, suffice it to say that the area notably includes the Mongolian plateau, of which we will be mostly interested in the southern part, and Manchuria, taken to mean the area between the sea and the Khingan mountains on the eastern end of the Mongolian plateau. I have included the Korean peninsula in the discussion, as contacts between the Chosŏn state located there and the Manchus were frequent and significant in the early seventeenth century. The area west of the Gobi, the oases of southern Xīnjiāng, and the Tibetan plateau are excluded from this area, but I will have reason to discuss developments there first in relation to the migration of scripts from the Near East to Manchuria during a period of a few centuries surrounding the turn of the second millennium CE, and second to highlight the reforms of the Mongol script in the mid-seventeenth century, which were parallel to the development of written Manchu and possibly related to it.

3.1 New Scripts in Inner Asia Before the Manchus

When the Manchus appeared as a political entity in the early seventeenth century and committed their language to writing using a borrowed script, they were continuing a tradition dating back at least to the Khitan Liáo in the tenth century CE.[1] The development of scripts in Eastern Inner Asia can be divided into two phases, of which the Manchus belong to the latter. In the first phase, the Khitan, Tangut, and Jurchen developed scripts to some extent influence by the structure of Chinese writing. In the second phase, the Mongols, Koreans, and Manchus developed scripts to varying degrees influenced by either the South Asian and Tibetan tradition or the Near Eastern tradition. The former was represented notably by the ‘Phags-pa script, which was also known to the Koreans at the time of the invention of han’gŭl in the fifteenth century. The latter was represented by the Syriac script, was used by the Uighurs and brought by them to Eastern Inner Asia to write Mongol in the early thirteenth century. The adoption of the Mongol script to write Manchu, along with the reform of the Mongol script to write the Western Mongol dialect of the Oirats in the mid-seventeenth century, represents the last moment in the second phase.

[1] I will exclude the Orkhon inscriptions in old Turkic from the present discussion, as the origins of that script are obscure and of unclear relevance for the history of the peoples of whom the Manchus had knowledge.

The First Phase of Script Creation in Eastern Inner Asia, c. 916–1234

The formation of a new type of hybrid steppe-sedentary empires on China's northern periphery following the collapse of the Táng empire in the early tenth century CE forms the historical background to the development of several syllabic scripts influenced by Chinese characters. The first of these empires was that of the Khitan, a people speaking a language most probably related to that of the Mongols, which appeared later.[2] The Khitan established an empire under the Chinese dynastic name of Liáo, but never really attempted to occupy all of China. The Khitan controlled Mongolia, Manchuria, and the China's northeastern periphery, including the mountains and passes separating the agricultural north China plain from the nomadic steppe in the modern regions of Shānxī, northern Héběi, and Běijīng. The Liáo are known in the history of Inner Asian state building for creating an explicitly dual empire. Under the Liáo, Khitan and Chinese culture witnessed "symbiosis—not fusion."[3] The southern part of the Liáo territory was agricultural and Chinese-speaking. It was administered by a bureaucratic state in the Táng imperial tradition using Literary Chinese. The northern part was inhabited by people presumably speaking languages related to the later attested Mongol and Tungusic languages. The people there were organized into tribes practicing pastoral nomadism characteristic of central Eurasia. It was more loosely administered than the empire's southern part, relying more on face-to-face interaction than on writing. The Khitan developed a script to be used in the northern part of their empire, but it does not seem to have been used to same extent that Chinese writing was used in the southern part.[4]

The Khitan Scripts

The Khitan developed two scripts, commonly called 'large' and 'small,' which are believed to have been created in 920 and 925 CE respectively. The 'large script' used syllabic graphs similar in appearance to Chinese characters of the 'regular script' (*kǎishū*). The 'small script' was also modeled on Chinese characters, but those of the cursive 'running script' (*xíngshū* 行書).[5] The inventory of signs in the Khitan 'large script' might have been several thousand, but was at most a few hundred in the 'small script,' which was thus relatively small compared to Chinese characters. Using the familiar typology of scripts (which I will discuss in greater detail in the appendix), we can say that they developed out of logographies in the direction of syllabaries. The characters of the 'large script' stand on their own in the manner of Chinese characters, whereas the 'small script' characters can form blocks of characters that together spell a polysyllabic word. The direction of writing is from top to bottom, right to left, as in Chinese. The two scripts were used in conjunction similarly to the use of Chinese characters and the native syllabaries in Japanese writing.[6]

The Khitan language was very different from Chinese, using words of several syllables that changed shape according to syntax and grammar. Yet the script developed by its speakers was structurally similar to Chinese characters, which was used to write a language of largely

[2] Atwood 2010, 247 strongly asserts the affinity between the Khitan and Mongol languages.
[3] Wittfogel and Fêng 1949, 7.
[4] Mote (1999) 2003, ch. 3–4; Marsone 2004.
[5] Kane 2009, 3.
[6] Kara 2005, 9–10, 16.

monosyllabic morphemes and monomorphemic words (see chapter 2). A similar situation prevailed in the case of one of the other two major new scripts of the first phase of Inner Asian script development: Jurchen. The Tangut script, however, was used to write a language typologically more similar to Chinese.

The Tangut Script

Tangut was the Tibetan language of the state known in Chinese as Xī, or 'Western,' Xià, thus named after a title bestowed by the Chinese on its leader in 967 CE. The Tanguts established a state west of the Liáo empire and northwest of the heartland of the early Chinese empires on the north China plain in the 980s. In 1038 they proclaimed an imperial dynasty with the Chinese name of Xià. In 1227, the state was defeated and absorbed by the Mongols.[7]

The Tangut script was created in 1036. Like Chinese, every character represented one spoken syllable, which also often corresponded to a morpheme.[8] After a century of use and development, the script counted approximately 6,600 characters. Unlike Khitan, but like Chinese, the Tanguts used many different characters for the same spoken syllable depending on the meaning of the intended word. The appearance and internal structure of the Tangut graphs were also similar to Chinese writing, which was their model. The script was widely used as a vehicle for Buddhist literature and inscriptions.

The Jurchen Scripts

The name Jurchen refers to groups of people who spoke a Tungusic language and lived in present-day Manchuria under Khitan rule or tutelage. In 1114 they rebelled against the Khitan, destroyed their empire and a little more than a decade later defeated the Chinese Sòng armies in battle and occupied all of north China. Under the dynastic name of Jīn, the Jurchen ruled that territory until the early thirteenth century, when they came under attack by the Mongols. In 1234 the Jīn empire was absorbed by the Mongols, who soon thereafter conquered also south China, which had remained under Chinese rule up until that point.[9] The Jurchen people remained in a state of political fragmentation in Manchuria until the early seventeenth century, when they were united by one of their constituents as the Manchus.

The Jurchen developed two scripts to write their language: a 'large' and a 'small' script. The former was a system similar to Chinese characters and the latter one more akin to a syllabary. The Jurchen language in its later stages became very close to what would later emerge as Manchu. The Jurchen scripts, created in 1119 ('large') and 1138 ('small'),[10] were inspired by Chinese characters and those of the Khitan, the latter remaining in use by the Jurchen until 1191–92.[11] The last extant inscription in Jurchen dates from 1413. By this time, Daniel Kane writes, "the script had become practically syllabo-phonetic."[12] It seems to

[7] Mote (1999) 2003, ch. 8, p. 256.
[8] I infer this from Kychanov 1996, 228, who states the matter in different terms.
[9] Mote (1999) 2003, ch. 9–10.
[10] Kane 2009, 3.
[11] Kane 2009, 4.
[12] Kane 1989, 10.

have fallen into disuse thereafter,[13] and does not seem to have influenced the creation of the Manchu script. Furthermore, linguistic studies suggest that the Jurchen language recorded in the native script and by Chinese interpreters represented a dialect different from that which was later written down as the Manchu language.[14]

It is obvious that the emergence of several scripts in three states on the northern Chinese periphery from the tenth to the twelfth centuries should be seen as related developments. I have already mentioned the fragmentation of the Táng empire and weakened control of the northern border regions as a circumstance that enabled the Khitans to create a hybrid sedentary-steppe empire. An independent and bureaucratized state seem to have in turn encouraged the development of new scripts and written languages. Yet at other historical moments, emerging states on the Chinese periphery have appeared less inclined to develop their own systems of writing. Such was the case, for example, with the Bóhǎi or Parhae state in Manchuria, the states of the Korean peninsula, or Japan during the Táng period. Their leaders all engaged in state-building and made use of writing, often also for writing their own languages as opposed to Chinese. Yet they did not, in this period, sponsor the development of new scripts. Peter Kornicki has asked why it was that the Khitan and their later contemporaries chose to do things differently. He suggests that on the one hand, the political weakness of the Chinese under the Sòng and its immediate, short-lived predecessors created the conditions of greater cultural independence. On the other, the spread of Buddhism in Inner Asia through regions where other languages and scripts, such as Tibetan and Uighur, were used exposed peoples such as the Tanguts to potential models that were not Chinese.[15]

The Second Phase of Script Creation in Eastern Inner Asia, c. 1204–1648

The time-line that I have given for the second phase of script creation in Eastern Inner Asia is deceptive, encompassing several moments of activity separated sometimes by centuries. I have defined its starting point in 1204 to mark the adoption of the Uighur script to write Mongol. The Mongols' adoption of the Uighur script occurred less than a century after the creation of the Jurchen scripts, but was very different from the creation of scripts in the first phase discussed above. The Mongols did not look to China for a model for writing, but to their neighbors in Inner Asia. This was true not only in their adoption of Uighur writing, but also in their creation of the 'Phags-pa script, which was influenced by Tibetan. The early history of writing among the Mongols also belong to the second phase by virtue of the very important role played by the Mongol and 'Phags-pa scripts when new written languages and scripts again emerged in Inner Asia and Korea from the fifteenth century onward. Yet in terms of development of new written languages, there is undoubtedly a hiatus of almost two centuries between the creation of 'Phags-pa (c. 1269) in the Mongol empire and han'gŭl in Korea (1443), followed by more than a century of limited production and circulation of written material in Eastern Inner Asia before the revival of Mongol Buddhist learning and state-building

[13] However, Daniel Kane writes enigmatically that "[t]he Jurchen script was finally abolished by the Qing in 1658" (Kane 1989, 10). It is unclear whether it was actually used up until that moment.

[14] Kiyose 2000.

[15] Kornicki 2014.

in the second half of the sixteenth century. What I have called the second phase of script creation can thus be said to chronologically subdivide into three periods: (1) the adoption of the Uighur script and the invention of ‘Phags-pa in the Mongol empire (thirteenth century); (2) the invention of han’gŭl in Korea under ‘Phags-pa influence (1440s); and (3) the reform of the Uighur-Mongol script by the Manchus and Oirats (c. 1600–1648).

The Uighur-Mongol Script

The exact circumstances of the Mongols adoption of the Uighur script are not clear, but there is little doubt regarding the general development. The distant origins for the Mongol and Manchu scripts can be traced to Syriac, a script used in parts of the Near East. The Aramaic language, associated with the Syriac script, was widely spoken in the Near East from before the common era to the mid-seventh century CE. After that point, it remained in use by some minorities. In the form of Syriac, it was the liturgical language for groups of eastern Christians. The Syriac script is a consonant alphabet to which was added diacritical points to mark phonological and morphological properties. It was sometimes written top to bottom, left to right. Like many other West Semitic scripts, the letters were connected when written inside words. The shapes they assumed as they appeared in either isolating, initial, medial, or final position were quite different to the untrained eye. The changing shapes of the letters remained a feature of the script as it traveled eastward, and we see it also in Manchu.[16]

The original Syriac system of diacritics was not uniquely a system of vocalization, as some marks represented grammatical features, not sound. Sometime before 1000 CE, a system by which the Greek vowel letters were written as diacritics alongside the Syriac text was developed.[17]

The Syriac script moved eastward to Iran and from there to Central Asia. The Uighurs, a Central Asian Turkic people, adopted the script together with West Asian religions (e.g., Nestorian Christianity and Manichaeanism) from the Indo-European Sogdians, a people of greater Iran, in the eighth to ninth centuries CE. The Uighurs had originally lived in what is now Mongolia, but later moved west to what is now Xīnjiāng after 842.[18] The Syriac script, which like many other Near Eastern scripts had primarily noted consonants, was transformed by the Uighurs to a script noting also vowels. To mark vowels, the Uighurs used signs that had originally represented consonants, but that they no longer needed for that purpose. Thus the sign that in Syriac had represented the glottal stop called the *ʾaleph* came to be used for the vowel *e* in initial position. If doubled, it could represent either *e* or *a*. Other signs could similarly represent any of the vowels *o, u, ö,* or *ü*.[19] The uncertainty entailed by such a system was not as great as one might think; vowel harmony in Uighur meant that the sound value of a vowel sign could often be intuited by a reader fluent in the language. The Syriac or Aramaic

[16]The development of the Manchu script is related to contemporary and later Mongol developments in Bāo Xiáng 1990 (this article presents the received narrative, without references to the original archival documents).

[17]Daniels 1996a.

[18]Mote (1999) 2003, 35.

[19]Kara 1996, 539–540.

script remained in limited use to write Uighur in the Gānsù region of what is now northwestern China up until the seventeenth century.

In the early thirteenth century, the rising Mongol empire adopted the Uighur script to write their language. (In the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of the PRC, they still use this script.) We do not know exactly how the Mongols' adoption of the script happened. It is possible that the Mongols as they expanded to the southwest and absorbed the Xī Xià state came into contacts of Mongol-speakers who were writing using the Uighur script. It is also possible that the inspiration to write Mongol came from the absorption of chancelleries where Uighur was written. Historical sources mention the existence of writing in Mongol from the year 1206, although the documents to which they refer have themselves been lost.[20] Regardless of whether some form of the Mongol language had been written down using the Uighur script before the expansion of the Mongol empire to Uighur territory in the early 1200s, it is clear that Uighur aristocrats played an important role in spreading knowledge and use of the script among the Mongols. Uighurs served as advisors and tutors to important Mongol individuals.[21] There was still a link between Nestorian Christianity and the Uighur script at this time; a Nestorian tomb stele, dated 1253 ("in the year 1564 of Alexander the Great"), has an inscription in Syriac and Mongol, both written in the Uighur script.[22]

Originally the entire Uighur alphabet was taken over along with the sound value of the graphs. Since Mongol contained sounds either not present in Uighur at all, or not present in Uighur in the same positions as in Mongol, the Uighur orthography when applied to Mongol meant that some signs came to be used to write several separate sounds.[23] The vowels were still indicated as in Uighur, with the same signs serving to write *a* and *e*, *o* and *u*, etc.

György Kara has described the structure of the Uighur-Mongol script in the form of an imagined encounter in which a Western reader with no knowledge of Mongol is faced with a Mongol book. As the Manchu script is a modification of Uighur-Mongol, his description can be read also as a description of written Manchu. After having described how the reader comes to the conclusion that the text should be read from left to right and top to bottom, Kara continued to describe the appearance of the columns of text as graphic marks gathered around a central line broken only between words:

> The lines consist of straight hanging strings of … rather simple graphic elements, which are customarily written joined together, forming an axis which most often ends in a more or less horizontal stroke, extending to the right or in a curved line shaped like a bow, or a long hook which extends to the left. The spaces between the strings commonly denote the boundaries of words and certain morphemes.[24]

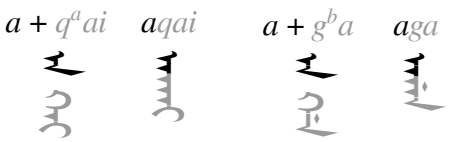
[20] Kara 2005, 27–29.

[21] Brose 2005.

[22] J. Watt 2010, 31–32, fig. 44.

[23] Kara 1996, 545. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, the Mongols introduced modifications, including diacritic dots next to some signs, to disambiguate some graphs that could represent multiple sound values.

[24] Kara 2005, 79.



[a]The graph ᠺ is conventionally transcribed *q* or *γ* in Mongol and *k* in the later reformed Manchu script.

[b]This usage of a single dot to the right of the line to mark the voicing of *g* is a Manchu invention not used in Mongol.

Figure 3.1 – The Mongol Syllables *a* and *qai* spelling *aqai*, 'older sister,' and the Manchu Syllables *a* and *ga* Spelling *aga*, 'rain'

Combinations of the simple graphic elements extending from the central axis or written alongside it constitute the sound-bearing elements of the Manchu script. Depending on the analysis adopted, the most basic of those sound bearing elements can be seen as representing subsyllabic sounds or full syllables. The subsyllabic sounds represented can be seen as consonants or vowels, similarly to the letters of the Roman alphabet. Alternatively, they can be seen as the first or second half of the syllable, so that the first part represents the onset and the nucleus (most often coterminous with a consonant and a vowel) and the second part the coda (most often a consonant or the second vocalic element of a dipthong). Chapter 5 will show that many scholars in Qīng China thought of the Manchu script in this way. An example of how the sound-bearing elements of the Uighur-Mongol script used to write Mongol and Manchu change depending on context is given in figure 3.1.

As noted, the graphs that made up Mongol (and later Manchu) words were written together along a single vertical line. Like in its Near Eastern predecessors, some graphs can only occur in an isolated position, forming a written word by themselves; in initial position, forming the first element of a word; in medial position inside words; and in final position at the end of words. Several graphs will therefore represent the same speech sound, depending on whether the sound occurs as a word by itself or as the first, second, or third sound of a word.

The Tibetan and the 'Phags-pa Scripts

Like previous empire-builders on China's northern border, the Mongols also experimented with new scripts. On the eve of the conquest of China, the 'Phags-pa Lama, a Tibetan cleric in Kubilai's (1215–1294) service, invented a new script. Since called the 'square script' or in English more commonly 'the 'Phags-pa script' after its inventor, it was intended as a state script for the Mongol empire.[25] The structure of 'Phags-ba's script resembled that of Tibetan.

The origin of the several scripts historically used to write Tibetan is generally considered South Asian, although the exact route of transmission remains subject to debate.[26] To use a term that I will discuss in more detail presently, both the Tibetan scripts and that of 'Phags-pa

[25]Mote (1999) 2003, 483–484.

[26]Summarized in van Schaik 2011.

were 'alphasyllabaries.'[27] This term refers to scripts that write "each consonant-vowel sequence as a unit … in which the vowel symbol functions as an obligatory *diacritic* to the consonant."[28] As Leonard W. J. Van Der Kuijp argues, "the traditional order of symbols in Tibetan is based in large measure on the articulatory phonetics of Sanskrit."[29] György Kara explains that 'Phags-pa's new script functioned in the same way: it was "conveyed through a syllabic orthography, in which the letters are combined into syllables (in which event they are even written together forming ligatures) and every consonantal letter used as a syllable initial may also denote a syllable with the unmarked vowel *a* (in contrast to the other vowels)."[30] We saw that the Indic scripts functioned similarly.

The *Yuánshǐ* 元史 (History the Yuán; 1370) records Kubilai's edict on the occasion of the new script's invention:

> I only use characters to write down speech, and I speak in order to record events. This has been the order throughout history. Our state has its origins in the north. Our customs are still simple and ancient. We have not yet had the time to create new institutions. The scripts we use to express the language of our court [i.e. Mongol] have therefore been the regular characters of the Chinese and those of the Uighurs. I have examined this matter in the states of the Khitan, Jurchen, and those further away [in western Asia]: as a rule they all have their characters. Now our civil administration is slowly coming to flourish, but we are not yet equipped with a system for our age in terms of characters and writing. For that reason, I have explicitly ordered Preceptor of State 'Phags-pa to create new Mongol characters and transcribe (*yìxǐe*) all scripts using them so that what we say will be easily expressed. From now on, all those who transmit documents carrying the imperial seal should do so using the new Mongol characters [i.e. the 'Phags-pa script] and, as before, append versions in the respective script of the country.[31]

Kubilai's edict resembles certain pronouncements of the early Manchu khans, and we will have reason to get back to it. It is noteworthy for a few reasons. First, it conflates the invention of the script, clearly the work of 'Phags-pa and acknowledged as such, with the imperial order of its creation. Second, it presents the imperial order as informed by an examination of the linguistic regimes of neighboring or recent states.

[27]This term in relation to Tibetan: Van Der Kuijp 1996, 431. Alternative terms include "abugida," "neosyllabary," "pseudo-alphabet," and "semisyllabary": Daniels 1996b, 4 (where "abugida" is the preferred term).

[28]Bright 1996, 384.

[29]Van Der Kuijp 1996, 432.

[30]Kara 2005, 54.

[31]*Yuán shǐ* (1370) 1976, 4517 (ch. 202): 朕惟字以書言，言以紀事，此古今之通制。我國家肇基朔方，俗尚簡古，未遑制作。凡施用文字，因用漢楷及畏吾字，以達本朝之言。考諸遼、金，以及遐方諸國，例各有字。今文治寖興，而字書有闕於一代制度，實為未備。故特命國師八思巴創為蒙古新字，譯寫一切文字，期於順言達事而已。自今以往，凡有璽書頒降者，並用蒙古新字，仍各以其國字副之. I have benefited from the English translations of the edict in Poppe 1957, 5 and Coblin 2007, 2. It is also cited in Kara 2005, 52 (in the notes).

As it happened, the ‘Phags-pa script never replaced the Uighur-Mongol alphabet for the writing of Mongol. It was, however, used to some extent to write an early form of Northern Vernacular Chinese beginning in 1269–1272.[32]

The Korean Script

Tibetan influence on the creation and reform of scripts in Eastern Inner Asia and Korea, mediated by the ‘Phags-pa script, continued beyond the Mongol empire. Korea was well-connected to Inner Asia and north China during the period of Mongol dominance.[33] Wang Sixiang has shown that the Korean Koryŏ kingdom was well integrated into the Mongol order also linguistically, but that after the Míng dynasty was established in China in 1368, channels of communication between the new Chosŏn (1392–1897) state in Korea and the continent were severed. In the new situation, the Koreans attempted to maintain a knowledge of continental languages through the compilation of language manuals to be used in teaching interpreters.[34] When the Chosŏn king Sejong 世宗 (1397–1450, r. from 1418) and his collaborators invented the Korean alphabet in 1446, they were influenced by ‘Phags-pa and other continental scripts.[35]

The Korean alphabet was called *Hunmin chŏngŭm* 訓民正音 (The correct sounds for the instruction of the people), but is known nowadays as *han'gŭl* 韓글 (Korean script). Upon its creation, it became widely used in certain spheres of social life. From the time of its inception, the presentations of the Korean alphabet clearly distinguished subsyllabic sound-bearing units.[36] In the view of Chosŏn scholars, a syllable was composed of three parts: “In general, all characters consist of an initial (*ch'o*), a medial (*chung*), and a final (*chong*) sound,”[37] it was asserted in one exposition. “The three sounds are combined, thus forming one character.”[38] Presentations of the script followed this tripartite division: consonants that could function both as initial and final sounds were presented as belonging to one group, followed by those encountered only as initials, in turn followed finally by the vowels.

The names of the han'gŭl letters are informative with regards to the conceptualization of this script and the history of its instruction in Korea. The fact that the names were standardized only in the twentieth century, and still differ between North and South Korea, suggests a certain variety of teaching traditions also in the Chosŏn period. In both South and North Korea today, the han'gŭl consonants have bisyllabic names illustrating their usage at the beginning and at the end of syllables. The names of the vowels and diphthongs, in contrast, are made up simply of the pronunciation of the same vowel or diphthong in an open syllable without an onset, much as in the Roman alphabet in various European languages. With one exception, the vowels in the two syllables forming the names of the consonants are the same throughout the nomenclature. The name for the letter *n* ㄴ, for example, is *niŭn* 니은, with the other consonants also taking

[32]See Coblin 2007.
[33]D. Robinson 2009, ch. 3.
[34]S. Wang 2014.
[35]Ledyard 1997; Shagdarsürüng 2002.
[36]This can be seen in the initial royal proclamation: Ledyard 1966, 224–226.
[37]Ch'oe Sejin 1614, *pŏmnye*:4a: 凡字皆有初中終三聲.
[38]Hong Kyehŭi 1751, vol. 1, 6b: 三聲合，然後乃成一字.

the vowels *i* and *ŭ* in their first and second syllables respectively. (The exception is *k* ㄱ, which is called *kiyŏk* 기역.) In North Korea, the series is completely regularized and without exceptions. In addition, monosyllabic names for the letters consisting of a consonant plus the vowel *ŭ* are in official use in the North.[39]

The names of the han'gŭl letters in the two Koreas are clearly names of letters each corresponding to one speech sound. Nevertheless, the nomenclature of the alphabet has some characteristics more reminiscent of other East Asian scripts than the European alphabet. For example, in South Korea, the emphatic consonants, written by doubling the corresponding unaspirated consonant, are called 'double' (*ssang*) consonants: a reference to the *shape* of the letter, not to its sound. Names such as this one, referring to the graphic structure of characters, were the norm in discussions of the Chinese script in China, where characters were defined by their shape in terms of the radicals and strokes they contained (see chapter 2). The existence of similar terms in the Korean discourse points to the place of han'gŭl, although self-consciously an alphabet, on the edges of the metalinguistic paradigm of the sinosphere.[40]

The current names of the han'gŭl letters betray their Chosŏn origins most clearly in another respect. The bisyllabic names of the letters, each illustrating the position of the consonant as onset and coda respectively, has Chosŏn precedent. The original proclamation of han'gŭl only illustrated the pronunciation of the consonants by means of one Chinese character whose pronunciation began with the sound of that consonant. That situation changed in 1527, when Ch'oe Sejin 崔世珍 (1468–1542) in *Hunmong chahoe* 訓蒙字會 (Gathering of characters for the instruction of children)[41] illustrated the pronunciation of the han'gŭl letters using a pair of Chinese characters, in which the initial sound of the first and the final sound of the second both corresponded to the pronunciation of the letter in question.[42] The current South Korean names are the inheritors of the tradition initiated by Ch'oe.[43]

Why the insistence on names illustrating the use of letters both in initial and final position? As the statements by Chosŏn scholars quoted above showed, han'gŭl letters seem to have been understood as representing speech sounds. This means of illustrating the sound and function of a consonant is reminiscent of the understanding of subsyllabic sounds as aspects of the syllable, rather than as atomic elements linearly arranged, which I argued in chapter 2 was characteristic of medieval Chinese phonology. This idea might have coexisted with a Chinese character-based metalinguistic paradigm in Chosŏn Korea. Glosses in han'gŭl were, after all, reportedly often referred to as 'syllabic spellings' (Ko. *pŏnjyŏl* 번졀 [反切] in the

[39]Chin T'aeha 1998, 166–167.

[40]It should be noted as well that the names used in South Korea today show a precedence of shape over sound in another regard as well. Although Korean phonology reduces the pronunciation of several consonants (e.g., *s, ch, ch'* etc.) to an unreleased dental stop in syllable-final position, the names for these letters are written as if they had an independent existence also as codas. Thus the name for *s* ㅅ is *siŭt* 시읏, written with an *-s* at the end. Such names clearly only make full sense when *read*, not pronounced. They show the priority of shape over sound, which we will see so clearly represented in Qīng metalinguistic discourse on the Manchu script in chapter 5.

[41]For an introduction to the lexicographic aspects of this work: Ogura Shinpei (1940) 1964, 195–196.

[42]Yi Sŭnghu 2003, 215. Also: Wang Munyong 1998, 225.

[43]Yu Hyŏngsŏn 2009, 89.

pronunciation specified in one nineteenth-century source),[44] using a term straight out of the Chinese metalinguistic paradigm, which did not operate with the category of letters.

Later Indo-Tibetan Influence: Siddhaṃ, Galik, Soyombo, and the 'Clear Script'

The Indo-Tibetan tradition continued to be important in Eastern Inner Asia and Korea beyond the fifteenth century. Tibetan was a language of great significance among the Mongols as the vehicle of Buddhist doctrine and scholarship. Relatively few Mongol texts are known from the fifteenth century. Yet the century saw printing in several languages, including concurrently in Tibetan and Mongol. This happened even in the Chinese Míng state, where a collection including both languages was printed in Běijīng in 1431.[45] In the sixteenth century, the influence of Buddhism and thus of Tibetan writing grew in Mongolia.[46] Efforts to translate the Tibetan Buddhist collection known as the *kanjur* into Mongol were renewed at this time, but does not seem to have been completed until the first decade of the seventeenth century at the earliest.[47] From archaeological finds we know that mostly Buddhist texts were copied by hand in the fifteenth century, and printing was practiced at least from the sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries.[48] An important cache of excavated and mostly Buddhists texts written on birch bark and dating from the early seventeenth century includes some excavated pieces exhibiting both the Uighur-Mongol and the Tibetan scripts in the same text.[49] Literacy in Mongol and Tibetan appears to have been related.

Buddhist doctrines in vogue among the Mongols demanded that certain formulas and incantations were recited in the closest possible approximation of the Indian original. The question of how to best render foreign sounds was also prompted by the renewed efforts at translation Tibetan texts that included Indian vocabulary. In that context, the Buddhist scholar Ayuushi Güüshi, with the help of Tibetan clerics, created an extension of the Uighur-Mongol script in 1587. Known as the *galik* alphabet, its purpose was to transcribe sounds that were not found in Mongol. György Kara explains that Ayuushi followed the order used in Tibet for graphs intended to write Indian sounds. The new script was further modified in the decades following its invention, assuming its present form in 1620.[50]

The introduction of the galik script was not the only instance of Indo-Tibetan tradition influencing the reform of the Uighur-Mongol script in the seventeenth century. In 1648, a scholar among Western Mongols, the Oirats, also introduced a new script. The Oirat language was spoken in present-day Xīnjiāng, west of the area that is my main focus here. The scholar who invented it was called Zaya Pandita (a name shortened from a longer Buddhist title; 1599–1662), who is also famous for translating many Buddhists texts into Mongol. His new 'clear script' (*todo bičig*) eliminated the ambiguities in the Uighur-Mongol script's representation of

[44]Chŏng Yunyong 1856, vol. 2, 86a. Both the work and the specific copy cited here are described in Kyujanggak 2001, 333–334. The use of the term "syllabic spelling" (*panjŏl* in today's standard Korean) in this work is noted in Hŏ Ch'ŏlku 2008, 267.

[45]Heissig 1976, 4. A Mongol work was also printed in the same city in 1592.

[46]Buddhism and the Mongol leadership in the 1570s are discussed in Kollmar-Paulenz 2001, 70–83.

[47]That is what I infer from Kollmar-Paulenz 2002.

[48]Heissig 1976, 10–11.

[49]Item XBM 75 9r in Chiodo 2000, 171. A sequel to that volume was published: Chiodo 2009.

[50]Kara 2005, 129–132.

sound. The 'clear script' came to be associated specifically with the Oirat language, which was different from Classical Mongol. It became widely used among the Western Mongols in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[51]

Several Oirat syllabaries exist. One of them might date to the time of the 'clear script's' invention. The syllabary contains Oirat transcriptions of Sanskrit; transcriptions of Tibetan; and sixteen onsets and nuclei (*üzüq*, i.e. Eastern Mongol *üsüg*) and thirteen codas (*debisker*).[52] Later Oirat syllabaries also listed first the onsets and nuclei, and then the codas.[53] An Oirat syllabary seen in inserted in a late eighteenth-century dictionary displayed first a sequence of onsets and nuclei followed by fourteen finals.[54]

The influence of the Tibetan language among the Mongols was so strong that some Mongols educated in the monasteries never even learned the Uighur-Mongol script, using the Tibetan script to write their Mongol-language notes. Attempts to use the Tibetan script to write Mongol date from the late seventeenth century, but are known also from the nineteenth.[55] Several Tibetan dictionaries were written by Mongols.[56] They organized headwords according to the basic syllables of the Tibetan script, under which the syllables modified by diacritics followed in a fixed order.[57] As mentioned in chapter 2, a key term used in the Indian phonological tradition was *akṣara*, which referred to the two constituent parts of a syllable, defined as onset and nucleus on the one hand, and coda on the other. The same term was also used to theorize language in Tibetan scholarship. Despite the fact that the Indian and Tibetan scripts are structurally different from the Mongol alphabet,[58] the term *akṣara* was translated to Mongol as a special instance of the general term *üsüg*, 'written character.'[59] We see, then, that the Indo-Tibetan tradition influenced how the Mongols conceptualized their script.

Pedagogical texts also presented the Uighur-Mongol script in a way that reveals Tibetan influence. One badly damaged book from the period of Manchu rule opens with a sequence of syllabic onsets and nuclei organized into columns. Every column is headed by a Tibetan character and each includes one onset paired with different vowels. The end of the sequence contains special characters used in Mongol to transcribe Tibetan sounds, after which a similar sequence follows listing syllables written in the form they take in the initial (as opposed to isolated) position. Further back in the book some transcriptions of Chinese syllables are also included with the Chinese characters listed alongside the Mongol. The final section constitutes a syllabary perhaps of Manchu inspiration. At the very end are listed some syllables containing distinctly Manchu graphs.[60]

Tibetan scholarship also mediated the study of Indian languages and scripts. For example, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongol syllabaries exist from the eighteenth century, in which the order of

[51]Kara 1996, 548–549; 2005, 138–144.
[52]Luvsanbaldan 1972, 209–212.
[53]Luvsanbaldan 1972, 213 (including in the notes).
[54]Kuribayashi Hitoshi and Sechinbat 2009, 132–135.
[55]Kara 2005, 180–181.
[56]Dorjsuren 2007, 374.
[57]Van Der Kuijp 1996, 435.
[58]Salomon 2007.
[59]Kara 2011, 64.
[60]E.g., *ž*: "Mongγol üsüg-ün arban qoyar čaγan toloγai, IMASS 41.239 5:1" n.d., (no pagination).

the Mongol syllables follows the order of the Tibetan.[61] Among Chinese scholars working in the Chinese phonological tradition, Tibetan scholarship reinforced the study of the Indian Siddhaṃ script. We saw in chapter 2 that Siddhaṃ had been studied in China since the medieval period. In chapter 7, I will discuss an early seventeenth-century book on Siddhaṃ whose author had learned of the script through Tibetan mediation. Also in Korea did the Siddhaṃ tradition remain important from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. In the Chosŏn period, Siddhaṃ could be seen on a wide variety of media in Korea, including stele, Buddhist paintings, roof tiles, and bronze bells.[62] In addition to Siddhaṃ, some bells featured also other Indic scripts.[63] The printed texts on which the inscriptions on such material objects relied were collections of mantra (Ko. *chinŏn* 真言), which when reaching a certain length can be referred to as dhāraṇī.[64] Such collections were repeatedly printed and reprinted in Korea. The bulk of the collections consisted of text in Siddhaṃ script followed by transcriptions into Chinese characters and han'gŭl. A study of the transcriptions in a collection with fifteenth-century origins showed that the han'gŭl had not been based exclusively on either the Chinese or the Siddhaṃ,[65] which would imply that the properties of the Siddhaṃ script were at least partially understood by its author.

Commonly, Korean dhāraṇī collections also included introductory explanations and presentations of both the Siddhaṃ script and han'gŭl. The Korean script was presented using the standard distinction of 'initial,' 'medial,' and 'final' sounds, and Siddhaṃ was presented beginning with the nuclei (mostly vowels and two characters glossed in han'gŭl as closed syllables with zero initials), followed by the onsets arranged according to their place of articulation.[66] One commentary mentioned the "twelve turnings" (*sibi chŏn* 十二轉),[67] which appears to be a technical term. 'Turnings' were important categories in Chinese rhyme table learning, where it referred to the presentation of the phonological system. Yet I have not seen rhyme-table style presentations of the Siddhaṃ script in the Chosŏn sources available to me. The closest thing to an unambiguous listing of syllabic codas that we find in Chosŏn collections of Siddhaṃ mantras is a list of han'gŭl syllables illustrating the functioning of the 'finals.'[68] A collection from a separate textual lineage, which I have seen only in an eighteenth-century print, included a section on the "method for applying the brush" (*chŏmbil pŏp* 點筆法), which explained how to write a few Siddhaṃ characters. These explanations have little to do with the structure of the script but appears to be based on a perceived similarity of the characters to real world objects, and were probably mnemonics or shorthands used to refer to the characters.[69]

[61] Mgon-po-skyabs n.d.; Poppe, Hurvitz, and Okada 1964, 122 (item 123).

[62] Ŏm Kip'yo 2011, 53, 60.

[63] Chŏng Munsŏk 2011, 104.

[64] Pak Pyŏngch'ae 1979, 70.

[65] Mizuno Shunpei 2011, 148.

[66] E.g., *Chinŏn chip* 1569.

[67] *Chinŏn chip* 1658, 14b (or 4b?; pagination barely legible). Although I have recorded the phrase as from this edition, my memory tells me that it is also found in the other editions of *Chinŏn chip*.

[68] *Chinŏn chip* 1569, pagination illegible: *kan kat kal kam kab kas* 간 갇 갈 감 갑 갓, after which the page has been ripped.

[69] Chihwan and Ch'oe 1740, no pagination.

While Siddhaṃ was studied in China and Korea, the Mongols' interaction with the Indo-Tibetan tradition led to the invention of several new and more or less ephemeral scripts. In 1686, a socially prominent Khalkha Mongol called Öndür Gegen (1635–1723), who accepted Manchu rule in 1691, invented the *soyombo* script. Soyombo was structurally similar to Tibetan and the Indic scripts.[70] Kara explains that the script was "intended to record the words of the three languages which are sacred for the Mongol Buddhists: Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongol." It never enjoyed widespread usage. Öndür Gegen is said to also have invented another script more obviously inspired by 'Phags-pa.[71] Neither this one enjoyed wide dissemination, but it is attested in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including on seals.[72]

The preceding sections have examined the adoption, invention, and reform of scripts in Eastern Inner Asia and Korea from the tenth century to the seventeenth. My intention has been to show that scripts in this region developed in two phases: an earlier phase in which the structure of new scripts was influenced by the Chinese writing system, and a later phase in which the model was either the Aramaic tradition in the form of the Uighur alphabet, or the Indian tradition in the form of the Tibetan script. The Manchus adopted and reformed the Uighur-Mongol script in the early seventeenth century, around the same time that the Uighur-Mongol script complemented by the galik alphabet and reformed into the 'clear script' in Mongolia. Their choice to follow Mongol precedent rather than that of the Chinese or Koreans suggests that we should look for the roots of their script reform in the scholarly tradition that flourished in Mongolia in their day. Yet being successors to the Jurchen polities in a region that bordered both China and Korea also makes it clear that the early Manchus cannot have been unaware of the Chinese-character tradition and the scripts developed during the first phase.

3.2 Development of Written Manchu, 1607–1644

The Manchu script and language were known under a variety of names in Manchu and Chinese, including the 'Manchu language' or 'script' (Ma. *manju gisun*, *manju hergen*), 'dynastic language' or 'script' (Ch. *guóyǔ*, *guóshū*), as mentioned previously; 'Qīng writing' or 'documents' (Ch. *Qīngwén* 清文); and 'Manchu writing' or 'documents' (Ma. *manju bithe*). Parts of the terminology will be clarified in due course as relevant for the argument, but the reader should be prepared to encounter several terms used seemingly (but probably not actually) in an indiscriminate fashion in reference to what we might sometimes, for the purposes of our discussion, consider one and the same thing.

The commitment of the Manchu language to writing using the Uighur-Mongol script is traditionally said to have happened at the Jurchen court in 1599. The earliest extant documents, however, date from 1607. From that time to the conquest of Běijīng in 1644 we possess written material of various kinds. Most of the extant documents are records of events kept at the court, but we also know from extant examples and from transmitted accounts that printing in Manchu was practiced in the pre-conquest period. No texts of language pedagogy are extant

[70]Rintschen 1952; Chuluunbaatar 2008, 47–51.

[71]Chuluunbaatar 2008, 51–54.

[72]Kara 2005, 163–171. For soyombo in particular: Kara 1959.

from before 1644, but as chapter 5 will show, we see a relatively uniform basic curriculum practiced after the conquest of China. There is reason to believe that the central element of that pedagogical regime, the syllabary in twelve sections, was created in the pre-conquest period and promulgated in a government-sponsored education system. The remainder of this chapter will try to explain the process by which the Manchus went from a situation of limited writing, most of which appears to have been in Mongol and Chinese, to one in which their own language was written and taught in a relatively standardized form.

The Manchus in Nurhaci's Time, 1583–1626

Most important for the development of Manchu writing and literacy were the mutually reinforcing developments toward territorial expansion and administrative centralization in the Jurchen (later Manchu) state. The Manchus were descendants of the Jurchen living in Manchuria, north of Běijīng and northwest of Korea, who rebelled against the Khitan and established the Jīn empire in 1115. Subsequently they were included in the Mongol empire. After the Mongols withdrew from China in 1368, Manchuria was nominally under Míng control, but in reality the Chinese had a very weak administrative presence there.[73] Rather, the Jurchens continued to be influenced by Mongol culture.[74]

The word Manchu occurs in documents from the early seventeenth century, but it was not formally adopted as a name for the people until 1636.[75] At this time, the term Jurchen (Ma. *jušen*) referred to the society's free members.[76] The area that they inhabited was politically fragmented among several groups. During the sixteenth century, factors including trade with the Chinese led to the growth of wealth and social stratification. Local leaders formed larger political units that came to compete with each other. Nurhaci (1559–1626) emerged as the leader of one of these political units. By the end of his life, his state was in open rivalry with the Míng empire in the south.

In his youth, Nurhaci had lived in a Chinese town and most certainly knew the Chinese language. His political career began in 1583 after the death in battle of his father and his grandfather, who had been politically prominent figures. Nurhaci originally had a small power base at Hulan Hada, some distance from Korean territory and north of the Liáodōng peninsula, which was under Míng control and had a population of Chinese farmers and craftsmen. He was eventually acknowledged by the Míng as the leader of the Jurchen in the area, referred to as the Jiànzhōu 建州 Jurchen after the Míng territorial appellation. In 1599–1601 he defeated a neighboring tribe. However, his power within his own group of Jiànzhōu Jurchen was not absolute. As Nicola Di Cosmo explains, it was "constrained by a system of communal or at least consultative leadership in which his family members and other aristocrats held a level of authority that had to be formally preserved."[77]

[73]Di Cosmo and Bao 2003, 1–6.

[74]The early Manchu rulers were very familiar with Mongol literary culture (Okada 1993) and they continued to draw on Mongol precedent in their efforts at state-building (Farquhar 1971).

[75]Roth Li 2002, 27.

[76]It later came to refer to Jurchen people who did not belong to the Manchus and had an inferior social status. See Elliott 2001a, 51.

[77]Di Cosmo 2010, 267–268.

Over the course of he next decades, Nurhaci expanded his power and the area under his control. In 1603 he moved from Hulan Hada to Hetu Ala, a historically more important site a short distance to the north. The Hetu Ala area had a population of approximately one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand people.[78] The old residence at Hulan Hada does not appear to have been very elaborate, having been supplied with a wall only in 1587.[79]

Beginning in 1601 Nurhaci started to build a new military organization, the banners. The banner system was superimposed on existing habitation patterns and the older units of real or fictive kinship, which it in time came to supplant.[80] The banners were military as well as economic units, and the redistribution of the spoils of war was to go through them.[81] In time people of the same banner came to live in the same areas and go to the same schools. The banner affiliation determined many aspects of a Manchu man's or woman's life.

The economy at this time was still relatively simple, with the Manchus practicing garden agriculture, horse breeding, and foraging (e.g., for pearls and ginseng). They traded with Míng merchants for many products of daily necessity, such iron utensils and salt. Written permits to trade in Míng-controlled markets functioned almost as a kind of currency.[82] Nurhaci's amassed such permits partially by raiding.

An important turning point for Nurhaci came in the winter of 1606–1607, when he was bestowed the title of Khan (Mo. *qaγan*) by a group of Mongols. In 1619, after he had defeated the numerically superior Míng forces in battle, he assumed a title of sacred proportions.[83] Nurhaci began an occupation of the largely Chinese Liáodōng peninsula, located to the south of his territory. He moved his residence several times within a few years. He settled finally in Shěnyáng, located to the west of his old base, not on the peninsula but closer to the Míng and the Mongols, in 1625.[84] In 1616 he adopted a dynastic name for his state, the later Jīn, in reference to the old Jurchen empire. Nurhaci also increased his power by creating channels of rulership outside the old aristocracy. He instituted a new group of ministers who depended on him personally for power, not on hereditary rights.[85]

In 1613, Nurhaci designated five high officials (*amban*) loyal to him as a step toward creating his own administrative structure independent of the nobility. In 1615, he named ten *jargûci*, the Mongol title of 'judge' (Mo. *ǰaryuči*).[86] Expansion into Liáodōng increased the need for literate administrators. In 1621[87] Nurhaci designated eight individuals as Preceptors (*baksi*)[88] responsible for teaching literacy to children in their respective units. Zhāng Jié has

[78]Linke 1982, 41.
[79]ECCP 1944, 595.
[80]Roth Li 2002, 34.
[81]Elliott 2001a, 56–63.
[82]Zhōu Yuǎnlián 1981, 14.
[83]Di Cosmo 2010, 268–270.
[84]Roth Li 2002, 38.
[85]Roth Li 2002, 35.
[86]Linke 1982, 37–38.
[87]Linke 1982, 42 writes 1620.
[88]The translation of the Manchu title *baksi*, a Mongol loan-word that was probably ultimately derived from Chinese *bóshì* 博士 (in modern pronunciation), "broadly learned scribe or scholar" as Preceptor follows BH 1912, 473 (915), as Hucker 1985, 365 (4445) is unsatisfactory in this case. Hāsībāgēn

called this group the first professional teachers that we know of in Manchu history.[89] We see the origins of a state-sponsored Manchu education system in these years of territorial expansion and consolidation.

Until his death in 1626 Nurhaci advanced his position vis-à-vis the Míng by military action, although the last major battle before his death ended in defeat. In the same year, however, he also forged an alliance with a Mongol group, following Mongol diplomatic protocol.[90] In contacts with the Mongols in 1622, Nurhaci also referenced their faith in Tibetan Buddhism, with which he thus must have had some familiarity.[91] After the occupation of Liáodōng, the agricultural and artisanal resources available to Nurhaci increased, but the dislocations of war and limited territory still led to frequent crises of food shortages and attempts from the subjected population to escape. It was not a wealthy society.

The Commitment of Manchu to Writing

As mentioned, the commitment of the Manchu language to writing using the Uighur-Mongol script is traditionally dated to 1599, when Nurhaci is supposed to given an order to that effect to two individuals, Erdeni and G'ag'ai. Later records say that G'ag'ai was executed by Nurhaci for plotting rebellion already in 1599.[92] His name is clearly foreign (Tibetan?) and his title, *jargûci*, 'judge,' was, as we saw, Mongol. Erdeni (d. 1623) appears to have been Mongol in the sense that he knew Mongol, had Mongol ancestry, and had a Mongol name, meaning 'jewel.' He might, however, have grown up in an area where Chinese was widely spoken and used in writing.[93] Erdeni was not an original follower of Nurhaci, but joined him. Leading troops in battle, Erdeni was more than a scribe.[94]

During the course of this chapter, I will discuss the sources relevant for the development of written Manchu in the chronological order according to their time of writing, not according to the events to which they refer. This section will merely show that writing in Manchu was evidently taking place in Nurhaci's time and that much of it was carried out by Erdeni.

It appears incontestable that the earliest Manchu documents that we possess were not the first ones ever produced. We know that written documents circulated among the Jurchen in the period after the fall of the Mongol empire. For example, the Korean court records note that in 1490 a letter was dispatched to the Jiànzhōu Jurchens. The court diarists noted that the letter was "written out in translation using Jurchen characters (*Yŏjin cha*) and Mongol characters (*Monggo cha*)."[95] On the face of it, it appears that the Chosŏn court dispatched a letter translated both into the Jurchen 'large' or 'small' script and into Mongol to the Jiànzhōu

2011 has, furthermore, shown that not all the early Qīng *baksi* were civil officials; on the contrary, some held entirely military positions.

[89]Zhāng Jié 2007, 177–178. The earliest record of Nurhaci granting the title of *baksi* is in 1595, when it was given to a Chinese captive: Dǐ Yǒngjūn 2005, 13.

[90]Elverskog 2006, ch. 1.

[91]Farquhar 1978, 20–22 (including in the notes).

[92]QSG (1927) 1977, vol. 30, 9134 (ch. 223).

[93]As much is suggested in Lǐ Guāngtāo (1962) 1986, 21.

[94]QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, ch. 4, 186–187.

[95]LCSL (1401–1649) 1979, 140: 用女真字蒙古字翻译书之. The full date is June 24, 1490 (Sŏngjong 成宗 21/6/*muja* 戊子).

authorities. We know that the 'written characters of the Jurchen' (*Yǒjin munja* 女真文字) were studied in Korea as of 1434, but very few people could read them.[96] It would thus seem possible that some attempt at a translation into one of the Jurchen scripts was attempted in 1490. Yet Chŏng Kwang, an authority on the study of foreign languages in Korea, believes that to be unlikely. Instead, the note on the letter of that year should be read to mean that it was written in "Mongol Jurchen characters" (*Monggo Yǒjin cha*); that is, it would have been written in the Jurchen language, which we for our purposes can consider an early form of Manchu, using the Uighur-Mongol script. Chŏng draws our attention to a slightly later passage in the Chosŏn court records, dated 1492, which mentions a letter having been "translated using Mongol Jurchen characters."[97] In the early fifteenth century, Mongol was studied both in the 'Phags-pa and the Uighur script,[98] but Chŏng infers that the dispatches to the Jurchen were written using the latter.

If the Koreans were really sending the Jurchens letters written in their language using the Uighur-Mongol script in the late fifteenth century, we would arguably have to push back the date of the first commitment of Manchu to writing by a century. Evidence is lacking, but the possibility remains. Naturally, the fact that the Koreans sent letters to Jiànzhōu in the 1490s says nothing about the literacy of the Jiànzhōu Jurchen in Nurhaci's time. Not only had Nurhaci lived in a Chinese-speaking environment, but much of his wealth depended on his control and use of Míng trade permits in the form of imperial decrees (*chìshū* 敕書). The handling of the permits would have required some literacy in Chinese. Nurhaci's entourage would certainly have included literate individuals, but the knowledge of Literary Chinese in Nurhaci's time appeared low to Korean observers.[99]

The earliest extant documents written in the Manchu language using the Uighur-Mongol script present a record of Nurhaci's war with the neighboring Jurchen tribe of the Ula.[100] The war took place in 1607, but the documents might not have received their current form until after 1621 (Tiānmìng 6).[101] These documents are not just the earliest records in Manchu, but the earliest records from Nurhaci's court overall. They do not tell us how the keeping of records began. The earliest mention of writing taking place is a reference to the erection of a stele in 1608 (*suwayan bonio aniya*).[102] The wording of the passage suggests that the inscription was in Chinese, but it it unclear whether it was also written in Manchu.[103] The first mention of Erdeni that I have seen among the documents says that he "took down by recording in writing every kind of good policy enacted by the wise and great enlightened

[96]Chŏng Kwang 2002, 525.

[97]Chŏng Kwang 2002, 528: 用蒙古女真字翻譯. The full date is February 16, 1492 (Sŏngjong 23/1/*kyŏng'in* 庚寅).

[98]Lie 1972, 24.

[99]Lǐ Guāngtāo (1962) 1986, 22.

[100]JMZD (1607–1636) 1969, vol. 1, 3. As evident from Kim Tuhyŏn 2008a, 333, this document corresponds to MBRT (1774) 1955–1963, vol. 1, 1.

[101]Liú Hòushēng 1993, 11 argues that this is the date when the composition of the archive began. Cf. Roth Li 1979, 8, which gives 1618.

[102]That stele is not extant; the earliest extant stele dates from 1630: Satō Fumihiko 1937 (for that stele, see below on page 122, especially footnote 117).

[103]QTZCLMWYD I (1607–1619) 1970, 8–9.

Khan [Nurhaci]."[104] The court scholars of the eighteenth century dated this event to 1616 (Wànlì 43).[105] It is thus beyond doubt that Erdeni kept records for Nurhaci. In that capacity, he probably also influenced the writing practices of the budding Manchu administration.

In addition to manuscript material, there are also examples of the forerunners of printing in Manchu in the form of seals. The earliest examples of paper imprinted with the seal of the Jīn Khan Nurhaci date from 1616–1626.[106]

When the first extant records were written, Nurhaci was at Hetu Ala. He had not yet expanded into Míng-controlled Liáodōng. His power was certainly growing, as evidenced by a contingent of Mongols acknowledging his status as Khan around that time. Yet his court cannot have been a very elaborate affair, as the economic situation was strained and his own position still not definitely secured.

The Execution of Erdeni 1 (1623?)

Eventually, Erdeni met a fate similar to that of G'ag'ai. On May 31, 1623 (Tiānmìng 8/5/3), Erdeni was executed by Nurhaci on charges of corruption.[107] The affair involved "Preceptor Erdeni denounced by a female servant of his household, who said that he had received silk

[104] JMZD (1607–1636) 1969, vol. 1, 129: *sure amba genggiyen han-i ilibuha eiten hacin-i sain doro be. erdeni baksi ejeme bitheleme gaiha.*

[105] I will use this note to explain how the archive of pre-conquest Manchu documents became arranged in the order in which we now find it and rewritten into a chronological narrative. The archive constituted by a corpus of mostly Manchu-language material discovered in Běijīng in 1931. The collection is now held in Táiběi, where it has been photographically reprinted twice: first as JMZD (1607–1636) 1969, subsequently as MWYD (1607–1636) 2005. The collection consists of mostly manuscript material, written on paper of uneven size and provenance. Many of the documents are arranged chronologically according to the timing of the events to which they refer, but the collection also contains a substantial amount of undated material. The documents are mounted on codex-style volumes, an arrangement which dates to 1661 at the earliest (Kim Tuhyŏn 2008b, 271). We do not know exactly when the record pertaining to Nurhaci's reign was written down, but it ought to have achieved its final form no later than the mid-1630s (Yán Chōngnián 1999a, 265). A few additional volumes containing material from the 1620s and '30s were found by archivists in the Republican period. Additional sheets were later also found among the archival material moved to Táiwān (Kunggur [Guǎnglù] and Lǐ Xuézhì 1965, 5–6, 17–18). Kunggur (I use this form of Guǎnglù's name following Rudolph and Walravens 2009, 326 *et passim*.) and Lǐ Xuézhì divided the original archives into two basic types of documents: those written on captured Míng administrative documents and those written on Korean paper. The documents written on Korean paper are as a rule later copies, but the originals do not always survive, in which case they constitute the only primary sources for the events to which they refer (Kunggur [Guǎnglù] and Lǐ Xuézhì 1965, 18). In the eighteenth century, a chronological narrative based on the original documents was written up in a modernized form of Manchu in several manuscripts. Transcriptions and translations of this narrative have been published (MBRT [1774] 1955–1963; MWLD [1774] 1978).

[106] Fuchs 1936, 108 and illustration 6.

[107] Kunggur [Guǎnglù] and Lǐ Xuézhì 1965, 29–42. I am much indebted to Kunggur and Lǐ Xuézhì not only for revealing the existence of this and subsequent passages involving Erdeni, but also for their transcription and translation of them.

sent from Korea" and hidden pearls and gold in the house of his wife's kin.[108] Erdeni was summoned by Nurhaci and asked to surrender the goods in return for clemency, but he denied the accusations, claiming a legitimate origin for his riches. Nurhaci was ill pleased: "The Khan, enraged, said: 'Kill Preceptor Erdeni and his wife!,' and had them both killed."[109] Nurhaci then "summoned the Princes and officials" (*beise ambasa be isabufi*)[110] and justified the harsh punishment enacted. Nurhaci stressed the need to keep the circulation of spoils and wealth (such as Erdeni's pearls) within the channels established by the banner system, pointing out the need for a strong central authority.

As we will see in subsequent sections, this story was later rewritten into a very different context, in which Erdeni's achievements as a record keeper and writer were also asserted. We will see that it ultimately influenced the later narrative of Erdeni and Nurhaci as creators of the Manchu script.

The written Manchu of Erdeni's time has been called 'old Manchu' or Manchu 'without dots and circles' (*tongki fuka akû*),[111] referring to the diacritics that were later added to the script to disambiguate certain sounds. Old Manchu was very close to the Uighur-Mongol script, although the actual ductus seen in the early Manchu documents does not feature the sharp angles associated with Mongol writing.

The Manchus in Hong Taiji's Time, 1626–1643

Hong Taiji, Nurhaci's son, continued his father's efforts at centralization. He enjoyed military victories on several fronts, but most important for the development of the Manchu written language was his strengthening of the civil bureaucracy. With more intimate contact with Mongol and Chinese populations in a polity that was expanding, Hong Taiji also developed a policy with regards to religious movements among his subject populations, notably the Tibetan Buddhism that flourished among the Mongols.

In 1627, Hong Taiji fought the Chahar Mongols on his eastern frontier. In the same year he also concluded an attack on Korea intended to break their support of Míng troops active on the Jurchen border. Korean engagement with the Jurchen went back centuries. Many Jurchen people lived on territory claimed by the Chosŏn king,[112] and there were Koreans living in Liáodōng. The Jurchen (later Manchu) and Chosŏn states used individuals from these groups as interpreters, but even in the late 1620s it was at times evidently more expedient to use Chinese, the regional lingua franca, as the medium of oral communication between representatives of the two states.[113]

Hong Taiji conducted several successful attacks on Míng cities and captured or enlisted artisans with the knowledge to cast cannon. By the mid-1630s, his political rivals in eastern

[108]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 3, 348: *erdeni baksi be ini booi sula hehe gercileme solhoi benjihe cecuri be alime gaiha-bi*.

[109]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 3, 349: *han jili banjifi erdeni baksi eigen sargan be wa seme gemu waha*.

[110]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 3, 350.

[111]Sŏng Paegin (1978) 1999.

[112]K. Robinson 1997; Mende 2003.

[113]Fujimoto Yukio 1994, 264–272, 287–288.

Inner Mongolia had been eliminated, and Hong Taiji attacked Korea again in 1636.[114] He died shortly before the collapse of the Míng military following a peasant rebellion in northwestern China enabled the Manchus to occupy the Míng capital at Běijīng and begin the conquest of all of China. The Manchu state under Hong Taiji constituted a major Northeast-Asian power with considerable military reach. In 1636, Hong Taiji adopted a new dynastic name. In Chinese it was the Great Qīng (Dà-Qīng; lit. 'great clear') and in Manchu *Daicing*. The Manchu word was cleverly chosen; in Mongol, *daičin* meant 'martial.'[115]

Closer contacts with the Mongols and administration (as opposed to war-time occupation) of the Chinese in Liáodōng compelled the Manchu leadership to take a stance vis-à-vis the religious institutions of these populations. David M. Farquhar argued that Hong Taiji took a critical position toward the Buddhist establishment. "Both Chinese and Tibetan forms of Buddhism were familiar to the first two Manchu rulers," Farquhar wrote of Nurhaci and Hong Taiji, but he also argued that "no evidence available shows that Buddhism of any kind was a very important religion among the early Manchus."[116] The Mongol nobility, in contrast, was close to the Buddhist church, and many monks came from noble social backgrounds. Hong Taiji engaged with the Tibetan Buddhist establishment, erecting in 1630 (Tiāncōng 4) a tomb and a stele in honor of a Tibetan cleric who had died in 1621 (*šahûn cok[o] aniya*) or 1622 en route to Manchuria.[117]

In 1631, Hong Taiji expressed a desire to control the Buddhist faith. The entry of Mongol nobles into the Buddhist clergy withdrew them from the pool of potential banner fighters, compelling Hong Taiji to criticize the Tibetan Buddhists in 1636. However, the next year he sent a letter of invitation to a high Tibetan religious leader, who responded in 1640 with an acknowledgment of Manchu political power.[118] Hong Taiji's tone was at times critical, but there undoubtedly was much contact between the Tibetan Buddhist faith and the Manchu court in the 1620s and '30s.

In 1629 Hong Taiji founded the Literary Institute (Bithei boo, Shūfáng 書房; later Bithei yamun, Wénguǎn 文館),[119] employing in time Preceptors, 'scribes' (*bithesi*) and Chinese scholars (*šusai*, from *xiùcái* 秀才, 'Licentiate').[120] This was the agency that soon employed the individuals associated with the reform of the Manchu script: Kûrcan and Dahai, whom I will introduce shortly. The Literary Institute had two primary tasks: translating Chinese works to Manchu and recording matters of state. Dahai's work at the Institute concerned the first task, whereas Kûrcan labored on the second. In addition to these tasks, the Institute and

[114]A monument related to that invasion is studied in Sŏng Paegin 1970.

[115]MKT 1999, 1124. Brophy 2013, 231 (in the notes) translates it as 'warrior.'

[116]Farquhar 1978, 20.

[117]The stele is damaged, but the date of 1621 appears on it: Oshibuchi Hajime 1926, 334. In some of the scholarship the date of the cleric's death is given as 1622. Dahai was one of the authors of the stele's text. See also: Kam 1999; C. Ch'en 1993, 35, where Nurhaci's and Hong Taiji's attitude toward Tibetan Buddhism is presented as politically motivated; Kam 2000, where it is argued that Nurhaci had a personal commitment to Buddhism, seemingly in contradiction with Farquahar; Fuchs 1931, 7; and Jagchid 1976, 302.

[118]Farquhar 1978, 19–22. Cf. Di Cosmo and Bao 2003, 76, who suggest had an "early personal interest in and support of Buddhism" on the part of Hong Taiji.

[119]See Kanda Nobuo 1960, 36–40 for the different terms and their history.

[120]Linke 1982, 48 (refers to the situation in 1635).

its officials soon also received other charges. When some Míng military leaders in 1631 came to Hong Taiji to surrender, they were received and treated to a dinner at the Institute. Similarly, it was the location chosen for the bestowal of titles on Mongol allies. Its staff, including Kûrcan, handled diplomatic negotiations with Míng representatives. We can infer that it was a politically sensitive environment in which to work.

In 1631, Hong Taiji ordered the organization of Six Boards on the Míng model. Their employ included scribes (*bithesi*) and interpreters (*tungse*).[121]

Around this time, Hong Taiji took measures to expand the teaching of Manchu literacy. In 1631, he issued an order that all male members of the banners aged eight to fifteen *suì* should receive schooling in the system initiated under Nurhaci. Hong Taiji claimed that Manchu households often placed little value on teaching their children to read and write. Schooling was consequently reaffirmed as the government's responsibility. Documents from 1632 and '33 make it clear that a public school system was in operation at that time. It not only taught students how to read and write, but also tested them in examinations intended to select scribes for government service. The fact that knowledge of Literary Chinese was still very poor among most scribes shows that the students who were coming up through the schools were mainly trained in the Manchu language. Zhāng Jié argues that in the 1630s, most teachers in the banner schools came from the banner army's Chinese contingent (the so-called Hànjūn 漢軍). The teachers would have selected passages from Chinese books and translated them into Manchu for use in the classroom.[122]

The organs of government expanded with the education system. Hong Taiji accompanied the adoption of the dynastic name Qīng in 1636 with the foundation of new offices. Thus the Literary Institute was divided into three agencies, one of which was the Palace Historiographic Academy (Nèi Guóshǐ Yuàn 內國史院). This agency was responsible for recording the affairs of government; communicating with other states; and compile historical records, grave epitaphs for members of the ruling lineage, and so on.[123]

The Reform of Manchu Writing Under Hong Taiji

With the expansion of record keeping, we possess a much greater variety of Manchu documents from Hong Taiji's time than we do from that of Nurhaci. Furthermore, the records left from the period of Nurhaci were organized and rewritten under his successor; one of the tasks undertaken at Hong Taiji's Literary Institute was the regularization of record keeping and the compilation of a historical account of Nurhaci's reign.[124] The early records, many of which had been written on used paper captured from Míng cities, were edited and rewritten on better paper from Korea.[125] Upon its founding, the Palace Historiographic Academy continued this work, producing the *Veritable records* (Ma. *yargiyan kooli*, Ch. *shílù* 實錄) of Nurhaci's reign

[121] Linke 1982, 51.
[122] Zhāng Jié 2007, 178–181.
[123] Zhāng Bō 2008, 187.
[124] Yán Chōngnián 1999a, 265–266.
[125] See footnote 100 on page 119.

in 1636.[126] It appears to have been in preparation for that work that the Academy produced another, more detailed, chronological narrative of the dynastic founder's reign. It has been retrospectively titled *Files of the Palace Historiographic Academy* (*Gurun-i suduri yamun-i dangse*).[127] The result of this continuous rewriting of Manchu history under Hong Taiji is that the record of some events exist in two, three, or more versions.

There is evidence that woodblock printing was practiced at Hong Taiji's court. I noted above that basic printing by means of seals was practiced already under Nurhaci. Seals are also known from Hong Taiji's time.[128] After Korea was defeated, for example, the Chosŏn king received a seal to use on his communications with the Manchu court. The text on the seal, "Seal of the king of Chosŏn" (*coohiyan gurun-i wang-i doron*), had no Chinese version (I wonder what the Koreans thought of that!).[129] We also know that longer texts were printed by means of xylography. Printed Manchu books might have included some of the translations of

[126]Imanishi Shunjū 1935a, 28; Yán Chōngnián 1999b, 265. It is assumed that both Manchu and Chinese versions of the *Veritable records* were produced for Nurhaci's (and Hong Taiji's) reigns. Some scholars consider the reprint of the Chinese version of the Nurhaci *Records* titled *Tàizǔ Wǔ Huángdì shílù* 太祖武皇帝實錄 (Veritable records of the Great Progenitor, the Martial Emperor) to represent the earliest version extant (Struve 1998, 368). This version dates from 1655, when they were revised under the post-conquest Shùnzhì regime (Matsumura Jun 1993, 42–45; 2001, 65).The Běijīng editors of the now standard reprint of the Qīng *Veritable records* asserted that scholarly opinion is divided as to whether any reprint of the Chinese-language *Records* represents the original, pre-conquest version (TZuSL-III [1688–1739] 1986, "Yǐngyìn shuōmíng" [Explanations regarding the reprint], 3). Matters are a little different with regards to the Manchu-language Nurhaci *Records*. A manuscript in Běijīng might be the original, pre-conquest Nurhaci *Records*, finished in 1636 (Imanishi Shunjū 1967; cf. Matsumura 1988, 10, who argued that the 1636 version [presumably both the Manchu and the Chinese versions, if I am reading him correctly] is no longer extant; and Mitamura Taisuke 1957, who argued that a copy held in the Library of Congress was very close to the original, 1636 version). Whatever the case, it was unavailable to me. The versions of the Nurhaci *Records* that are currently (as of 2013) available for viewing at the First Historical Archives in Běijīng are microfilmed versions, both dated to the Kāngxī period. One of these (TZuSL-II 1686), shows signs of revision, as Nurhaci is there referred to as "Khan" (*han*) and not "the Wise Prince" (*sure beile*), which had been his original title. Ch'en Chieh-hsien, upon detailed comparison of different versions of the Nurhaci *Veritable records*, concluded that the Qiánlóng reedition titled *Mǎnzhōu shílù* 滿洲實錄 (The Manchurian veritable records; 1739) is very faithful to the original (e.g., in its use of the title "Wise Prince") and can be used with great confidence (C.-h. Ch'en 1978). Indeed, both the First Historical Archives and Academia Sinica have microfilms which by virtue of the title given to Nurhaci (*horonggo enduringge hûwangdi*, 'Holy Martial Emperor,' cf. Ch. *Wǔ huángdì*, 'Martial Emperor') probably dates to after 1655 but before the revisions in 1686. To the Běijīng copy, the archivists have added a note saying that it was revised in 1686. The two microfilms are identical (at least in the passages discussed here), and differ from the Qiánlóng version only in their more generous use of punctuation. A summary of Chinese research on the *Veritable records*, including many articles that I have been unable to take into account in these pages, is found in Yáng Lìhóng and Zhū Zhèngyè 2008, 14–15.

[127]NKSIT (1633) 2003, They are held at the First Historical Archives of China in Běijīng and cover the years 1633–1660. Parts of the *Files* have been reprinted:

[128]Ligeti 1958.

[129]Fuchs 1936, 109–110.

Chinese books that were ordered in the early 1630s and at least partially finished by 1636.[130] Hard evidence of printing at this time comes, however, from extant proclamations forbidding the use of tobacco from 1639.[131]

We also possess written material from Hong Taiji's reign of a type that probably existed also under Nurhaci, but has not survived from the earlier period. The material in question are oblong wooden tablets inscribed with a few Manchu sentences each, roughly corresponding to two to four lines of text in the paper documents. The extant tablets relate events from battles with the Míng in 1636 and 1638, when we can infer they were also inscribed.[132] In the early days of Manchu record keeping, it appears that day-to-day records of the Manchu administration were taken first on such tablets and later recorded on paper. We can assume, then, that many more tablets once existed, containing information that we can now only see in later rewritings. The tablets that do exist, however, were created at a time when paper was becoming increasingly available to the Manchu government. Rather than representing drafts for the archive, they were likely communications sent among parties in the field.[133] In any case, on the basis of these sources we can infer that Hong Taiji's scribes wrote a substantial amount of Manchu using various media.

The reform of Manchu writing under Hong Taiji involved the standardization of spelling and the introduction of several new graphs to disambiguate certain vowels (e.g., *o* from *u*) and consonants (e.g., *t* from *d*).[134] Vowel harmony was much weaker in Manchu than in Mongol, so the ambiguities that resulted from several vowels being written using one sign seem to have appeared more troublesome to the Manchus than it had to their eastern neighbors. In the 1620s and '30s, scholars and scribes invented a few new signs and disambiguated several of the existing ones by adding diacritical dots and circles either to the left or the right of the written column of text.[135] An example of a diacritic whose use was regularized in this period can be seen in figure 3.1 above. The reformed Manchu script was, then, a modified form of the Uighur-Mongol script.

The reform was traditionally dated to the early 1630s and associated with the two scribes Dahai and Kûrcan. In reality it was a longer process that involved several individuals. Kûrcan (fl. 1601–1633) was not given as much attention in post-conquest Qīng historiography because he was executed by Hong Taiji. His grandfather had been the head of a group of Jurchens. Kûrcan himself was made the leader of a Manchu company (*niru*) in 1601, possibly reaffirming his family's power over that particular group. He subsequently held various posts; was present at the negotiations with the Mongols; and led troops in battle following the invasion of Korea in 1627. He was skilled in spoken Chinese, proclaiming Hong Taiji's orders to the Míng enemy in that language. Furthermore, he was awarded the title of Preceptor together with Dahai for

[130]Durrant 1979, 656.

[131]Guólì Běipíng… (1935) 1967, (no pagination, one of the images that follow the first table of contents); Fuchs 1936, "Abbildungen," 1 (no. 26).

[132]Lǐ Déqǐ 1935; Matsumura Jun 1961, 1969, 1971; Weiers 1998.

[133]Imanishi Shunjū 1963.

[134]This explanation of the functioning of the new Manchu diacritics tacitly assume an understanding of the Manchu script as an alphabet. The historical contingency of that understanding is explored in the appendix.

[135]Kara 1996, 550.

his knowledge of written Chinese.[136] Early in 1633 (Tiāncōng 7/1/17),[137] Kûrcan was accused of several crimes, the most serious of which was his secret care for the severed remains of a friend of his, a condemned and executed military official.[138] The official, apparently Chinese, had formerly been in service of the Míng and tried to flee back to them but was captured.[139]

We know more about Dahai (c. 1595–1632) than we do about Kûrcan.[140] His ancestral affiliation was a place name that did not correspond to the name of any Manchu clan. Lǐ Guāngtāo 李光濤 (1902–1984) speculated that Dahai might in fact have been Chinese and would, like some other Chinese children in southern Manchuria at the time, have been kidnapped by the Manchus on his way home from school.[141] In that scenario, Dahai would not have learned Manchu until after he had begun schooling in Literary Chinese. A received account dating from the post-conquest period, however, says that Dahai's grandfather had submitted to the Manchus and his father served them.[142] At a young age, Dahai was employed in the Literary Institute because of his good knowledge of Chinese. His talents were deemed so valuable that Nurhaci in 1620 spared his life after condemning him to death for "being intimate with and receiving presents from a maid-servant."[143] In 1631 he was given the title of Preceptor (*baksi*), which had also been Erdeni's title. Korean sources show that Dahai's charges at that time involved frequent contacts with Chosŏn representatives at the Manchu court.[144] He died of illness in 1632.[145]

Dahai translated Chinese books into Manchu, a task that compelled him to make some editorial choices with regards to the use of the Manchu script. Some post-conquest records of Dahai's life assert that he was responsible for the orthographic changes that constitute the differences between 'old Manchu' and standard Manchu. Some even assert that he invented the Manchu syllabary. As we will see presently, the extant pre-conquest documents cannot fully support either of those claims.

Dahai's contributions to the development of Manchu record keeping appear to have been partially forgotten soon after his death. Late in the year Dahai died (January 1, 1633; Tiāncōng 6/11/21), the civil official Lǐ Qīfèng 李棲鳳 (1594–1664) wrote about the state of affairs at the office. "The documents are still all as Dahai left them," he noted, but was alarmed that "now after Dahai's illness and passing, the organization at the Literary Institute (Shūfáng) actually does not include anyone charged specifically with Dahai's desk, and people can wantonly move around the documents stored there."[146] It is possible that the uncertainties regarding the early

[136]Linke 1982, 124–132.
[137]February 24, 1633.
[138]Zhāng Bō 2008, 184.
[139]Linke 1982, 132–133.
[140]Inferred from ECCP 1944, 213, where Dahai is said to have died in 1632 at the age of 38 *suì*.
[141]Lǐ Guāngtāo (1962) 1986, 23.
[142]QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 187.
[143]ECCP 1944, 213.
[144]Pak Nanyŏng 1631, 13a, 16b, 18b, 19b, 25b, 29a, and 34a mention Dahai (Taehae 大海). This source is described in Sŏul Taehakkyo Tosŏkwan 1981–1993, vol. 1, 336.
[145]QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 187–188.
[146]Luó Zhènyù (1632–1635) 2005, 362–363: 一應文書總在大海經管。今大海病故，書房事宜竟無專責其櫃子。中收貯文書，人得亂動.

development of Manchu orthography and record keeping stems from the lack of attention Dahai's legacy received after he passed away.

Erdeni's Invention of Manchu

Hong Taiji is recorded as talking about the activities of his scribes on several occasions. The repeated rewriting of those events eventually resulted in the received narrative of the Manchu language's commitment to writing and subsequent reform. The earliest document relevant for our purposes is a revision of the record of Erdeni's execution, which we reviewed above in the section on writing in Nurhaci's time. I will show that this record migrated to the new collections compiled in the 1630s, eventually influencing the story of the Manchu script's invention. I will go through the records in the order of their appearance.

The Execution of Erdeni 2 (1626)

The story of Erdeni's execution was first written down on old Míng paper and later recounted after the death of Nurhaci on Korean paper. In the version on Korean paper, the account is followed by a "comment" (*sume henduhe gisun*) in two parts. Scholars have inferred that the 'comment' represents the words of Hong Taiji.[147] I have distinguished two parts of the 'comment' based on the fact that it was evidently written down at two separate occasions, the latter part being written in smaller script. In the first part of the 'comment,' Hong Taiji asserted:

> Preceptor Erdeni came to serve the holy Khan [i.e. Nurhaci], who pulled him close and put him to work on the meaning (*jurgan*)[148] of the documents. As

[147] Kunggur [Guǎnglù] and Lǐ Xuézhì 1965, 29–40 (includes a transcription and Chinese translation). Kunggur and Lǐ assumed the comment to have been uttered by Hong Taiji.

[148] In a discussion of a related source, Weiers 2002, 276–277 translates *jurgan* as "lines [of writing]" (*[Schrift-]Linien*). Kanda Nobuo et al., however, still discussing that other, related source, translated the sentence in question as saying that Erdeni had "logic" (*sujimichi* 筋道, corresponding to *jurgan*) in what he wrote (NKSIT [1633] 2003, 169). The archivists at the First Historical Archives likewise translated it as saying that there might be some "reason" (*yì* 义) in Erdeni's writings (NGSY [1633–1661] 1989, 42). Post-conquests Chinese narratives based on the present text do not support the translation of *jurgan* as 'lines.' In the Chinese versions of the Hong Taiji *Veritable records* (for which see footnote 162 on page 132), the Chinese word that seems to correspond to *jurgan* is *yì* 義, used in the sense of 'reason' in the modern Chinese translation of the corresponding passage in the *Files*, but here more appropriately translated as "contents." What 'contents' it refers to, however, differs between the Chinese versions. In the reprinted eighteenth-century version, it refers to Erdeni "following the imperial order and putting together the *Manchu* documents" (emphasis mine; TZoSL-III [1739] 1986, 212: 遂遵諭，編成滿書), following Nurhaci's instructions on how to use the Mongol script to record Manchu (which are cited in full from the Nurhaci *Veritable records* on pages 131–132). In the draft and Shùnzhì versions of the Hong Taiji *Records*, however, the "contents" refers to Erdeni "subsequently compiling and writing up documents" (NGDKDA 1619–1911, document no. 166976-001; TZoSL-I 1655–1682, 12:36b: …遂編輯成書…), following the verbal exchange with Nurhaci. The draft and Shùnzhì versions of Hong Taiji's *Veritable records* read more as if Erdeni recorded the *event* of Nurhaci giving this order, as him creating Manchu documents on the principles laid down by Nurhaci. The "contents" (*yì*) seems to refer

> Erdeni was bright and wise, he was later promoted … For a small crime he was killed along with his wife.[149]

Follows the second part of the comment, written (later?) in smaller print and uttered in what must definitely be the voice of Nurhaci's successor Hong Taiji. Since Hong Taiji is commenting retrospectively on Nurhaci's actions, the 'comment' dates to 1626 at the earliest, as Hong Taiji assumed the office of khan in that year.

"Speaking not of Erdeni's other achievements, but only of his achievements with the documents,"[150] Hong Taiji said, "Erdeni … seems to have been sent by fate to the holy Khan [to work] on the various Jurchen and Mongol documents."[151] He further stated that Erdeni had died as a result of rash action taken on the basis of accusations by people who did not have a nuanced view of right and wrong. Judging by Hong Taiji's comment, Erdeni was not the only linguistically talented individual to have suffered for this reason: Hong Taiji also mentioned an episode involving Dahai. We might infer that he was talking about what happened in 1620, when Dahai as mentioned almost lost his life on account of his relations with a maid-servant. Hong Taiji said that Dahai had been responsible "for the meaning of Chinese documents" (*nikan bithei jurgan de*), but that his "ears and nose were simply cut [off?] for no reason."[152]

Hong Taiji's comments are noteworthy for specifying that Erdeni worked on both Jurchen and Mongol documents. Whether Jurchen here meant unreformed Manchu, written before the adoption of the name Manchu, or actually referred to the old Jurchen script is not clear.

Nurhaci Orders Erdeni to Write Manchu (1633–1636)

We find the next iteration of this story in *Files of the Palace Historiographic Academy*. It is Michael Weiers who has drawn attention both to this source and to its mention of the invention of the Manchu script.[153] In the *Files*, the story appears as part of an entry dated to November

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to the story of Nurhaci giving the order. In light of the editorial choices of these authorities, I have chosen not to follow Weiers' translation. Yet if correct, Weiers translation of *jurgan* as "lines" would be very interesting from the point of view of the history of the Manchu script's conceptualization. The word *jurgan* contrasts markedly with the term used in the contemporary archival records, that I will discuss below, in which the script as a whole seems to be referred to with the entirely different term *uju*.

[149]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 3, 440–441: *erdeni baksi … genggiyen han be baime jihe. han hanci gocifi bithei jurgan de takûrame tuwafi getuken sûre ojoro jaka de. amala tukiyefi … ûjihe bihe. ajige uilei tûrgun de eigen sargan be gemu waha*.

[150]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 3, 441: *erdeni baksi-i gûwa gung be serkû. bithei gung serengge.*

[151]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 3, 442: *jûšen monggoi ai ai bithede erdeni. ere … be genggiyen han de salgabufi banjibuha bidere.*

[152]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 3, 442: *dahai be turgun akû babi oforo šan tokofi.* Cutting off the ears and nose was used in the early Manchu state as punishment for serious theft; "it was a relatively heavy corporal punishment" 相當に重い體形であった. Other sources say that Dahai was not thus mutilated, but shackled: Oshibuchi Hajime 1950, 333, 337.

[153]Weiers 2002, 275–276. It should be noted that Weiers is citing from the microfilm of these records, in which the order of the pages has been jumbled, why his contextualization of the event differs from the one I will present here.

11, 1633 (Tiāncōng 7/10/10). Since the Palace Historiographic Academy was founded in 1636, it might have been written up in its current form at that date. The story involves Hong Taiji ordering his clerks (*bithesi*) to be honest in recording and reporting political and military events, including transgressions by their superiors. Hong Taiji seems to argue that the clerks and civil officials should not wantonly memorialize on military affairs, which the Khan and Princes know best, but carefully record events. He urges the clerks to report to him in case he himself or the Princes become "addicted to riches and women" (*ulin hehe de dosi*) and forget matters of state.[154] Hong Taiji then mentions Manchu language reform as a case which had not been properly recorded in the archive. The relevant passage reads as follows:

> "In the past, at the time of my father the Khan [*in a later interpolation:* the Great Progenitor Emperor (i.e. Nurhaci)], he said that he wanted to create Manchu documents. After Preceptor Erdeni had refused and said that it was impossible, my father, the Khan, said [*the latter word has been blocked out and replaced with* 'ordered']:
>
> 'Why would it be impossible? If we put *a* underneath *ma*, is it not *ama*, "father"? If we put *e* underneath *eme*, is it not *eme*, "mother"? I have made up my mind; stop refusing.'
>
> Erdeni then made the changes [*in a later interpolation:* to the Mongol writing]. Before him, there was no Manchu writing. Erdeni was an outstanding wise man of his generation; there are no such good men today. Admittedly, the documents that he produced were true (*jurgan*). Although I would agree that Preceptor Kûrcan has done something, in that he has continued this work, I do not think that what he has produced is true. You scribes, who write documents with regulations, you should open and look at the documents that you have written; if they are wrong in places, you should improve them using your own heart!
>
> I have succeeded my father, the Khan [the Great Progenitor Emperor on the throne]. If I do not record every one of my father's deeds in the way of governance and of the movements of the army completely in the documents, depositing it under the name of history, then I would not be filial; the descendants of later generations would have no way of knowing of these deeds."[155]

[154]NKSIT (1633) 2003, 168 (transcribed text and Japanese translation), 373 (109a; facsimile of the manuscript).

[155]NKSIT (1633) 2003, 168–169 (transcribed text and Japanese translation), 373–374 (109a–110a; facsimiles of the manuscript): *neneme ama han i* [the previous word has been blocked out and replaced with: *taidzu hûwangdi*] *bisire fonde. manju bithe be deribuki sere jakade. erdeni baksi marame ojorakû oho manggi . ama han* [this word blocked out and replaced as in previous instance] *hendume ainu* [the previous two words blocked out and replaced with: *hese wasimbume ainu*] *ojorakû a i fejile ma sindaci ama wakao. e i fejile me sindaci eme wakao. bi gûnime toktoho . si ume marara sere jakade. erdeni baksi* [in a later interpolation: *monggo bithe be*] *manjurame kûbilibume araha. terei onggolo manju bithe akû bihe. erdeni baksi emu jalan-i tucike saisa . tere gese sain niyalma te akû. terei araha bithe ainci jurgan. terei sirame kûrcan baksi arahangge-be. bi ainaha seme jurgan-i araha bi seme gûnirakû. kooli bithe arara bithesi suwe. suweni araha bithe-be daci neime tuwa. fudasihûn ba bici suweni mujilen-i dasa.bi ama han* [the previous three words blocked out and replaced as above] *be sirafi* [the previous two words blocked out and replaced with: *bi ama taidzu hûwangdi soorin be sirafi*] *ama i doro dasaha.*

As far as I am aware, this is the earliest explicit account of the invention of Manchu writing. It goes beyond stating that Erdeni was a good scribe or official to explain how Nurhaci ordered him to write in Manchu. Hong Taiji appears cite the story of Nurhaci ordering Erdeni to commit the Manchu language to writing to show that Erdeni was a man of outstanding abilities, whom the officials at his own court cannot match. He also appears to want to contrast Erdeni's achievements with those of Kûrcan. Mitamura Taisuke 三田村泰助 (1909–1988) believed that the early volumes of the extant archival documents were written by Erdeni and later continued and rewritten by Kûrcan;[156] if that is true, Hong Taiji might here be referring to Kûrcan's actions as Erdeni's successor.

The focus of the story cited by Hong Taiji is not that Nurhaci would have invented the principles of Manchu orthography, but that Erdeni was able to carry out the order. Rather than a record of Nurhaci's genius, I think we should read the instruction that Erdeni should "put *a* underneath *ma*" and "*e* underneath *me*" as an example of the ruler using a condescending, patronizing tone with his officials, which was common to the genre of imperial pronouncements not just in the Qīng period. Nurhaci is ridiculing Erdeni for refusing to do such a simple thing as use the commonly known (Uighur-Mongol) script to write Manchu for government record-keeping purposes.

The reason Erdeni would have opposed Nurhaci's idea is not obvious. Weiers has proposed the great utility of written Mongol as an administrative medium as a reason Nurhaci's record keepers would have wanted to retain it. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the Mongols probably already possessed a "fairly elaborate legal technolect" (*einen bereits recht elaborierten juristischen Technolekt*), which the Manchus had adopted.[157] Shifting from Mongol to Manchu meant more than just 'putting *a* underneath *ma*'; it meant developing a written language suitable for administrative purposes as succinct and unambiguous as the Mongol style the scribes had been using until that point.

Hong Taiji's brief summary of the story, which is reduced only to Erdeni's initial reluctance; Nurhaci's condescending remark on how to write Manchu words based on Mongol syllables; and Erdeni's subsequent compliance, reads like a reminder of already well-known facts; by 1633, the story of Nurhaci's and Erdeni's invention of the script might have been well-known in official circles in this form.

The example of Erdeni's initiation of government record keeping in Manchu appears to have been chosen in order to contrast it with Kûrcan's actions, the details of which are not related in the passage. Hong Taiji appears somewhat dismissive of Kûrcan's supposed achievements, as Weiers has noted. We saw that Kûrcan had been executed earlier the same year.[158] In the end, the point of Hong Taiji's discourse appears to be that the scribes should rectify the

cooha yabuha jurgan be gemu geterembume bithe arafi sudurileme gaifi gebu werirakûci. bi inu hiošun akû, amaga juse omosi inu ainambahafi sambi sehe. The Manchu text is also quoted in Weiers 2002, 275–276 (Weiers quotes the passage from a separate context, dated to November 18, 1633). I have relied on Weiers' translation to elucidate obscure passages in the Manchu. A Chinese translation of the passage is found in NGSY (1633–1661) 1989, vol. 1, 42, a compilation which in turn is described in Struve 1998, 167.

[156] Mitamura Taisuke 1950, 861–863.

[157] Weiers 1983, 431.

[158] March, 1633: Weiers 2002, 276.

historical record by moderating any praise for Kûrcan, the man now disgraced.

We saw in the comparison of the first two iterations of Erdeni's execution that Hong Taiji criticized Nurhaci's harsh treatment of such an outstanding official as Erdeni. In the 'comment' added to the version written on Korean paper, Hong Taiji illustrated how Nurhaci's policies led to the wasteful execution of one scribe, Erdeni, and the mutilation of another, Dahai. In the story in the *Files*, Hong Taiji similarly mentioned the achievements of two officials with the aim of rectifying the historical record. Instead of Erdeni and Dahai, he talked about Erdeni and Kûrcan, whom he criticized. The structural similarities of the stories invites the question whether they are related.

The Received Account of Nurhaci's Order (1636)

The *Veritable records* of Nurhaci's reign, originally compiled in 1636, contains a second and expanded iteration of Nurhaci's order to start keeping records in Manchu. For the first time, the event is now dated to 1599.[159] The story of this event is one of the very first things to be noted in the *Records*. It reads in full:

> When the Great Progenitor (*taidzu*), the Wise Prince (*sure beile*), in the 2th month of the year of the yellow pig (*sohon ulgiyan*) [February 25–March 25, 1599] expressed the wish to change Mongol writing and write in the Manchu language, Preceptor Erdeni and Judge G'ag'ai spoke, protesting and answering: "Because [we, the Manchus] have learned the writing of the Mongols, [we] are expected to know it. Why now change the script that has come from antiquity?"
>
> The Great Progenitor, the Wise Prince, answered:
>
> "When [one] reads the writing of the Chinese state aloud, people knowing Chinese writing and people not knowing it all understand. When read aloud, those who know and those who do not know the writing of the Mongol state also all understand! When [we] read our documents as Mongols, people who have not studied the documents [produced in Mongol in] our state will not understand! If we [would instead] write in the language of our state [that is, in Manchu], why would it be difficult? Why would only the language of the Mongol state be easy?"
>
> Judge G'ag'ai and Preceptor Erdeni protested and answered:
>
> "If [we] write the language of our state it would be good indeed. [But] because within ourselves, [having already learned to write in Mongol,] we are unable to change to writing in Manchu, we are prone to resisting [the change]."
>
> The Great Progenitor, the Wise Prince, said:
>
> "Write the letter called *a!* If [you] put *ma* under *a*, is it not *ama* [father]? Write the letter called *e!* If [you] put *me* under *e*, is it not *eme* [mother]? I have made up my mind; try and write it yourselves—it works!
>
> By that sole objection, the documents that had been read in the manner of the Mongols were changed using the Manchu language. Thus the Great Progenitor,

[159]The account is frequently quoted, e.g., in Imanishi Shunjū 1992, 81, 83 (164, 166); Crossley 1997, 35–39; Zhāng Lì 1998, 42; Zhāng Jié 2007, 156.

> the Wise Prince, brought Manchu documents into existence for the first time, and promulgated them in the Manchu state."[160]

The story is here much expanded compared to earlier versions. It is dated, for the first time, to 1599, but its protagonists, Erdeni and G'ag'ai, have titles that do not appear to have been introduced in Nurhaci's administration until later (as discussed above). Nurhaci's order appears less like a condescending, sarcastic remark but as the announcement of a truly new invention. The credit for inventing the principles of Manchu orthography is thus given to Nurhaci, the ruler. It is unclear what Erdeni and G'ag'ai would have done other than stop keeping records in Mongol and instead started keeping them in Manchu.

Can the story be believed? The ascription of the invention to Nurhaci personally appears too politically convenient to be true. Yet the story of Nurhaci discussing the value of Manchu record keeping with Erdeni, as we saw, evidently circulated at the time of its writing in the 1630s. It is not an invention of the *Shílù* compilers. As a whole, however, the story seems to have been written to conform with the expectations that reigned in the genre of court historiography of a ruler in a young state. We saw in relation to the invention and promulgation of the 'Phags-pa script in the Mongol empire that Kubilai motivated it by saying that other states, including the Mongol Yuán's immediate predecessors in Eastern Inner Asia and other countries, had all used their own writing systems. Here, we similarly see Nurhaci making references to the Manchus' neighbors the Mongols and the Chinese, who both write their own languages.[161] Nurhaci is presented as introducing the Manchu script as a means of state-building in the Inner Asian tradition.

The story from the *Files* and the Nurhaci *Records* has a counterpart in post-conquest official historiography: the *Veritable records* for Hong Taiji's reign.[162] In the available Manchu version

[160] TZuSL-I 1655–1686, no pagination, beginning of reel: *sohon ulgiyan aniya … juwe biya de, taidzu sure beile monggo bithe be kûbulime, manju gisun-i araki seci, erdeni baksi, g'ag'ai jargûci hendume, be monggoi bithe be taciha dahame sambi dere. julgeci jige bithe be, te adarame kûbulibumbi seme marame gisureci, taidzu sure beile hendume, nikan gurun-i bithe be hûlaci, nikan bithe sara niyalma, sarkû niyalma gemu ulhimbi. monggo gurun-i bithe be hulaci, bithe sarkû niyalma inu gemu ulhimbikai. musei bithe be monggorome hûlaci musei gurun-i bithe sarkû niyalma ulhirakû kai. musei gurun-i gisun-i araci adarame mangga. encu monggo gurun-i gisun adarame ja seme henduci, g'ag'ai jarguci erdeni baksi jabume, musei gurun-i gisun-i araci sain mujangga. kûbulime arara be meni dolo bahanarakû ofi marambi dere. taidzu sure beile hendume, a sere hergen ara. a-i fejile ma sindaci ama wakao. e sere jergen ara. e-i fejile me sindaci eme wakao. mini dolo gûnime wajiha. suwe arame tuwa. ombikai seme emhun marame monggorome hûlara bithe be manju gisun-i kûbulibuha. tereci taidzu sure beile manju bithe be fukjin deribufi manju gurun de selgiyehe*. The Qiánlóng version is found in *Dà-Qīng Mǎnzhōu shílù* (1636–1739) 1969, 108–110. Four different Chinese translations of this passage, dating from the Qīng period, can be seen in Imanishi Shunjū 1973, 71–72.

[161] By contrast, the story of the invention of one of the Jurchen scripts does not appear similar to the story of the invention of Manchu: *Jīn shǐ* (1343) 1975, 1684 (ch. 73).

[162] The textual history of the Hong Taiji *Veritable records* is perhaps even more complicated than that of the Nurhaci *Records*. Still, they have received less attention from scholars. No Manchu version of the Hong Taiji *Veritable records* have been reprinted. Imanishi Shunjū concluded that work on the Hong Taiji *Records* was begun in 1652 (Imanishi Shunjū 1936, 64) and finished before 1655 (Imanishi Shunjū 1935b, 167). This hastily put together version included a Chinese text that was a mere calque of

of those *Records* also dates the aforementioned event recorded in the *Files* to November 11, 1633 (*sure han* 7/10/*sohon meihe inenggi*)[163] and contains Hong Taiji's order to the clerks and interpreters[164] in the ministries to report upon the transgressions of their superiors. The record continues with the story of Erdeni's and Kûrcan's respective achievements. It is identical to the record in the *Files* save for a few variants that are without consequence for our purposes.[165] Chinese versions of the Hong Taiji *Records* exist, but they do not predate the *Files* and are thus of less interest for the history of the script.[166]

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the Manchu, which in turn was not without its own problems (Matsumura Jun 1987, 655). When the former imperial archives in Běijīng were first surveyed in the 1930s, there were reports of a Manchu version of the Hong Taiji *Records* in the holdings of the Qīng Grand Secretariat (Fāng Sūshēng 1935, vol. 5, 1b–2a). However, in the latest detailed catalog on Manchu holdings in Běijīng libraries, the only Manchu versions of the Hong Taiji *Records* held at the First Historical Archives are labelled as "translations" (*yì* 译) dating from 1737 (*Běijīng dìqū Mǎnwén túshū zǒngmù* 2008, 111–112). These 'translations' are probably the Manchu versions that were discovered in the 1930s. Imanishi Shunjū has shown that material from the seventeenth-century version of the Manchu *Veritable records* for Hong Taiji's reign went into a glossary compiled in relation to the revision of the *Records* in the 1730s (Imanishi Shunjū 1969), which would suggest that the original Manchu version from before 1655 were still extant in 1737, when they were revised. What was called a "translation" by catalogers of the Manchu material at the First Historical Archives might refer to the result of this revision. At what point the original Manchu version was lost remains unclear. At the First Historical Archives, the only Manchu version that is currently available for consultation is a microfilm of a manuscript that has a preface dated to October 22, 1682 (Kāngxī 21/9/22; *elhe taifin-i orin emuci aniya uyun biyai orin juwe*; TZoSL-II 1682).

[163]TZoSL-II 1682, reel 3, 16:4b: "7th year of [the reign of] the Wise Khan, winter, 10th month …, day of the yellow snake" (*sure han-i nadaci aniya, tuweri juwan biyai … sohon meihe inenggi*).

[164]The phrase 'clerks and interpreters' here translates *mujilen bahabuko* (standard Ma. *mujilen bahabukû*), i.e. Ch. *qǐxīn láng* 啓心郎, "Gentleman who opens up his heart and speaks his mind" (Hucker 1985, 136 [item 627], who proposes the translation "Clerk" for the Qīng period [discontinued in 1658]; not listed in BH 1912). The reasoning behind my translation follows Miyazaki Ichisada (1947) 1991–1994, 332–333, who argued that an important function for the (Chinese) *qǐxīn láng* in the early Qīng period was to translate orally between Manchu and Chinese.

[165]TZoSL-II 1682, reel 3, 16:4b–17b.

[166]Some remarks regarding the Chinese versions of the Hong Taiji *Records* can be made. The earliest Chinese version is a draft showing signs of revision now held at the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica. Next is a finished version that appears to date from the Shùnzhì period held at the National Palace Museum Library, Táiběi. Finally, there is a reprinted version which carries a preface dated 1682 (TZoSL-III [1739] 1986, 1), when a revision of the *Records* was complete (Imanishi Shunjū 1935b, 167). However, according to Kanda Nobuo (1993a, 31), the only extant Chinese version of the Hong Taiji *Veritable records* now held in the People's Republic of China, which is the location of the reprint, represents a revision from 1739, which would thus be the version that is available in reprint. There are also other Chinese versions extant. In Japan, a total of four manuscript versions of the *Records* for the first three Qīng emperors are held in various libraries. The textual relationship between these manuscripts remains disputed (one theory: Imanishi Shunjū [1938a] 1986; summary of the dispute in Kanda Nobuo 1993a, 32), but some of them seem to have been copied in China. Two collections of material from the *Records* were also published in Japan in 1799 and 1807 (Naitō Konan [1912] 1969, 260; Matsumura Jun 1987, 657–667; one of the books is also mentioned in Honda and

Altogether, this story, which we have seen migrate from the *Files of the Palace Historiographic Academy* to the *Veritable records*, is odd. In the version recorded in the *Files,* the story tells of how the khan first admonishes the clerks for meddling in military affairs, then urges them to report on corrupt activities of their superiors. He then goes on to stress the importance of the exhaustive recording of the affairs of government. Hong Taiji's discourse seems to jump from one topic to another without much transition. The story of Erdeni's invention of Manchu seems to be cited as an example of an event that needs to be remembered, just as the mention of Kûrcan's writings appears to serve as an example of an erroneous recording of events. The lack of clear narrative progression that we see in the *Files* version was probably the result of its compilation from originally disparate parts.

The Creation of a Manchu Syllabary

Unlike the original documents remaining from Nurhaci's reign, documents written in the early 1630s explicitly discuss Manchu orthography and its reform. In this period, officials and scribes at Hong Taiji's court modified the Uighur-Mongol script by inventing new graphs and adding diacritics, the so-called 'dots and circles.' The orthography was standardized in the form that it would retain throughout the Qīng period. As subsequent chapters will show, the reformed Manchu script was intimately associated with its organization into a syllabary in twelve sections. No syllabary remains from the pre-conquest period, but as I will show subsequently, there is reason to believe that it was developed at this time.

The Manchu syllabary, as later attested, consisted of lists of syllables divided into twelve sections. The lists were made up of combinations of two linear sequences of graphs. One

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Ceadel 1955, 62; on their editor: Shimada Tsukuba 1916; Kameda Jirō 1916), probably on the basis of a manuscript copy that had entered Japan via the Níngbō-Nagasaki merchant route between 1693 and 1803 (Matsumura Jun 2001, 74). It is unclear, however, whether any of the four manuscripts now held in Japan is the one that was transmitted at that time and served as the basis for the printed collections (Kanda Nobuo 1993a, 38). It is, nevertheless, obvious from the Chinese-character transcriptions of Manchu words that the basis for the extracts printed in 1807 was a version earlier than the 1739 revision (the Japanese manuscript version is closely related to the revision from the 1680s: Inaba Iwakichi 1932, 60; Matsumura Jun 1986, 80). I have consulted this publication, which includes the entry from April 19, 1632 quoted above (Murayama Shiu and Nagame Hyōsai 1807, vol. 3, 3:2b–3a). Although this version as expected differs slightly from the reprinted version representing the 1739 revision, that I used above, it is without significance for the history of the Manchu script's conceptualization. Hong Taiji's order to the clerks and civil officials translates similarly in all versions despite slight differences in vocabulary: "Some of the contents [of the story of the script's invention] might be in the documents [Erdeni] created. After Erdeni, Preceptor Kûrcan added some to them. I, the Emperor, fear that in the end some things do not agree. You record-keeping officials will carefully emend and rectify the documents, that you have written. If there are erroneous passages, you will deliberate and modify them" (NGDKDA 1619–1911, document no. 166976-001: 彼所造之書，或義之所在。其後庫兒諂所增者，恐未合於義。尔翻書衆等，將所寫之書，自首至尾細看；有逆理處，從心酌量改之; TZoSL-I 1655–1682, 12:36b–38a: 彼所造之書，義或有在。其後庫里纏所增者，恐未合於義。爾翻書衆人，宜將所寫之書，自首至尾細看；若有逆理處，細心酌量改之; TZoSL-III [1739] 1986, 212: 彼所造之書，義或有在。其後巴克什庫爾纏所增。朕恐終有未合。爾記載諸臣，將所載之書，宜詳加訂正。若有舛譌之處，即酌改之; Murayama Shiu and Nagame Hyōsai 1807, 3:19b–20a also contains a version).

‘Outer sequence’:	-ø	-i	-r	-n	-ng	-k	-s	-t	-b	-o	-l	-m
Paired with ‘inner sequence’:	*a*	*ai*	*ar*	*an*	*ang*	*ak*	*as*	*at*	*ab*	*ao*	*al*	*am*
	e	*ei*	*er*	*en*	*eng*	*ek*	*es*	*et*	*eb*	*eo*	*el*	*em*
(One column represents one	*i*	*ii*	*ir*	*in*	*ing*	*ik*	*is*	*at*	*ib*	*io*	*il*	*im*
section in the syllabary.)	*o*	*oi*	*or*	*on*	*ong*	*ok*	*os*	*ot*	*ob*	*oo*	*ol*	*om*
	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…

Figure 3.2 – The Manchu Syllabary Displayed in Columns

sequence was formed by twelve codas which I call the syllabary’s ‘outer sequence.’ I call it ‘outer’ because it gives the syllabary its structure of an ordered collection of twelve syllable lists. The outer sequence contains vowels or consonants acting as syllabic codas (sections numbers two to twelve) as well as a zero coda (section number one). The outer sequence can be seen in figure 3.4.

The other, ‘inner’ sequence of the syllabary is found within the syllable lists that make up each of the twelve sections. The inner sequence had been borrowed from the Mongols along with their version of the Uighur script, and subsequently modified by the Manchus in the early seventeenth century by the addition of new graphs. The inner sequence contained open syllables consisting of monophthong nuclei with or without consonantal onsets. In the early seventeenth century, one of the modifications made to the script that the Manchus had inherited from the Mongols was the invention of a series of graphemes used primarily to spell words of foreign origin. They were appended to the end of the inner sequence.

Each of the twelve sections of the syllabary consisted of the inner sequence paired with a coda from the outer sequence. In the first section, the inner sequence was paired with the outer sequence’s zero coda, meaning that this section was coterminous with the inner sequence. The inner sequence as represented in the first section can be seen in figure 3.5. The inner sequence typically contained 131 syllables, but all possible combinations of the two sequences were not always listed in a given syllabary. The total number of syllables included therefore varied somewhat, while generally hovering around 1,400.[167]

The structure of the syllabary can be easily understood if we project the two sequences as the axes of a two-dimensional grid, which is what I have also done in figure 3.3, or in columns, as in figure 3.2. It is important to remember, however, that the syllabary was generally not schematized in these ways in the Qīng period; the graphs reflect a contemporary analysis, intended only to help us moderns understand the syllabary. Subsequent chapters will explore the terminology used by Manchu and Chinese writers to describe and analyse it. Most important, the onsets-and-nuclei of the inner sequence on the one hand and the codas of the outer sequence on the other were recognized by a special terminology that I will discuss in some detail.

The received narrative of how the Manchu orthography was changed centered on Dahai, whom I introduced above. Dahai, it is said, would have reformed the Manchu script in 1632.

[167]This is the number given in Ligeti 1952, 240–241. Moreover, the fact that the pairing of the inner and outer sequences did not produce all the syllables possible in Manchu compelled some writers of syllabaries to expand on this structure, causing further fluctuation of the total syllable count.

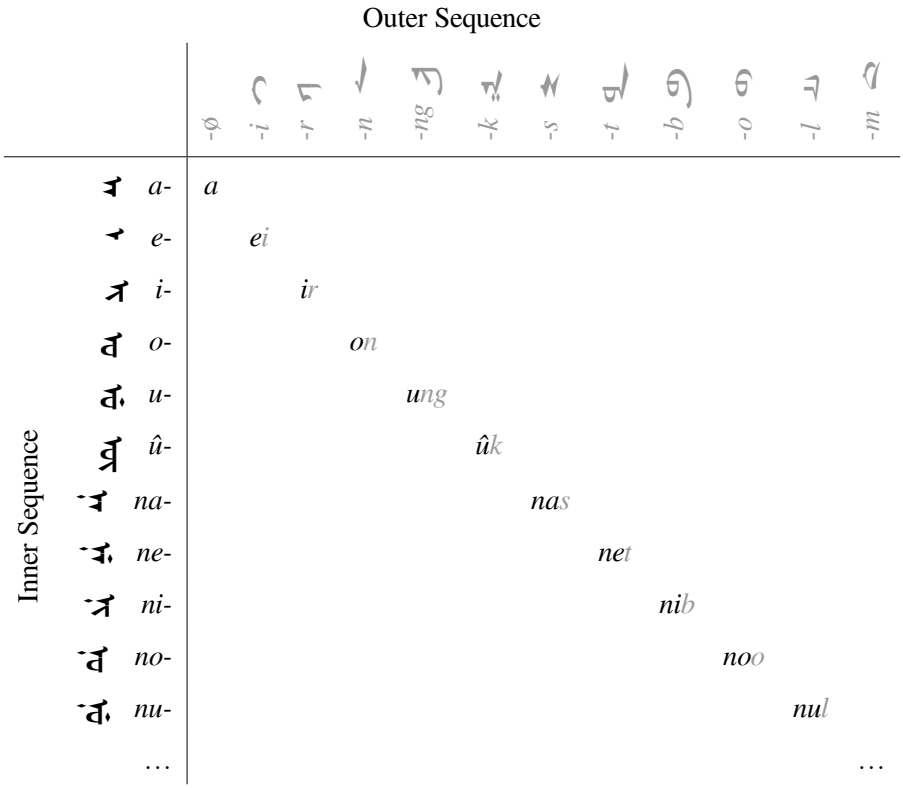

Figure 3.3 – The Manchu Syllabary Displayed on Two Axes

1. ø
2. *-i*
3. *-r*
4. *-n*
5. *-ng*
6. *-k*
7. *-s*
8. *-t*
9. *-b*
10. *-o*
11. *-l*
12. *-m*

Figure 3.4 – Outer Sequence of the Manchu Syllabary

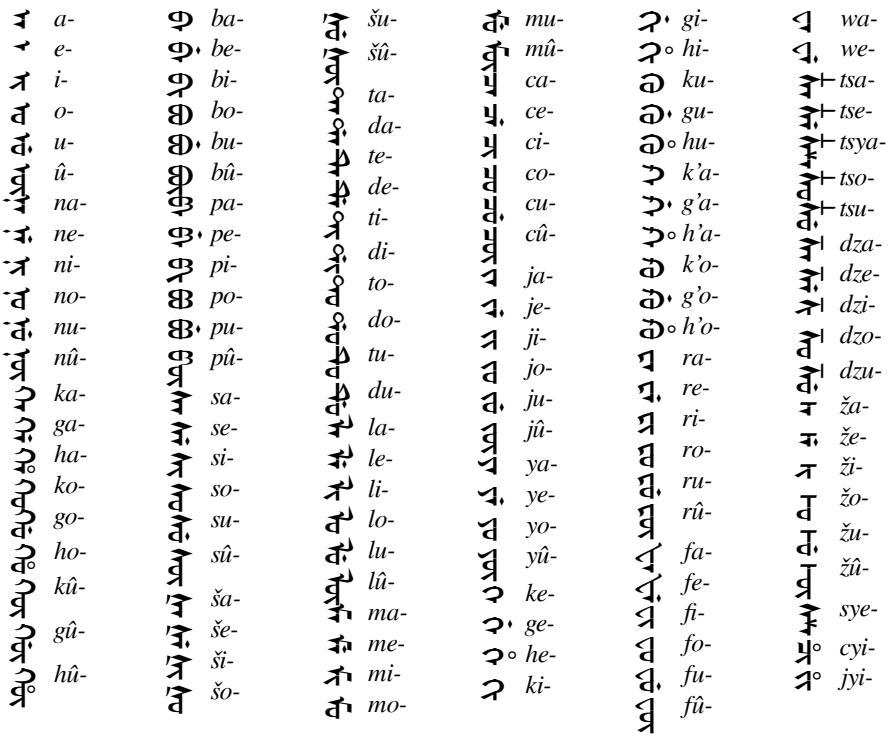

Figure 3.5 – Inner Sequence of the Manchu Syllabary

The earliest evidence of the received narrative seems to be the Hong Taiji *Veritable records*,[168] followed by stele erected in memory of Dahai in 1669[169] and 1670,[170] and finally biographies

[168] As the versions of the Hong Taiji *Veritable records* with regards to Dahai contain some unexpected variations, I will discuss them separately below.

[169] This is a stele erected in 1669 by Dahai's grandson. Not only it is unclear whether the stele is still extant, but even its original location is unknown. The text it carried, however, has survived in Chinese version. Unfortunately, the Manchu version of the biography was not included, but we can assume that one once existed. The stele identified Dahai as "carefully defining the shape of the characters of our dynastic script, adding dots and circles after much deliberation" (Qián Yíjí [1893] 1985, 3:17a [106-252]: 詳定國書字體，酌加圈點. This happened in 1632 [Tiāncōng 6]).

[170] This is a stele now held in Shěnyáng (Mukden). The stele was discovered in 1933, at a location c. five Chinese *lǐ* 里 southwest of the city (the discovery was reported in Yamashita Taizō 1933). This area was the site of Dahai's grave. At the time of the discovery of the stele, the site served as a military kennel, where the dogs of the Manchukuo army had (one might speculate) showered their attention on the 3,7 meter tall slab. The stele had been erected on the orders of the Kāngxī emperor in 1670 to commemorate Dahai's life and achievements. It has been badly damaged by the elements and is only barely legible. Oshibuchi Hajime 鴛淵一 (b. 1896) tentatively transcribed both the Manchu and Chinese text of the stele and I have relied on that transcription here. The section on Dahai's contributions to script reform reads: "Then [Dahai] put dots and circles to the twelve sections [Ma. *uju,* Ch. *piān*] of Manchu writings [Ma. *bithe,* Ch. *shū*], and also accommodated [i.e. transcribed] the Chinese language by adding characters to the fifth section" (Oshibuchi Hajime 1943, 8–9: *sirame manju bithei juwan juwe*

of Dahai from 1739 and later.[171]

The narrative of Dahai singlehandedly reforming the script was questioned in the twentieth century. Using the sources edited in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Guān Kèxiào established that the various received accounts of Dahai's reform are contradictory. Weighing the accounts against each other, Guān conjectured that work towards the reform must have begun as early as 1623, and not in the early 1630s, as some accounts would suggest.[172] Tatiana A. Pang has similarly concluded that the reform process lasted a dozen or so years before 1632, and that it was the work of "a group of experts (*baksi*)," not Dahai alone.

Michael Weiers, upon close examination of the original pre-conquest documents, noted that they do in fact include mentions of Dahai receiving an order to conduct some kind of script reform at some point before early 1632. However, Weiers argued, the extent of Dahai's reform was much more limited than often thought, comprising only the standardization of foreign toponyms and personal names, whose reading was unintuitive to the Manchus.[173] Substantiating Guān's conclusion, Weiers showed that the glyphs and diacritics characteristic of reformed Manchu start to appear in the original documents from as early as 1623, but that unreformed Manchu continued to be used intermittently until 1637. The orthographic modifications would have been introduced gradually by the scribes in charge of keeping government records. As for Dahai's role, it would not have been limited only in the sense that it solely concerned the notation of foreign words, but also by encompassing only some of the graphs

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uju de tongki fuka sindaha, geli sunja uju de nikan i gisun de acabume manju bithei hergen nonggiha.; 嗣將滿書十二篇增添圈點。又於五篇內合漢音添著滿字). This passage is more detailed than the stele from the year before with regards to Dahai's achievements. It specifies that Dahai added diacritics to the "twelve sections" (Ma. *juwan juwe uju*; Ch. *shíèr piān*), which we must infer refers to the Manchu script. It further specifies that Dahai created graphs for the transcription of Chinese speech sounds not easily expressed using the script in its then current form. Another stele, erected by Dahai's descendants in 1665, was also found in the area around Dahai's grave. A rubbing of it has been published (Běijīng Túshūguǎn 1989–1991, vol. 62, 52–53). It has been damaged by gunfire, possibly during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–05 (Zhào Xiǎohuá 1997, 133), and is not entirely legible. From what I can discern, however, it contains nothing of interest with regards to the history the script.

[171] E.g., Dahai was ordered to "add dots and circles and distinguished the quality of the speech utterances. Since the corresponding sounds [i.e. transcriptions] of Manchu writing and Chinese characters was not complete, he also added extra characters outside the twelve heads " (BQTZCJ 1739, 236:3b: 形聲規模尚多未備。復命大海增添圈點，分別語氣。又以滿文與漢字對音未全者，於十二字頭正字之外，增添外字); "In the 3th month of the following year [i.e. 1632], [Dahai] carefully defined the shape of the characters. Originally, the Great Progenitor had directed the civil officials Erdeni and G'ag'ai to establish the scope of form and sound of our dynastic writing, which largely comprised the script in its original shape. Dahai continued their work and enlarged it into characters in twelve heads. At this point, the Emperor ordered Dahai by saying: 'The characters in twelve heads of our dynastic language did not use to have dots and circles…'" (Lǐ Huán [1884–1890] 1985, 1:15a: 明年三月詳定國書字體。初太祖指授文臣額爾德尼及噶蓋刪立國書形聲規模，本體略具。達海繼之增為十二字頭。至是上諭達海曰：「國書十二字頭向無圈點…」; also translated in Linke 1982, 113). From the transcription of Manchu names and the use of the Kāngxī emperor's temple name Shèngzǔ 聖祖, 'the Sagacious Progenitor,' we know that this biography must have been compiled after 1722.

[172] Guān Kèxiào 1997; restated in Zhāng Hóng 2006.

[173] Weiers 1999.

that were transformed in the passage from old to reformed Manchu. Kûrcan would have been associated with fixing the use of diacritics some of the other graphs. Weiers also stressed the strained relationship that Dahai and Kûrcan for political reasons had with Hong Taiji (we remember that Kûrcan was executed in 1633), and argued that Hong Taiji both knew little about the particulars of the reform and might not even have been very supportive of it.[174]

The Original Manchu Archives on Dahai

The original pre-conquest archive contains three relevant documents, which together comprise four brief entries. The entries are distributed among the documents as follows. The first of the three documents (document A) consists of two brief entries dealing with Dahai's reform in the early 1630s. I will refer to these entries as entry A.1 and entry A.2. The second document (document B) is found at a separate location in the archive. Document B partially reproduces the text on document A, while also adding new text. I will refer to the reproduced text as entries B.1 and B.2 and the added text as entry B.3. Furthermore, immediately following document A in the archives as currently organized, we find a manuscript document (document C), containing only one entry. I will refer to this entry as entry C.4. The following discussion will deal with the entries according to the numbering given them here. Figure 3.6 shows the relationship between the documents.

The original documents referencing the reform of Manchu orthography refer to the script or its organization as the *uju* or 'twelve *uju*.' After the conquest of China in 1644, we see didactic presentations of the Manchu script organized into twelve sections and carrying the title 'the twelve *uju*.' Most of those texts also have the Chinese title *shíèr zìtóu* 十二字頭, meaning 'the twelve heads.' The term *uju* and its transformation are informative with regards to the development of Manchu orthography and pedagogy. I will leave the term untranslated in the following survey of the original documents and discuss it separately later.

Most of document A has been studied by Kunggur and Lǐ Xuézhì,[175] Sŏng Paegin,[176] and Michael Weiers;[177] as with other aspects of Manchu language reform, my discussion of the document is heavily dependent on their studies.

Document A is remarkable for being a xylograph, not a manuscript. It is undated, but ought to have been written between February and April 24, 1632 (Tiāncōng 6/1–3).[178]

The xylographically printed text of document A, which I refer to as entry 1, reads:

[*Entry A.1:*]

[174]Weiers 2002.

[175]Kunggur [Guǎnglù] and Lǐ Xuézhì 1965, 28–43.

[176]Sŏng Paegin (1978) 1999, 272–273.

[177]Weiers 1999.

[178]The document has a *terminus ante quem* of not long before April 24, 1632. This is because document B, a manuscript incorporating part of the text of the xylograph while modifying it (e.g., by changing the name of the state from *aysin* [later spelled *aisin*], 'gold,' i.e. Jīn 金, the name of the Jurchen and, later, the early Manchu state, to *manju*), carries a date corresponding to April 24, 1632 (Weiers 1999, 88, 91). Document A mentions a date corresponding to February and March, 1632, which can be taken as its *terminus post quem*.

> The twelve *uju* did not originally have dots and circles. Since the first (*dergi*) [lit. 'upper'] and second (*fejergi*) [lit. 'lower'] characters (*hergen*) were not separated, *ta da te de ja je ya yen* were not distinguished and were all alike. Although understanding in accordance with the right sound is easy in case of plain speech and documents,[179] in the case of the names of places and people, one may not deviate [from the proper reading]. Thus in the 1st month of spring in the 6th year of the Wise Ruler [i.e. Hong Taiji][180] of the Jīn state [February 20–March 20, 1632], Preceptor Dahai, following the ruler's orders, distinguished [the graphs] by adding dots and circles.[181]

Entry A.1 is a very curious text. It seems to permit two readings, only one of which is tenable in light of other evidence. In this reading, the Manchu script originally did not use diacritics, which was not a problem as long as the language recorded was 'plain' and the words familiar to the reader. A reader could not, however, as easily rely on his or her linguistic intuition to arrive at the proper reading of toponyms and personal names. Dahai would thus have disambiguated their spelling using diacritics. That is, Dahai standardized the spelling of names and, it has been inferred, the transcription of words from foreign languages spoken in areas into which the Manchu state was expanding, by using already existing diacritical marks in a regular manner. We cannot read the entry to say that Dahai invented the diacritical marks.[182] The wooden tablets inscribed in the late 1630s, discussed previously, did not consistently use

[179]In addition to the reading followed here, Weiers also offers the alternative parsing of *bai*, "plain" as *ba i*, "of a place," which gives the alternative translation "lokalsprachliche Orders und Schriftstücke" for *bai gisun hese bithe*: Weiers 1999, 88 (main text and notes).

[180]One of Hong Taiji's reign titles was *abkai sure* or Tiāncōng 天聰, "heavenly wisdom" (1627–36).

[181]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 5, 139: *juwan juwe uju dade tonkin fuka ako. dergi fejergi hergen ilgaha ako. ta da te de ja je ya yen fakcan ako gemu emu adali ofi. bai gisun hese bithe ohode mudan ici-be tuwame uthai ulhimbi ja. niyalmai gebu ba nai gebu ohode tašarame ojorako ofi. ayisin gûrun-i sure han-i ninggûci aniya niyengniyeri uju biyade han-i hesei dahai baksi tonkin fuka sindame temgetulehe.* Weiers 1999, 88, 95.

[182]Both internal and external evidence precludes such a reading. The internal evidence concerns document A's spelling and its mention of the orthographic distinction of certain syllabic pairs. The 'first' and 'second characters' mentioned in the text refer to the first and second written syllables in the pairs *ta–da, te–de, ja–je,* and *ya–yen*, where *"yen"* is probably a mistake to be read **ye*. In reformed Manchu orthography, which is used in document A, these pairs are distinguished by the addition of a diacritic dot to the right of the syllable, serving to indicate either the voicing of the initial, in the case of *da* and *de*, or the value of the vowel, as in the remaining pairs, which all contain the vowel *-e*. Such examples of syllabic pairs that had not been distinguished in writing before the reform in fact only display the usages of one of the two diacritics associated with reformed Manchu: the 'dot' (*tongki* in standard orthography, spelled *tonkin* in document A), but not the 'circle' (*fuka*), which the document nevertheless mentions in the set phrase 'dots and circles' (*[tongki] fuka*). Although written sometime during the first few months of 1632, at most three months after the alleged addition of 'dots and circles' (diacritics) to the Manchu script by Dahai (i.e. the time elapsed between early February and late April, 1632), the printed text of document A takes for granted complete familiarity with the reformed orthography. The intended audience of this text, which, we recall, was printed and thus might have circulated, would thus have known how to apply the rules of the reform by the time it was announced: a highly implausible scenario. This internal evidence (both the text's simultaneous

reformed orthography.[183] Dahai can therefore hardly be credited with standardizing the dot's usage across the entire Manchu vocabulary.[184]

As previously noted, document A is remarkable for being a woodblock print, whereas the majority of the documents in the original Manchu archives are manuscripts. Indeed, even in the post-conquest period, documents recording the day to day workings of the Qīng government were recorded in manuscript form. There was no need for print, since the documents would only be produced in a single, or a few, copies. The fact that the text is printed, then, suggests it might have been intended for wider circulation, or at least for reproduction in several copies. The medium of print seems all the more remarkable if we also consider that the pre-conquest Manchus suffered from a chronic shortage of paper. (In 1632, one hundred sheets [?] of paper [*hoošan emu tanggô*] were included among the gifts bestowed on visitors to the court,[185] so we can assume it was considered valuable.) The rare use of print for archival material and its high costs given the shortage of paper suggest that document A must have been considered especially important.

We saw in the *Files of the Palace Historiographic Academy* that Hong Taiji around this time was actively urging his scribes to rectify the historical records to better reflect his understanding of events past. By November, 1633 at least, the *Files* showed Hong Taiji in the process of revising the record of the language reform. We might speculate that the revision process represented in the *Files* started earlier, in which case the document A xylograph could be interpreted as an example of the ruler or his faction's attempts to trim the historical record.

Entry A.1 is not the only piece of text included on the xylographed page of document A. The same printed page also contains another entry, separated by the former by an empty column and two circular marks. Like entry A.1, this one, entry A.2, also deals with script reform:

> [*Entry A.2:*]
>
> The basic (*da*) [alt. 'original'] *uju* were also still (*kemuni*) written as before. Later, the learned considered it, and [decided that] if a single advantage was to be found among ten thousand cases, it would be worthwhile [to adopt it as part of the

announcement of the invention of diacritics and its implicit expectation that the reader be familiar with their usage, as well the reference to both 'dots' and 'circles' while illustrating only the use of the former) indicates that the document ought not to be read as saying that Dahai invented the Manchu diacritics. Indeed, paleographic evidence has shown that the diacritic 'dots and circles' did not come into being in a way congruent with reading the document to say that Dahai invented them. The use of both diacritics is, in fact, attested in Manchu documents as early as 1623; as Weiers pointed out, they can therefore not have been invented in the course of Dahai's reform (Weiers 1999, 93). By late 1631, furthermore, the dot was used with the regularity associated with reformed Manchu, which means that even the regularization of the dot's usage cannot be considered the result of Dahai's reform alone (Weiers 2002, 272). Yet the fact that the dot was evidently in use by 1632 (exemplified by the orthography of the xylographed document itself), would explain the text taking the reader's familiarity with it for granted.

[183] Weiers 1998, 278.

[184] Kunggur [Guǎnglù] and Lǐ Xuézhì 1965, 28 even suggested that the dot initially did not even serve to distinguish two sounds, but was used to distinguish the transcriptions of certain Chinese and Korean surnames from the homophonous title of khan (Ma. *han*).

[185] Gruber 2006, 89, 93.

> orthography (?)]. From having been corrupted and inaccurate, the old *uju* were made clear.[186]

It is not obvious what events are described in entry A.2. Like entry A.1, the topic is clearly Manchu language reform. The involved parties are "the learned" (*margese*), identified using a more general term than the epithet *baksi*, 'Preceptor,'[187] used for Dahai in entry A.1. Unlike that entry, entry A.2 refers to a plurality of scholars, and thus probably more accurately reflected the way in which the reforms of written Manchu were actually carried out.

How are we to understand the relationship between the two entries of document A? They are separated by whitespace, but figure on the same printed page. Furthermore, they both deal with the topic of language reform. Yet there is no clearly discernible narrative progression between the two entries; in fact, entry A.2 almost reads like a restatement of entry A.1, using less specific and somewhat different language. In fact, the adverbs 'often, still, yet' (*kemuni*) and 'also' (*ino; inu* in standard orthography) are the only indicators that entry A.2 ought to be read as part of a longer narrative. Yet it is by no means clear that that narrative should include entry A.1.

The fact that the two entries of document A are printed seems to indicate that they are not original creations, but derived from manuscript originals. As mentioned above, we can assume that (especially earlier) entries in the old Manchu archives were edited versions of records that had originally been written down on wooden tablets. The length of entries A.1 and A.2 invites the question of whether they might have been originally written on disparate slips, and subsequently printed together because of their common subject matter.

Doubts as to whether entries A.1 and A.2 should belong together seem to have existed already in the pre-conquest period. The margin of document A carries a manuscript note *ara*, 'Write!', which Weiers interpreted to mean that the printed text was to be copied into some other compilation.[188] As I mentioned above, Weiers also established that entry A.1 was later edited and inserted as a manuscript note (document B) elsewhere in the archive.[189] I refer to this note as entry B.1, corresponding to entry A.1 in contents. The latter part of document B (the part following entry B.1) has been blocked out, but seems to correspond to entry A. 2. I refer to it as entry B.2. As I mentioned above, Qiáo Zhìzhōng has suggested that the marginalia giving instructions to 'Write!' (*ara*) in the old Manchu archives referred to the copying of material into the new *Files of the Palace Historiographic Academy*.[190] If that is the case, then we might construe the three corpora including variants of this story (the old archives, the *Files*, and the Hong Taiji *Veritable records*) as three stages in the writing of the history of Dahai's involvement in the Manchu script reform.

There is also indication in document B itself that it was to be used precisely with the purpose of rewriting the history of the changes applied to written Manchu. In document B,

[186]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 5, 139: *da uju be ino uthai fe kemuni uju de arahabi. amaga margese towafi ilgahangge tumen de emu niyacecun bici wajiha. murishun waka oci fe uju getuken bi.*

[187]See footnote 88 on page 117.

[188]Weiers 1999, 89.

[189]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 8, 383.

[190]Qiáo Zhìzhōng 1994, 82–83. Qiáo also noted, however, that not all material thus marked in the old Manchu archives have counterparts in the *Files of the Palace Historiographic Academy*.

the note on Dahai "adding dots and circles" to Manchu (entry B.1) is preceded by a sentence without counterpart in document A. Although also in manuscript, this sentence is clearly a later addition to the document B chirograph. The ductus is different: misspelled syllables have been blocked out and rewritten, and forgotten words inserted to the side after the fact. The sentence, which I refer to as entry B.3, reads:

> [*Entry B.3:*]
>
> On the order of the holy Khan, Preceptor Dahai improved the book (*bithe*) of twelve *uju*, which is recited for the purpose of learning, by adding dots and circles.[191]

The addition that is entry B.3 does not, unlike entry A.1, qualify Dahai's invention as concerning only the transcription of place names and personal names. Nor does it unequivocally identify Dahai as the inventor of the diacritics.

In the eighteenth-century rewriting of the original archive, the two entries were rewritten as one continuous entry, made to fit seamlessly into the chronological narrative of the political history of the early Manchu state.[192]

A separate document (Document C) with a one-line manuscript entry mentioning script reform (entry C.4) is found close to Document A in the archive.[193] The brief entry reads:

> [*Entry C.4:*]
>
> On this day the twelve *uju* were created and distributed on imperial order.[194]

I will discuss the import of this entry presently in the context of the term *uju*.

[191]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 8, 383: *enduringge han-i hesei dahai baksi tacime hûlara juwan juwe uju-i bithe be tongkin fuka sindame dasaha.* The word *enduringge* has been circled in the text, and the word *tacime* is written next to the running text, and has been added after the sentence was written. The text is also transcribed and translated in Weiers 1999, 88.

[192]Entry A.1 and entry A.2 were included essentially as they appeared on the original xylograph; that is, without a date. However, they were framed by events that were dated, implying the date of March 7, 1632 (Tiāncōng 6/1/17) also for this event (MBRT [1774] 1955–1963, 633–634; *Nèigé cáng "Mǎnwén lǎodàng"* [1774] 2009, 5790–5792; Matsumura Jun 1978, 26: *juwan juwe uju, dade tongki fuka akû, dergi fejergi hergen ilgan akû, ta da te de, ja je, ya ye, fakcan akû, gemu emu adali ofi, bai gisun hese bithe ohode, mudan ici be tuwame uthai ulhimbi ja, niyalmai gebu, ba na-i gebu ohode, tašarame ojorahû ofi, aisin gurun-i sure han-i ningguci aniya niyengniyeri ujui biyade, han-i hesei dahai baksi tongki fuka sindame temgetulehe, da uju be inu uthai fe kemuni uju de arahabi, amaga mergese tuwafi ilgahangge tumen de emu niyececun bici wajiha, murishûn waka oci, fe uju getuken bi.*) In the edited archive, entry B.3 was not included, indicating that the eighteenth-century editors relied not on document B but A.

[193]As mentioned in footnote 105 on page 120, when the original Manchu archives were found in Běijīng in 1931, the loose sheets of paper that had constituted the pre-conquest archive had been mounted onto codex-style volumes. Document C is found on the verso of the folio of the thus remounted original archives, whose recto contained the printed page that constitute document A.

[194]MWYD (1607–1636) 2005, vol. 5, 140: *tere inenggi juwan juwe uju arafi wasimbuha.*

Dahai in the Hong Taiji *Veritable records*

The pre-conquest documents discussed above seem to have formed the basis for the mentions of Dahai's reform of Manchu in the *Veritable records* for Hong Taiji's reign, which we find in both Manchu and Chinese versions, the latter of which is in addition extant in several redactions. Although all deriving presumably from the same sources, the various versions of the *Records* differ in unexpected ways. The date under which the events related are sorted changes from one redaction to another, and occasionally we find a few unexpected additions or reinterpretations of the narrative.

By virtue of its language, the Manchu version of the *Records* is the closest to the pre-conquest documents. The entry narrating Dahai's contributions to Manchu script reform is in that version dated to April 19, 1632 (Tiāncōng 6/3/1).[195] The wording of the entry shows that it is derived from entry A.1, discussed above.[196] The most notable difference between the *Veritable records* and entry A.1 is that the addition of dots and circles, although nominally still the work of Dahai, is presented as already fully conceptualized in Hong Taiji's head. As in the *Veritable records* entry describing the invention of the Manchu script on Nurhaci's orders, it is the ruler who is presented as the originator of the reform. Guān Kèxiào has pointed to the unlikelihood of this being true, as Hong Taiji had little interest in matters of language.[197]

Extant Chinese versions of the *Records* also date the episode to April 25, 1632 (Tiāncōng 6/3/7)[198] or April 19, 1632 (Tiāncōng 6/3/1),[199] but Dahai is in the two early versions said to have carried out his work in February or March (Tiāncōng 6/1).[200]

[195]TZoSL-II 1682, 11:19b: "The day of the Yellow Dog [i.e. *wùxū*], 3rd month, 6th year of the Wise Khan" (*sure han-i ningguci aniya … ilan biyai ice de suwayan indahûn inenggi*).

[196]The entry reads: "On this day, the Khan ordered Preceptor Dahai to distinguish [the characters] in the book (*bithe*) of the twelve *uju*, which are recited for the purpose of learning, by adding dots and circles. The book of the twelve *uju* did not originally have dots and circles. The first and the second characters were not separated, [but] understanding in accordance with the right sound was easy in the case of set phrases written in the documents. [Yet] in the case of the names of places and people, [the lack of distinctions] will lead to mistakes. Thus they were corrected by Dahai by the addition of dots and circles" (TZoSL-II 1682, 11:20b: *tere inenggi, han, dahai baksi de afabufi, tacime hûlara juwan juwe uju bithe be tongki, fuka sindame ilgaha. juwan juwe uju bithe, dade tongki, fuka akû, dergi fejergi hergen ilgabun akû ofi, bithe de araha an-i gisun ohode, mudan ici be tuwame uthai ulhimbi ja. niyalmai gebu, ba na-i gebu ohode, tašarabumbihe. tuttu ofi dahai de afabufi, tongki, fuka sindame dasabuha*).

[197]Guān Kèxiào 1997, 14.

[198]NGDKDA 1619–1911, document no. 166449-001.

[199]TZoSL-I 1655–1682, 9:14b; TZoSL-III (1739) 1986, 156.

[200]That is, in NGDKDA 1619–1911, document no. 166449-001 and TZoSL-I 1655–1682, 9:14b. In the earliest of the two, the entry reads: "The Emperor ordered Preceptor Dahai to add new dots and circles to the twelve heads that are read (*dú shū*) in this country. The [*in a later interpolation:* book (*shū*) of the] twelve character heads did not originally have dots and circles, and the first and second characters were not separated and largely indistinguishable. When writing vernacular words (*xiě súyǔ*) [*blocked out and replaced with:* if one composes text in dialect *(this change shows that the Chinese translators also struggled with the Manchu expression* bai gisun*, for which see footnote 179 on page 140)*] it is easy to understand by following the traces [of the characters]. As for the names of places and people, there are many mistakes. The Emperor [*in a later interpolation:* in the 1st month of the 6th year (February 20–March 20, 1632)] ordered Preceptor Dahai to begin adding dots and circles in order

The most recent redaction (1739) of the *Records* added a mention of the study of the 'twelve *uju*' by children.[201] This piece of information is not found in the earlier Chinese versions, nor in the extant Manchu version. It is consequently difficult to use it as evidence of how the script was taught in the pre-conquest period.[202] Also unlike the earlier Chinese-language versions, the redaction from 1739 placed the description of Dahai's feat directly in the mouth of Hong Taiji himself, similarly to the Manchu version. Yet the phrasing of the description of the reform remained the same in the 1739 version and the earlier Chinese versions, making it appear as if Hong Taiji were recapitulating the contents of the reform as if it were in the past, even though it cannot yet have taken place when he gave the order. In light of these discrepancies, the 1739 version appears relatively unreliable.

In the preceding sections, I have presented the mentions of Dahai's reform of the Manchu

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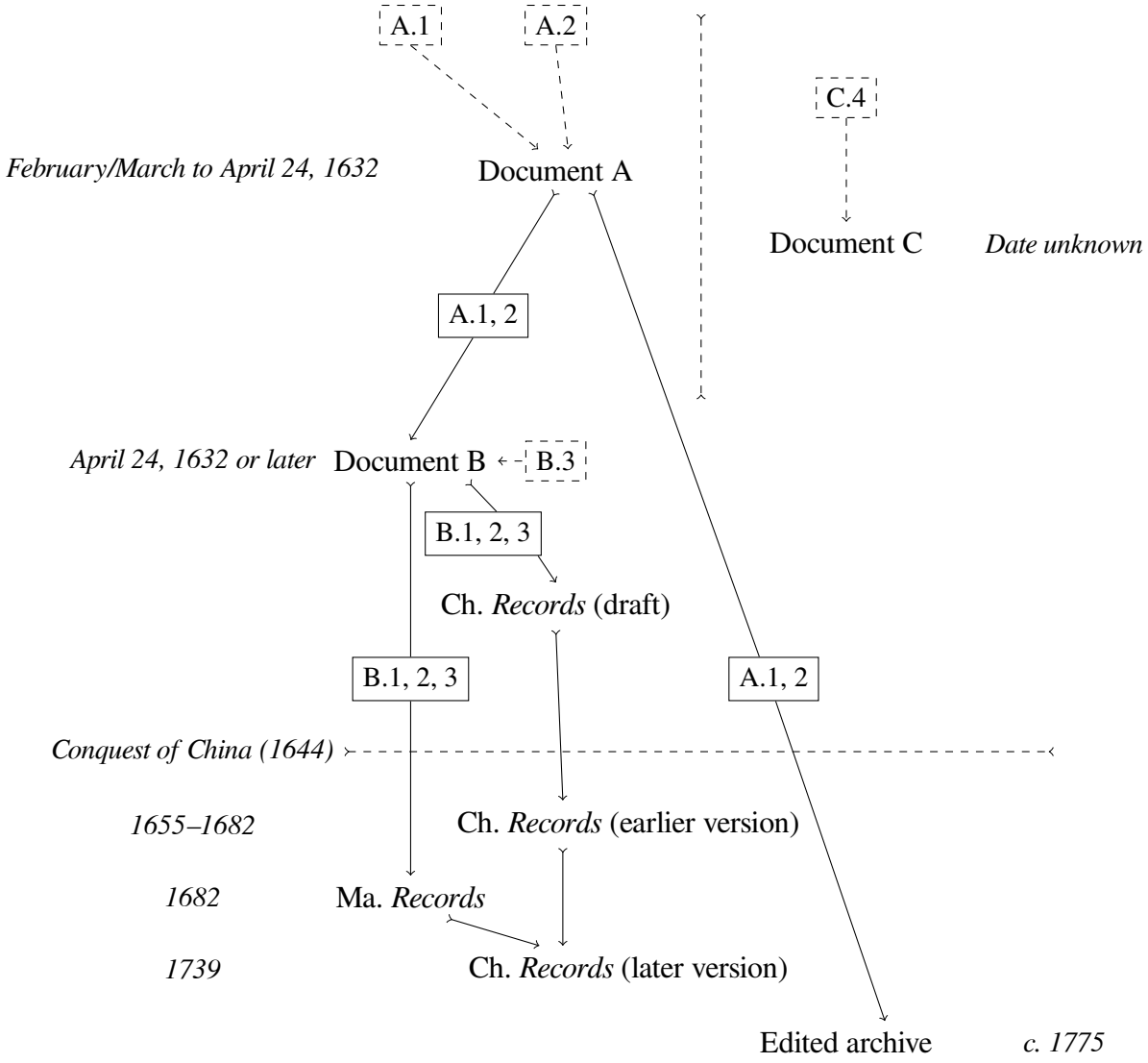
to distinguish them" (NGDKDA 1619–1911, document no. 166449-001: 初七 [interpolation: 上命] 大海榜什奉旨, 將本國所讀書十二頭新加圈點。十二頭 [interpolation: 書] 原無圈點, 上下字無 [blocked out: 分] 別, 大約雷同, 而 [one character blocked out] 俗語寫 [preceding three characters blocked out and replaced with: 盖以方言成] 書, 摹倣行像容 [preceding character blocked out] 易 [interpolation: 于] 曉得 [preceding two characters blocked out and replaced with: 暢而已]。至于 [preceding character blocked out] 人名、地名, 多有 [last two characters blocked out; two characters interpolated: 實多] 舛錯。上 [interpolated: 于六年正月为] 令大海榜什, 始加圈點, 以分析之). The passage is similar in the other version.

[201] "The Emperor ordered Preceptor Dahai: 'The characters in twelve heads of our dynastic language did not use to have dots and circles. The first and the second characters were identical and impossible to differentiate. [If one has] studied them as a child (*yòu xuéxí zhī*), it is easy to understand common words and phrases encountered in the documents completely when considering the meaning of the passage in which they occur. But when it comes to the names of people and places, mistakes necessarily arise. If you could consider adding circles and dots in order to differentiate the characters, then the sound and the meaning would be clarified. This would be very beneficial for our knowledge of the characters'" (TZoSL-III [1739] 1986, 156: 上論巴克什達海曰：「國書十二頭字, 向無圈點；上下字雷同無別。幼學習之, 遇書中尋常語言, 視其文義, 易於通曉。若至人名地名, 必致錯誤。爾可酌加圈點以分析之, 則音義明曉。於字學更有裨益矣」). The Manchu version of the *Records* described the *uju* as being "recited for the purpose of learning." This phrase originated in entry B.3 of the original Manchu archive. The statements on children studying the *uju* in the 1739 redaction of the Chinese *Records* might be a liberal reinterpretation of that original Manchu statement, in which case the editors of the 1739 version would have revised the Chinese *Records* in reference to the Manchu version, now extant only in the 1682 redaction quoted in footnote 196 on page 144.

[202] Yet this circumstance has not prevented some scholars to take it as a fact at face value. Zhāng Jié 2007, 178 even interprets the subjectless clause in *yòu xuéxí zhī* as being in the indicative mood, thus referring to Hong Taiji's own experience of having studied Manchu, as opposed to Chinese, as a child. According to that reading, which I have not followed, the *uju* would have been used in the instruction of children already in the first years of the 1600s, corresponding to Hong Taiji's boyhood. The interpretation of the phrase as referring to Hong Taiji's own experience is unlikely, as nothing similar in implied by the Manchu phrase in entry B.3, which is probably at the root of this statement. I read the clause rather as being in the conditional mood, with an undefined third-person subject, which would situate the sentence in the speaker's present: 1632. The textual history of the story prevents us from inferring that Hong Taiji, who was born in 1592, would have studied the *uju* as a child. In all likelihood, the concept of *uju* had not yet entered Manchu metalinguistic discourse at the time of Hong Taiji's schooling.



Note: Documents A, B, and C are from the original Manchu archive. A.1, A.2 and perhaps also other entries might originally have been written on wooden slips.

Figure 3.6 – Dahai and the Manchu Script (Textual Transmission)

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script that we find in the pre-conquest documents and their descendant, the Hong Taiji *Veritable records*. I have summarized my conclusions regarding the relationship between these documents in figure 3.6. The conclusions by necessity remain to a large extent conjectural.

Linguistic Context for the Development of Written Manchu

We have seen in the preceding sections that the original archive can tell us little about how Manchu record keeping began. It is clear it was well established in 1607, and that as the throne's main secretary, Erdeni probably contributed much to its development. Whether people in the first decade of the seventeenth century thought of the commitment of the Manchu

language to writing as the 'invention' of a writing system is highly doubtful. The important change appears to be the decision to shift the administration from Mongol to Manchu. The earliest source to quote Nurhaci's admonishment to write Manchu (dated 1633 in the *Files*) does not do so in order to demonstrate his linguistic genius, but his authority. Indeed, it is possible that the Manchu language was intermittently written down using the Uighur-Mongol script before Nurhaci created his administration, as some of the Korean records from the 1490s might suggest. At the very least, the political choice of establishing an administration in the state language was what mattered to the individuals in the 1630s who compiled the *Veritable records* for Nurhaci's reign, quite possibly with one eye toward similar instances earlier in the history of Inner Asia.

The original archive also tells us that that deliberate steps to regulate Manchu orthography were taken in the early 1630s, and that Dahai was one of the individuals involved. The documents also tell us that it was in essence a collective undertaking by the civil officials (the 'learned'). Hong Taiji does not appear to have been involved until at the very end, when he would have provided the necessary endorsement needed for the promulgation of the reformed orthography. Paleographic evidence (the forms of Manchu graphs seen in wooden and paper documents) shows that scribes introduced innovations into the script beginning in the early 1620s. Orthographic idiosyncrasies did not disappear until the late '30s.

The collective and drawn-out character of Manchu orthographic change is clear from the sources and has been confirmed in recent scholarship. The motivation and inspiration for the change are not clear. Yet the motivation has largely been taken for granted: as stated in the original documents, unfamiliar words were hard to read in the old orthography because of the phonetic polyvalence of many graphs. That may very well be, but difficulty or complexity does not necessarily lead to the change of a writing system. The question remains why the change happened in the 1620s and '30s.

Most of the discussion on Manchu script reform has centered on the influences. Many suggestions regarding possible influence have been put forth, not all of them likely. So far, inquiries into the influences on the script reform have focused on the shape of the graphs, which have been identified as influenced by, for instance, Chinese writing practices or the Korean alphabet.

Despite the proximity to China, the Manchu language is, as mentioned, unrelated to Chinese, and Chinese writing does not seem to have influenced the development of either the Manchu script or the syllabary. Yet Huáng Xīhuì has argued that the two diacritics characteristic of reformed Manchu, the circle and the dot, were inspired by Chinese punctuation marks as used in the late Míng, namely the ancestors of the modern punctuation marks 、and 。. Although hard evidence is lacking, Huáng proposed to explain the fact that the Manchu diacritics modify the sound of the affected graph, as opposed to merely regulating the pace of reading, by interpreting the addition of diacritics as a means to "highlight and stress a difference in pronunciation," corresponding to the "stressing and highlighting of a given expression's meaning" in Chinese punctuation practice.[203] This view seems to presuppose that the Manchu diacritics were added in an ad hoc manner as the writer or, perhaps, even the reader went through a text originally written without diacritics. Although congruent with the cumulative and drawn out genesis of some of the new Manchu graphs, such a conception seems hard to reconcile

[203] Huáng Xīhuì (2003) 2008, 208: 强调、突出该文词的意义…突出强调语音的区别.

with both the systematic use of diacritics as integral parts of the writing system itself, and the apparently planned character of some changes from old to new Manchu. Chinese punctuation practice was not standardized nor uniform to any comparable extent. Ultimately, the great difference in the role played by late-Míng Chinese punctuation and the diacritics of reformed Manchu makes Huáng's argument unconvincing. Moreover, there is no evidence that Chinese practices influenced the organization of the Manchu script into a syllabary.

Ross King has proposed that the Korean alphabet directly influenced the reforms that written Manchu underwent some decades after it was first adopted from Mongol. King proposed that the use of a dot to distinguish vowel pairs in reformed Manchu (*a* and *e*; *o* and *u*) could have been inspired by the dot in early han'gŭl, where it was used as a diacritic placed to the side of a horizontal or vertical line to spell various vowels. The Manchu use of the dot to distinguish the voiced equivalents of velar and dental stops (*t* and *d*; *k* and *g*) would have been introduced in a second moment of the reform, when the realization that the front and back vowels were already graphically distinguished in syllables with dental and velar stop onsets would have freed the dot for this new function.[204] The circle, the other diacritic characteristic of reformed Manchu, would similarly have been derived from the circle in han'gŭl, where it in the script's early days was used to indicate a "throatish" quality of a labial consonant. The association of the Korean circle with both sounds pronounced in the throat (like Manchu *h,* written with a circle) and with labials (like certain Manchu letters occasionally seen in pre-conquest Manchu documents, but later discontinued) would, according to King, indicate that it was the inspiration for the similar Manchu diacritic.[205] In addition, King suggested that the shapes of some of the Manchu characters used to transcribe Chinese might also have been inspired by Korean graphs.[206]

In the discussion of the development of han'gŭl earlier in this chapter, we saw that some Chosŏn scholars analyzed the Korean syllable as subdividing into three sounds. Those three sounds correspond to the modern terminology's characterization of the Korean syllable as having a Consonant-Vowel-Consonant, or CVC, structure. King took note of the Korean scholars' use of such a tripartite analysis and also saw it represented in the structure of the reformed Manchu script. He admitted that "it would have taken more than a casual acquaintance with the Korean script … to give Dahai (or whoever) the idea of a CVC syllable," but nevertheless claimed to find the "concept of CVC syllable" represented in reformed Manchu.[207] I disagree; the Chinese and Inner Asian traditions as surveyed in this and preceding

[204] King 1987, 260–261.

[205] King 1987, 261–264.

[206] King 1987, 264–265. King here also proposed that Manchu *sye-* included "the sign for /r/ flopped over to the right to capture the 'r'-like timbre in the acoustics of these Chinese syllables. Cf. the Yale romanization system for Chinese, which writes *cr, zr, chr,* etc." Yale Romanization might spell them as such, but there is no indication that Chinese students of Manchu in the Qīng period associated the syllables written in *pīnyīn* as *ci, si, shi* etc. as containing a sound similar to the Manchu *r-*, which they tried to capture using *pīnyīn er, le* etc., struggling to keep it distinct from Manchu *l-* in their transcription (as discussed somewhat in Söderblom Saarela 2014b, 17). It seems that the Yale Romanization appeals to the sound value of /r/ in English in its transcription of these Chinese syllables. Naturally, this would have been unknown to either Chinese or Manchus in the seventeenth century.

[207] King 1987, 260, 266.

chapters suggest to me that the dominant metalinguistic paradigm in all cases was rather a bipartite analysis into *akṣara*. The Manchu syllabary, I argue, recognized only two parts of the syllable. The Manchus did not gain an idea of the CVC syllable from the Koreans. Might the Korean script, as understood and presented in the Chosŏn period, have influenced the creation of the Manchu syllabary in some other way?

We remember that some of the Chosŏn sources discussed earlier suggest that Korean metalinguistic discourse exhibited occasional similarity with the dominant paradigm in China. Rather than showing that Chosŏn scholars operated with an unambiguous and well articulated notion of the CVC syllable, Korean practices of indicating the pronunciation of han'gŭl graphs might in fact indicate that for some Chosŏn writers or readers at least, the syllable, perhaps subdivided into two parts (initial and rhyme; *akṣara*), constituted the most important unit of writing. Familiarity with Chosŏn metalinguistic discourse might thus not have immediately resulted in the syllabic paradigm's replacement with an alphabetical (CVC) understanding of Manchu writing in the mind of a Manchu scholar. Yet what Ross King was suggesting was that the Manchus had acquired the concept of a syllable constructed by a linear sequences of consonants and vowels from Chosŏn texts or scholars. As I will show in chapter 5, such an understanding is completely absent in the texts where we would most expect if King were correct, namely in the Manchu syllabaries. Regardless of the possible Korean influence on certain character shapes in reformed Manchu, the han'gŭl alphabet does not seem to have influenced Manchu ideas of the relationship between speech sounds and writing. At the very least, I see no sign of the Chosŏn idea of the syllable consisting of 'initial,' 'medial,' and 'final' sounds in the Manchu syllabary, just as the presentations of the Korean alphabet in groups of characters organized according to their combinatorial possibilities bears no resemblance to the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections.

The Creation of the Syllabary

It appears, then, that the formation of a Manchu syllabary in twelve sections happened independently of Chinese or Korean influence. The syllabary, as chapter 5 will show, was ubiquitous in the post-conquest period, greatly influencing how learners of written Manchu conceptualized the script. The evidence suggests it was developed in the 1630s. In this last section of the chapter, I will discuss the linguistic context for the organization of the script into a syllabary in twelve sections.

We will start by examining the metalinguistic discourse of the pre-conquest period to the extent that it is recoverable from the extant documents. At the center of that investigation is the term *uju*, which we repeatedly encountered in the documents. In the pre-conquest Manchu archive, the term *uju* occurs together with the term *hergen* in reference to the constituents of the script. Before discussing the meaning of *uju*, I will briefly treat *hergen*.

The word *hergen* might be of relatively recent origin. As far as I can tell, it is not attested in Jurchen, the related language spoken and written by the rulers of the Jīn state that preceded the Manchus. Most Jurchen words related to 'writing' seem to be derived from a cognate of *bit[h]e*,[208] which we saw was used in the pre-conquest Manchu archive in the sense of 'document' or 'book.' This word is related to the Mongol word *bičig*, 'writing; book,' which

[208] Kane 1989, 355–358.

in the early seventeenth century was used by Manchu scribes (or Mongol scribes in Manchu service) also in the sense of "written graphs" (*Schriftzeichen*)[209] in a way similar to the earlier Jurchen usage.

The word *hergen* is an outlier among the Tungusic languages, the language family into which Manchu is commonly grouped. V. I. T͡Sint͡sius's comparative Manchu-Tungus dictionary lists the word as present only in Manchu, deriving it from a verbal root meaning "to be constituted by lines or scratches (on a mirror or lacquered objects)."[210] That the word originally referred to lines in general (as opposed to the lines of writing) is also suggested by the practice of the "*hergen* prison," which referred to an area enclosed by drawing lines on the ground, inside which prisoners were kept for detention and public viewing.[211] The word's sense of 'writing,' then, seems to me to have been introduced by people who could not read, for whom written language looked like scratches or lines. In the post-conquest period, Manchu *hergen* generally corresponded to Chinese *zì*, '[Chinese] character.' In that sense, its Mongol equivalent is the etymologically unrelated word *üsüg*.[212] Manchu *hergen* appears to have no relation to Mongol *üsüg*, but we saw earlier that *üsüg* was used to translate *akṣara* in seventeenth-century Mongol texts. In this usage, it might have influenced Manchu metalinguistic parlance in a different way.

I turn now to *uju*. In quotations, I have hitherto left the term *uju* untranslated. Post-conquest bilingual syllabaries often carry the title *juwan juwe uju* in Manchu and *shíèr zìtóu* in Chinese. The Chinese title translates as 'the twelve character heads.' The Manchu word for 'head' is indeed *uju*, so people since the Qīng period has construed *juwan juwe uju* to mean 'the twelve heads.' To my knowledge, the earliest translation of *uju* as 'head' in reference to the syllabary dates from between 1644 and 1655. That translation is clearly a draft apparently carried out on the fly.[213]

In the following discussion, I will suggest that the translation of *uju* as 'head' in the context of the Manchu syllabary is not necessarily correct from the point of view of etymology. Rather, *uju* used in reference to the script might originally have been a different word that had nothing to do with the Manchu word for 'head.' Several circumstances suggest this possibility.

Writers in the post-conquest period seem to have disagreed on what the *uju* of the 'twelve *uju*' were. As mentioned, the phrase was most commonly construed as meaning the 'twelve character heads,' judging from its Chinese translation. In light of the structure of the syllabary, we would assume that the 'character heads' referred to the twelve syllabic codas that defined the sections of the syllabary. Yet some writers seem to have considered the 'twelve *uju*' to refer to the twelve sections as lists of characters, not to the twelve codas that characterized each of the twelve sections. Several sources from the early Qīng period translated *juwan juwe uju* as *shíèr piān* 十二篇, 'the twelve sections' or 'chapters.' Examples include a stele erected

[209]Weiers 1986, 45. The source discussed there dates from 1632.

[210]T͡Sint͡sius 1975–1977, vol. 1, 482: *образовываться линиям, царапинам (*на зеркале или лакированной вещи*)*.

[211]Oshibuchi Hajime 1950, 333: *hergen* の牢.

[212]On the Mongol term: Róna-Tas 1965, 133.

[213]NGDKDA 1619–1911, document no. 166449-00. I quote and translate the relevant passage in footnote 200 on page 144.

in Manchuria in 1670.[214] Similarly, a Manchu-Chinese dictionary published in 1683 referred to the syllabary's sections as "the twelve sections" (*shíèr piān*).[215] A source apparently dating from the nineteenth century talked about "the sixth section [*piān*] among the twelve heads [*tóu*]," distinguishing *uju*/*tóu* and 'section.'[216]

Some post-conquest sources written in Chinese do not translate metalinguistic *uju* at all. One book on Manchu grammar from 1724, for example, called the syllabary "the characters of the twelve *wūzhū*,"[217] using two Chinese characters to transcribe the sound of *uju*. The writer might not have identified the term as a an instance of 'head,' considering it a technical term for which there was no Chinese translation.

A nineteenth-century collection of jottings offered an alternative transcription into Chinese, noting that "*wùshù* [i.e. Ma. *uju*] is also written as *wūzhū*."[218] This transcription is seen in a manuscript textbook also probably of nineteenth-century provenance, in which the Manchu graph *b-* is referred to as *bāyàn wùshù* 巴彥兀术, which would transcribe Manchu *bayan uju* (or Mongol *bayan üsüg*), "the rich *uju*," a phrase in which the first graph was *b-*.[219] (I will return to the significance of this phrase in a different context in chapter 5.)

The transcription of *uju* as *wūzhū*/*wùshù* is also seen in transcriptions of the title of the book *teisu teisu sain be kicebure dehi uju-i bithe* (truncated to *déxǐ wūzhū* 德喜烏朱 in Chinese transcription), which perhaps translates most appropriately as "Book of forty items for the pursuit of good." The work, which circulated in the third quarter of the seventeenth century[220] or maybe even earlier,[221] was a didactic text used in the education of Manchu children and, evidently, of Chinese adults learning Manchu.[222]

The book contained forty numbered points on morality, each made up of roughly one Manchu sentence. It is possible that its title was formed in analogy with *juwan juwe uju*, which was also used in elementary Manchu education. If that is the case, the 'items' of *dehi uju* should correspond to the 'sections' of *juwan juwe uju*. Yet the correspondence is not very neat. The forty items of *dehi uju* are grouped into ten sections, each dealing with a specific theme.[223] However, in the earliest copy available to me, the ten sections are not named or otherwise delineated on the page. The forty 'items,' however, are each preceded by the circular mark. This mark, which might be an adaptation of the Mongol *birga*, is also seen in the pre-conquest Manchu records to separate entries on the page. The printed collection that includes the earliest *dehi uju* also includes a Manchu syllabary (titled *shíèr zìtóu*), where each section is similarly distinguished by means of the circular mark.[224] For the compiler of that collection,

[214] See footnote 169 on page 137.
[215] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:3a.
[216] "Chūxué biānshí Qīngzì xūzhī" n.d., no pagination: 十二頭中第六篇.
[217] Shàng Yùzhāng 1724, 8a: 十二烏朱之字.
[218] Fú-gé (1850–1900) 1984, 218: 兀术亦作烏珠.
[219] "Chūxué biānshí Qīngzì xūzhī" n.d., no pagination.
[220] Imanishi Shunjū 1956, 9.
[221] *"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 5, 409.
[222] Whence its inclusion in Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, where its title is translated as *sìshí yào* 四十要, 'the forty essentials' (1:1a).
[223] *"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 5, 409.
[224] Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713.

a Chinese Southerner who learned Manchu in adulthood (see chapter 4), *uju*, 'head' might perhaps have referred to that circular mark.[225]

Despite the occasional identification of *uju* with 'section,' the majority view appears to have been that they referred to the syllabic codas. The writer of the collection of jottings cited previously made this conceptualization explicit when he translated the phrase *juwan juwe uju* as *shíèr zìmǔ* 十二字母, 'the twelve character-genera.'[226] As we saw in chapter 2, the term he used was borrowed from Chinese phonology, where it is often translated as 'initial.' That translation might seem inappropriate given the *uju*s' role as syllabic codas. However, the 'initials' in Chinese phonology referred to a fixed sequence of Chinese characters, each representing one sound. Perhaps that similarity appealed to the writer. It is in any case clear that he thought of *uju* as referring to the syllabic codas, not the sections of the syllabary.

The following argument is based on the assumption that *uju* in the context of the syllabary for the pre-conquest Manchus meant the syllabic codas. We saw in chapter 2 that in the Sanskrit linguistic tradition, centered on Indic 'alphasyllabaries' like Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, and Siddhaṃ, the syllable was analyzed as composed of two parts, called *akṣara* and defined as the onset and nucleus on the one hand, and the coda on the other.[227] The structure of the Manchu syllabary can be easily understood in terms from the Sanskrit tradition. Using the Indic terminology, we can say that the *uju*, as codas, constituted one sequence of *akṣara*. Furthermore, inside each of the twelve sections, the *uju* were paired with another series of *akṣara* in the form of onsets-and-nuclei. In the structure of the syllabary, then, the *uju* referred to the last part or second *akṣara* of a syllable.

Why would a word meaning 'head' be used to refer to the last part of something? Indeed, research into the etymology of the Manchu word for 'head' has shown that it originally referred to the head of a person and later developed secondary meanings of 'the first part of something' and so on.[228] The word *uju* as referring to 'the first part' of written syllables is in fact attested in Manchu metalinguistic discourse. Notably, the Sibe people living in today's Xīnjiāng, who speak and write a dialect of Manchu, use the word *uju* in reference to parts of the Manchu script, just as people in the Qīng period did. However, in addition to still referring to the second and last *akṣara* of syllables, the word *uju* is in Sibe parlance also used in reference to the initial part of a syllable.[229] Manchu characters are written by hand beginning with the onset, so such a usage is not very surprising. The consequence, however, is that the Sibe use the word(s) *uju* in two exactly opposite senses, referring to either the first or the last parts of a written syllable.

The use of *uju*, homophonous with 'head,' to refer to the last part of a syllable seems to have appeared odd and in need of an explanation already to people in the Qīng period.

[225]Other Manchu books with titles that include a number exist (e.g., the book studied in Ura Ren'ichi and Itō Takao 1957). Furthermore, there is the Manchu book titled, in Chinese, *Qī běntóu* 七本頭 (The seven books; 1704). The Manchu title of this book was merely a transcription of the Chinese: *ci ben deo* (Ch'oe Hakkŭn 1972). It does not appear that *deo*/*tóu* in that title had any link to the *uju*/*tóu* correspondences studied above.

[226]Fú-gé (1850–1900) 1984, 217.

[227]Patel 2007, 173.

[228]La Fuente 2010–2011.

[229]Stary 2006, 15–16.

For example, a text probably of nineteenth-century provenance claimed that the twelve latter *akṣara* "are called 'heads' (*tóu*) because they are the leaders (*shǒulǐng*) of characters."[230] The existence of such an explanation, hinging on an ill-fitting metaphor, shows that the naming of the final parts of syllables as something understood as meaning 'heads' was counterintuitive to individuals in the Qīng period.

The word *uju* in the sense of 'latter *akṣara* of a Manchu syllable' might not, then, necessarily represent a particular usage of the Manchu word for 'head,' but could be an independent word homophonous with the word for 'head.' As the script came to the Manchus from the Mongols, it would make sense to assume that the terms used to talk about the script also came from them, which is indeed the case.

At first glance, there is no obvious Mongol candidate as the origin for the Manchu concept of *uju*. The coincidence of the structure of the Manchu syllabary with an analysis based on *akṣara* suggests that the Indic tradition might have contributed to its creation. We saw that in China and Korea, the Indic linguistic tradition was perpetuated as the study of the Siddhaṃ script. That script even operated with a division of twelve syllabic codas occasionally referred to as the 'twelve turnings.' Yet no single concept used in Chinese or Korean Siddhaṃ studies appears to have been the origin of Manchu *uju*.

The vehicle for Indic learning in Inner Asia was Buddhism especially in its Tibetan form. As we saw, Tibetan Buddhism became more influential among the Eastern Mongols in the sixteenth century. Xiè Guózhēn 謝國禎 (1901–1982), pioneering historian of the Qīng period, even conjectured that "the Manchu script was created by Mongol monks."[231] There is nothing to indicate that Erdeni, Kûrcan, or Dahai were monks. However, as individuals reaching maturity before Manchu was written on a large scale as part of Nurhaci's administration and budding education system, some of these individuals (and Erdeni must have been one of them) probably learned to read and write Mongol by studying with monks. It is possible that in Mongol monastic schools, the Uighur-Mongol script was taught based on the concept of *akṣara*.

Establishing a Mongol origin for the organization of the Manchu script around the notion of *uju* is complicated by the fact that no extant Mongol syllabary seems to predate the contact with written Manchu. Extant monolingual Mongol syllabaries from Eastern Inner Mongolia show clear influence of Manchu.[232] Their existence thus testifies to the Manchu influence on Mongol educational practices in the post-conquest period, not to an early Mongol influence on the creation of a Manchu syllabary in twelve sections.

Elements of Mongol pedagogical practice from before the development of Manchu record-keeping nevertheless shows that the Manchus' debt to the Mongols included not just the graphs of the script, but also elements of its organization. Kara has described a treatise on Mongol orthography dating perhaps to the seventeenth century, which provides a sequence of onsets-and-nuclei clearly related to that found in the Manchu syllabary, with which it is nevertheless

[230]"Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá" n.d., vol. 1, under "Tentative discursive analysis of the Manchu script" (Ch. *Guóshū nǐ yìjǐe* 國書擬議解; Ma. *manju hergen be dursuleme gisurere subun-i bithe*; no pagination): 謂之頭者，言字之首領.

[231]Xiè Guózhēn (1933) 2005, 190–191: 滿洲字之製造，即由蒙古僧侶所爲.

[232]E.g., "Mongγol üsüg-ün arban qoyar čaγan toloγai, *IMASS 41.239 5:2*" n.d.; "Arban qoyar čaγan toloγai" n.d.; *Mongγol üsüg-ün čaγan toloγai-yin arban goyar kubilγadasu* n.d.

not identical. Yet the treatise does not distinguish a sequence of codas, which is the defining feature of the Manchu syllabary.[233] Its sequence of onsets-and-nuclei, which along with the Uighur-Mongol script itself ultimately has Near Eastern roots,[234] is clearly the origin of the Manchu syllabary's inner sequence of *akṣara*,[235] but the book cannot be the origin of the outer sequence of twelve final *akṣara*, which is what the Manchus called *uju*.

We are, then, unable to trace the Manchu concept of *uju* as originating in the structure of Mongol syllabaries. It appears that the Manchus' use of the term to refer specifically to the latter *akṣara* of a syllable was of their own invention. The very word *uju* (as separate from the word for 'head'), however, might have been of Mongol origin.

The spelling, in Uighur-Mongol script, of *üsüg* is already fairly close to *uju*. The root *uju-*, 'head-' is seen in the unreformed Manchu script in the original archive in the word *ûjolafi* (where *-f-* is written using a graph that was later discarded), the perfective converbal form of a verb meaning 'to be the first; to be the head; to be in charge,' later written in standard orthography as *ujulafi*.[236] The passage from *û-* in unreformed orthography to *u-* in later standard orthography is common.[237] We would, then, expect that a Mongol word with an initial *ü-* would pass into unreformed Manchu as the graphically identical *û-*, which would change to *u-* during the passage to standard orthography. If Mongol *üsüg* entered spoken Manchu, we would assume it to have undergone this change as well.

The pronunciation of the Mongol word *üsüg* is, furthermore, irregular, making it even closer to the sound of Manchu *uju*. In spoken Mongol of the Qīng period as well as in our days, *üsüg* was often pronounced as *üǰüg*,[238] an irregular pronunciation that was also hinted at by Mongol grammarians of the Qīng.[239] One Mongol sūtra dating from before 1795 appears to have used the spelling *üǰüg* consistently in the place of *üsüg*.[240] A trilingual thesaurus from 1780 noted that Mongol "*üsüg* is read as *wūzhū*" (*üsüg dú wūzhū* 讀烏珠),[241] using a Chinese transcription that we saw often rendered Manchu *uju*. The calamus, the wooden or red pen used as a writing implement among the Mongols, was also called *üǰüg*.[242]

Finally, there is the issue of the final *-g* in *üsüg*, which is not seen in Manchu *uju*. Standard Manchu does not know word-final velar stops (*-g* or *-k*) other than in loans and onomatopeia.[243] Not surprisingly, then, we see that some Mongol words lost their final *-g* when they passed into Manchu.[244] If *üsüg* entered spoken Manchu, it might also have dropped its final *-g*.

[233]Kara 2011.

[234]Kara 2005, 31.

[235]Judging from the order given in Kara 1996, 546.

[236]Ortai and Sioi Yuwan Meng (1741) 1959, 25; Melles 1976, 322.

[237]Sŏng Paegin (1978) 1999, 292.

[238]MKT 1999, 324 for the modern word.

[239]Taube 1961, 154 (including in the notes). Taube's source does not positively identify the pronunciation *üǰüg*, but notes that the word *üsüg* had an irregular pronunciation.

[240]Item 453 in Heissig 1961, 249, as transcribed in Heissig 1976, 327–328.

[241]*Yùzhì Mǎnzhū … Qīngwén jiàn* 1780, *fánlì*:2a; Kuribayashi Hitoshi and Hurelbator 2006, vi.

[242]Kara 2011, 64.

[243]Vovin 1997, 265; Gorelova 2002, 102, which only discuss *-k* in this context (word-final consonants in standard Manchu appear to always have been unvoiced).

[244]Ligeti 1960, 243 cites Ma. *sirge*, 'silk thread,' from Mo. *sirkeg*.

To sum up: if Mongol *üsüg* would have been borrowed into Manchu before the 1620s, it might have passed from *üsüg* (*üǰüg*) to **ûjo(g)* to *uju*.

In light of the circumstantial evidence presented here, let us assume that (1) the Eastern Mongols of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries pronounced the word *üsüg* as *üǰüg*; (2) used it in the sense of *akṣara*; and (3) educated the individuals who later kept records for Nurhaci. If those assumptions are correct, the conclusion that the Manchus borrowed the word from the Mongols in the form of *uju* seems quite likely.[245]

The fact that the term *uju* was used by the Manchus to refer to a particular pedagogical organization of the script into a syllabary in twelve sections suggest that it was imparted to them as part of Mongol metalinguistic discourse and language teaching. Presumably, the Manchus would have borrowed the word initially in the sense of subsyllabic constituents of the script (i.e. as *akṣara*). Some pre-conquest documents indeed appear to use the term in that sense. Entry A.2 spoke of the "basic *uju*" (*da uju*).[246] It is possible that this phrase is formed in analogy with the Mongol expression *aq-a üsüg*, 'senior written characters,' referring to the vowels as independent syllables (Mo. *a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü*), or *yeke ündüsün üsüg*, 'great root letters,' referring to the vowels that do not change shape when written inside words (Mo. *o, u, ö, ü*).[247] Manchu *da*, like Mongol *ündüsün*, has the meaning of 'root.'

At some point the meaning of the term *uju* in Manchu appears to have shifted to refer only to the second *akṣara* of a syllable and then to the syllabary organized around twelve such *akṣara* (e.g., in entry A.1). The timing of that second shift would arguably have coincided with the invention of the Manchu syllabary as we know it from post-conquest sources.

The spelling of the Manchu word *uju* indicates that it was not translated into written Manchu from written Mongol, but rather, that it either entered written Manchu from spoken Mongol directly, plausibly mediated by people literate in Manchu but not in Mongol, or did not become written down in Manchu until after the word had been absorbed by the spoken language and its Mongol origins forgotten. Otherwise, we might have expected also the adoption of the Mongol spelling in written Manchu, which did not happen. This circumstance suggests that the Manchu syllabary was not created by the first generation of Manchu scribes, who like Erdeni had learned to read and write first in Mongol and only in adulthood learned to use the Uighur-Mongol script to also record the Manchu language. As this group later taught the Manchu script to Manchu speakers who did not know Mongol, their use of the word *üǰüg* in the sense of *akṣara* would have been reinterpreted as Manchu *uju* by the learners. By the workings of popular etymology, the word at that point or later was then reinterpreted as a specific usage of the Manchu word for 'head.'

Who might these people have been? The biographies of Kûrcan and Dahai, summarized above, suggest that Kûrcan was the older of the two and belonged to Erdeni's generation. Both Erdeni and Kûrcan appear as adults by the turn of the seventeenth century. Kûrcan also negotiated with the Mongols and might thus have known the Mongol language. Dahai, by contrast, would have been born around 1595 and stood out for his knowledge of Chinese,

[245] I should note that the word is not listed in Rozycki 1994.

[246] As noted on page 141, *da* can also be translated as 'original.' However, given the presence of the adverbs 'still' and 'also' in the same sentence, the translation 'the original *uju* were also still written as before' is hard to understand.

[247] Kara 2011, 56–58, 67. Kara translates *üsüg* as "letter," noting that it is merely by convention.

not Mongol. Some of the accounts of his life even suggest he did not learn to read and write Manchu until in adolescence. Individuals like him appear as probable candidates for giving the word *uju* the spelling in which we find it in the original archive.

The underlying analysis of the syllable as composed of two parts, a first and a second *akṣara*, thus appears to have provided the prerequisite for giving the Manchu syllabary its structure as a braiding of two sequences of onset-and-nuclei and codas. We saw above that the inner sequence of the Manchu syllabary did not always contain all the graphs that could occur in syllable-initial position; the length of the sequence varied somewhat depending on how inclusive the writer of a certain syllable chose to be. The length of the outer sequence, by contrast, never varied: it was always twelve. Why twelve and not any other number? In the following, I will show that the choice of twelve syllabic codas cannot be convincingly explained as a necessary consequence of any linguistic realities.

Many of the codas in the Manchu syllabary do not occur naturally at the end of Manchu words, but only in non-final syllables of words.[248] Reciting syllables with those codas as isolated elements might therefore not have appeared intuitive to Manchus who were just beginning to learn how to read. Despite this hint of artifice, such syllables appear in the Manchu syllabary, which is a possible indication of foreign influence on its structure; if the syllabary would have been entirely the invention of monolingual Manchus uninfluenced by earlier traditions, why would they have included as independent units syllables that they would rarely have encountered as such? Yet in a different sense, the outer sequence of the syllabary (the syllabic codas) appear very Manchu indeed, in that it only includes graphs and sounds that can actually figure as syllabic codas in the Manchu lexicon, albeit only in non-final syllables. Consonants that from a structural point of view could have appeared among the syllabic codas, but were not seen in real Manchu words, were absent in the outer sequence.[249]

This description should not be taken to mean that a separation of twelve codas was the only one possible from the point of view of Manchu phonotactics; as chapter 5 (especially figure 5.10)[250] will show, the syllabary recognized only one velar stop coda, but two such onsets, occurring with front vowels and back vowels respectively. This imbalance, with two vowel-conditioned consonants available in syllable-initial position, but only one consonant recognized in syllable-final position, seems to have been counterintuitive to writers of Manchu; remnants of vowel harmony in the language appears to have compelled people to spell syllables with front-vowel nuclei and velar stop codas using the front-vowel graph. Writers of syllabaries included both the front-vowel and the back-vowel realizations of the velar stop coda paired with different vowels inside the sixth section, which thus appeared there as allographs in complementary distribution. Not only did the other sections not include allographs, but the very glyphs that were treated as variants of the same character in final position in the sixth section were elsewhere in the syllabary (to wit, in the inner sequence) presented as different characters altogether. The inner sequence did not only list them each on a par with the other onsets-and-nuclei, but the order of the inner sequence also had them spread out far apart. A reader looking at the inner sequence alone would would have little reason to think

[248] Gorelova 2002, 102–103.

[249] Thus we find *-b* but not *-p*, *-t* but not *-d* etc.

[250] Page 248.

that the front- and back-vowel velar stops had anything in common at all. Yet they appeared as conditioned variants of the coda of the sixth section.

We can infer from Qīng writers' willingness to use the front-vowel velar stop also in syllable-final position that a separation of this graph into a section of its own would have been justifiable from the point of view of the economy of the language and its script. The syllabary's treatment of these graphs tells us that we should not take the structure of the syllabary for granted as a necessary consequence of either the Manchu script or Manchu phonotactics. Quite the opposite: the contradictory treatment of the front- and back-vowel velar stops tells us that other organizations of the script were possible. The front- and back-vowel consonants could have been made to each form a section giving a syllabary divided into thirteen sections instead of twelve. The fact that they did not confirms that the syllabary was a historical product for which linguistics alone cannot supply the explanation.

Eastern Mongol and Oirat syllabaries, both attested only later than the 1630s, recognized varying numbers of final *akṣara*. Yet they do not seem to have structured their script using a sequence of twelve. The question of why the Manchus opted for twelve syllable-final *akṣara* is difficult to answer in reference either to Mongol influence or Manchu phonotactics. The only possible influence for the number twelve that I have been able to identify are the twelve finals of Siddhaṃ, discussed above. However, as noted, the presentation of the Siddhaṃ script in either China or Korea bears little similarity to the appearance of the Manchu syllabary. Yet it is possible that whoever created the Manchu syllabary was familiar with the Siddhaṃ tradition or phonological studies influenced by it, and that it influenced the organization of the Manchu script into twelve sections.

We are ready to pose the question of when the Manchu syllabary was created. Both documentary and circumstantial (including paleographic) evidence suggests that it happened in the early 1630s. Entry B.3, translated above, appear to use the term *uju* in reference to a syllabary in twelve sections. It contains the phrase *juwan juwe uju-i bithe,* literally "the document[s] of the twelve syllable-final *akṣara*." The word *bithe* regularly appears in the titles of Manchu books, which are in general syntactically structured as a complex noun phrase with *bithe* as its head. In that context, *bithe* translates as 'Book of…'. Indeed, *juwan juwe uju-i bithe* appears in the post-conquest period as the customary Manchu title for the syllabary.[251] It is tempting, then, to read the phrase *juwan juwe uju-i bithe* in entry B.3 as referring to the Manchu syllabary in the sense of a book with lists of syllables divided into twelve sections according to their codas. That the *uju* are said to be "recited for the purpose of learning" (*tacime hûlara*) seems to further strengthen this reading. We can with relative confidence conclude that entry B.3 was added to document B at some point after April 24, 1632 and at that point, the 'book of the twelve syllabic-final *akṣara*' was already in use to teach basic Manchu literacy. Entry C. 4, furthermore, said that the "twelve *uju*" were "distributed on imperial order." Literally, they were "sent down" (*wasimbuha*), indicating that some kind written announcement or publication was produced. If so, the entry might very well refer to the creation of the syllabary in the form of a booklet.

Paleographic evidence also suggests that the syllabary was created in the early 1630s. The syllables, or combinations of *akṣara*, found inside the syllabary in twelve sections are not all that can be theoretically formed using the Manchu script. Thomas Meadows (d. 1868), an

[251] E.g., the syllabary in Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699b.

English observer in nineteenth-century China noted as much, writing that "[m]any more syllables than are contained in their syllabary might be formed with their letters, but they are not accustomed to arrange them otherwise than as they there stand."[252] It appears that individuals who had learned to read and write Manchu by reciting the syllabary were not inclined to use the script in a way that was incompatible with the phonological analysis represented in it. Yet in the original archive, we find the Manchu script used in precisely such a way. Sŏng Paegin has drawn attention to spellings found in old Manchu that do not seem to conform to either the phonotactics or the orthography of later Manchu.[253] The existence of variant and idiosyncratic forms indicates that neither language nor training was uniform in the early days of Manchu record keeping. It also indicates that the scribes writing such words had not learned written Manchu exclusively by means of the syllabary in twelve sections. We can conclude that the syllabary was probably not used in the training of the first generation of Manchu scribes.

The social and political context of Hong Taiji's state in the 1620s and early '30s, finally, also suggests that the syllabary was a product of that time.[254] We saw above that by the late '20s, the Manchus were in firm possession of Liáodōng and its large population. At the same time, Hong Taiji were continuing efforts begun under Nurhaci toward creating a centralized administration staffed by *baksi* (preceptors), *bithesi* (scribes) and *šusai* (scholars) that was independent of the aristocracy. We also saw that the expansion of the central administration was accompanied by the expansion of education. The banners were instructed to teach boys to read and write. It is conceivable that a newly created syllabary was 'sent down' to the new banner schools to facilitate that endeavor. The fact that xylographic printing was evidently being practiced around that time opens the possibility that the new syllabary was reproduced and promulgated using that technology.

This social and political context can also provide part of the answer to the question of why the script was reformed in the 1620s and '30s and not at any other time: an expanding and centralizing administration and a centrally controlled education system would have encouraged a more uniform orthography and language pedagogy. Civil officials and clerks seem to have gradually improved the usability of the writing system as their experience and familiarity with writing grew. It is reasonable to assume that some of their tasks, including revising documents and instructing aspirant scribes, compelled them to also think and talk explicitly about the writing system. Such metalinguistic discussion would by necessity have implied a certain conceptualization of both language and script. Institutionalized instruction of youths and children in basic literacy under the aegis of the military establishment would have further encouraged thinking and talking about the script, so that it could then be explained and taught.

By 1644, when the Manchus conquered Běijīng, a substantial stratum of literate male bannermen appear to have emerged, for whom the Manchu script was almost coterminous with the syllabary in twelve sections.

[252]Meadows 1849, 3.

[253]Sŏng Paegin (1978) 1999, 298.

[254]Jì Yǒnghǎi (1987) 2008, 564 concluded that the syllabary was created around 1632.

Chapter 4

The Manchu Language in Qīng Society (1644–1911)

This chapter will deal with the Manchu language in Chinese society after the invasion of the Míng empire in 1644 and its subsequent conquest. In contrast to the period before 1644, when the Manchu state was based outside the Great Wall in the north, this period is called the post-conquest period. The chapter will proceed chronologically.

First, I will describe the establishment of banner garrisons; a Manchu education system; and organs producing Manchu books in the latter half of the seventeenth century against the background of court policy. I will then discuss the early works of Manchu language studies and the people who wrote them. I will argue that the publishing of Manchu pedagogical material happened initially on Chinese civilian initiative, not Manchu.

Second, I will describe the boom in private and commercial Manchu publishing of the eighteenth century. I will argue that in that period, Manchu language studies became almost a prerogative of bannermen, to whom Chinese writers apparently ceded the roles of author and compiler of pedagogical works. I will explain this change as the result of two related developments. First, the decline of Manchu as a spoken language among bannermen meant that also individuals of Manchu ancestry needed to invest a greater effort in learning not just how to read and write, but also how to speak the Manchu language. Second, the growth of the banner population put financial pressure on the court that provided their stipends. These changes led the court under the leadership of the Qiánlóng emperor to encourage Manchus to study their ancestral language as a means to distinguish themselves from other groups, thus ensuring that the court's financial support reached them.

Especially in this period, there appears to have been attempts to more clearly separate the Manchu members of the banners from the others, especially the Hànjūn (the Chinese banners). In addition to the separation of Chinese civilians and bannermen, there was thus also a separation of Manchu and Chinese bannermen. At times I will accordingly have to clearly distinguish those two groups. Yet Qīng regulations and discourse did not always separate 'bannermen' (*qírén*) and 'Manchus' (*Mǎnzhōu*; *Qīngrén*) very clearly. Nor will I.

Third, I will discuss Manchu language studies at the height of Qīng imperial power after the conquest of Xīnjiāng in 1760 until roughly 1840, with a focus on the decades around the turn of the century. I will argue that in this relatively brief moment, Manchu language studies emerged as an almost academic discipline that was no longer bilingual, but tri- or multilingual. I will focus on a few writers who associated Manchu language studies with empire building. This group is further distinguished as constituted by Mongol and Chinese scholars who supported the Manchu imperial project.

Fourth and last, I will discuss Manchu language studies in the nineteenth century, especially its second half. In this period, the focus of Manchu language studies appears to have been translation from Chinese or Mongol, as opposed to proficiency in speaking Manchu.[1] In the place of the academic scholars and high-ranking banner aristocrats of the past generation we again see lower-level bannermen, both Manchu and Mongol, as producers of works of Manchu language studies. I will show that Manchu publishing went into decline at this time, leading to a situation in which several works circulated only in manuscript. By the end of the nineteenth century there was a revival of Manchu printing that lasted until the collapse of the empire in 1911.

[1]There has been some discussion of "sinification" (*Hànhuà* 漢化) of the Manchu language and script: Máo Wèn 1937.

Throughout the chapter, I will, to the extent that the source material allows for it, discuss the people who 'studied' Manchu in the strongest sense of the word. That is, I will focus on individuals who not only learned to understand or speak Manchu by immersion into a Manchu-speaking environment, but who subjected the language or its script to dedicated study of which the final products were treatises, pedagogical books, or dictionaries. I will use the changing demographics of this group of scholarly students to make inferences about the larger group of people who studied Manchu on the basis of written material, but did not themselves write about it.

4.1 The Manchu Occupation of China

When the Manchus conquered the Míng capital of Běijīng in 1644 they had already been at war with the Míng for decades. Just as the war did not begin with the occupation of Běijīng, it did not end with it either. During the following decades, the Qīng forces continued to fight remnants of the former regime in south China, which was not under Qīng control until 1659.[2] The Manchus then put former Míng generals in complete charge of large parts of the south, which thus remained outside effective Qīng control. When it appeared that the Manchus would not allow the southern regions to develop into hereditary fiefdoms, the former Míng generals stationed there rebelled. Manchu power of all of the former Míng territory was not attained until 1683.[3]

The banner armies were not spread out evenly over the vast Chinese territory, but concentrated in the capital and a few garrisons. "Schematically," Mark C. Elliott writes, "the Qing occupation of China involved the main Beijing garrison, plus four garrison networks covering the metropolitan area around Beijing, Manchuria, the northwest frontier, and, of course, the Chinese provinces."[4] The most compact garrison network was the defensive cordon around Běijīng, which contained only Manchu and Mongol bannermen.

Excluding the capital, the former Míng territory was occupied by garrisons founded either in the first two decades after 1644 or the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The garrisons, Elliott explains, formed five overlapping "chains" extending along boundaries such as the Great Wall in the north; the Yellow and Yángzǐ rivers; the Grand Canal and the eastern coast. Not all three groups of Manchu, Mongol, or Hànjūn bannermen were present in every garrison.[5] Several of the garrisons became centers for Manchu language studies and publishing, as we will see. The by far most important center, however, was Běijīng.

Běijīng was divided into two segregated residential areas, the inner city, occupied by the banners, and the outer (southern) city, occupied by Chinese civilians. Civilians were not allowed to stay in the inner city overnight. The divide was ordered in 1648 and was completed, it appears, by the mid 1650s. By 1691 the city had at last reached a new state of normalcy.[6]

Susan Naquin estimates that Míng Běijīng on the eve of the Manchu conquest had three hundred thousand or fewer residents, down from twice that number twenty years prior (due

[2] Dennerline 2002, 117.

[3] Spence 2002, 136–147. The Qīng conquest is described in greater detail in Wakeman 1985.

[4] Elliott 2001a, 94.

[5] Elliott 2001a, 95–98.

[6] Naquin 2000, 291–292, 298. The occupation is also described in Elliott 2001a, 98–105.

to famine, rebellion, and other hardships). The occupation might have brought another three hundred thousand people with it to the city.[7] By the late eighteenth century, around half a million bannermen might have lived in Běijīng's inner city. The total population of the city at that time was at least one million, but perhaps significantly greater. In the country as a whole, the total banner population numbered between 2.6–4.9 million people. At the time of the conquest, slightly less than half of the banner population belonged to the Manchu banners.[8]

Okada Hidehiro has explored the issue of the language of the Běijīng bannermen in the Qīng period, noting that the city's banners descended from Manchu "hunter clansmen and tribesmen," "Mongol nomads nomads who had been hearding their animals on the eastern slopes of the Great Khingan Range," and "former Chinese inhabitants of the Liao River 遼河 Delta, with additions from Sinicized Manchus and Korean prisoners of war."[9] The Liáodōng area had long before the emergence of the Manchus been in contact with the eastern Chinese province of Shāndōng, from which it was separated by the Bóhǎi gulf. Movement of people across the gulf meant movement of language, and by the early seventeenth century the farming and urban population of Liáodōng, many of whom were descendants of Koreans, spoke Shāndōng Chinese. Okada also argued that the plots and role of languages in Běijīng vernacular literature from the post-conquest period suggest that Manchu was initially spoken to some extent by all bannermen. In the early post-conquest period, there was not an absolute divide between Chinese-speaking bannermen and those who spoke Manchu. Over time, however, the banner population as a whole shifted to using the Chinese language they had brought with them from the northeast. That language is the root of modern Běijīng dialect and indeed of modern Standard Mandarin. (I will discuss that topic further in chapter 8.)[10]

The current location and provenance of major Manchu archival collections show that the center for Manchu cultural production lay primarily in Běijīng and secondarily in what was formerly called southern Manchuria. Many libraries in Běijīng, some representing the holdings of earlier Qīng institutions, have substantial Manchu holdings,[11] as do libraries in Shěnyáng and Dàlián in the northeast (which used to be Manchuria).[12] Several major collections in the West were assembled primarily in Běijīng and probably reflect the titles in circulation in the capital area. Such is the case of the collection at the Harvard-Yenching Library, assembled by Francis Woodman Cleaves (1911–1995) in Běijīng before the Second World War,[13] and the Gest collection at Princeton University Library, assembled in Běijīng in the Republican period.[14] The relatively restricted geographical confines of production and circulation of Manchu books suggest that study of the language was relatively common in a

[7]Naquin 2000, 292–293.

[8]Elliott 2001a, 117–121.

[9]Okada 1992, 167.

[10]Wadley 1996 also discusses Altaic influences on the Běijīng dialect.

[11]*Běijīng dìqū Mǎnwén túshū zǒngmù* 2008.

[12]Lú Xiùlì 2001, 2008; Yáng Fēngmǒu and Zhāng Běnyì 2004. The holdings of Dalian Library are particularly interesting, as they were largely assembled by the Japanese Southern Manchurian Railway Company in the 1930s, presumably from a wider geographical area in the northeast, and including many manuscripts of a popular nature that are not represented in imperial collections (Yán Lìxīn 2004).

[13]Elliott and Bosson 2003, 79–80.

[14]Heijdra 2010.

few areas, including the culturally prominent capital city.

4.2 The Chinese Students of Manchu, 1644–1723

The Language Policy of the Shùnzhì and Kāngxī Courts

The Shùnzhì emperor was only a child when he entered Běijīng in 1644. Real power was held by a group of Manchu Princes led by Dorgon, who died in 1650. Under the influence of Fàn Wénchéng 范文程 (1597–1666), the son of a high-ranking Míng official,[15] the Qīng forces early in the occupation portrayed themselves as avengers of the Míng house, which had fallen to rebels shortly before, in a move to win over the Chinese elite. In 1646, Benjamin Elman wrote, the imperial government asked the first group of Chinese examinees since the Qīng took power to provide "information to enable the dynasty to bring Manchu and Han officials and people together for a common purpose." A similar question was posed to a new group of examinees in 1649.[16] In the 1650s, as the emperor took control of the government, further attempts were made to win the support of the Chinese elite. The Shùnzhì emperor promulgated the idea that the Manchus and Chinese were one family.[17]

Yè Gāoshù has called the period covering 1644 and through the '50s one that wrestled with the relationship between Manchu and Chinese culture and consciousness, forming a "break-in period" (*móhé shíqī* 磨合時期)[18] before fault lines hardened in the next century. Institutional changes and experiments in the early post-conquest state support this characterization. Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定 (1901–1995) argued that Chinese individuals in the position of *Qǐxīn láng* or Clerks ('Gentlemen who open up their heart and speak their mind'; not to be confused with 'Clerk' as translation for Ma. *bithesi*) in the early Qīng acted as "Interpreters" (*tsūyakukan* 通訳官) facilitating the oral communication between Manchu and Chinese officials. With the institution of a system of dual positions for Manchus and Chinese in 1648, their role as go-betweens became more important, and in 1652 their rank was raised. By 1658 the institution of new civil offices, presumably staffed at least partially by individuals competent in both the Manchu and Chinese languages, coupled with suspicions of malfeasance led to the abolishment of the post. Even so, the Clerks were not dismissed but allowed to stay on in the bureaus and continue their duties under a different title.[19] The development of the post of *Qǐxīn láng* suggests both the importance of people knowledgeable in both languages in the early post-conquest years as well as the personal and perhaps illicit gains that could be made from bilingualism.

After the Shùnzhì emperor's death in 1661 a group of Manchu military men ruled in place of the new boy emperor, whose reign name was Kāngxī. They were more suspicious of the Chinese than the previous regime and tried to isolate aspiring Manchu officials from parts of Chinese culture. However, they proved unable to present a unified front, and the young emperor and his supporters took control over the government already in 1667. The Kāngxī

[15] Fuchs 1939; ECCP 1944, 231–232.
[16] Elman 2000, 164.
[17] Dennerline 2002, 81, 110.
[18] Yè Gāoshù 2002, 38.
[19] Miyazaki Ichisada (1947) 1991–1994, 332–333. See further footnote 164 on page 133.

emperor made great efforts at learning Northern Vernacular and Literary Chinese. He took new steps to integrate the Chinese elite, inviting learned men who had remained outside officialdom to the capital for a special examination in 1679.[20] In this context of prolonged courting of the Chinese elite, many Chinese officials showed an interest in the Manchu language, learned it willingly, and thereby advanced their careers.

Western Students of Manchu in Běijīng

The activities by the Westerners in Běijīng in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries illustrates that the court in this period encouraged the study of Manchu by others than bannermen. The Western presence in Běijīng consisted of Russian diplomats, merchants, and ecclesiastics as well as Jesuits of various national origins. The Qīng had come into contact with the Russians in the latter half of the seventeenth century, as the expansion of the two empires brought them together on the Inner Asian frontier, occasionally leading to local military conflicts. Fighting and subsequent diplomatic negotations led to people of Russian origin traveling to Běijīng or settling there. On the one hand, Russian captives and deserters come into Qīng hands during the border skirmishes were enrolled as a company in the banners and allocated residences in Běijīng. For a time, they assisted the court with Russian translation.[21] On the other hand, the normalization of relations with Russia led to merchants and government representatives of that country to visit the Qīng capital. From 1727, the Russians maintained a school in Běijīng where they sent students to learn Manchu and Chinese. The Qīng government also instituted its own school perhaps as early as sometime between 1670 and 1693. There are indications, however, that the Russian school was the more successful of the two, in that its students proved better prepared to translate between Russian and Manchu.[22]

I will analyze the Jesuits' understanding of the Manchu script and its transmission to Europe in the appendix. Here I will in general terms discuss their study of Manchu. The Jesuits had been in China since before the Manchu conquest. In the first decades after the Manchu invasion, the Jesuits were involved in calendrical reform at the Qīng court,[23] and some of them were close to Shùnzhì emperor. Their fortunes, however, shifted with the political struggles during the time between the Shùnzhì emperor's death and the Kāngxī emperor's assumption of personal rule. With Kāngxī on the throne, there was great incentive for the Jesuits to study Manchu and compose books in the language, as some of them served as the emperor's tutors in European studies.[24] Kāngxī "insisted"[25] that some of them learn Manchu and many of them seem to have preferred using that language rather than Literary Chinese in written communications.[26] The Jesuits' interactions with Manchu nobles gained them several converts in the early eighteenth century.[27] The Jesuits also briefly operated a Latin school for bannermen training to become interpreters. Operational between 1729 and 1743, a total of around twenty

[20] Spence 2002, 129, 148.
[21] Pang 1999; Stary 1999.
[22] Meng Ssu-Ming 1960–1961, 34–46; also: Eric Widmer 1976, ch. 5.
[23] Elman 2005, 133–149.
[24] Treutlein 1941.
[25] Witek 1988, 83.
[26] Fāng Háo 1969.
[27] Witek 1993.

bannermen completed a five-to-seven year Latin curriculum at the school.[28] We can assume that the Jesuits' teaching duties in the school gave them opportunities to also speak Manchu.

The examples of the Russians and Western European Jesuits studying Manchu in Běijīng even without affiliation to the banners show that the Qīng court in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century encouraged the study of the language also outside the ranks of bannermen.

Manchu Education for the Manchu and Chinese Elite

Manchu education in the Shùnzhì and Kāngxī periods appear to have been directed mainly at elites, both Manchu and Chinese. Many Manchu officials in this period did not speak the Chinese language, let alone read it. Indeed, it took some time before either the Shùnzhì and Kāngxī emperors became proficient in spoken and written Chinese. The government needed Manchu administrators that could read and write the Manchu language. They also needed Chinese officials to have the same skills in order to communicate with the high leadership. Teaching Manchus of lower social status to read and write appears to have been less of a concern in this period. Perhaps this situation can be explained by limited time and resources available at a time of war, when many ordinary male bannermen were mobilized to fight in the south and not at home in Běijīng or the garrisons to study.

We saw in chapter 3 that a Manchu education system for boys in the banners was established in Manchuria before 1644. After the conquest of the Míng, the Qīng court took new steps toward strengthening the education of Manchus. The education system prepared bannermen both for clerical positions in the banner bureaucracy and in the civil bureaucracy. Civilians generally entered the latter through the civil service examination system. A similar route was made available to bannermen. Except for brief periods in the seventeenth century, bannermen were allowed to participate in the regular Chinese civil service examinations.

Upon the move of the Manchu capital to Běijīng, the Preceptors who had been the head of Hong Taiji's administration in Manchuria became part of the new organization of the National, or Hànlín, Academy (Hànlín Yuàn 翰林院). Naquin disagrees with the translation of the name as 'Academy,' writing that it "is best understood as an Imperial Secretariat where the most successful degree-winners were trained for the highest offices."[29] It was an old institution that had existed also in the Míng. In 1652, in a step toward forging a group of officials with scholarly credentials in service at the central government, the first group of bannermen were examined in the presence of the emperor. The new Qīng Hànlín was formally established and open to bannermen entering through the examination route in 1658.[30] More entered toward the end of the seventeenth century: between 1676 and 1721, seventy-one Manchu and Mongol bannermen became Hànlín Bachelors (*shùjí shì* 庶吉士).[31] Gradually, a special translation examination was instituted to give bannermen an alternative route to an official post in the civil bureaucracy. Translation in this case meant translation between Manchu and Chinese.[32]

[28]Guō Fúxiáng 1997; Stary and Pang 2001, 156–158.
[29]Naquin 2000, 90.
[30]Dennerline 2002, 113.
[31]Dǐ Yǒngjūn 2005, 38–41.
[32]Crossley 1994, 350–351; Elliott 2001a, 204 for the translation examination in particular.

Pamela Kyle Crossley has described the school system established to prepare bannermen for office as "a set of concentric circles, which from the center out represent decreasing degrees of prestige, state aid, and political demands."[33] The inner circles were established already in the seventeenth century and were subsequently complemented by outer circles in the eighteenth.[34] In the seventeenth century, the Qīng government seemed interested mainly in providing Manchu education for the imperial family and clan, not the great mass of bannermen.

In 1652 schools (*zōngxué* 宗學) were established for children, ten *suì* and older, of the Manchu aristocracy forming part of the imperial clan. One of the goals was to teach the children to read and write Manchu. However, following a few decades of operation, the clan schools seem to have become increasingly unorganized after 1685.[35]

Another institution also served to educate the upper stratum of Manchu boys. The Directorate of Education (Guózǐ Jiàn 國子監) was a Míng institution that was continued by the Manchus. The *guózǐ* of its Chinese name originally referred to the Scions of State in the feudal and aristocratic society of Chinese antiquity, and indeed in the Manchu period the institution was from the very beginning intended to train notably the 'sons and brothers' (*zǐdì* 子弟) of the conquest elite. In the first years after the relocation to Běijīng, the sons of high-ranking bannermen would walk to the Directorate to study, but there was little formal organization of the education offered there in the early Qīng.[36] Students in the Directorate itself cannot have been that numerous. In the early to mid-Qīng the number appear to have fluctuated between one and three hundred students, not all of whom were there to study Manchu.[37] It was inconvenient for the students to walk to the Directorate every day. Already in 1644, a system was set up that allowed them to study in their own banner and take monthly exams at the Directorate. However, in 1645 the number of schools in the Běijīng banners was cut in half, counting only four schools for eight banners.[38] The Manchu government schools under the Directorate of Education do not seem to have expanded again until the 1720s.

The actual teaching in the banner schools under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Education was carried out by Instructors (*jiàoxí* 教習).[39] The instructors taught either Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, or archery. The court took steps to ensure the ability of the Instructors and the quality of their teaching already in the seventeenth century. The Manchu instructors were responsible for Manchu composition and translation between Manchu and Chinese, whereas Chinese composition and general facility with the Confucian canon was the responsibility of the Chinese instructors. The origin of the position appears to have been a decree from 1646 that the banner students at the Directorate study with Licentiates (*shēngyuán* 生員),[40] referring to individuals having passed the lowest level of the civil service examination and gained entry to the government schools with a stipend. In 1700, there would have been around

[33]Crossley 1994, 352.
[34]Manchu education in the seventeenth century is also discussed in Yè Gāoshù 2002, 357–262.
[35]Mǎ Yōng 2013, 96–97.
[36]Mǎ Yōng 2013, 16–20.
[37]Mǎ Yōng 2013, 53.
[38]Mǎ Yōng 2013, 87.
[39]Hucker 1985, 141. The banner Instructors are not mentioned in BH 1912.
[40]Xī Péng 2006, 60.

500,000 Licentiates in the empire, corresponding to 1 per 300 persons.[41] Licentiates were able to read and write Literary Chinese and had some facility with Confucian doctrine, but they were not eligible for government office. Naturally, the stipulation that instructors hold Licentiate status concerned only the qualifications of those teaching the Chinese subjects. The government took measures in the following decades aimed at raising the educational level of the instructors by barring holders of degrees that had not been obtained through examination, such as honorary and tribute students, from serving in the position. The court made attempts to encourage Provincial Graduates (*jǔrén* 舉人), who were very highly literate and nominally eligible for government office, to serve as Instructors. How many actually did is not clear; there were fears they would resent rubbing shoulders with colleagues of much lower social standing.[42]

Some expansion of educational opportunities came in 1685, when a school was established by Scenic Hill (Jǐng Shān 景山) in the northern part of Běijīng's inner city. The school was intended to train children of families belonging to the Imperial Household Department, a distinctly Qīng institution that had been established in 1661.[43] I will get back to this institution presently, as it was important in the history of Manchu publishing. Suffice to say here that its many operations demanded a literate workforce, hence the new school. It trained three hundred and sixty students.[44]

The school at Scenic Hill provided education for one group of non-elite Manchus. We can also assume that others learned to read and write in the home or with tutors. Yet it appears that educational opportunities in the early post-conquest period were limited for the rank and file of the Běijīng bannermen.

Just as the government in the early Qīng made arrangements for teaching the Manchu elite to read and write Manchu, they also made some attempts to teach it to high-ranking Chinese civil officials. The locus for this training was the Institute of Advanced Study (Shùcháng Guǎn 庶常館) at the Hànlín Academy. In the early Qīng period, most of the top-ranking examinees in the highest level of the civil examinations entered the Hànlín as Bachelors, who did not have official duties. Once at the Hànlín, they were trained for three years in the Institute of Advanced Study and then tested on their skills. If they did well they often remained as compilers working on various court-sponsored projects. The rest were appointed to administrative positions in the provinces.[45]

At the Institute, the Bachelors were divided into two groups. One group studied Chinese classical literature. The other, typically numbering a dozen students at a time, studied written Manchu. Adam Yuen-chung Lui, confirming earlier findings by Lǐ Zōngtóng 李宗侗 (1895–1974),[46] has written that half of the Bachelors were enrolled to study Manchu in the early Qīng, but the number shrank in the eighteenth century. They were generally young and were expected to have greater contact with the emperor and high Manchu officials during their sub-

[41] Elman 2000, 134–136, 140.
[42] Xī Péng 2006, 60–61.
[43] Dennerline 2002, 105.
[44] Mǎ Yōng 2013, 101–102; Crossley 1994, 355.
[45] Elman 2000, 162–163.
[46] Lǐ Zōngtóng 1972.

sequent career than the other Bachelors.[47] Several dozens of Chinese officials studied Manchu this way in the seventeenth century.[48]

Chinese Scholars and the Beginnings of Manchu Language Studies

The Manchu language had been studied, taught, and employed in administration and literary translation since before the conquest of Běijīng. Naturally, the Manchu scholars who had been engaged in that work continued it after the government's move to the former Míng capital. Asitan (d. 1683/4) was one of the officials who reached maturity outside the pass and worked in the Shùnzhì period with major compilation projects and translations. Omutu (1614–1662), who worked on Chinese-Manchu translations already before 1644, was another.[49] Yet it does not appear that this group of scholars produced anything of an explicitly linguistic or pedagogical nature.

Furthermore, the layout of the bilingual Manchu-Chinese books that were produced largely by this group of Manchu scholars and printed in the seventeenth century did not integrate the two languages in a way conducive to linguistic analysis. Instead of adding Chinese glosses and Manchu words side by side for easy reference, most early books seem to have kept the Manchu and the Chinese separate, each on one side of the page.[50] This method was an adaptation of the old Míng practice of 'matching jade discs' (*hébì* 合璧), discussed in chapter 2.

Officials whose first language was Chinese had studied Manchu since the pre-conquest period; Chinese servants at Hong Taiji's court reportedly felt that they were at a great disadvantage if they did not speak Manchu fluently.[51] After the conquest of Běijīng, new groups of Manchu-speaking Chinese officials emerged from the newly conquered territories. They were people whose families previously had no contact with Manchu-language culture. Liú Dòu 劉斗 (d. 1718) and Miáo Chéng 苗澄 (n.d.) appear to have counted among this group, but the latter had relocated to Manchuria already before the conquest, making him in some respects similar to the Chinese bannermen. A notable example of a high Chinese official who learned Manchu in the Shùnzhì period is Wáng Xī 王熙 (1628–1703). Wáng was from Běijīng. He passed the highest civil service examination in 1647 and was appointed as Bachelor. In the Hànlín Academy, he was then put to study Manchu and translate canonical Chinese into that language. He served in high positions under both the Shùnzhì emperor and his successor, Kāngxī.[52] We know that work on a Chinese dictionary was begun or at least planned by the scholars at the Hánlín Academy from 1673, when an order came down from Kāngxī.[53]

[47] Lui 1981, 65–67.

[48] Also on this topic: Chase 1979, 17–26, 187–189, who stresses the inadequacies of the system in reference to the seventeenth century.

[49] Fuchs 1936, 42–46.

[50] Fuchs 1971, 121–122.

[51] Yáng Yàgēng 2005, 17.

[52] Fuchs 1936, 46–47; ECCP 1944, 819; Dennerline 2002, 112. There were also other officials. Spence 2002, 147 includes Sūn Wénchéng 孫文成 among the Kāngxī emperor's "Chinese confidants," but that individual should not be confused with the eponymous Manchu of the Plain Yellow Banner (fl. 1706–1728): Zhuāng Jífā 1978, 1.

[53] Spence 2002, 147 (in the notes); Fú-gé (1850–1900) 1984, 217.

Books dedicated to the study of Manchu emerged only rarely from the hands of this group of high Chinese officials, however. Rather, when we see syllabaries, dictionaries, textbooks, and phonological treatises appear in the last three decades of the seventeenth century, their authors come from a different professional, and probably also social, milieu.

Protracted war in the seventeenth century militarized society to a degree probably not seen since the thirteenth century. War had been intermittent on the Míng-Manchu border since the early years of the century, and peasant rebellions in western China had brought warfare to that region years before the Qīng forces invaded China proper. The drawn-out conquest, first of Míng loyalist forces in the south and then of the rebelling feudatories, extended the fighting to the early 1680s. The Manchu-led armies, as mentioned in chapter 3, were organized into banners that were not just fighting units, but also units of residence and allocation of financial resources to the conquest population. With the limited establishment of government schools under banner aegis, the banners also became educational units. They then came to employ teachers of both Literary Chinese and written Manchu. It appears that the first generation of Manchu language pedagogues emerged from among the Chinese teachers thus employed.

Instructors (*jiàoxí*) (1): Liào Lúnjī

The earliest work of Manchu language pedagogy that we possess was written by Liào Lúnjī 廖綸璣 (fl. 1670–1680s [?]) in 1670. As I will explain in chapter 5, it was a relatively simple Manchu syllabary with phonetic glosses in Chinese. The circumstances of its publication have been made clear by Furuya Akihiro.

The story of Lúnjī and his work is connected to that of his father, Liào Wényīng. Wényīng 文英, probably born in the late 1590s, was from Liáoyáng 遼陽 in present day Guǎngzhōu in the extreme south of China. There are indications that the family belonged to the Hakka linguistic minority. Wényīng was an annual tribute student in his home prefecture and at some point traveled to Nánjīng to enroll as a student at the Directorate of Education.[54] In 1639, he became a Judge (rank 6b–7a) in Nánkāng prefecture in Jīangxī, a landlocked province south of the mid-reaches of the Yángzǐ river. When rebellion engulfed much of the Míng empire in the 1640s, Wényīng temporarily served as the magistrate of Yuánzhōu 袁州 of the same province. From 1645 he remained in that position under the authority of the Southern Ming authorities then fighting the invading Manchus. Sometime thereafter he returned home to Liàoyáng to mourn a deceased parent. In 1658, he became Vice Prefect (or Subprefectural Magistrate, both of rank 5a), in Héngzhōu 衡州 prefecture, in present-day Húnán Province, also in the landlocked south. From 1668 he was the magistrate (rank 4a) of Nánkāng 南康 prefecture in southern Jiāngxī. He compiled several books while in that city, and died sometime before 1674.[55]

When a student in Nánjīng in the late 1630s, it appears that Wényīng made the acquaintance the writer and lexicographer Zhāng Zìliè 張自烈 (1598–1673). Wényīng subsequently invited Zhāng to work on a project of local history that he supervised in the capacity of magistrate. Later, he also invited Zhāng to White Deer Grotto Academy (Báilù Dòng Shūyuàn

[54]It is possible that it was Běijīng, but given Wényīng's later career it seems more probable that he studied in the Nánjīng Directorate. Furuya Akihiro 2009, 10 writes both Běijīng and Nánjīng.

[55]The administrative positions mentioned here are described in Hucker 1985, 158, 549, 553–554.

白鹿洞書院), which had been founded around the turn of the second millennium and had come under Wényīng's jurisdiction in the mountains of Nánkāng. When Zhāng died there Liào edited his voluminous Chinese dictionary *Zhèngzì tōng*, mentioned in chapter 2. The publication of the dictionary began when it was first printed in the latter half of 1671, but Wényīng continued to revise the work and emended the blocks for subsequent printings.[56] Liào Lúnjī's syllabary, written in 1670, was added to the front matter of Zhāng's dictionary.

Lúnjī was one of Wényīng's two sons. In the "Prelude" (*yǐn* 引) that he wrote for his syllabary, he identified himself as Instructor in the Plain Yellow Banner. Zhāng wrote that Lúnjī "carried the bell of culture [as an educational officer] and a teacher by the imperial carriage [in the capital]."[57] It appears, then, that Lúnjī was a Chinese instructor in one of the banner schools that had been established in Běijīng under the aegis of the Directorate of Education. Indeed, Lúnjī wrote that his syllabary was based "prints from the government schools" (*guānxué kèběn* 官學刻本).[58] He had probably been hired to teach Chinese composition to banner children and there seen and studied the material his colleagues used to teach them how to write Manchu. We do not know how old he was in 1670.

Lúnjī's interest in language seems to have extended beyond Manchu. Sometime, presumably after the publication of his Manchu syllabary, he published a small work of twenty folios titled *Pāizhǎng zhīshēng qièyīn diào píng, zè tú* 拍掌知声切音調平仄圖 (Chart for learning the initial, spelling the rhyme, and circling through the even and oblique tones by clapping). This little booklet, now exceedingly rare, is one of the earliest descriptions of the Quánzhōu 泉州 topolect of Chinese, which was spoken on the southeastern coast in Fújiàn.[59] The language of Quánzhōu was very different from both the Northern Vernacular, Hakka, and the Cantonese of Lúnjī's ancestral home in Liáoyáng.

Furuya has speculated that the complex sociolinguistic situation in the Liàos' hometown of Liàoyáng, including their own identity as Hakka, might have contributed to Lúnjī's linguistic capability and curiosity. An early exposure to different languages, including quite possibly indigenous, non-Chinese languages, would later have contributed to Lúnjī becoming interested in learning Manchu and the Quánzhōu vernacular. Furuya also suggested very plausibly that Liào might have been in a position to study the language of Quánzhōu as the banner forces assembled on the Fújiàn coast in preparation for the invasion of Táiwān in the early 1680s.[60] Perhaps Lúnjī was stationed in Fújiàn along with his Plain Yellow Banner when the province was finally brought under Manchu control around that time.

In the story of Liào Wényīng and his son Lúnjī we see a family of southern literati and Míng office holders shift their allegiance to the Manchus during the turbulent years around the mid-seventeenth century. Lúnjī, as an Instructor (*jiàoxí*), was still a civil official, but he worked in an environment both institutionally and linguistically very different from the old Míng civil administration. In the capital he appears to have first come into contact with the

[56]Furuya Akihiro 2009, 10–33.

[57]Zhāng Zìliè (1686) 1985, 15:19a: 輦下秉鐸爲人師. I found this quote through Furuya Akihiro 2009, 18. Some other editions of Zhāng's collection do not include the piece from which this sentence is quoted.

[58]Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *Shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:4b.

[59]Liào Lúnjī (1670–1700) 1979.

[60]Furuya Akihiro 1994.

Manchu language and script. He then appears to have moved with the army to the southwest and continued his studies of new languages as the frontiers of the Qīng empire expanded into new regions.

Lúnjī belonged to a literate sub-elite connected to the banner establishment. His syllabary, however, was published in a dictionary whose intended readership was the high civilian elite. The dictionary *Zhèngzì tōng* underwent several editions that included the syllabary in the seventeenth century.[61] We might infer that his syllabary was seen by a relatively numerous group of literati readers.

Instructors (*jiàoxí*) (2): Shěn Qǐliàng

A story similar to that of the Liào family is offered by that of Shěn Qǐliàng 沈啟亮 (fl. 1645–1693), the soldier-scholar who compiled the earliest extant dictionary of the Manchu language.

On the books he compiled, Shěn indicated his hometown as Lóudōng 婁東, 'East of the Lóu [river],' which referred to a narrow river floating east from Sūzhōu into the mouth of the Yángzǐ north of Shànghǎi. The river's name also more specifically referred to Tàicāng 太倉 prefecture, which was situated in the area.[62] In addition to the homonymous prefectural seat, the prefecture included the culturally prominent town of Jiādìng 嘉定. Quite a few Shěns are included in the biographies of the Qīng gazetteer for Tàicāng. One of them was Qǐliàng's grandfather, Shěn Yúnzùo 沈雲祚 (d. 1644). Presented Scholar in 1640, Yúnzùo was serving as a local magistrate in Huáyáng 華陽, seat of Chéngdū, the provincial capital of Sìchuān, at the time of the social upheaval that accompanied the fall of the Míng. When the state administration of the region collapsed in 1644, he was imprisoned by rebels and died refusing to eat the food they served him.[63]

The story of Yúnzuò as an official loyal until death was told by Yúnzuò's son Xúnwèi 荀蔚 (1638–1714), who was only a few years older than his nephew Qǐliàng. Xúnwèi, who at the time was a boy of five *suì*, accompanied Yúnzùo to Sìchuān together with other children of the family. When disaster descended on the province and the Shěns, the family was separated from Yúnzuò. The mother and the children had to flee one summer night, but did not escape Sìchuān. Xúnwèi remained there for over two decades, hiding for years in the mountains as the province was ravaged by warfare and famine. He later wrote an account of these years, "one tear for every character" (*yí zì yí leì* 一字一淚).[64]

Shěn Qǐliàng, son of Xúnwèi's older brother Xúnmáo 荀茅[65] (d. 1659), was most probably born in Tàicāng in 1645.[66] We know nothing of Qǐliàng's childhood, but something about his

[61] I have seen the following five editions: Zhāng Zìliè 1671a, 1671b, 1671c, (1671d) 1672, (1671e) 1685.

[62] *Zhōngguó lìshǐ dìmíng cídiǎn* 1986, 680.

[63] *Tàicāng zhì* (1802) 1995, 29:3b–4a.

[64] Shěn Xúnwèi (1701) 1820, 43a. The family's separation from Yúnzùo is recounted on 4b. Bibliographic introductions to this book include: Lái Xīnxià 2005, 87–89; Struve 1998, 311–312.

[65] Máo should properly be entered as ⺾ over 楙, but this character is not supported by the Unicode standard for computer processing of Chinese characters.

[66] Qǐliàng's date of birth is inferred from one of his prefaces (Shěn Qǐliàng 1693, 1b; also Kanda Nobuo 1969, 130), where he wrote that he was 47 *suì* in the *xīnwèi* year (1691). I should note that Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 1–3, without citing any new evidence, argued

father. The fate of Xúnmáo is important, because it probably influenced Qǐliàng's decision to join the Qīng army, which in turn enabled him to study Manchu and write the dictionary for which he is best known.

In 1682, Qǐliàng opened the preface to his first book by introducing himself as the grandson of a magistrate who had suffered death after failing to hold off the bandits from the city he governed in Sìchuān during the fall of the Míng. The scene thus set, Qǐliàng introduced his father. He explained that as part of the local gentry, Xúnmáo "raised funds and recruited braves" *(juānzī mùyǒng* 捐資募勇) to form a militia. Following these activities in the interest of his local community, he would have joined the Qīng:

> [My father] planned to avenge [the death of my grandfather Yúnzuò]. He welcomed the establishment of the rising dynasty, who out of obligation to the people subjected the bandits to the punishment of heaven. He asked to follow the General-in-Chief of the Southern Campaign [Bolo 博洛, 1613–1652] and serve in the camp of the Beile, the Prince, of the Plain Blue Banner. [My father] was made Adjutant in the vanguard and expanded our borders in [the southeastern regions of] Mǐn and Yùe.[67]

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that Shěn was probably born around ten years later than 1645; I have not followed their thesis. The place of birth is slightly more uncertain than the time of birth. Xúnwèi is ambiguous as to who among his siblings were in Sìchuān. It is possible that Qǐliàng's father Xúnmáo was among them, but must in that case have left almost immediately after Yúnzùo's death. Xúnwèi wrote that he was with his "older brother(s) and younger sister(s)" *(xiōng mèi* 兄妹) in 1644, and when he left Sìchuān long after Qǐliàng's father's death, he said goodbye only to his younger sister (Shěn Xúnwèi [1701] 1820, 4b, 14a, 42a). However, Xúnmáo apparently received help with writing his account from Jīn Yùshì and Shěn Shòuhóng (see page 174) in Tàicāng; perhaps some of the story was corrupted in this process (Shěn Shòuhóng [1738] 1997, 1:24b). Furthermore, Fán Wénguāng wrote in his biography of Yúnzùo that in the eleventh month of 1645, he "heard that some among the noble deceased's [Yúnzùo] wife and children still remained" 聞公妻子尚有存者. Fán "managed to meet with them at Jiǔxī mountain" 余訪得之於九溪山. One of Yúnzùo's inlaws "came to [him] with the noble deceased's son, who was only eight years old" 其戚 … 以公之子來；見僅八齡 (Fán Wényīng [1648] 1820, 4a). Xúnwèi also mentioned this episode, specifying that he was with his maternal uncle, who died in the summer of 1648 (Shěn Xúnwèi [1701] 1820, 20b). This clearly referred to Xúnwèi, not Xúnmáo, who was a grown man at this time (Qián Hǎiyuè [1944] 2006, 1824 also only mentions Xúnwèi as being in Sìchuān). If Xúnmáo was indeed in Sìchuān, he must have left already by this time. Furthermore, no later than 1645–46 must Xúnmáo have been in the lower Yángzǐ region, where he led a local militia and then enlisted in Prince Bolo's army, which subsequently moved on to Fújiàn. I thus conjecture that Xúnmáo was never in Sìchuān, or left very early, and that Qǐliàng might have been born in Sìchuān or on the road to the lower Yángzǐ, where he must have grown up. Moreover, as the older son, would Xúnmáo not have been needed to take care of the grandparents and the family property in Tàicāng when his father was serving in Sìchuān? However, the problem remains of how Xúnmáo learned of his father's death, ostensibly his reason for joining the Qīng, when his brother and sister were still hiding in Sìchuān. I explore this issue below.

[67] Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, *zìxù*:1a: 志圖報讐。欣逢興朝定鼎，賊既在天討，遂率衆義。謁行征南大將軍事正藍旗貝勒王於幕府。授先鋒副將，開疆閩粵. The text is also transcribed in Takekoshi Takashi 2005.

It is not certain that the version of events offered by Qǐliàng in this preface was true.[68] Circumstantial evidence indicates that Qǐliàng's account of the family's remarkable transformation from Míng civil office-holders to staunchly pro-Manchu soldiers in two generations left much unsaid.[69]

Qǐliàng wrote in 1682 that Xúnmáo served in Bolo's banner in the southeast. The troops that fought in the area where Xúnmáo would have been active, however, were not Manchus, but the army of Lǐ Chéngdòng 李成棟 (d. 1649), a northern "general with an unenviable reputation for cruelty,"[70] whose troops had been enrolled under Bolo's banner. As congruent with Qǐliàng's account, general Lǐ took his troops south and east when Bolo left Hángzhōu to pursue the Southern Míng court in Fújiàn. However, Lǐ crossed over to the Southern Míng side in 1648, but was defeated and died late that year in Guǎngxī.[71] Qǐliàng wrote nothing about this, but said that his father took leave from the military to mourn Qǐliàng's paternal grandmother. Later, Xúnmáo would have "followed Censor-in-Chief and Grand Coordinator Jiǎng [Guózhǔ 國柱; d. 1668] into battle" in 1659, when Zhèng Chénggōng's 鄭成功 (1624–1662) navy occupied Zhènjiāng, on the southern bank of the Yángzǐ west of Tàicāng. Xúnmáo "charged first into battle and perished."[72] It seem that Xúnmáo between fighting in the two campaigns of the late 1640s and 1659 spent his time studying. In a biography over Xúnmáo's brother Xúnwèi we read that Xúnmáo "passed the provincial military examination in 1654 from the pool of Government Students and served as Vice Regional Commander [of

[68]The city where Yúnzuò died was attacked in the eighth month of 1644 (Fán Wényīng [1648] 1820, 2b). Shortly after the twenty-fourth day of that month the rumor of Yúnzuò's death reached Xúnwèi and his mother (Shěn Xúnwèi [1701] 1820, 7b). Early in the fifth month of the following year, the Grand Army (Dà bīng 大兵) of the Qīng crossed the Yángzǐ river (Wèi Yuán [1842] 2004, 37) into the region where Xúnmáo lived. From then on, things happened fast. The gentry, local militia, secret societies, criminal groups, and commoners all had to make choices that implicitly positioned them in relation to the invading forces. Xúnmáo could only have decided to organize 'braves' and join the Qīng at this time, if not earlier. But with the highways traversed by rebels, bandits, and soldiers (and society in disarray) should we believe that Xúnmáo knew of his father's death already in the summer of 1645?

[69]The particular circumstances of the war in the lower Yángzǐ are informative. In the months following the Grand Army's crossing of the river, the wanton violence of the troops antagonized many members of the local population. Furthermore, the northern army's inability to maintain control everywhere at all times compelled them to rely on opportunistic local groups to enforce Qīng rule. Lower Yángzǐ society was socially stratified, and the chaos that accompanied the invasion enabled groups with conflicting interests to take turns in attacking each other. The tragedy that unfolded in Jiādìng in the seventh month stands as the most notorious event of the war south of the Yángzǐ. There, northern troops first carried out an indiscriminate massacre that left 20,000 dead. The Qīng commander then turned the city's administration over to a group of one thousand vigilantes from nearby Tàicāng, home of the Shěn family, where the Qīng troops had been restrained. Although some kind of order was restored, this group further terrorized the population of Jiādìng for the sake of profit (Wakeman 1985, 656–661; Dennerline 1981, 284, 299–301). This was the war that Shěn Xúnmáo and his 'braves' joined.

[70]ECCP 1944, 452.

[71]ECCP 1944, 452.

[72]Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, *zìxù*: 1b: 隨大中丞蔣公行陣，鼓勇登先，身昌矢石而亡. The battle is recounted in QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 187.

the Green Standard] in Zhāngzhōu, [southernmost] Fújiàn."[73] In other words, Xúnmáo was not a bannerman.

"At this time I was young and completely alone," Qǐliàng later wrote about the time following his father's death:

> Although I wanted to dedicate myself to poetry and prose, my abilities could not match my ambitions. Thus I read the [military classics] *Sān lüè* [Three strategies] and *Liù tāo* [Six secret teachings], raised the bow and placed the arrow. That is how I spent my energy.[74]

As Qǐliàng was preparing for a military career, his uncle Xúnwèi returned from Sìchuān to a home he had not seen since he was five *suì*. This was 1665; Xúnwèi was twenty-eight years old,[75] Qǐliàng was twenty. We have two accounts of Xúnwèi's return to Tàicāng. One is a redacted version of Xúnwèi's own words, the other is the obituary commissioned by his sons. Although different, both accounts passed through the editorial hand of the writer Shěn Shòuhóng 沈受宏 (d. 1722).[76]

Initially, Xúnwèi recounted his version as a coda to his memoir on the troubles in Sìchuān to "several learned gentlemen" *(zhū xiānshēng* 諸先生) two months after his return in the fifth month of 1665. According to a preface for Xúnwèi's memoir written by Shěn Shòuhóng in 1701, these gentlemen were Shòuhóng and his friend Jīn Yùshì 金玉式 (n. d.). Shòuhóng, although also a Tàicāng Shěn, was not of the same patriline as Xúnwèi. Yet he presented himself as Xúnwèi's "paternal uncle" *(shū* 叔). Shòuhóng, whose son became a Presented Scholar, had a prominent position at least in his own patriline, for which he edited the genealogy.[77] It is possible that he held seniority in a kinship group of which Xúnwèi and Qǐliàng were part. In Sìchuān and on the road back to Tàicāng, Xúnwèi had received help from several ranking officials,[78] who probably felt an obligation towards him on account of his father, a martyr who had died while in office. These connections, and Xúnwèi's seniority over Qǐliàng in the generational hierarchy, might have enabled him to curry favor with locally prominent figures in Tàicāng such as Shòuhóng.

The second account of Wúnwèi's return is Shòuhóng's obituary written for Xúnwèi's sons Gúoliàng 國亮 (n. d.) and Dānzuǒ 单佐 (n.d)[79] after their father's death in 1714. This account is the more detailed of the two.

The two accounts tell how Xúnwèi returned home to find that his grandparents and his brother Xúnmáo were already dead, having "left only my orphaned nephew Qǐliàng" and his mother, Xúnwèi's sister-in-law. Xúnwèi's return seems to have been unexpected, for Qǐliàng and his mother had already taken care of the grandparents' funeral and the division of the

[73]Shěn Shòuhóng (1738) 1997, 4:26b: 由庠生中，甲午武舉，歷官福建漳州副總兵.

[74]Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, *zìxù*:1b: 時亮煢煢孤弱。雖志欲勤事詩書，奈力不從心。遂閱『三略』、『六韜』，持弓挾矢。效力行間.

[75]Shěn Shòuhóng (1738) 1997, 4:51a.

[76]Biographies of Shěn Shòuhóng without any useful information for the purposes of this discussion are found in Zhāng Wéipíng (1830) 1995, 20:6b–7a; Zhèng Fāngkūn (1886) 2009, 2:23b–24b.

[77]Shěn Shòuhóng (1738) 1997, 3:1a–2b.

[78]Shěn Shòuhóng (1738) 1997, 4:50b.

[79]Xúnwèi further had a third son, Yuánxiáng 元祥 (n.d.). See: Lǐ Guǒ (1750) 2001, 7:36a.

property. Xúnwèi had been betrothed to a girl when he was a child, but when he returned, he found that the marriage alliance had been broken off. He had been left without an inheritance from his grandparents estate, which had passed to Qǐliàng after the death of Xúnmáo. The present version of Xúnwèi's memoir on the troubles in Sìchuān is largely silent with regards to this disappointing news. Seeing that his nephew had "mourned by the grave all alone," we read, Xúnwèi "did not ask about the broken marriage alliance."[80]

Xúnwèi portrayed himself as in a position of superiority in the last pages of his narrative on the troubles in Sìchuān. By contrast, in the biography that Shòuhóng wrote for Xúnwèi's sons, we get a fuller and probably more accurate picture of the return to Tàicāng. In this text, commissioned by people born after the fact, we see a poor and shattered family whose members attempt to capitalize on generational seniority, local standing, and public filial behavior to secure control over very limited resources. The obituary, unlike Xúnwèi's memoir, gives a more prominent role to Qǐliàng's mother, who is said to have erected a shrine in memory of the martyred Yúnzuò in the town of Tàicāng. Confronted with this conspicuous act of filial piety and claim to leadership in family affairs, Xúnwèi went into mourning for three years for his deceased grandparents and "obeyed completely … the commands" *(xī tīng … zhǐhuī* 悉聽 … 指揮) of Qǐliàng's mother. However, "the family plot was completely barren" *(jiāyuán qióng chén* 家園窮塵), and constantly having to ask his sister-in-law for money eventually compelled Xúnwèi to seek a wife on his own. He married the only daughter of a certain Pú 濮 (n.d.), Regional Commander (rank 2a) in the army of the Green Standard, who was serving in a different location.[81] The fact that Xúnwèi married into a military family seems to indicate that he was making use of a family connection through his deceased brother, Xúnmáo.

The obituary describes Xúnwèi as subsequently living a life in poverty, relying on friends to lend him books, but refusing financial help from the younger sister he had grown up with in Sìchuān, now the wife of a county magistrate. However, although Xúnwèi's actions of filial piety towards his martyred father suggest that he tried to reclaim seniority within his extended family, he does not seem to have resented his nephew Qǐliàng. Xúnwèi's sons recalled that he took them to the town shrine that Qǐliàng and his mother had erected for Yúnzuò and there praised Qǐliàng's work for the family. Indeed, in the obituary the blame for the family discord fell chiefly on Qǐliàng's mother.[82] Despite his poverty, it seems that Xúnwèi reclaimed his position as the head of the Shěn family, for Qǐliàng left Tàicāng and eventually made a new home for himself in Běijīng.

In 1674, war broke out again in the southeast, as Gěng Jīngzhōng's 耿精忠 (d. 1682) army revolted in Fújiàn. Qǐliàng "followed Supreme Commander Láng [Tíngzuǒ 廷佐; fl. 1636–74]"[83] and "campaigned in the south for two years."[84] We do not know the details of

[80]Shěn Xúnwèi (1701) 1820, 42b: 止遺孤姪啟亮, 僅爾孑立廬產, 莫問婚媾寒盟. The silence might have been less the result of Xúnwèi's graciousness, as of the editors' wish to keep family squabbles out of a piece of historiography intended for public consumption. At the end of the narrative, the editors appended a note: "Later there was a situation of broken trust and unfulfilled agreements. This we leave out" 時後有負托渝盟情節。今不載 (Shěn Xúnwèi [1701] 1820, 43a).

[81]Shěn Shòuhóng (1738) 1997, 4:51b.

[82]Shěn Shòuhóng (1738) 1997, 4:46a–54b. The last page of the biography is missing in this copy.

[83]Biography in QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 284–6.

[84]Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, *zìxù*:1b: 隨總制郎公 … 南征二載.

Shěn's charges on the Zhèjiāng-Fújiàn front,[85] but we know that tens of thousands of troops clashed there in mountainous terrain that was crisscrossed with rivers and streams and protected by dozens of connected fortresses.[86] Of these things, Qǐliàng simply wrote that "I once shouldered the halberd in Zhè and Mǐn, exerting myself as duty dictated."[87] "After I was demobilized," he continued:

> I had the chance to travel to the capital to study. I stayed with the Bordered Yellow Banner [in the northeastern corner of the banner inner city of Běijīng],[88] and was lucky to study with several Manchu scholars. After a couple of years I had gained a smattering of what they taught.[89]

Shěn studied Manchu for years, beginning in the capital in 1677. It seems that he remained in Běijīng thereafter, with the exception of a lengthy trip to the south in 1691–92.

Late in the spring of 1691, Qǐliàng set out from Lúgōu Bridge southwest of Běijīng. Alone except for the company of a boy servant, he

> crossed [the Yellow River where it leaves Shānxī] by the Western Peak [of Huáshān], forded the three stretches of the Xiāng river [in Húnán], and traversed the Five Ridges [of northern Guǎngdōng]. Every day we travelled further south.[90]

Qǐliàng did not specify the reason for his trip Guǎngdōng, but we know that he published two didactic Manchu books in the provincial capital and banner garrison town of Guǎngzhōu,[91] most probably at this time.[92]

In the spring of the following year (1692), Qǐliàng "once again entered the Gate of Peace and Stability," and was thus back in the northeastern section of the banner city of Běijīng, where he had arrived to study Manchu fifteen years prior. It seems that his affiliation with the Bordered Yellow Banner, who occupied this part of the city, was strong, and I conjecture that Qǐliàng at some point during or after the war in the southeast had acquired some kind of banner affiliation. He seems to have been happy to be back in the capital: "My luggage looked desolate, and my book case lonely; I sought to meet my old friends."

He remained in the northeastern inner city, where he embarked on a new career as a teacher. "I managed to gather a few students," he wrote. Shěn might have worked in the school

[85] I have found no mention of anyone related to the Shěns in Xīn-zhù (1744) 2004.

[86] Wèi Yuán (1842) 2004, 74. As for the terrain: "Wēnzhōu was surrounded by water. Our troops could not attack by land, and the city did not fall for a long time" 环温皆水，我军不能陆功，久不下. And the surrounding area was "connected by tens of fortresses, protected by mountains and rivers" 连结数十寨，负山阻水.

[87] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *xù*:4a: 昔嘗荷戈浙閩，效命不遑.

[88] Naquin 2000, 356, map 11.1.

[89] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *xù*:4a–b: 既而奉汰歸里。是以得遊學京師，業館於廂黃旗下。幸就教於滿洲諸儒，於茲數載，粗識其義.

[90] Shěn Qǐliàng 1693, 1b: 度西嶽，涉三湘，越五嶺。走日南.

[91] When Shěn traveled to the city, the garrison in Guǎngzhōu was staffed by 3,000 Hànjūn bannermen (plus their dependents), who had been there since 1681: Im 1981, 19.

[92] Kanda Nobuo 1969, 134.

founded for members of the Imperial Household Department in 1685 (mentioned above), because he had access to the Chinese textbooks used in "the school for basic instruction at Scenic Hill" north of the Forbidden City.[93] Working at Scenic Hill with Chinese textbooks suggests that Shěn might have served as an Instructor (*jiàoxí*) in Literary Chinese, the position also held by Liào Lúnjī.

The Shěn family underwent a remarkable transformation. The grandson of a lower-Yángzǐ Míng official, loyal to his dynasty until death, Shěn Qǐliàng had become a Qīng soldier, fighting the last plausible proponents of the anti-Manchu cause in the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories. Distancing himself even further from the scholar-official persona of his grandfather, he had subsequently traveled north to refashion himself as Manchu-language lexicographer and pedagogue.

Instructors (*jiàoxí*) (3): Xióng Shìbó

Xióng Shìbó 熊士伯 (fl. 1672–1709) was the author of *Děngqiè yuánshēng*, an encyclopedic work on phonology that I will discuss in chapters 5 and 7. He appears to have spent most of his life in the provinces as a local official and teacher. In that regard, he was similar to Liào Lùnjí's father, Wényīng. However, Xióng also served as a banner Instructor (*jiàoxí*), which kindled his interest in the Manchu language. That role he shared with Lùnjí and perhaps Shěn Qǐliàng.

Xióng identified his ancestral home as Nánchāng, the capital of Jiāngxī province south of the Yángzǐ river. He was educated at home, where he had access to both phonological knowledge and phonological literature.[94] Xióng appears to have taken the local examination in his home prefecture, for he was selected as Senior Licentiate of the First Class[95] (*bá gòngshēng* 拔貢生; alt. translated as Graduate for Preeminence) in 1672 (Kāngxī *rénzǐ*).[96] This category of Licentiates were selected from the best students of the local government schools and sent to the Directorate of Education in Běijīng at regular intervals that varied over time. Xióng's trajectory indicates it took place every twelve years when he was selected.[97] It appears that he lived in Běijīng for some time after that.

We remember that male banner youths in the late seventeenth century studied with Licentiates at the Directorate. Indeed, Xióng appears to have served as a banner instructor at this time. Years later, he wrote that:

> In the past, I served with my shallow learning as Instructor (*jiàoxí*) in the Plain Yellow Banner. At that time [i.e. 1680–1682], [my superiors] Libationer Ā[-lǐhú] 阿 [里瑚], great and dignified, and Tutor Dá[-nài] 達 [鼐], of exquisite literary talent, both had profound knowledge of both Manchu and Chinese. Although I on occasion could clumsily produce poetry and lyrics when they tested me orally as we happened upon each other, I regretted that I worked on compositions in

[93] Shěn Qǐliàng 1693, 1b: 得聚徒數人，復進安定門，行李蕭條，書笥寂寞；尋遇舊友 … 啟蒙館於景山.

[94] Inferred from Xióng Shìbó 1709, 1:*xù*:1a.

[95] BH 1912, 268.

[96] *Nánchāng fǔzhì* 1873, 42:13a.

[97] That would accord with Hucker 1985, 359.

> preparation for the examinations and did not have the time to dedicate myself to learning Manchu. I privately sought instruction, but never did I stop thinking about the honor of entering the Hànlín Academy (*zhōngbì*) under the standardized cultural rule (*tóngwén zhī zhì*) of our flourishing dynasty. I envied those [thus honored] every time I stumbled and failed in the examination compound. All I received was an official post, and I returned to the south to work and put food on my family's table. I only managed to get a rough knowledge of Manchu from the glossed texts (*yīnzhù Mǎnwén*) that I bought from the book stalls.[98]

Senior Licentiates eventually took two examinations, including one at court, the result of which determined their subsequent career path. The most successful contingent were awarded low-ranking (7) official posts in the capital or were sent to serve as county magistrates in the capital region or the provinces. The less successful examinees were appointed assistant head of prefectural schools (*zhōu zuǒ jiàozhí* 州佐教職), which was a low-ranking or unranked position.[99] Xióng clearly hoped to remain in the capital and pass also the higher level exams that could have granted him entry to the Hànlín Academy, where as we saw some Chinese scholars were taught Manchu. Unfortunately, Xióng seems to have been among the last group of examinees, as he was later given a job as Instructor (*jiàoshòu* 教授; n.b. not *jiàoxí*) in a civilian government school.[100]

He appears to have left Běijīng in 1680, when he visited Hándān 邯鄲 on the north China plain south of Běijīng. The next year he moved to the provinces on the Jiāngzǐ river (*jiāngshěng* 江省). In 1684 he traveled to Xuānfǔ 宣府,[101] a place name of unknown reference but which was perhaps located either in the vicinity of Nánjīng on the middle Yángzǐ or northwest of Běijīng (today's Xuānhuà 宣化 prefecture) and later to Hángzhōu. In 1684 he was ordered

[98]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:*xù*:1a: 予以淺學曩者，教習正黃旗。一時阿大司成弘博凝重，達少司成文采風流，皆滿漢精邃者。雖間蒙禮遇面試詩詞，惜工舉業文字，未暇究心清書。親求指示，然盛朝同文之治中秘讀書之榮，非不心焉。慕之屢躓場屋；僅授一職，負米南歸。惟於攤肆所購音註滿文，粗通大意而已. The literary titles Xióng uses for the officials at the Directorate are explained in BH 1912, 137. Hucker 1985, 376 explains *bìshū* 秘書 as a reference to the Hànlín; I have taken Xióng's *zhōngbì* to likewise refer to the Hànlín. The only individual appointed to the position of Libationer during Xióng's time at the Directorate whose name in Chinese began with *ā* 阿 was Ā-lǐ-hú 阿里瑚, appointed in 1680 (Kāngxī 19). The only Tutor (*sīyè* 司業) with a Chinese name beginning with *dá* 達 in the same period was Dá-nài 達爾, appointed in 1679 (Kāngxī 18): GZJZ (1781) 1983, 32:4b (330; on Ā-lǐ-hú), 32:7a (331; on Dá-nài). The names Ā-lǐ-hú 阿里瑚 and Dá-nài 達爾 are not listed in BQMZSZTP (1744) 1989, which makes me think they might have belonged to the Chinese banners. That would make sense, since they taught Chinese students at the Directorate. However, Yamashita Taizō 1933, 194 wrote that a Libationer with the name Ā-lǐ 阿里 made a request that Dahai (see chapter 3) be venerated in the Confucius temple (Kǒngzǐ Miào 孔子廟), without giving a date (the request was denied). Was it the same Libationer whom Xióng knew?

[99]Fú-gé (1850–1900) 1984, 115–116; Hucker 1985, 141 for *jiàozhí* and 142 for *jiàoshòu*, another term for the same position.

[100]In 1684: *Jiànchāng fǔzhì* (1759) 2001, 36:31b (vol. 6, 391; Kāngxī 23).

[101]I transcribe the name as Xuānfǔ rather than Xuān prefecture, as no prefecture with that name existed in the Qīng period.

to teach in a local school in Jiāngxī.[102] Throughout his travels Xióng collected and consulted books on phonology and interacted with scholars; at Xuānfǔ, for example, he looked at a title in the possession of a Daoist priest at the city god temple (*chénghuáng cí* 城隍祠).[103]

In 1684 he was posted to Nánfēng 南豐 county in Jiāngxī.[104] After seven years he left to serve as the magistrate of Gāolíng 高陵 county in the northwestern province of Shǎnxī,[105] passing through Hénán where he befriended more scholars. Yet Xióng did not seem to have enjoyed these years after leaving the Directorate. "After [my posting to the south]," he wrote, "I was given the cold mattress [of a poor civil official] and received postings to remote mountain towns." Notably, in these places "there was no one well-versed in Manchu letters."[106]

He was eventually ordered back to Jiāngxī after "two decades" (*niàn nián* 廿年). First he was sent to teach in a location "on the shore of Pénglǐ [i.e. Póyáng 鄱陽] lake in the Lú mountains," where he lived in "hunger and poverty" without possibility of advancing his Manchu studies.[107] Relief appears to have arrived in 1695, when he was posted to Guǎngchāng 廣昌 county in the southern Jiāngxī prefecture where he had previously served. Friends he had made on his travels sent him books on phonology. He appears to have remained in Guǎngchāng at least until 1703,[108] but perhaps until 1709 or longer.[109] In the latter year he finished his treatise on Manchu phonology and script. What he did after that we do not know.

Literati (1): Yóu Zhēn

Yóu Zhēn 尤珍 (1647–1721) is a rare example of a Chinese scholar who studied Manchu in the Hánlín Academy and later published a book of Manchu language pedagogy: an edition of the common Chinese primer *Qiānzì wén*, which I discussed in chapter 2, published in 1685.

Yóu Zhēn was the son of Yóu Tóng 尤侗 (1618–1704), who was from Chángzhōu 常州 in the lower-Yángzǐ region. Tóng worked as a local official in the Metropolitan District around Běijīng in the 1650s, but retired and lived as a writer for two decades thereafter. He became a Presented Scholar after passing the special examination that Kāngxī emperor organized in 1679, ostensibly to attract literati who had avoided serving the new Manchu dynasty. Until 1683, Tóng worked on scholarly projects at court, before retiring to the south for good. The Kāngxī emperor bestowed special favors on him during his tours of the south in 1699 and 1703.[110]

Yóu Zhēn passed the provincial examination (*xiāngshì* 鄉試) in 1675. After his father passed the special examination four years later, Zhēn followed him to Běijīng. He returned home following a death in the family, but passed the highest examination in the capital in 1682.

[102] See footnote 100 on page 178.

[103] Xióng Shìbó 1709, 1:*xù*:1a–b.

[104] *Nánchāng fǔzhì* 1873, 4:13a erroneously has Nánkāng; *Jiànchāng fǔzhì* (1759) 2001, 36:31b (vol. 6, 391) has Nánfēng county, which was under the jurisdiction of Jiànchāng 建昌 prefecture.

[105] *Jiànchāng fǔzhì* (1759) 2001, 36:31b (vol. 6, 391).

[106] Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:*xù*:1a: 自後改授寒氈。以當捧檄山城僻陋，未有精通清書者….

[107] Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:*xù*:1a: 量移匡廬彭蠡之濱，饑餓窮愁，無復進取之望.

[108] Xióng Shìbó 1709, 1:*xù*:1b–2a.

[109] Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:*xù*:1b is signed in that year, but no location is given.

[110] ECCP 1944, 935–936.

Appointed to the Hànlín, Zhēn was charged to learn Manchu.[111] Citing Zhēn's knowledge of the dynasty's laws and regulations, Kāngxī ordered him to participate in the compilation of the collected statutes of the empire, the official history of the defunct Míng, and the histories of the historic Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongol states. A knowledge of Manchu would certainly have been essential for some of those tasks.

In 1685, Zhēn wrote his *Qīngshū qiānzì wén* 清書千字文 (Manchu script thousand character essay), which spelled out syllables of the Chinese koinē using the Manchu script. Zhēn's work might originally have contained only text in the Manchu script, but the copy I consulted also contains the original text in Chinese characters.[112]

Zhēn's career was promising, but he asked and was granted to return home to care for his family. He returned to the capital in 1713 to serve in the Hànlín for seven years before retiring. He was accomplished in the pursuits of the Chinese literatus, including, notably, poetry.[113]

Literati (2): Lǐ Guāngdì

Lǐ Guāngdì 李光地 (1642–1718) wore many hats. Or at least so it appears from recent scholarship on his career. John Wills, Jr. has discussed his role as the Kāngxī emperor's consultant on matters pertaining to Fújiàn, an inaccessible coastal province that often kept its back toward the rest of the empire, looking instead for fortune in the global maritime trade. When Fújiàn tried to break away entirely from Qīng rule, Lǐ proposed a plan for a Manchu invasion of the province.[114]

On Cho Ng, in contrast, has presented Lǐ as a Neo-Confucian philosopher reacting to the speculative thought of the sixteenth century by reaffirming an unambiguous standard of interpretation of the classical corpus as the basis for Confucian beliefs.[115]

Interestingly, it is T. H. Barrett, otherwise a scholar of medieval China, who has stressed the unique circumstances of the early Qīng period and their importance for understanding Lǐ Guāngdì. "Li's world," he writes, "must in any case have been very different from that of any recent predecessors up to the middle of the seventeenth century if only because, unlike them, he was not simply a Chinese speaker but also proficient in an entirely different language, Manchu."[116] Lǐ merits discussion in the context of this chapter because he discussed the Manchu language and script in writing with the Kāngxī emperor and contributed to a Chinese rhyme book heavily influenced by the Manchu tradition.

One of the most well-known Chinese scholars of the early Qīng period, Lǐ's life does not have to be restated in full here.[117] Lǐ was born in Fújiàn to a literati family who lost part of its wealth in the series of wars of the seventeenth century. Still, at the age of twenty-nine *suì*, Lǐ succeeded in the highest civil service examination and became a Presented Scholar in

[111]Lǐ Zōngtóng 1972, 91.

[112]I consulted Yóu Zhēn 1685. Kishida Fumitaka 1994, 1 also cites a copy in the British Museum, and Puyraimond 1979, 36 one at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

[113]Lǐ Huán (1884–1890) 1985, 109:9a–11b (148-511–148-516). A less detailed biography is found in QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 5783 (ch. 71). Neither biography mentions Zhēn's knowledge of Manchu.

[114]Wills, Jr. 2004, 192–193.

[115]Ng 2001.

[116]Barrett 2002, 647.

[117]The standard account is naturally that in ECCP 1944, 473–475.

1670. He was appointed to the Hànlín and selected to study Manchu, "the dynastic script" (*guóshū* 國書). The next year he began studying the most recent findings in Chinese historical phonology.[118]

In 1672 he passed the exam to graduate from the Hànlín, after which he was granted leave to return home. His studies of Manchu ought to have been completed at this time. According to his grandson, Lǐ, having studied Manchu, could more easily grasp difficult issues in phonological studies: "The letters, treatments, and other pieces on phonology that he wrote in his later years … derived many of their insights from the dynastic script."[119] Lǐ relied on his knowledge of Manchu in phonological studies he completed long before Kāngxī ordered him to compile an official rhyme book;[120] we should not see his interest in Manchu as a way to please the emperor.

Having, in Kāngxī's eyes, displayed loyalty to the throne during the civil war in Fújiàn in the late 1670s, Lǐ was again appointed to the Hànlín in 1677. He later returned again temporarily to the south, but served in high office in Běijīng permanently from the 1690s onward. In addition to phonology and Confucian philosophy, Lǐ also took an interest in other subjects discussed at Kāngxī's court, including mathematics and astronomy.[121]

In the preceding sections, I have discussed Yóu Zhēn and Lǐ Guǎngdì as examples of seventeenth-century literati scholars of Manchu. Other examples exist. One would be Líng Shàowén 凌紹雯 (n.d.), a civilian from Zhèjiāng in the lower Yángzǐ region who upon becoming Presented Scholar in 1688 served in the Hànlín and then the central government, working on translations from Manchu into Chinese. Líng assembled a collection of pedagogical texts that was published in 1699.[122]

General Chinese Interest in Manchu, but Limited Knowledge

In the preceding sections I have studied a few examples of Chinese individuals affiliated with either the high civilian bureaucracy or with the banner establishment who distinguished themselves as scholars of the Manchu language. There are also signs of an interest in the Manchu language in Chinese society more broadly. However, the very evidence we have of a general interest in Manchu is also evidence of the limited knowledge that the larger reading public had of the language. I will discuss three examples in what follows.

First, there is a stele erected in 'Hú family village' (*Hújiā cūn* 胡家村) in the western suburbs of Běijīng in 1656, a little more than a decade after the Manchu conquest of the city and shortly after its definite separation into a banner sector and a civilian sector. The inscription on the stele, written by Yáo Cénfā 姚岑發 (n.d.), commemorates the "restoration of the shrine" (*chóngxiū miào* 重修廟) of Pǔzhào Sì 普照寺 (Illuminate-All Temple). Yáo's inscription mentions several individuals surnamed Hú 胡 as having contributed to the restoration of the temple. Given the stele's location, we can assume that they belonged to an extended Hú family that dominated the locality.

[118]Lǐ Qīngzhí (1825) 2006, 1:2a–b (Kāngxī 9–11).
[119]Lǐ Qīngzhí (1825) 2006, 1:14a: 晚年所著韻箋及音論等篇…得於國書者爲多.
[120]Lǐ Qīngzhí (1825) 2006, 1:16b, referring to 1676 (Kāngxī 15).
[121]Jami 2012, 69.
[122]Fuchs 1940, 5; 1942, 3.

Detail reproduced from Běijīng Túshūguǎn 1989–1991, vol. 61, 94 (not to scale).

Figure 4.1 – The Manchu Inscription on the Pǔzhào Temple Stele

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What is interesting about the stele is the top piece (*é* 額): the decorated, smaller piece of stone protruding from the top of the slab (figure 4.1). The inscription on the top piece is written in the Manchu script. It appears to represent the transcription of four Chinese syllables, which if read in the Chinese manner from right to left give, perhaps, *di jung gun li* (i.e. *di zhong gong [?] li*). The transcription, of unclear significance, is tentative.

The carving of the Manchu graphs appear to have been made by someone illiterate in that language; the *akṣara* (see chapter 3) of the Manchu syllables are in two cases disjointed, and some horizontal strokes are piercing the vertical line in cases where they should not. I have yet to see another stele quite like it. As a rule, the Manchu-inscribed stelae of the Qīng were erected by the government and carried a proclamation in one, two, or more of the

empire's languages. Here, in contrast, the Manchu script is used in a non-government setting to transcribe Chinese for what appears to be decorative purposes. The Chinese text of the stele makes no mention of the Manchu ruling house (but does use the Qīng reign name Shùnzhì), nor does it contain any unambiguously Manchu names. From what I can tell, the stele was erected to commemorate the funding of a Chinese Buddhist temple by a group of civilians. Still, they chose to include some Manchu script on its top piece.

Second, there are the writings by Lù Cìyún 陸次雲 (n.d.), a collection of which was published as *Lù Yúnshì zázhù* 陸雲士雜著 (Miscellaneous writings by Lù Yúnshì) in 1683 by a Běijīng publisher also known for printing Manchu works. Lù's writings contained accounts of foreign lands, appealing to an interest in unfamiliar places. They also contained examples of Inner Asian scripts, including the Uighur-Mongol alphabet. We can infer that at least Lù and his publisher thought that there would be a market for writings with such a subject matter. The intended readership was probably Chinese civilians who were curious about Inner Asian things but not themselves literate in Mongol or Manchu. For an eye used to reading those languages, the carving of the graphs is crude and unsatisfying, but Lù's readers might have thought differently. Lù also presented examples of scripts purportedly from the empire's southwest.[123]

Third, there is the Manchu-Chinese vocabulary that we see appearing first in a work titled *Tóngwén yàolǎn* 同文要覽 (Essential readings in translation), now extant only in one incomplete copy.[124] This anonymous work actually includes two Manchu-Chinese vocabularies, the latter, titled "Complete book of direct examples of the dynastic language of the Great Qīng" 大清國語直引全書, contains only Chinese characters, no Manchu script. The former, however, contains semantically ordered Chinese words written in Chinese characters and transcribed into the Manchu script, as well as the corresponding Manchu words written in the Manchu script and transcribed into Chinese characters. The workmanship is relatively poor, which might reflect that it was a cheap publication.

It appears that the Manchu-Chinese vocabulary *Tóngwén yàolǎn* was the basis for a similar section in an encyclopedia *Zēngbǔ wànbǎo quánshū* 增補萬寶全書 (Complete book of a myriad treasures, expanded), appearing in an edition that seems to have been printed for the first time in 1739 and again in 1746.[125] The title *Wànbǎo quánshū* is attested for Chinese encyclopedias of daily use since the late Míng period. These encyclopedias remained extremely popular for centuries and were printed all over the empire. The 'expanded' edition that contained the Manchu vocabulary was published in Jiāngsū in the lower-Yángzǐ region by Máo Huànwén 毛煥文 (n.d.),[126] about whom we know little else.

The Manchu-Chinese vocabulary that was included in Máo's edition was structured similarly to that in *Tóngwén yàolǎn*, but not all the words from the latter was included in the ency-

[123]For foreign lands: Lù Cìyún (1683a) 1997. For Inner Asian scripts: Lù Cìyún (1683b) 1997, "Yìshǐ jíyú" 譯史集餘 (Further collections of translated histories), 4:1a–12b. For southern indigenous scripts: Lù Cìyún (1683c) 1997, *xiānzhì yú*:7a–8b.

[124]*Tóngwén yàolǎn* 1644–1746; described in Chūnhuā 2008a, 246–247.

[125]Wú Huìfāng (2001) 2005, 57–59 does not list the 1746 print, but one from 1739 from the same publisher. Wylie 1855, xlviii seems to have been the first to draw attention to the Manchu-Chinese vocabulary, also referring to the 1739 print.

[126]Wú Huìfāng (2001) 2005, 41, 52.

clopedia.[127] Still, I believe that the vocabulary in *Zēngbǔ wànbǎo quánshū* was excerpted from *Tóngwén yàolǎn*. As in the case of the Pǔxī Temple stele, the carving of the Manchu graphs in Máo's encyclopedia is very poor and appears to have been carried out without knowledge of the language. In fact, a reader would not be able to learn to decipher the Manchu script successfully by relying only on this vocabulary. It was thus probably not compiled from scratch by anyone working on Máo's team, but ought to have been copied from some other book. The only possible source for the vocabulary that I have found is *Tóngwén yàolǎn*.

If that publication was indeed the basis for the Manchu-Chinese vocabulary in Máo's encyclopedia, we would be dealing with a case in which a publisher in the Chinese south incorporated a minor work of Manchu language studies in a book intended to provide the knowledge expected of a Chinese person in touch with the times. In 1739, that knowledge apparently included a smattering of Manchu. The wide circulation of this Manchu-Chinese vocabulary is clear from inclusion in reprints of the encyclopedia into the nineteenth century.[128]

The three examples discussed here are intended to show that there was a general interest in the Manchu language and script in the Chinese civilian population at large. It is clearly so in the seventeenth century, but as Máo's encyclopedia shows, the interest persisted into the eighteenth century and beyond. At the same time, the three examples I have discussed also suggest that outside the circles of high civil officials and Chinese Instructors in the banner system, functional knowledge of the Manchu language and script was rare. The specimens of Manchu graphs that we saw on both stele and in print were so far removed from the usual appearance of the script to be legible only with the greatest difficulty, if at all. Many readers of such graphs might have been content to recognize them as representing the Manchu script, without trying to actually decipher them.

4.3 Studying Manchu as the Bannerman's Duty, 1724–1796

The eighteenth century was probably the time that the Manchu language was studied with the most intensity. Manchu education expanded, and both official and commercial presses printed a great variety of books intended to facilitate language learning and language use. The reasons for the surge in Manchu language studies activity in the eighteenth century appears to be the result of several developments.

First, the establishment of Qīng garrisons, staffed by bannermen, in several places in China created a bureaucracy that communicated in writing with the imperial center at Běijīng. This banner bureaucracy required large numbers of clerks literate in Manchu.

Second, transplanted to China, the demographic development of the banner population appears to have been similar to that of the Chinese. The Chinese population increased rapidly in the eighteenth century. The absolute number of banner people also increased markedly, which meant a larger population of Manchus.

[127] *Zēngbǔ wànbǎo quánshū* (1739) 1746, ch. 7.

[128] E.g., *Zēngbǔ wànbǎo quánshū* 1823, ch. 6. A complete list is given in Wú Huìfāng (2001) 2005, 57–59.

Third, the fact that the Manchus in China proper were surrounded by people speaking varieties of Chinese, the knowledge of which had many benefits, led to the decline of Manchu as an everyday, spoken language. Bannermen aspiring to service either in the military or civilian bureaucracy thus had to learn not only how to read and write words and sentences they already knew how to form natively; they had to learn new words and grammatical patterns similarly to Chinese students of the language. As learning Manchu became a more difficult undertaking for bannermen, interest in pedagogical literature and linguistic reference works grew.

Fourth, the government expanded the Manchu education system in response to the increased need for Manchus literate in their ancestral language in a situation of weakened native language abilities, increased bureaucratization, and swelling numbers of bannermen. The government needed to maintain the distinctiveness and group identity of the conquest elite to ensure Manchu dominance, and one way to do so was by strengthening the knowledge of the Manchu language. The large number of bannermen was a burden on the state's finances. Distinguishing who was really Manchu was important in order to ensure that the government's limited resources reached their ultimate power base, the Manchu bannermen. In that context, the court became less inclined to encourage Chinese civilians to learn the Manchu language, as that would have blurred the lines between bannermen and civilians. The role of Chinese scholars thus became less important in this phase of the development of Manchu language studies.

The Manchu Language and the Bureaucracy

The Manchu language's importance in Qīng scholarship ultimately stemmed from its importance to the government bureaucracy. The Manchu state had relied on a literate civil administration since the pre-conquest period, but its importance grew as the Qīng consolidated power over all of the land, people, and resources formerly belonging to the Míng. In the post-conquest period, the Manchu language was important both in the civil administration of the Chinese territories, structurally similar to what it had been in Míng times, and in the bureaucracy governing the banner armies and their attendant population. With garrisons established at several locations in China proper by the end of the seventeenth century, a literate Manchu bureaucracy in communication with the imperial center developed in these new locales.

Elliott has estimated that the banner bureaucracy counted almost ten and half thousand officials in the eighteenth century.[129] Many bannermen entered that bureaucracy first as low-ranking clerks (*bithesi*, ranks 7 to 9),[130] who had to be literate in Manchu. The administration of the garrisons appears to have been largely run in the Manchu language. In Guǎngzhōu in the far south I saw a record of banner affairs from 1851 which was almost entirely written in Manchu.[131] The bannermen aspiring to work in this sprawling bureaucracy constituted an important readership of Manchu language-studies literature.

The central civilian bureaucracy also produced great numbers of Manchu documents and employed large numbers of officials and clerks capable of reading and writing the language.

[129]Elliott 2001a, 135.
[130]BH 1912, 102 on the position of *bithesi*.
[131]"Mǎnwén pǔ" 1851.

"Manchu is nothing less than the essential script for administrating the state, and all memorials, rules, and regulations are laid out clearly" in the language, a lexicographer wrote in 1724.[132] The fact that the Běijīng archive that forms the successor institution to the Qīng central administration houses around two million items written wholly or partially in Manchu gives an idea of the scale of record keeping in Manchu.[133] In the eighteenth century, new and largely Manchu-controlled organs of government developed to strengthen imperial control. The new institutions of the 'inner court' coexisted with the regular bureaucracy of the 'outer court' and maintained separate records and channels of communication. Miyazaki Ichisada demonstrated how the central bureaucracy developed into a bilingual administration,[134] and Beatrice S. Bartlett's magisterial study has revealed the details of the bureaucratic machinery at its peak performance in the mid-eighteenth century.[135]

The government quarter at the heart of Běijīng was the center of this bureaucratic activity. "Officials of all kinds congregated in this government quarter," Naquin writes:

> Grand secretaries and Manchu princes, Chinese and Banner junior ministers, freshly minted *jinshi* [high-level degree holders] and veteran department directors, bewildered foreigners, and clerks and secretaries by the thousands. Perhaps ten thousand people, high and low, found employment in this bureaucracy, ink and paper were consumed in great quantity, and officials poured in regularly before leaving or taking up new posts.[136]

From at least the last decade of the seventeenth century, Běijīng was the center of a highly bureaucratized empire whose 'dynastic script' (*guóshū*) or language was Manchu. That much would have been obvious to anyone who had reason to handle Qīng issued currency; one side of the copper coins carried some text in Manchu. In that capacity, the Manchu script could be seen everywhere, according to the testimony of a Korean observer writing in the periphery of the Qīng world.[137]

In the eighteenth century, some Chinese officials continued to be assigned to study Manchu in the Hànlín Academy. Anecdotal evidence suggests, however, that they did so with less enthusiasm than before. For example, one Presented Scholar from the lower Yángzǐ assigned to the Hánlín wrote in this period of his experience that "as the Hánlín Bachelors included many old scholars, those aged forty *suì* and under were all sent to study Qīng writing; I counted among them."[138] The Bachelor in question did not enjoy it, and in 1726, after having studied Manchu for more than a year, he still felt the rules to be so intricate that "one would have to be a sage to formulate" a sentence.[139] There are also indications that the imperial government

[132]Lǐ Yánjī (1724–1751) 2001, *xù*:2a: 况清文為經國要書，凡一切章奏、紀綱、法度，莫不條分縷晰.

[133]Elliott 2001b, 18. See also Crossley and Rawski 1993.

[134]Miyazaki Ichisada (1947) 1991–1994.

[135]Bartlett 1991.

[136]Naquin 2000, 355.

[137]Chŏng Yunyong 1856, 92b–93a.

[138]Shěn Qǐyuán and Shěn Zōngyuē (1847) 1999, *shàng*:18b–19a: 庶常多老宿四十歲以內，皆派清書；余遂得清書.

[139]Shěn Qǐyuán and Shěn Zōngyuē (1847) 1999, *shàng*:23a: 非聖人不能造也.

became more lenient toward Chinese Hànlín Bachelors who did not learn Manchu well or at all.[140]

The Eighteenth-Century Crisis

In a study on ethnicity in the banner system, Mark Elliott has identified an "identity crisis" among the Manchus of the eighteenth century. The crisis was not personal, but institutional and demographic. It motivated many of the efforts of publishing and education undertaken by the imperial government in this period.

The crisis had two dimensions: (1) increased familiarity and preference among Manchus for Chinese urban culture as opposed to the martial heritage of the northeast and (2) the growing economic burden that the banner system placed on the state. Declining ability in the Manchu language,[141] along with the loss of key martial skills, belonged to the first dimension. Stemming language attrition among the Manchus became more important because of the second dimension of the crisis.

By 1730, about one fourth of the annual state budget was going toward maintaining the banners. In order to reduce costs and ensure that limited resources reached their intended recipients, the Yōngzhèng emperor ordered the collection of more precise census data from the banners. Hereditary rights were ensured to be passed on from Manchus to other Manchus, and not to Chinese households affiliated with the banners in various ways. The Chinese contingent of the banners, most of whom were grouped in the Hànjūn, was in this context considered to be more like the Chinese civilians than the Manchus. From the 1740s, many Hànjūn households were removed from the banner rosters and others were encouraged to leave.[142]

Since both the Manchus and the Hànjūn were members of the banners, such membership was not sufficient as a marker of Manchu identity. Other marks, such as facility with the Manchu language, thus became more important. In 1764, one pedagogue wrote in the textbook printed for use in a new garrison school:

> Brother! We, the people who belong to the Manchu [clans], rely on the Manchu language. If we cannot speak like Manchus, we will be crushed by the common people (*uthai niyalma*) [i.e. the Chinese civilians] when it comes to selection and promotion [to official posts]![143]

Just as Manchus were encouraged to study Manchu, non-Manchus who studied the language might draw suspicions that they were scheming to infringe on Manchu privilege.

[140] C.-h. Ch'en 1976, 148.

[141] C.-h. Ch'en 1976, 139.

[142] Elliott 2006, 47–50; Yè Gāoshù 2002, 390 also points out that the Hànjūn came under criticism at that time.

[143] *Măn-Hàn hébì jíyào* 1764, 3a: *age muse manju halangga niyalma akdahangge manju gisun, aika manjurame muterakû oci, yaya sonjoro tukiyecere bade, uthai niyalma de gidabumbikai,*; 阿哥！我們滿洲家所靠的滿洲話，若是不能說滿洲話，凡挑選之處，就被人壓住了.

Expansion of Manchu Education

We saw that the foundation of a Manchu education system was laid before the conquest of China and additional measures to strengthen it were taken in the second half of the seventeenth century. Characteristic of the early post-conquest period was a focus on educating the Manchu elite and a small group of high Chinese officials. In the eighteenth century, education was expanded to reach a greater number of students.

The translation examination, which as we saw was established in the first decades after the conquest, was in 1722 expanded to include all the levels seen in the civil examination.[144] The translation examination offered a path for advancement for educated Manchus. Increased opportunities for obtaining the education needed came in 1724, when two imperial clan schools of larger size were established in Běijīng. A more flexible age limit was fixed and "imperial clansmen under eighteen or those over eighteen who had received some private tuition at home were eligible for admission."[145] As the imperial clansmen, like the banner population overall, grew in number in the eighteenth century, admission to the clan schools became limited to the direct descendants of the emperor. A new category of schools was then instituted to educate the larger group of clansmen. Young Manchus hoping to inherit rank from their fathers were also made to first study in government schools. New schools were instituted to train them in 1753.

Education for ordinary bannermen was made more accessible with the expansion of the regular government, or "officers',"[146] schools (*guānxué*) and charitable schools (*yìxué* 義學) for banner boys. A number of schools of the latter type was established in 1724. At a ratio of four in each banner, they presumably reached a relatively large group of potential learners. The schools were specifically intended to provide an elementary education, including in reading and writing Manchu. In 1728, the number of charitable schools and their teaching staff doubled on government order. The next year an order was issued to make also the government schools more accessible, enabling students twelve *suì* and over (who had already completed basic training) to study there. In 1729, furthermore, a school was established in the outer palace at Běijīng. It was run by officials from the Hànlín and was nominally open to any bannerman. It appears, however, that most students were the sons of the high Manchu officials who had an influence on the admissions process. The curriculum in Manchu schools comprised between three and four years of study depending on the type of school.

The charitable schools do not seem to have been very successful in teaching the poorer stratum of the banner population. On the one hand, banner families of means hired private tutors. That was probably true for Manchus everywhere, but it appears that private schooling was even more dominant as a means to an education in the garrisons outside Běijīng.[147] On the other hand, opportunities for obtaining ranking positions in the civil or military bureaucracy were few for poor banner families, who were therefore less inclined to send their children to school. In 1750, the charitable schools were reportedly shut down,[148] but in the provincial

[144]Crossley 1994, 351.
[145]Lui 1971, 127.
[146]Crossley 1994, 356.
[147]Crossley 1994, 358.
[148]Lui 1971.

garrisons at least charitable schools funded by the local banner community appear to have continued to operate.[149]

The closing of the charitable schools is one indicator of the "structural defects" that Pamela Crossley found in the state-sponsored Manchu education system. In a critical evaluation of the reach of Manchu education that we do not see in some other accounts, she writes:

> Attempts to enforce systematic education were made only at the capital and affected a tiny portion of the adult males of the banner population. Banner males of eligible age must, at any one of these times, have numbered in the hundreds of thousands, of whom not more than a thousand were being educated in the Peking higher schools. Moreover, the proportional emphasis put on educating Aisin Gioro [descendants of the emperors], Gioro [imperial clan members], and bondservants was overwhelming; it appears that in the middle eighteenth century this group represented half of all bannermen attending the higher schools in Peking.[150]

It is clear, then, that even in the eighteenth century education of Manchu males in the written form of their ancestral language was not universal. Yet a thousand Manchu students who had already undergone elementary schooling were still being trained in Běijīng at any given time. With a curriculum of three to four years in such schools, new students would have entered relatively frequently. Even more people, we might assume, probably learned some basic Manchu without ever entering the higher schools.

The private schooling through which many Manchus in the eighteenth century probably learned their ancestral language is more difficult to investigate, as sources are more scattered. Liú Xiǎoméng has recently described the private Manchu-language education that existed in Qīng Běijīng. Liú's research reminds us that although bannermen were not as successful as the lower-Yángzǐ elite in the civil service examinations, their educational prospects were still better than those of Chinese commoners. Liú's literary sources evoke images of children gathered on the heated platform of a northern Chinese house in autumn, reciting the Manchu syllabary under the eyes of their teacher. At the gate, large Manchu and Chinese characters advertise the teacher's services to the bannermen of the city.[151] Qīng sources also talk about pedagogical texts being "transmitted in the family" (*jiā chuán* 家傳),[152] indicating the existence of this alternative avenue for learning Manchu.

The maintenance of basic Manchu literacy across generations seems to have been a largely male affair. Certainly, there were schools specifically for Manchu girls, and one would assume that their curriculum included the teaching of basic Manchu literacy. Elite women also had private Manchu tutors, who themselves were of the elite Manchu stratum.[153] Yet the great imperial concern for the study of Manchu together with martial virtues by the "sons and

[149]Mǎ Xiédì 1988, 64 (discussing Guǎngzhōu).

[150]Crossley 1994, 359.

[151]Liú Xiǎoméng 2008, 604–605.

[152]"Mǎn-Hàn zìyīn liánzhù shìwén" 1861–1875, vol. 2, toward the end (no pagination).

[153]Liú Xiǎoméng 2012, 135 (which leaves it unstated whether the girls learned Manchu in school). The evidence cited there are from the nineteenth century.

brothers" (*zǐ dì* 子弟) of the banners indicate that in the emperor's eyes, the knowledge of the Manchu language was linked to the masculinity of the conquest elite.[154] In possible contradiction with this narrative is the relative freedom enjoyed by Manchu women compared to female Chinese civilians,[155] which probably gave the former greater access to the written word.[156] As a European missionary wrote from Běijīng in 1787, Manchu men

> are already more than half Chinese, and they become ever more so by the day. That is not the case for their women, who make no effort to become Chinese, and who do all in their power to maintain the customs of their people as far as they concern them.[157]

At the very least, these circumstances probably disqualifies Manchu, even in the late Qīng, from making the list of what Walter J. Ong (1912–2003) called "sexlinked male languages," like post-Roman Latin or Rabbinic Hebrew, which "were all no longer in use as mother tongues (that is, in the straightforward sense, not used by mothers in raising children)."[158] The manifest interest of Manchu women to remain distinct vis-à-vis the Chinese would presumably have inclined them towards maintaining a knowledge also of the Manchu language and script.

Despite the evidence suggesting an early beginning for the schooling of the Manchu elite, I am tempted to conjecture that the Manchu script was to a much larger extent studied in later childhood or adolescence.[159] In the case of Chinese students, Manchu might not have been learned until adulthood. From the mid-Qīng onward, it seems that both civilians and bannermen began to learn Manchu after they had already begun to acquire basic literacy in Chinese. The main evidence in support of this inference is the great number of bilingual syllabaries remaining from the Qīng period. Syllabaries guiding the learner of Manchu by means of text written in Chinese (often in an idiom closer to Early Modern Written Chinese than Literary Chinese) presuppose a student who has already reached the intellectual maturity and the level of Chinese-language literacy of an adolescent, not a small child.

Manchu Publishing

Several good studies of the development of Manchu publishing have appeared, notably by Evelyn S. Rawski and Huáng Rùnhuá. In the following sections, I will give an overview of the production and circulation of Manchu books in the mid-Qīng period, separating publishing by government agencies from private and commercial publishing.

[154]The Kāngxī emperor quoted in Fú-gé (1850–1900) 1984, 217.

[155]Zhāng Júlíng 1990, 110–116; Lǐ Tíng 2005, 35–46.

[156]Elliott 2001a, 250.

[157]Amiot 1787a, 20 (local pagination for this letter): *Ils sont déja plus qu'à demi chinois, et ils le deviennent châque jour davantage. Il n'en est pas ainsi de leurs femmes, elles ne se pressent pas de devenir chinoises, et tiennent bon tant qu'elles peuvent pour conserver les usages de leur nation pour ce qui les concerne.*

[158]Ong (1982) 2012, 111–112.

[159]Liú Xiǎoméng 2012, 138–139, using evidence from the nineteenth century, gives examples both of elite bannermen who studied Manchu in childhood and of those who did not learn it until much later.

Government Publishing Before 1800

The eighteenth century was the great peak of the imperial government's involvement in producing and publishing Manchu books. To be sure, the government had been involved in such activity since before the conquest of China. After the move of the government to Běijīng, this activity expanded, and books were successively published by several agencies. Initially, the old Míng print shop was used to produce Manchu books, several titles of which appeared before 1661.[160] However, the first government-produced book to take Manchu language itself as its subject matter was not published until 1708.

The most important of the government's book producing agencies was the Imperial Household Department (Nèiwù Fǔ 內務府). From 1680, the Nèiwù Fǔ established its own Imperial Printing Office (Xiūshū Chù 修書處)[161] at the Palace of Martial Valor (Wǔyīng Diàn 武英殿) in the southwestern corner of the palace compound. Books published by the Office are usually referred to as 'palace editions.'[162]

The Imperial Household Department bridged the emperor's privy purse and the regular finances of the government. Among other things, it had extensive holdings in land and urban real estate; managed the lucrative trade in important luxury products; and lent operating capital to merchants engaged, for example, in the copper trade.[163] The scale and breadth of Nèiwù Fǔ operations were such that whole books have been written about the institution without its publishing activities receiving more than a few pages' mention.[164]

Wēng Liánxī identifies several types of books printed at Wǔyīng Diàn. Some were intended for the emperor's eyes only, others for a select group at court or as rewards. Large print runs were only carried out for books intended for distribution to government schools throughout the empire (where they were sometimes reprinted) or for sale, either directly or through licensed commercial book vendors.[165]

Books intended as awards to be bestowed by the Directorate of Education included Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese thesauri; Chinese rhyme books inspired by Manchu phonology; and Manchu-Chinese transcription manuals. An initial print run rarely exceeded a thousand copies, but further copies could be struck at a later date if there was demand for it.[166] A memorial from 1706, for example, requested the printing in an affordable format of Manchu books for the benefit of the banners.[167] Commercial publishers do not seem to have reprinted imperially published works on language studies, but they published new compilations made on the basis of imperially sponsored books.[168]

The publication of Manchu palace editions was uneven in the eighteenth century. In the Kāngxī period, more than twenty appeared, only two of which (by my count) were linguistic

[160]Huáng Rùnhuá 1996, 181.
[161]Thus named from 1729: Qí Měiqín 2009, 81.
[162]Rawski 2005, 309. The publishing activities of this office are also studied in Shaw 1983.
[163]Rawski 2004, 214–218.
[164]Torbert 1977, 32, 39; Qí Měiqín 2009, 81–82.
[165]Wēng Liánxī 2004, 6.
[166]Wēng Liánxī 2004, 15–18.
[167]QNFKS (1644–1911) 2007, vol. 1, 7 (Kāngxī 45).
[168]E.g. Mingdo 1735a. This book was reprinted in 1757: Huáng Rùnhuá and Qū Liùshēng 1991, 119–120.

reference works. The palace did not publish books of language pedagogy. Under Kāngxī's successor Yōngzhèng, the Office was less active, but still put out a few titles. After 1736, the new Qiánlóng emperor invested much time, energy, and resources on book projects. Palace publishing in Manchu reached its peak, including notably in language studies.[169] The language-studies titles of the late eighteenth century are characterized by their multilingual character, incorporating material in languages such as Tibetan and Turkic, with which the Qīng had become increasingly in contact following the expansion into Western Inner Asia in the third quarter of the century.

The court's Manchu books were printed at Wǔyīng Diàn, but they were not conceived of or written there. In the early Qīng, the Hànlín was in charge of editing books, but under Kāngxī the practice was initiated of setting up ad hoc committees for individual editorial projects.[170] The most important Manchu language reference works sponsored by the court were produced in this way. The reference works constituted a series of thesauri that began with the publication of a monolingual Manchu book in 1708. Further installations appeared into the 1790s (see chapter 6 for details). The scholars responsible for compiling these books were Manchu aristocrats in high positions, in some respects more similar to the Chinese officials who worked alongside them than to the banner clerks who also promoted the study of the Manchu language. In the following section I will use one example to illustrate the social milieu from which the writers of the court-sponsored work of Manchu came.

Manchu Aristocrats: Hesu

Hesu (1652–1718) was the son of Asitan, member of the Wanggiyan clan and thus a descendant of the emperors of the Jurchen Jīn dynasty. Asitan had reached maturity before the conquest and subsequently distinguished himself as a translator from Chinese to Manchu under the Shùnzhì emperor.[171] His son Hesu became a government clerk around the age of twenty. After further promotions he became tutor for the imperial princes, and thus engaged with the explanation of the Manchu language and script in a professional capacity. Hesu aspired to continue a tradition of careful Chinese-Manchu translation that went back to Dahai (whom we met in chapter 3).[172]

The Jesuit Dominique Parennin (1665–1741) wrote about Hesu, "whose name is famous throughout the empire," that he

> taught most of the [Kāngxī] emperor's children in the Chinese and Tartar languages; presided over all the translations of the *jīng* [the Chinese classics] and of Chinese history; and was the chief author of the dictionary in which all the words of the Tartar language were collected and explained in that language. He died a few years ago with a reputation as one of the Manchus the most skilled in the two languages [of Manchu and Chinese].[173]

[169] Huáng Rùnhuá 1996.
[170] Wēng Liánxī 2004, 8.
[171] ECCP 1944, 13–14.
[172] Ch'oe Hakkŭn 1972, 41–42 (and 36–38 for Asitan); K. Ch'en 1993, 42–43 (for both).
[173] Parennin 1840, 750: *…dont le nom est célèbre dans l'empire … C'est lui qui a enseigné à la plupart*

From 1712, Hesu headed the Manchu-Chinese translation office at court. A contemporary of Lǐ Guāngdì, Hesu moved in the same high circles, like him executing the imperial policy in cultural matters. He had a life very different from the ordinary bannermen who began publishing language-studies texts in the eighteenth century.

Private and Commercial Publishing Before 1800

Private and commercial publishing in Manchu in China proper began before the 1670s, but we know of few works of language studies from that time.[174] The first Manchu-Chinese dictionary was published with Lǐ Bólóng's 李伯龍 (n.d.) Wǎnyǔ Zhāi 宛羽齋 (Soft Wing Studio), a printer-publisher located outside Qiánmén 前門 (Front Gate) in the civilian outer part of Běijīng, in 1683.[175] As we saw, the first language studies titles were produced by Chinese students. By contrast, the commercial publication of books on the Manchu language written by and for bannermen can be traced to the 1690s.

The Tīngsōng Lóu Circle

One of the publishers active in the early days was Tīngsōng Lóu 聽松樓 (Listening-to-the-Pines Pavilion) in Nánjīng. The southern capital of the Míng dynasty, Nánjing had been a center of high-brow publishing before the Qīng conquest, a role it lost in the Qīng period.[176] Tīngsōng Lóu appears to have been a late representative of that older publishing culture.

Walter Fuchs a long time ago sorted out the relationship between the name of the publishing venture and its owner, Liú Shùn 劉順 (fl. 1693–1702). Liú appears to have owned Tīngsōng Lóu, but it was not simply a studio name that he used to sign his books. Other individuals also penned prefaces at Tīngsōng Lóu and signed them as such, just as Liú at times wrote his prefaces at other locations.[177] We can see Tīngsōng Lóu, its books, and the Manchu and Chinese individuals it brought together as representing a transition from the Chinese-dominated early phase of Manchu language studies and the later phase dominated by

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des enfans de l'empereur Cang-hi les langues tartare et chinoise, qui a présidé à toutes les traductions des King et de l'histoire chinoise, et qui a été le principal auteur du dictionnaire, dans lequel on a rassemblé tous les mots de la langue tartare, expliqués dans la même langue. Il est mort depuis peu d'années, avec la réputation d'un des plus habiles Mantcheoux qu'il y ait eu en ces deux langues. I found this quote through ECCP 1944, 281.

[174]Huáng Rùnhuá 1999, 221 lists none, but *Qiānzì wén* 1644–1670 appears to be a print from before 1671. It is described but not dated in Puyraimond 1979, 35; Courant 1901, 3 (see also Courant 1894–1896, vol. 1, 79) and surprisingly dated to the sixteenth century in Desvouges and Leroux 1911, 70. The Korean glosses written on this print are conjecturally dated to 1690–1778 in Chŏng Kwang 2002, 573.

[175]The publisher, identified as Wǎnyǔ Zhāi on the title page of Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, is specified as being Lǐ Bólóng's venture in Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 3; Takekoshi Takashi 2005, 2. See chapter 6 for details on this book and its compiler.

[176]Chia 2005.

[177]Fuchs 1942, 4. By contrast, the more recent work Yáng Fēngmǒu and Zhāng Běnyì 2004, 65 mistakenly identifies Liú with a namesake from Shùntiān (Běijīng), who passed the highest military examination in 1727.

bannermen. Some books published by Tīngsōng Lóu clearly targeted a literati audience, but the same books also appeared in cheaper-looking editions.[178]

More of an editor than a student of the Manchu language, Liú relied on the collaboration of Chinese and Manchu friends to produce his textbooks and dictionaries. Liú's own relationship with the banners is not clear. He identified Guǎngníng 廣寧, a place in the vicinity of the Manchu capital of Shěnyáng, as his ancestral home, but gave no banner affiliation.[179] It is likely that he was a bannerman, perhaps of the Hànjūn. He was not just active in Nánjīng, but also appears to have had lived and published books in Běijīng.[180]

Tīngsōng Lóu published a number of Manchu books.[181] Individuals involved in the production of the publisher's linguistic titles were Adun, Sangge, Chén Kěchén 陳可臣 (n.d.), and Líng Shàowén. Líng was discussed above in relation to the early literati students of Manchu. Chén was evidently his friend and compiler, in Běijīng, of a manuscript Manchu dictionary.[182]

Adun 阿敦 (n.d.), whose name appears to be Manchu, was a friend of Liú's and worked with him on a dictionary, but died before it was finished.[183] He probably died before 1686.[184] Sangge 桑格 (fl. c. 1670–1699) was also a Manchu. He inherited his father's military position, advancing because of his skill with the bow. In the 1670s he fought in the civil war in the south and rose further in the ranks. In the '90s, when Kāngxī was fighting the Western Mongols, he served in Mongolia as far north as the Kerülen river. He died in 1699.[185]

After the publication of a Manchu thesaurus in 1702, no more Manchu language studies titles appeared from Tīngsōng Lóu.[186] Commercial or private publishing in Manchu appear to have ceased in Nánjīng at this time.

Commercial Printing in Běijīng in the Eighteenth Century

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, Běijīng emerged as the definite center of Manchu publishing and book production, largely due to private and commercial publishers. Rawski explains the geography of Manchu publishing in Qīng Běijīng:

> Manchu books were sold in shops near Songzhu Temple in the imperial city, near the residence of the lCang skya khutukhtu, the highest-ranking Tibetan Buddhist prelate of the Eastern Mongols, and near Longfu Temple, in the eastern quarter of the inner city. And Manchu book publishers lined two East-West

[178] I am thinking of Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699c.

[179] Ā-dùn et al. (1693a) 1702, *xiǎoyǐn*:6a.

[180] Fuchs 1936, 34, 92.

[181] They included titles not relevant for language studies proper, such as the two mentioned in Fuchs 1971, 122.

[182] Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699b, *Líng xù*:2b–3a; Fuchs 1942, 3.

[183] Ā-dùn et al. (1693a) 1702, *xiǎoyǐn*:2b–3a.

[184] Chūnhuā 2008c, 207.

[185] QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 449–451.

[186] Huáng Rùnhuá 1999, 221. Tīngsōng Lóu also printed the conversation manual *Măn-Hàn chéngyǔ duìdài,* Tīngsōng Lóu ed. n.d., perhaps around 1702 (Simon and Howard 1977, 58). The manual is also extant in an edition from a different publisher (*Măn-Hàn chéngyǔ duìdài,* Yúnlín Táng ed. n.d.). The relationship between the editions is not clear.

> streets (Damo chang and Xihe yan) running alongside the moats separating the inner and outer cities. Finally, Manchu publishers were also located in Liuli chang, the famous district for Chinese bibliophiles.[187]

Huáng specifies that the book market moved to the Liúlí Chǎng 琉璃廠 (Glazed-tile Factory) district in the civilian city only from the mid-eighteenth century. The site of the lantern festival and its attendant market also moved there from the eastern inner city. Several Manchu publishers followed suit and moved away from the banner sectors. Indeed, Christopher A. Reed has recently argued that southern merchants originally had a strong presence in the district's trade in books, but faced increased competition from northerners over time.[188] More than a dozen publishers of Manchu books are known from Běijīng before the move to Liúlí Chǎng; several more appeared later in the century.

The commercial publishers printed in the genres of Confucian morality, including the imperial exhortations known as the 'sacred edicts' (*shèngxùn* 聖訓); fiction; language primers, including bilingual versions of the basic Chinese primers; and linguistic reference works such as dictionaries.

Huáng has identified several characteristics in the practices of these publishers. The activities of printing and marketing the books were not clearly separated; publisher did not only print the books, but also sold them. In the early eighteenth century especially, titles cannot even be clearly assigned to a particular publisher. The same titles appeared in several places almost simultaneously, which was possible by moving the printing blocks among publishers. Many publishers produced only one or two Manchu titles, which shows that publishing in that language was not their main line of business. They in general did not reprint imperial publications, published virtually no Buddhist literature, and catered largely to language learners by printing textbooks and dictionaries.[189]

Bannermen Scholars (1): Daigu

Both the Manchu publishing world in Běijīng and the emergence of bannermen scholars can be illustrated with the example of several lexicographers and pedagogues, one of them being Daigu 戴穀 (fl. 1702–1722), active in the 1720s.

Daigu's hybrid thesaurus and dictionary was first published in 1722. In the preface, the author explained that he was "without a father and with my mother dead when I was nine."[190] He was raised by his extended family, but does not appear to have received much formal schooling.

Daigu explained how he had come to study Manchu, a process which eventually led to the compilation of the dictionary he was now publishing:

> After I reached adulthood, I had the intention of knowing the Manchu language; I did not understand it at all. At that moment I bent my head down and

[187] Rawski 2005, 310.
[188] Reed 2015, 98 (refers to the nineteenth century).
[189] Huáng Rùnhuá 1999.
[190] Daigu 1722a, *beyei araha sioi*:2a: *ama akû oho, uyun sede eniye akû oho.*

> thought, am I even a progeny of the Manchus? If I do not know this [the Manchu language], I thought, not only will it be difficult to serve in the offices of the emperor's [civil administration], but even in the army! I [applied myself] both day and night for many years working on Manchu documents.[191]

It is clear from Daigu's preface that knowledge of Manchu was necessary for an official career as a bannerman, in addition to being an essential part of one's identity as Manchu.

Daigu appears to have been in a better position when the time came to publish his book. Two southern Chinese civilians, his friends Lǐ Jiàn 李鑑 (n.d.) from Jiāngxī (*giyangsi golo*) and Shěn Qián 沈潛 (n.d.) from Zhèjiāng (*jegiyang golo*), wrote pre- and postfaces for the book. Lǐ wrote admiringly that Daigu "during moments between tending to official business finished the book without letting [as much as] a few months pass."[192] Shěn gave more details on Daigu's career trajectory, writing that:

> Mr. Dai[gu] … descendant of a family having served as officials in previous generations, had an interest in studying from childhood. Becoming a man, he was like the arrow striking its mark, simply great. In the army, he was skilled on the front line and was employed as a clerk (Ma. *bithesi*; Ch. *jìshì*) in the office of the Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard (*wei jiyanggiyûn*) of the Right for more than twenty years.[193]

It appears from Shěn's account that Daigu had spent his career in the military bureaucracy that had developed in the banner system.

The first edition of Daigu's book appears to have been privately published. (The copies I consulted have no title page, so it is hard to tell.)[194] It was available, however, for purchase in Běijīng. Zhū Kuàng 朱貺 (n.d.), possibly a Hànjūn bannerman of Korean ancestry (his ancestral affiliation was *sān Hán* 三韓, "the Three Hán"), wrote that "it is not easy to buy [this book] in the capital,"[195] but unfortunately we do not know to what period Zhū was referring.

[191]Daigu 1722a, *beyei araha sioi*:2a–b: *hahardaha manggi, manju gisun sere hacin, oron ulhirakû, tereci uju cukûfi gûnici, bi inu manju-i enen kai, erebe ulhirakû oci, ejen-i yamun de yabure de mangga sere anggala, uthai cooha de seme inu ojorakû seme gûnifi, inenggi dobori akû, sithûme, manju bithe be jafašahai ududu aniya de …*. Daigu's preface is discussed as proof of language attrition among the Běijīng Manchus in the early eighteenth century in Laufer 1908, 19–20.

[192]Daigu 1722a, *sioi*:1b: *siden-i baita be icihiyara šolo de, udu biya ohakû bithe šanggaha*; *xù*:1a–b: 於政事退食之餘，不數月而成書.

[193]Daigu 1722a, 12:*bá*:1a: *dai dz … jalan halame hafan ojoro boo, ajigan ci tacirede amuran, niyalma ojorongge hob hib seme kemungge ambalinggû, cooha de afara gung bifi, ici ergi wei jiyanggiyûn yamun i bithesi de baitalabufi orin aniya funcembime…*; 12:*bá*:1a (pagination begins anew): 戴公 … 簪纓世胄，自幼篤學，為人慷慨。有節概嘗，從征有功，擢恒陽記室參軍垂二十餘年矣. I have treated the Manchu *wei jiyanggiyûn* as a transcription of the Chinese *wèi jiāngjūn* 衛將軍, which Hucker 1985, 315, 564 explains as a literary name for the "Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department Concurrently Controlling the Imperial Guardsmen" (*lǐngshì wèi nèi dàchén* 領侍衛內大臣). This title, in turn, is translated as I have rendered it in BH 1912, 26.

[194]Hauer 1932, 632 calls it a *Privatarbeit*.

[195]Daigu 1722b, *xù*:1b: 京師購求匪易.

He decided to have new blocks carved and the dictionary reprinted. Zhū wrote that "copying [the book] out is very difficult" (*chāolù yóu nán* 抄錄尤難).[196] Still, several manuscripts copied from the dictionary exist, showing that it circulated also in that format.[197]

Bannermen Scholars (2): Lǐ Yánjī

An even clearer example of the functioning of the Manchu publishing world in Běijīng is offered by Lǐ Yánjī's 李延基 (fl. 1693–1724) dictionary. Lǐ was from "the capital metropolis" (*jīngdū* 京都),[198] more specifically Wǎnpíng 宛平 county, which comprised parts of the Běijīng urban area and the hinterland. Lǐ's ancestral home, however, was Fèngtiān 奉天 (Shěnyáng) in Manchuria. He was a Chinese bannerman of the Bordered Blue Banner and an Honorary Licentiate (*yìnshēng* 廕生),[199] a status given by imperial grace.[200] We do not know when he was born, but from 1693 (Kāngxī 32) he served for more than ten years as a local magistrate in Fújiàn, a province on the southeastern coast that had come under regular Qīng administration after the Manchu victory in the civil war some years earlier, to the great pleasure of the local gentry who later compiled the record of the county's administrative history.[201] In 1706 (Kāngxī 45), he served in Sìchuān in the southwest,[202] and in 1722 (Kāngxī 61) he served again in Fújiàn.[203]

The dictionary for which Lǐ is known was first published in 1724. It appears to have first been published privately in an edition that, in contrast to the later commercial editions, is very rare today.[204] It was reprinted commercially in 1750 in an edition that kept Lǐ's preface but erased its date.[205] Copies of this edition carry the imprint of at least three Běijīng publishers, who appear to have used the same printing blocks. The book appeared again in 1806 and a third time in 1815. The publishers, again, were different.[206] We see that Lǐ's dictionary, like Daigu's, was picked up by people in Běijīng who realized that it had a potential readership greater than the limited group reached by a private publication. Lǐ's dictionary was more successful than Daigu's, remaining in print for many decades after its initial appearance.

Bannermen Scholars (3): Wǔ-gé

Other examples can be referenced in addition to Lǐ Yánjī and Daigu to illustrate the functioning of Manchu commercial publishing. I will here briefly mention the bannerman Wǔ-gé's 舞格 (n.d.) Manchu language primer from 1730. Like other similar books, Wǔ-gé's publication

[196]Daigu 1722b, *xù*:1b.
[197]I have consulted Daigu 1722c, 1722d.
[198]Lǐ Yánjī 1724a, *xù*:3a.
[199]*Fújiàn tōngzhì* (1736) 1983, 27:17b (528-359).
[200]BH 1912, 505.
[201]*Quánzhōu fǔzhì* (1870) 1964, 32:21b–22a (vol. 2), which gives a favorable account of Lǐ's tenure.
[202]Lǐ was at Zǐtóng 梓潼 county: *Sìchuān tōngzhì* (1733) 1983, 31:88b (560-697).
[203]Lǐ worked for the Salt Controller's office: *Fújiàn tōngzhì* (1736) 1983, 27:17b (528-359). His exact title has no counterpart in BH 1912, 413–416, where we would expect it.
[204]Lǐ Yánjī 1724a.
[205]Lǐ Yánjī (1724–1751) 2001.
[206]Huáng Rùnhuá and Qū Liùshēng 1991, 107.

carried a preface by a civilian from the lower Yángzǐ region. In the preface, Wǔ-gé's friend (*gucu*; *yǒu* 友) Chéng Míngyuǎn 程明遠 (n.d.) described a career open to literate bannermen other than government service: teaching. Wǔ-gé was a "teacher in a family school."[207] Allegedly, Wǔ-gé initially did not want to publish his crude teaching notes, but on Chéng's insistence he did. The book was repeatedly reprinted and reedited thereafter. Ikegami Jirō 池上二郎 (1920–2011) identified three major versions, each represented by three to four editions.[208]

4.4 Chinese and Mongolian Interest in Manchu at the Height of Qīng Power, 1780–1820

The Qīng empire reached its greatest extent with the defeat of the Western Mongols and Turkic people of Xīnjiāng in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The empire grew dramatically to a size unprecedented for any of the states that had historically ruled from Běijīng. Contemporaneously with the expansion of the Manchu empire further into Inner and Central Asia, its status as a world power also became reflected in the linguistic practices of international relations in the greater East Asian region. A brief discussion of the role of the Manchu language in Asian diplomacy around 1800 will show the links between the language and empire in this period.

The international importance of Manchu is seen in the Qīng court's continued use of Manchu-trained Jesuits in international diplomacy and in the Manchu-language communications between Russia and Japan in the early nineteenth century. From around the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Qīng court became more wary of the Jesuits, at the same time as it began, as mentioned, to see the study of the Manchu language as something that concerned only bannermen. Indeed, in 1805 the Jiāqìng emperor expressed alarm over the fact that the Jesuits' Christian writings in Manchu revealed knowledge of kinship relations within the Manchu aristocracy; in the emperor's eyes, the institutional foundations of Manchu rule had become known to the Jesuits through their interactions with bannermen. The emperor ordered greater surveillance and censorship of the Jesuits' Manchu-language writings.[209] Yet some Jesuits were still studying Manchu and were enlisted by the Qīng court to translate the diplomatic correspondence arriving to Běijīng from St. Petersburg.[210] The Manchu language remained essential in the highest echelons of the Qīng administration; even if they represented a potential security risk, the court could not dispense with allowing the Jesuits to learn Manchu if they were to be of any assistance in foreign relations.

The role of the Manchu language in communication between Russia and the Qīng for a brief moment also led to the language being used in dealings between Russia and Japan. In 1804, a representative of the Russian government delivered a trilingual letter, which included

[207]Wǔ-gé 1730c, *xù*:1a: *booi tacikû de tacibuhangge*; 以課家塾者也.

[208]Ikegami Jirō 1962, 114–116. In addition to the edition previously cited, I have consulted Wǔ-gé 1730b, (1730a) 1761.

[209]*Qīndìng Dà-Qīng huìdiǎn shìlì (Jiāqìng cháo)* (1818) 1991–1992, 868:8a–10a (5823–5827); Walravens 2000, 447–448.

[210]Pfister (1891) 1932, 966; Fāng Háo 1969, 19.

a Manchu version, to the Japanese authorities. For various reasons, the Japanese authorities could not rely on the versions in other languages that the Russians had sent along with their Manchu letter. The most expedient way to decipher the missive turned out to be to order a scholar trained in Dutch studies to learn Manchu with the help of Chinese reference works and translate the letter, which he did. In 1813, the Russians sent further communications in Manchu to the Japanese, which were similarly translated.[211] In the decades around 1800, the position of the Manchu empire in Inner and East Asia was such that their 'dynastic language,' for a short while at least, became a diplomatic lingua franca in the region.

In the remainder of this section I will show that the Manchu language's association with territorial expansion and international influence encouraged the study of the language among adherents to the Qīng imperial project. Matthew Mosca has recently argued that from the 1790s onward, Chinese literati became more involved in the formulation of policy with regards to the Inner Asian regions of the Qīng empire. In this period, he writes, Chinese

> literati increasingly asserted their intellectual sovereignty—their right and duty to formulate plans for administration and defense—over Inner Asia as well as China Proper. In other words, this period marked not only a change within the history of China Proper, but a definitive widening of the concerns of China's literati elite.[212]

Joanna Waley-Cohen has argued along the same lines in her study of Chinese exiles to Xīnjiāng. From 1775 to the 1820s, Chinese officials who for one reason or another had spent time as exiles in the new Inner Asian territories took an interest in the non-Chinese parts of the empire, which translated to scholarly study once they were back in Běijīng.[213] From a different angle, Wāng Huī has argued that Confucian statecraft of the early nineteenth century, while still critical of the legal privilege of the banner elite, sought to assert the legitimacy of the multiethnic empire using a certain tradition of classical studies.[214]

I want to argue in this section that the non-Manchu elite's engagement with the Qīng as an Inner Asian empire was also reflected in new developments in Manchu language studies of the period. As mentioned above, already in the late eighteenth century did the increasingly pronounced character of the Qīng as a multiethnic, Inner Asian empire become reflected in government-sponsored language studies. Before century's end, the imperial press had published books containing Sanskrit, Tibetan,[215] and Turkic material, in addition to the Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol seen already in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, we see the increasingly marked multilingualism of the Qīng empire reflected also in private scholarship. Congruent with what has been suggested in the scholarship referenced above, we see the multilingual character of the Qīng polity reflected in the work of at least one Chinese scholar: Gōng Zìzhēn. However, the field of Manchu language studies also has a second characteristic in this period: the increased

[211] Okada 2006, 189–191.
[212] Mosca 2011, 90.
[213] Waley-Cohen 1991, 160–161.
[214] Wāng Huī 2004, vol. 1, part 2.
[215] Stary 2004.

involvement of Mongol scholars. The most prominent Mongol scholar of the period was Fügiyün, on whom I will concentrate here. Naturally, Manchu writers continued to be active in this period.

Fügiyün

Fügiyün (1749–1834) was born into a high-ranking Mongol family of the Plain Yellow Banner.

His father, posthumously known as Jìngzhāi Gōng 敬齋公, 'the Duke of the Reverent Study,' or Wénchéng Gōng 文誠公, 'the Lettered Sincerity Duke,' passed the highest level translation examination in 1748. Before passing the examination, he appears to have tutored children in Manchu and Mongol, using a dictionary of his own making as teaching material. "Already before becoming an official," Fügiyün later wrote, "my father finished compiling this book [the dictionary in question], thinking that it would make it easier to teach the children in the family school."[216]

Professional duties then compelled Fügiyün's father to put his lexicographical work aside for a while. He worked with Mongol affairs in the central government. In 1760 he was posted to administer Šörgei Gate (Mo. Šörgei qaγalγa; Ma. Šurgei jase; Ch. Shāhǔ Kǒu 殺虎口) on the border with Inner Mongolia northwest of Běijīng, where he found more time for lexicographic work.[217] He later served as a county magistrate, including in the south.[218]

In 1779, Fügiyün like his father passed the translation examination and was posted to the Board of Rites. He served in the central government in various capacities until late in 1796.

While still serving in the capital, Fügiyün continued the language studies begun by his father. He published a trilingual dictionary privately in 1780.[219] (In 1792, it was reprinted by a commercial press.)[220] As Mongols serving in the high civilian and military administration of the Manchu empire, Fügiyün and his father were competent in the empire's three main written languages: Manchu, Chinese, and Mongol. The dictionary included all three.

In the central government, Fügiyün was aware of the consolidation of the empire's power over the Inner Asian territories occupied after the defeat of the Dzungars in 1760. The Dzungars, a group of the Western Mongols, spoke the Oirat variety of Mongol. As we saw in chapter 3, Oirat had been written with a newly invented 'clear script' since 1648. To increase knowledge and facilitate the administration of the new territories, the court established an Oirat 'clear script' school in Běijīng in 1782.[221]

Perhaps Fügiyün took an interest in the Oirat school. In any case, one copy of his trilingual dictionary, now at Princeton University Library, includes extensive marginalia in the 'clear

[216]Fügiyün 1780a, *xù*:2a–b: Ma. *mini ama hafan tere onggolo uthai ere bithe be banjibume šanggabufi, booi tacire juse be ja-i tacikini seme gûnin tebuhei,*; Mo. *minu ečige tüsimel saγuqu-yin urid mön ene bičig-i tegüs ǰokiγad, ger-ün surqu köbegüd-iyen kilbar-a surtuγai kemen sanadaγ abǰu,*; Ch. 未第時，輯成是書，以取便家塾.

[217]Fügiyün 1780a, *xù*:4b–5b.

[218]Chūnhuā 2008c, 34 (in the notes).

[219]Fügiyün 1780a.

[220]Fügiyün (1780b) 1792.

[221]Fügiyün 1797, vol. 1, preface (no pagination).

script.' Martin Heijdra has identified these as probably written by Fügiyün himself, as the end of the preface has been stamped with Fügiyün's seal.[222] The added 'clear script' words are Oirat equivalents to some of the Eastern Mongol words listed in the dictionary. It appears from the existence of the annotated copy that Fügiyün was planning a sequel to his dictionary, which would include Oirat. We are led to that conclusion by the rectangular marks Fügiyün has added to indicate to the printer where new whitespace should be added when recarving the blocks.[223]

Fügiyün continued his studies of the empire's new territories after he left Běijīng. In 1796, as Brigade-General of the Bordered White Banner, he was posted to Qobdo in western Mongolia to serve as Councilor (Amban).

In 1797 Fügiyün wrote the preface for a new dictionary that listed words in Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, and Oirat transcribed into the Manchu script.[224] Fügiyün was in effect a colonial administrator collecting knowledge on the empire's new subjects:

> It is only that among Mongol documents, there is also a kind of clear script, which was formerly the script of the Dzungar Ööled (Mo. Ögeled) people. After our state subjugated and pacified the Dzungars, we successively founded posts in places such as Ili and Qobdo and regulated the appointment to office and court visits for the many tribes who had obeyed us. … In the spring of the year of the red dragon [1796] I, Fügiyün, received the imperial order to serve as Councilor in Qobdo. The frontier was quiet and I did not have much to do, so after managing my duties I ventured to ceaselessly find people expert at the clear script, as I had done before [when I was in Běijīng]. We inquired and investigated the clear script together, verifying the translation and wrote it down.[225]

[222]Personal communication (2012).

[223]Fügiyün (1780c) 1792.

[224]Fügiyün 1797; described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 314–317; Gùgōng 2009, 48–49 (includes a few pictures).

[225]Fügiyün 1797, preface (no pagination): Ma. *damu monggo bithe dorgide, geli emu hacin tot hergen bi, daci jun gar olet ursei hergen, musei gurun jun gar be necihiyeme toktobuha amala dahaha geren aiman be ili kobdo-i jergi bade tebubuhe teisu teisu yamulere hargašanjire idu toktobuha ofi … fulgiyan muduri aniyai niyengniyeri fugiyûn hese be alifi kobdo-i hebei amban-i baita be icihiyabuha ofi, jase jecen ekisaka, baita labdu akû, gelhun akû heolederakû baita icihiyaha šolo de, kemuni tot hergen bahara mangga niyalma be fujurulame baifi sasa sibkime yargiyalame tot hergen-i ubaliyambume arahabi, /* Mo. *γaγčaqu mongγol bičig-ün todor-a basa nige ǰüül tod üsüg bui amui ǰaγur eče ǰegün γar ögeled arad-un üsüg büü, bidan-u ulun inü ǰegün gar ögeled-i tübsidkeǰü toγtaγaγsan-u qoyin-a, daγaγsan olan ayimaγa-i [sic] ili ba, qobdo ǰerge-yin γaǰar-dur saγulγabai, dun dun-iyar yamulaqu baralqaqu ǰisiy-a bui … ulaγan luu ǰil-ün qabur fügiyün ǰarliγ-i daγaγaǰu qobdo-yin quubi-yin sayid-un kereg-i ilγaγsan-i tula kerem kǐǰaγar tob duγui kereg olan ügei, aymsiγ ügei ülü osoldamui kereg ilγaγsan čilöge-tegen, mön kü tod üsüg-i sayiqan taniγčid-i surbuǰilan erikün qamtubar kinan maγadlaǰu tod üsüg-iyer orčiγulǰu bičǐǰükü ii* / Ch. 惟蒙文中有種托忒字，本係準噶爾厄魯特之文，自我朝平定準噶爾後，餘黨部落授誠分駐伊犁、科布多等處，定以朝覲班次 … 丙辰春富俊奉命參贊科布多事務，塞清政簡，不敢怠荒，嘗於公餘，訪求善曉托忒字體之人，偕與考論，依式纂緒. The preface also exists in an Oirat version, which I have not transcribed.

Neither of Fügiyün's Oirat dictionaries were ever printed. Yet his career and scholarly trajectory shows the influence of Qīng imperial expansion in the eighteenth century on the demographics and focus of Manchu language studies.

After his tenure in Qobdo, Fügiyün was in 1799 sent even further west to serve as Military Governor at Urumqi in Xīnjiāng, later serving also in Kashgar. From 1803 he served in the high military command in Manchuria. In 1827 he was called back to Běijīng and served in the Board for the Administration of the Outer Regions,[226] the Manchu court's agency for administration of the Inner Asian territories.[227]

Gōng Zìzhēn

Gōng Zìzhēn 龔自珍 (1792–1841) was not the only Chinese scholar to engage with Manchu language studies in the early nineteenth century; we still find examples from this period of Chinese banner Instructors learning the Manchu language.[228] Gōng was a different kind of scholar, however. Born into a southern family of office holders, Gōng was tutored by some of the most prominent Chinese scholars of his day. In the early years of the nineteenth century he was in Běijīng, where he worked at the imperial print office from 1810. He wanted to serve the dynasty as a ranking official, but he did not pass the highest level in the civil service examinations until 1829. Because of a formality (poor handwriting), he was not appointed to the Hànlín but was allowed to serve as a secretary in the central administration. Gōng associated with many of the most prominent minds of the time and sought repeatedly to influence court policy without much success.

Gōng never managed to enter the inner circles of government, but still identified strongly with the Qīng state. His interests accordingly encompassed Manchu and Mongol matters, including language. Gōng's interests in things Manchu might not have been entirely academic; Fang Chao-ying (1908–1985) noted that Gōng "expressed … a preference for Manchu ladies," citing an "unfounded rumor" (and actually quite compelling circumstantial evidence) that he was involved with a female Manchu poet.[229]

The evidence of Gōng's involvement with Manchu language studies comes from the prefaces to two treatises on Mongol phonology and script that he wrote in 1820–21. The treatises were part of a much more comprehensive work on Mongol affairs. It built on earlier court publications on language studies and was also informed by Gōng's work, in the same year, as

[226]I generally follow Hucker 1985 and BH 1912, but depart from the translation of Lǐfān Yuàn 理藩院 as the 'Court of Colonial Affairs' in light of the argument made in Di Cosmo 2012, 182–186.

[227]QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 2614–2624 (ch. 34); BH 1912, 441 for the titles Fügiyün had while serving in the western territories.

[228]For example, the Harvard-Yenching library holds an annotated copy of a dictionary of words from the Confucian *Four Books*, in which the pronunciation of every Chinese headword has been indicated using the Manchu script. A note at the end of the book tells us that the Manchu annotations were added in 1808 by a Chinese Instructor (*Hàn jiàoxí* 漢教習), probably stationed in a garrison in the capital region (Qín Wényuān 1662–1795). The note is found on the last page of the book. I assume that the garrison in question was located in the Běijīng region, since the author of the note says that he bought the book in that city.

[229]ECCP 1944, 387, 433.

proofreader of an official work on Mongolia. Unfortunately most of it, including the phonological tables, were lost in a fire that engulfed Gōng's library.[230]

In the prefaces, Gōng displayed familiarity with the Manchu script, Chinese Siddhaṃ studies, Tibetan, Turkic, and Oirat. He compared the structure of the Manchu syllabary to the common organization of the 'clear script.' He was also aware of the historical links between the Uighur-Mongol script and Manchu, noting that the latter had been differentiated from the former by Dahai (see chapter 3). He also knew that an "archive" (*dàng'àn* 檔案) in unreformed Manchu existed at court.[231] Luó Chángpéi wrote that Gōng also had plans on writing a thesaurus including Manchu, Korean, and at least two varieties of Mongol.[232] Gōng Zìzhēn's interest in the Manchu and Mongol languages and Chinese phonology was shared with his son Chéng 橙 (fl. 1817–60).[233]

In the preceding paragraphs, I have used the examples of Fügiyün and Gōng Zìzhēn to illustrate the confluence of Manchu language studies and Qīng imperial expansion in the decades around 1800.

4.5 Provincial Bannermen Scholars of the Nineteenth Century and the End of Empire

Several new developments appear to distinguish Manchu language studies in the nineteenth century from the preceding period. First, we see many of the most important titles being published by provincial banner garrisons, not the imperial print shop or the commercial presses in Běijīng.

Second, many new works were never printed, but circulated only in manuscript. They still probably reached a substantial readership, as some titles remain in quite a few copies. The increased proportion of manuscript as medium might be related to the slump in commercial and imperial printing in this period. Naturally, the greater number of manuscripts extant from this period is in all likelihood also the result of it being closer to us in time.

Third, the focus of Manchu language studies seems to have shifted to facilitating and supporting translation between the empire's written languages, not the acquisition of Manchu language ability per se. To be sure, textbooks and conversation manuals still circulated, but the most original works to appear in this period were focused on translation.

As in the eighteenth century, the scholars dealing with Manchu language studies in the late Qīng were mostly bannermen. We know that some lexicographers of the Manchu language, like Meng boo 孟保 (n.d.), a Mongol of the Bordered White Banner, worked as a private tutor. He also served as a Qīng representative in Tibet from 1839 to 1843 and in Běijīng as an administrator of the Inner Asian regions from 1857. He published a dictionary in two editions that appeared in 1849 and 1851. Meng boo was the Manchu-language tutor for Chōng-shí 崇實 (1820–1876). Chōng-shí was of the Wanggiyan clan[234] and passed the highest level

[230] Guō Yánlǐ 1987, 68, 71.
[231] Gōng Zìzhēn (1841) 1975, 215–222.
[232] Luó Chángpéi (1934) 1948, 37.
[233] ECCP 1944, 433. For Chéng specifically: Chē Xíngjiàn 2000.
[234] See page 192.

civil service examination in 1850, entered the Hànlín, and finished his career as a military commander in Manchuria (his brother later became the first official Qīng envoy to a European country).[235]

Female teachers with some kind of banner affiliation also had links to Manchu lexicography in the nineteenth century. A Chinese poetry teacher, and poet, *née* Chén 陳 (n.d.) was the wife of Banihûn 巴尼琿 (n.d.), who published a Chinese-Manchu lexicographic work in 1821.[236] However, there is also evidence that some civilians in the Běijīng area were still studying the language in the second half of the nineteenth century.[237]

During the last years of the dynasty, imperial printing rebounded, but the revolution of 1911 largely put an end to Manchu printing altogether. Publishing in the provincial banner garrisons was not new to the nineteenth century. In 1764 a bilingual Manchu primer was published by the government school (*guānxué*; *alban tacikû*) of the garrison at Jīngkǒu 京口 (Ging keo) in the lower Yángzǐ region.[238] More widely circulating and well-known examples date from the nineteenth century, including an expensive-looking Chinese-Manchu literary dictionary published at the garrison in Nánjīng (Jīnlíng) in 1821 and held in many libraries today. It contained prefaces by the nationally prominent southern Chinese official Sūn Yùtíng 孫玉庭 (1753–1834) and the equally high-placed Mongol administrator of the outer regions Sōng-yún 松筠 (1752–1835).[239] The same garrison published another Manchu language studies work in 1838.[240]

To be sure, commercial printing of Manchu language studies titles appeared from the commercial publishers in the capital also in the nineteenth century.[241] Ellen Widmer has studied the development and output of one nineteenth-century publisher and bookstore, which seems to have specialized in fiction written in Early Modern Written Chinese and Manchu-Chinese publications. The store had ties to a few other Manchu publishers that were located in the

[235]On Chōng-shí and his brother Chōng-hòu 崇厚 (d. after 1884), who went to France and Russia: K. Ch'en 1993, 44; On Meng boo as teacher and on Chōng-shí: Liú Xiǎoméng 2012, 132, 144. On Meng boo as lexicographer: Chūnhuā 2008c, 36, 227. Meng boo wrote a preface for Gāo É (1822) 1857 (the book is listed in Walravens 1976, 562 [75]).

[236]Liú Xiǎoméng 2012, 135 for Chén. The lexicographic work in question is Banihûn 1821.

[237]Folded into a commercially published syllabary from 1861, of which the outside cover carries a note with the date August 27, 1874 (*jiǎxū*/7/16), we find a slip of paper (a bookmark?) appearing to be a proof of identity for an examination candidate, a Chinese civilian from the Běijīng area aged eighteen *suì*. The document has been endorsed by a Bureau Secretary of the Armory in the Board of War (*Măn-Hàn shíèr zìtóu* 1861, see the bibliography for information on the relevant copy of the syllabary). Perhaps the young civilian wanted to improve his prospects of a military career, in preparation for which he sat for the examinations, by studying some Manchu?

[238]*Măn-Hàn hébì jíyào* 1764. A note written in 1939 by Walter Simon (1893–1981) and pasted to the inside of the box that holds the Royal Asiatic Society copy of the book identifies it with an item that Fuchs 1936, 34 listed as in the author's possession under a slightly different title.

[239]The preface writers are identified in the Republican-era English-language précis included in the copy of Banihûn 1821 held at Capital Library, Běijīng. Their biographies are in ECCP 1944, 683–685, 691–692. The fact that the book is extant in many copies is clear from Huáng Rùnhuá and Qū Liùshēng 1991, 104–105.

[240]Shí-jīn (1737) 1837. I will discuss this book in chapter 8.

[241]E.g. Sung Lo Fung 1867.

same area in the banner inner city of Běijīng. The proprietors do not seem to have been bannermen, but natives of Hénán province on the central plain south of Běijīng.[242]

Manuscript circulating in a non-private fashion among a larger reading public was not new to the nineteenth century either. Manuscript copies of printed books from the eighteenth century have already been discussed above. It can definitely not be said for Manchu book culture that by the eighteenth century, "the manuscript would have largely but still not entirely ceded its traditional dominance to the imprint," as Joseph P. McDermott has said in reference to the history of the Chinese book.[243]

The role of the medium of manuscript in Manchu language studies in the nineteenth century can be illustrated using the example of a graphologically organized Chinese-Manchu dictionary first compiled by two Mongol bannermen in 1793 on the basis of a dictionary printed and published in 1738.[244] I have consulted six different manuscripts of this title in various libraries.[245] It was never printed, even though the dictionary it was based on was reprinted in 1878.[246] Other language studies manuscripts also show signs of being copies, from originals now lost, that passed through several hands.[247] Finally, the whole genre of Chinese-Manchu dictionaries organized on the basis of the Manchu script, which I will discuss in detail in chapter 6, existed only in manuscript.

Bannermen Scholars (4): Quán-xǐ

Quán-xǐ 全禧 (fl. 1863–65) was a scholar active in the second half of the nineteenth century who represents much of what I find characteristic of the period: (1) Quán-xǐ was active not only at the Board for the Administration of the Outer Regions in Běijīng, but from 1863 worked also as a Clerk (*bithesi* 筆帖式) at Dúshí Pass 獨石口, which was part of the military cordon protecting the capital;[248] (2) his work is known only in manuscript, but was clearly intended for wider circulation; and (3) it was intended to facilitate translation between Chinese and Manchu, not increase Manchu proficiency per se.

As Quán-xǐ wrote:

> The different kinds of lettered officials of our state, including the civilian and military degree holders and those in every agency and offices big and small, follow the practice of translating official documents, memorials, and gazettes from Chinese into Manchu. Nowhere is this [translation work] more important than

[242]Ellen Widmer 2002.

[243]McDermott 2005, 93.

[244]The manuscript work is described in Poppe, Hurvitz, and Okada 1964, 209–210. It was based on Qiūfāng Táng 1738a.

[245]Mingcang and Urtai 1793. See the bibliography for the other manuscripts of this title that I consulted. Further copies are described in Huáng Rùnhuá and Qū Liùshēng 1991, 107; *Běijīng dìqū Mǎnwén túshū zǒngmù* 2008, 67; Chūnhuā 2008c, 395–398 and depicted in Gùgōng 2009, 52–53.

[246]Qiūfāng Táng (1738b) 1878.

[247]E.g., Wén-qīng 1849, which was copied on the basis of an earlier manuscript. Some of the seals on this manuscript might have been added by later readers (see the bibliography for details).

[248]The location is described in Dìng Yízhuāng 2003, 108–109.

> with regards to the documents pertaining specifically to the sons and brothers of the eight banners.[249]

On that premise, Quán-xǐ compiled a Chinese-Manchu dictionary.

Printing in the Late Qīng Period

Manchu books continued to be available in the nineteenth century. Unlike for earlier periods, we have some idea of how much they cost. Hartmut Walravens has introduced a record of books bought by a Russian mission in Běijīng in 1821 that includes the prices paid. Bi- or multilingual thesauri published by the imperial printing office sold for 8.5–9 ounces of silver. Commercially printed Manchu dictionaries were cheaper, at 1.2–1.3 ounces. Wǔ-gé's Manchu textbook cost 0.3 ounces, and shorter Manchu-Chinese primers cost 0.2 ounces. For comparison, the Russians paid c. 0.16–0.25 ounces for a hen and c. 0.3 ounces to hire a furnituremaker for the day.[250] A different source gives us prices from half a century of more later (roughly 1861–1908). A very widespread Manchu-Chinese transcription manual, for example, was then sold by the imperial printing office in Běijīng for approximately 0.18 ounces of silver.[251] By 1893, a bound copy of a bilingual Manchu-Chinese historical reference work, which appeared in reprint in 1878,[252] sold for approximately 1.2–1.4 ounces of silver.[253]

With a Běijīng bannerman making around four ounces of silver per month (not including the grain salary paid twice a year),[254] small books or booklets of Manchu language pedagogy were not out of reach for many potential readers. With some advance planning, even skilled laborers would have been able to acquire basic pedagogical literature. By contrast, thesauri or other reference works, especially those published by the imperial printing office, would probably have been too expensive for many bannermen to buy.[255]

When Manchu printing picked up again toward the end of the nineteenth century, new provincial presses also participated. In 1868, provincial authorities in the lower Yángzǐ established in Sūzhōu an agency for printing and publishing: the Jiāngsū Book Bureau (Jiāngsū

[249]Quán-xǐ 1865, *xù*:1a: 惟我國家多方造士，文武二科，以及各部院、大小衙門，設立譯漢繙清公文摺報。又專責八旗子弟典至重也.

[250]Walravens 1982.

[251]*Qīng Tóngzhì, Guāngxù jiān Wǔyīng Diàn màishū dǐbù* (1861–1908) 2000, 28-107. I am grateful to Bruce Rusk for directing me to this source.

[252]*Qīndìng "Liáoshǐ" yǔjiě* (1824) 1878.

[253]*Jiāngsū Shūjú chóngdìng héshí jiàmù* 1893, *shǐ bù*:3b. The items listed here were not intended to be sold directly to the reader, but to merchants or agents who would bind and package them further, accumulating costs and thereby increasing the price. The actual retain price might thus have been higher than what I have given here.

[254]Elliott 2001a, 192.

[255]Many bannermen appear to have descended into poverty in the nineteenth century. A description of the situation in Guǎngzhōu, for example, noted "actual starvation" in the city's banner quarter: Dennys, King, and Mayers 1867, 142. To be sure, purchasing a Manchu thesaurus from the imperial print shop would also have been a considerable expense for a member of the Chinese gentry. The income of a member of the gentry in the late Qīng would have hovered around 90 taels (ounces) of silver per annum, and that of a commoner around 5.7 taels: C.-l. Chang 1955, 328.

shūjú 江蘇書局). Before long, they were carving new blocks based on good editions to reissue standard historical and classicist works, which they then sold to merchants or similar regional agencies in other provinces for retail.[256]

Toward the turn of the twentieth century the central government also showed renewed interest in the empire's Inner Asian languages, printing a trilingual dictionary in 1897.[257] The provincial garrisons also printed Manchu books at this time, including text books and major linguistic reference works.[258] The scholars were again Instructors (*jiàoxí*), but in Manchu, not Chinese. Zhì-kuān 志寬 and Péi-kuān 培寬 (fl. 1880–1897; brothers?), who compiled several books, first taught in that capacity for "more than a decade" (*shí shù nián* 十數年).[259] It appears most works printed at the garrisons were ordered by the resident generals.

The garrison at Jīngzhōu reprinted a Manchu dictionary as late as 1911, the very year that the Qīng dynasty fell. By this time, the value and utility of Manchu language studies had come into question. Zhāng Tàiyán 章太炎 (Bǐnglín 炳麟; 1869–1936) wrote in 1903 that just as the shamanistic practices of the Manchu house was not the Chinese tradition of worshipping heaven at the suburban altar, "[their] Qīng script and dynastic language" (*Qīngshū guóyǔ* 清書國語) was not the Chinese writing system inherited from antiquity.[260] In the eyes of revolutionaries such as Zhāng, the Manchu language had no place in twentieth-century China. Yet the issue was not settled. On the occasion of the reprinting of Zhì-kuān's and Péi-kuān's dictionary, for example, the general Fèng-shān 鳳山 (n.d.) wrote:

> Some say that "Now our Sagacious Son of Heaven is in enlightened edicts repeatedly promulgating legal reform and self-strengthening! In general, those of us gentlemen who welcome the new might even suggest abandoning the entirety of the old order. There does not seem to be any point in discussing the issue of this art [of Manchu language studies]."
>
> "That is not so!" I respond. "Qīng writing is the basis of our dynasty. It is, to use a simile, like someone's person. You can choose whatever is good from his outfit, language, and appearance and adopt it. You can act like another person, but you cannot change your reason for being (*shēngmìng*). Now is Qīng writing not the Qīng people's reason for being? I thus promote and praise it, so as to better preserve the essence of our state (*guócuì*)!"[261]

Despite such efforts to 'preserve the essence of the state,' the dynasty fell in the same year. In some people, however, the strong association between the Manchu language and the Manchu people remained. In the Republican-era draft of a treatise on the Manchu language probably intended to be included in the history of the fallen dynasty, a scholar wrote:

[256]Lái Xīnxià 1997, 366–367.

[257]Described in Gùgōng 2009, 140–143. See further chapter 6.

[258]E.g. Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1890; Sungsen 1892; Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1897a.

[259]Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1890, *xù*: 2a.

[260]Zhāng Tàiyán (1903) 1992, 21a.

[261]Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān (1897b) 1911, vol. 12, *bá*:2a–b: 或曰：「方今聖天子屢頒明詔變法自強！一般喜新之士方議廢棄舊制之無遺。似此一藝之事未足重輕。」余曰：「不然！清文爲我國之根本，譬如人之一身，衣裳、冠履、言語、形容無一不可擇善而從，依人作態，而其生命不能改也。彼清文者，其清人之生命乎？余故表而彰之，亦保存國粹之一助也！」.

> Furthermore, [scripts] also differ according to the features of the land. Europe is rich in waterways, thus the scripts of England, France and other countries there are written horizontally like the waves whipped up by the wind, like the ripples on the water's surface. The original home of the Manchus was rich in mountains and forests, therefore their script stands tall and upright like an ancient tree, like the lone peak. It is probably that when scripts are created they are based in the minds of the people (*rénxīn*). The soul (*líng*) of people's minds really stem from the natural principles of heaven and earth. Things are not so by accident.[262]

An interest in the Manchu language persisted into the Republican period, at least in the northeast, the land of 'mountains and forests.' In one of the region's libraries, for example, I found, folded into a dictionary,[263] an empty Republican-era bank withdrawal form that had been used for writing practice by someone studying Manchu using a Chinese brush.

[262] "Guóyǔ zhì" 1912–1927, vol. 2 (no pagination): 又以地勢而殊。歐洲多水故英法諸國文字橫行，如風浪，如水紋。滿洲故里多山林，故文字矗立高聳，如古樹，如孤峯。蓋制造文字本乎人心，人心之靈實根於天地自然之理。非偶然也. The association of a language's qualities with the geography of the area in which it was spoken was also made by Western scholars (discussing other languages) around the same time: Turner 2014, 257 (where an American example from 1890 is given).

[263] [Lǐ Dānnián] n.d.

Part III

The Manchu Syllabary and Lexicographic Arrangement

Chapter 5

The Manchu Syllabary and the Pedagogy of Writing

Apply yourself in the study of the script / Be wary of thieves

Anonymous (marginalia on a syllabary, written sometime after 1792)[1]

This chapter will chart the history of the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections, often called 'heads' (*tóu* 頭) in Chinese,[2] and the discourse on the Manchu script that developed around it.[3] The chapter will show that the syllabary was the foundational text of the Manchu curriculum throughout the Qīng period. Originally a relatively simple teaching aid, the syllabary became a textbook that a reader literate in Chinese could use to learn to decipher the Manchu script without the help of a teacher.

The discourse that developed around the script drew on two pre-existing traditions: (1) the ultimately Indic phonological theory based on *akṣara*, and (2) the Chinese grammatological tradition, based on written syllables subdividing into strokes, current in the seventeenth century and manifest in graphologically organized dictionaries of that period. Something similar to the *akṣara* model probably reached scholars of the Manchu language through the Chinese discipline of phonology (see chapter 2 for these matters).

From the Chinese grammatological tradition, some Qīng scholars appear to have borrowed the idea that the basic sound-bearing unit of the Manchu script, like that of Chinese, was the written syllable. Beneath the level of the syllable, those scholars recognized graphic constituents, strokes, which in themselves did not represent sounds. In other (or, indeed, in the same) analyses, written Manchu syllables were primarily understood as consisting of either one or two subsyllabic parts (*akṣara*) that, unlike strokes, did represent sound.

5.1 The Syllabary's Place in the Curriculum

The earliest extant copies of the Manchu syllabary date from after the conquest of China in 1644. However, we know that it was studied already before the Qīng army 'entered the pass' (*rù guān* 入關) into China proper. References to the syllabary or anything like it are rare in pre-conquest documents, but as we saw in chapter 3, a source written sometime after 1632 talks about the "twelve *uju*," or syllable-final *akṣara*, "which are recited and learned."[4] This brief mention indicates that the syllabary was already being used in a pedagogical context and that early Manchu education had a strong oral component.

In the post-conquest period, the syllabary in twelve sections was the default entryway to Manchu literacy, and it held an incomparable position within the Manchu pedagogical para-

[1] Fügiyün (1780b) 1792, Kyujanggak copy with call number 奎章 4507, vol. 1, *shíèr zìtóu*:1a (in the top margin): 用心習字 / 小心才 [sic] 物.

[2] See chapter 3 for this term.

[3] This chapter and the following partially cover the same ground as Söderblom Saarela 2014c, 2014d.

[4] See footnote 191 on page 143.

digm. Faith in the syllabary as a teaching tool was so strong that it blinded aspiring students to the difficulties of Manchu. The grammarian Shàng Yùzhāng 尚玉章 (n.d.) summarized this view in a generic statement that he found hyperbolic to the point of being false:

> Everybody says: "Qīng writing is easy to learn; you just commit the twelve heads to memory, and then read several books with dialogues to retain the gist of it. It's not difficult to do."[5]

Contrary to such pronouncements, Shàng thought that Manchu was still quite a difficult thing to master. Yet he did not question the central place of the syllabary in the educational curriculum, which the statement he quoted tacitly assumed. We know that already by the time of the conquest of China, the syllabary was used to teach Manchu literacy to children. As early as 1647, the Jesuit missionary Gabriel de Magalhães (1610–1677)[6] wrote, in Joseph Sebes' translation, that the Manchus

> have an alphabet but no learned persons. … The consonants are the same as ours. However, they cannot distinguish them from the vowels and constantly mix them up. They teach the children the consonants joined together in syllables, thus making twelve chapters (combinations [Sebes' note]); e.g., *pa*, *pe*, *pi*, *po*, *pu*, [*pû*].[7]

An account written as late as 1849 about Guǎngzhōu, a garrison town with thousands of bannermen soldiers, gave a similar picture of basic Manchu education. Its author, the British interpreter Thomas Meadows (d. 1868), wrote that "Manchu boys when learning, instead of saying *l, a—la; l, o—lo;* &c., are taught at once to say *la, lo,* &c."[8] Louis Langlès (1763–1824), who had little regard for the Manchu syllabary, wrote that it was "the only alphabet known to the Manchus, which their children learn chanting and often, I believe, crying."[9]

Such statements by foreign observers, including one written at the time of the conquest of China and one in the late Qīng,[10] point to a pedagogical regime based on the syllabary in twelve sections that seems to have been in place all over China throughout the Qīng period. At least in Meadows' account, we also catch a glimpse of the methods by which the syllabary was taught. Meadows described the children as being instructed how to pronounce Manchu syllables, probably by following the teacher's lead. It does not appear from his account that the students were themselves reading from a textbook. The aural-oral method of instruction, where students repeated pronouncements by the teacher, is also found in Chinese education in the late imperial period (see chapter 2).

[5]Shàng Yùzhāng 1724, 8a: 人皆曰：「清書易學，止將十二烏朱之字認熟，復讀雜話數本，粗粗得，成為不難」.

[6]See page 465.

[7]Sebes 1981–1982, 6. The source is an archival document that was unavailable to me.

[8]Meadows 1849, 3.

[9]Langlès (1787b) 1807, 95–96: *…le seul alphabet que connoissent les Mantchoux, et que leurs enfans apprennent en chantant, et souvent, je crois, en pleurant.*

[10]As Langlès was writing from Paris, he cannot be considered to have been an observer.

We remember that the Manchu language was not alone in Qīng China. On the contrary, literacy in Manchu was much less widespread than literacy in Literary Chinese, the dominant written language in the regions of the empire where Manchu garrisons came to be stationed after 1644. Some Manchus might initially not have known Chinese, but as the Qīng period progressed, it appears that concurrent literacy in both languages became more and more common, encouraging increased convergence of the pedagogy and curricula used. In the post-conquest world, the syllabary, as a tool for teaching Manchu, thus coexisted with texts used to teach basic literacy in Chinese. In the banner communities, the Chinese and the Manchu texts increasingly formed part of the same pedagogical paradigm, in which the basic mode of elementary instruction consisted of the teacher reciting a text, with the students following and committing it to memory. The aspect of this pedagogical paradigm most important for our purposes is the very limited role played by writing. In the initial stages of education neither teacher nor students would have done any writing. In cases where the teacher read the text out loud, and the students recited in turn, only the wording, and not the writing, of the curriculum's foundational texts would have been retained at the end of class. In cases where the teacher brought the students in greater contact with writing by showing them written characters to remember and recognize, the lesson learned would have included the pairing of glyphs with sound. Yet even this method did not teach students writing as a separate activity. At most, it would have taught them how to read a written text on their own.

As discussed in chapter 2, the pedagogy of Literary Chinese appears to have changed from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. From having been focused almost exclusively on aural-oral instruction and memorization, Chinese characters came to be taught as structurally complex written graphs.[11] The history of the syllabary in twelve sections indicates that a comparable shift took place in Manchu pedagogy. Over time, it seems, students of Manchu came to be taught how to write at the same time as they were taught how to read. In the case of students with no native proficiency in the language, teaching how to read and write also included teaching how to pronounce Manchu syllables and words. The increased stress placed on writing in basic Manchu education had important consequences for the conceptualization of the script.

Given the bilingualism, in speech, of most post-conquest bannermen, we can thus assume that most Qīng learners of written Manchu also learned Literary Chinese (and thus became, in a sense, trilingual). As mentioned in chapter 2, the most common texts used in the teaching of basic Chinese literacy in the Qīng period were *Qiānzì wén*, *Bǎijiā xìng*, and *Sānzì jīng*. All three of these texts were translated or transcribed into Manchu and formed an integral part of Manchu education. *Qiānzì wén* appeared in Manchu at least three times,[12] and it seems that *Bǎijiā xìng* did so at least twice.[13] *Sānzì jīng* appeared in a Manchu version in 1735.[14]

In the late seventeenth century, the Kāngxī emperor commanded a new version of *Bǎijiā xìng*, in which the originally meaningless sequence of surnames was replaced with names from

[11] Yu 2003, 2012.

[12] Ikegami Jirō 1962, 106–108; Kanda Nobuo 1965, 87–9; 1968, 89–90.

[13] Inferred from the different accounts in Kanda Nobuo 1965, 89; 1968, 69–70; 1969, 136–137; *"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 5, 662–663; Elliott and Bosson 2003, 94–95.

[14] Ikegami Jirō 1962, 111.

classical literature, each followed by an explanatory comment.[15] Shěn Qǐliàng, who translated the reworked imperial version into Manchu, described his own experience studying the original *Bǎijiā xìng* as a child in the middle of the seventeenth century. The experience of merely memorizing the text without paying any attention to the meaning of the characters frustrated Shěn. The account of his experience is congruent with Li Yu's description of elementary Chinese education before the turn of the eighteenth century,[16] and it probably reflected how the text was usually taught at that time. Shěn wrote:

> When I was in my fifth year, I began basic education. My teacher wrote characters on paper lined with squares and presented it to us to recognize, after which he explained the meaning of the characters. After we had thoroughly memorized several characters, we strung them together to form a passage that made sense. We did this back and forth until we had exhausted [the combinations of characters]. One day, after having assembled the passage 'Zhào, Qián, Sūn, Lǐ' [i.e. the surnames at the opening of *Bǎijiā xìng*], I asked my teacher what it meant.
>
> "This doesn't mean anything," my teacher said.
>
> "But haven't you, our teacher, said that these writings mean something?," I responded. "How come they now have no meaning? If they don't mean anything, what's the point of reading them?"
>
> "This is just for teaching you to memorize [the characters representing] surnames," my teacher said. "It was never meant for use in prose that makes any sense."[17]

In line with an education that stressed recitation, repetition, and memorization, the Manchu versions of *Bǎijiā xìng* and *Qiānzì wén* were not so much translations as transcriptions; the texts had been turned into Manchu primarily in the sense that the pronunciation of the Chinese characters (in the main text at least) had been noted alongside in Manchu script. Perhaps the text was intended to be recited with the students glancing at both the Chinese and the Manchu characters simultaneously. The Manchu versions of these texts thus did little to help the students learn to speak Manchu, as the sounds transcribed represented Chinese words, but they might have helped the students learn the pronunciation of the Chinese characters and familiarized them with the Manchu script.

Teaching the students to recognize the syllabic blocks of written Manchu was not the task of *Qiānzì wén, Bǎijiā xìng,* or *Sānzì jīng,* however; it was the prerogative of the syllabary in twelve sections. In the case of Chinese students, who learned Manchu as a second language, the syllabary also familiarized the students with the phonetics and phonotactics of spoken Manchu. Such knowledge would have been useful when they later learned Manchu words. Yet all students were supposed to recite and memorize the syllabary, just as they were supposed to

[15] Zhāng Zhìgōng 1962, 23.

[16] See page 91.

[17] Shěn Qǐliàng 1693, 1a: 余五歲入小學。師以方塊紙寫字與識之，隨講一字之義。記熟多字，遂聚成一句之義。反覆破講。一日，余自聚成趙錢孫李一句，問師何義。師曰：「此無義也。」余曰：「師有云是書有義，何事向無義？既無義，讀之何義？」師曰：「此不過教你記姓氏用的，原不曾教你在文義上用的來。」.

recite and memorize the Chinese primers. According to the instructions in one edition of the Manchu syllabary, "the students should first recite and write this [the first] head [i.e. section] until they can pronounce it from memory."[18] We see that the original Manchu syllabary was similar to the Chinese primers in its use in the classroom setting: the students recited the syllables following the teacher's lead until they had committed the sequence to memory.

Furthermore, from the earliest extant version on, the syllabary often featured transcriptions of the Manchu readings using Chinese characters, giving the syllabary an appearance similar to that of the Manchu versions of the Chinese primers *Qiānzì wén* and *Bǎijiā xìng*. The difference was that the latter texts were originally Chinese primers, which had later been made bilingual, whereas the syllabary was originally a Manchu text, having only later been supplied with Chinese transcriptions. Transformed into texts using both languages concurrently, they all came to be eventually integrated into the unified curriculum followed by boys in the banners.

The important role played by other educational books notwithstanding, the syllabary in twelve sections would occupy a special position among the bilingual primers, in that it was used also by adult Chinese learners of Manchu (who had probably already studied the *Qiānzì wén* and *Bǎijiā xìng* when learning to read Literary Chinese as children), and formed the basis for all theoretical reflection on the Manchu script that we see in sources from the Qīng period.

Rarely do the syllabaries give any indication of how long students were supposed to spend on it in order to have learned it satisfactorily. In Europe, pedagogues specified that children were supposed to learn three to four letters a day.[19] An unusual manuscript at Dàlián gives a similar estimate for Manchu: superimposed on the usual division into sections or 'heads' is a division into 29 "lessons" (Ma. *kicen*; Ch. *kè* 課).[20] As the first section is divided into five lessons, we might infer that students were supposed to spend a little less than a week on memorizing the inner sequence of the syllabary. If taught one lesson a day, the whole syllabary would have been memorized by the end of the month.

Since the syllabary in twelve sections taught only the most basic literacy, students needed other teaching material once they had finished with it. Comparable perhaps to the rhymed readers used in late imperial Chinese education to bridge the gap between the teaching of basic literacy and the Confucian *Four Books,*[21] the Manchu texts taught after the syllabary consisted of phrases or dialogues.[22] Like early versions of the syllabary, the intermediate level phrase and dialogue books[23] initially did not provide an analysis of the script in view of teaching how to write.[24]

The centrality of the syllabary in the education of male members of the banners can be

[18] *Shíèr zi tóu* n.d., 1a: 學者先將此頭誦寫响熟.

[19] Alexandre-Bidon 1989, 984.

[20] "Mǎnwén zìtóu" n.d. This text is probably of very late date. See the bibliography for details.

[21] Zhāng Zhìgōng 1962, 40–86.

[22] Pang 1988.

[23] E.g. Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713.

[24] This should not be taken to mean that all intermediate level textbooks included instructions on how to write the script even as late as the nineteenth century. For example, "Chūxué duózhēn" 1821–1861 taught only morphology and syntax, while being addressed to "beginners" (Ch. *tóngméng* 童蒙; Ma. *teni tacire urse*; *xù*:no pagination) in the study of Manchu-Chinese translation.

illustrated with an anecdote from one such textbook. The textbook in question included a dialogue that was probably intended to present a familiar scene from mid-eighteenth-century Manchu life in Běijīng. The dialogue described what was probably a common trajectory for learners of Manchu in the capital at that time, when Chinese was becoming the dominant spoken language also among the Manchus. The account shows both the progression from the syllabary to other textbooks, as well as the stress on memorization:

> "Brother, have you read any books?"
> "First I read Chinese books, and now I'm also reading Manchu books."
> "Brother, what books are you reading?"
> "I've finished reading the book of the twelve heads, and now I'm reading books on helping words."
> "Brother, have you memorized each one of the words you've learned?"
> "I've memorized every word I've learned."[25]

Although we might question whether the 'brother' (*age*) had really successfully memorized his entire Manchu-Chinese curriculum, his description of Manchu education as progressing from memorizing the syllabary ('heads') to memorizing textbooks read for contents seems fairly accurate. Testimony from individuals schooled in the Qīng paradigm paints a similar picture. Aisin Gioro Yíngshēng 愛新覺羅瀛生 (1922–2013), although born in the Republican period, learned Manchu from older relatives once schooled in the language as members of the imperial clan, as well as from former teachers in the banner establishment. Yíngshēng confirmed that Qīng-style Manchu education was focused on oral proficiency and recitation from memory.[26]

In sum, the Manchu syllabary, just like its Chinese counterparts *Qiānzì wén* and *Bǎijiā xìng*, was memorized by following the recitation of an instructor with the aim of learning the syllabic building blocks of the written language. In the case of second language learners, the syllabary probably also served to familiarize the student with the phonetics and phonotactics of spoken Manchu. Within the wider world of teaching and learning in the Qīng, it formed part of an educational paradigm that also included Chinese primers.

In this chapter, I will discuss extant editions of the Manchu syllabary in some detail, in order to account for the syllabary as a genre through which we can understand the features of basic Manchu education and people's first encounter with the Manchu script. I will pay special attention to variations between different editions of the syllabary, as these will indicate the degree to which Manchu education was uniform both between groups of learners and over time. Since the syllabary was the starting point for Manchu metalinguistic reflection and the linguistic technologies it supported, the appearance and the variability of the syllabary are important for our understanding of the broader application of the Manchu script in Qīng culture.

[25] Behe 1766, 4a: *age bithe be hûlaha babio, bi neneme nikan bithe be hûlaha bihe, te geli manju bithe be hûlame bi, age si ai bithe be hûlame bi, bi juwan juwe ujui bithe be hûlame wajiha, te geli aisilara gisun-i bithe be hûlame bi, age sini taciha gisun be gemu, ejehebio, mini taciha gisun be gemu ejehebi, /* "阿哥讀過書麼 ?""我先讀漢書來着，現今又讀滿洲書呢。""阿哥你讀什麼書呢 ?""我念完十二個頭兒了，如今又念助語書呢。""阿哥你所學的話都記得麼 ?""我所學的話皆記得".

[26] Aisin Gioro Yíngshēng 1990, 47.

In the survey of the genre of the syllabary, one of my ambitions is to illustrate a change that took place during the course of early to mid-Qīng period. I will show how the syllabary as a textual artifact (as book, one might say) changed from a monolingual aid for oral instruction to a bilingual, self-contained textbook allowing students who already knew basic Literary Chinese to learn Manchu on their own. I will then describe the second moment of the change: the shift in focus from vocalizing Manchu graphs to writing them, with attendant descriptions of the structural components of the graphs.

We cannot easily infer a relationship of causality, but it appears that the changes seen in Manchu education, as represented by the appearance of the syllabary, were related to the contemporary changes in Chinese education, which Li Yu has identified and which I discussed above. As Chinese elementary education in the Qīng period started to move beyond the paradigm of recitation and memorization, the Manchu syllabary, I hypothesize, also changed to incorporate a graphic analysis at a level of detail not previously seen in discussions of the Manchu script.

The Manchu syllabary most probably developed as a monolingual book before the conquest of China in 1644, but we possess no copy of it from that period. In the post-conquest period, the Manchu syllabary very often appeared as a bilingual publication, in which every piece of Manchu text had a Chinese counterpart either in the form of a gloss explaining the pronunciation of the Manchu, or a translation. In all likelihood, these syllabaries initially served adult Chinese learners of Manchu, including certain officials in the central government and scholars with an interest in language. However, after the native proficiency in Manchu declined among the banner populations of China proper in the eighteenth century, teachers and learners from inside the banner establishment might also have found use for bilingual syllabaries.

The advent of bilingual syllabaries in the second half of the seventeenth century marks the beginning of Manchu language studies. The new bilingual syllabaries were constructed so as to also serve literate Chinese-speakers desirous of learning Manchu even without recourse to a teacher. In the history of linguistic thought, the Manchu-Chinese syllabaries represent a first step on a path that would soon lead to an analysis of the Manchu script. Bilingual syllabaries would have encouraged reflection on the structure of the script, since a student relying on them to learn Manchu would from the very beginning of his studies have been exposed to Manchu graphs, not just Manchu sounds. Learning from a bilingual syllabary, unlike learning from the explanations of a teacher, was learning first by sight, not by ear.

The syllabary with Chinese glosses enabled self-study and thus the memorization of the Manchu script in complete silence. In the words of one pedagogue, the bilingual syllabary could be "understood by both Manchu and Chinese students at a glance, without the recourse to a teacher."[27] Yet the bilingual syllabaries, still with one foot in the aural-oral paradigm, continued to stress recitation and memorization of the Manchu sounds represented on the printed page. Syllabaries soon emerged that featured extensive instructions on how to write Manchu, but we see a marked focus on the pronunciation of Manchu graphs into the nineteenth century.

[27]Juntu (1746) 2001, *fánlì*: 1b: 無論滿漢之人，不必師承皆可一目了然.

5.2 Structure of the Manchu Syllabary's Inner Sequence

In chapter 3 I explained the division of the Manchu syllabary into twelve sections, each characterized by a unique coda. Here I will explain the structure of the inner sequence, consisting of onsets and nuclei, which was paired with the twelve codas inside the syllabary's sections. The point of this digression is to ascertain how easily the syllabary would have lended itself to memorization.

Much of the order of the inner sequence can be explained by the contingencies of its history as the subject of Manchu script reform and before that adaptation by the Mongols, and before them the Uighurs, who had derived it from the Syriac script. Most of this history was unknown to people in the Qīng, however. We can treat the order of the inner sequence as a given for our purposes. We will not be interested, then, in the historical reasons for the approximately 131 written syllables of the inner sequence appearing in they do in the Manchu syllabary. Rather, what will interest us for the moment is how the syllabary appeared to Qīng learners of Manchu.

A total count of more than 1,400 syllables at first glance looks like a lot to memorize, especially compared with the few dozen graphs used by contemporary Western linguists to describe the Manchu script.[28] However, since the syllabary consisted of the pairing of an inner and an outer sequence, what students had to memorize was not 1,400 syllables, but the two sequences of 12 and 131 syllables respectively. As I will show in the following, certain regularities in the order of the inner sequence made memorization of the syllabary easier still.

One characteristic of the order of syllables in the inner sequence is the separation of written syllables used primarily to spell foreign words from those used also in native Manchu vocabulary. As mentioned, the foreign syllables were found at the end of the inner sequence, representing a distinction of Manchu and non-Manchu sounds that was probably intuitive to native Manchu speakers. A student of the syllabary would thus easily have identified that the inner sequence consisted of two sections, of which the second and shorter section was of lesser importance. That realization would have been one step towards breaking the sequence of more than a hundred syllables down to more manageable units.

The inner sequence contained other regularities as well. Identification of the regularities hinges on the pronunciation of the graphs. Yet any analysis of the inner sequence that is based on sound is perilous, since the phonetic value of many Manchu characters in the pre-conquest and Qīng period remains uncertain. In the end, the syllabary only shows us the Manchu script, not the Manchu language. How graphic similarity or dissimilarity corresponded to phonological distinctions made in the spoken language is not obvious.

For example, as mentioned previously,[29] the Manchu script includes two series of velar stop consonants: i.e. k_1-, g_1-, h_1- and k_2-, g_2-, h_2-. Although everybody agrees that these consonants were in complementary distribution, appearing only before back vowels and front vowels respectively (so that *aka* is always written as ak_1a and *eke* is always written as ek_2e) it is unclear whether they in addition had different pronunciations. Louis Ligeti, using an

[28] E.g. Gorelova 2002, 49–76.

[29] Page 156.

altaicizing transcription, assumed that they did.[30]

In the inner sequence, the back-vowel and front-vowel velar consonants appear at different places. If they were indeed pronounced differently, it would not be surprising to see them treated as different characters altogether in the syllabary. However, if they were pronounced the same, their separation in the syllabary would warrant another explanation. One explanation could be the fact that the front-vowel velars (e.g., k_2) are not found in the standard Mongol script, but was adapted from a variant of the script by the pre-conquest Manchus.[31] It is not easy to establish just how similar these consonants were in pronunciation, and even less how similar they appeared to the Manchu (and later Chinese) ear.

Similarly, the consonant pairs *t–d* and *p–b*, nowadays transcribed in a way that implies a difference in voicing, were not transcribed as such in European accounts from the eighteenth century,[32] which presented the distinction between these two letters instead as one of aspiration. Difficulties and uncertainties of this sort do not, however, absolve us from attempting to identify regularities in the syllabary's structure.

Relying on the modified version of Möllendorf's transcription used by Jerry Norman,[33] which is what the reader is faced with in these pages (with some modifications), poses additional problems. Stefan Dollinger and Li Bing recently pointed out that interpreting the romanization "as representing the particular sounds of some European language" is "utterly unjustified."[34] However, the phonetic distinctions I will infer from the romanization and discuss below in relation to the structure of the inner sequence do not involve the pitfalls noted by Dollinger and Li. I will assume for the time being that modified Möllendorf transcription approximates distinctions made in the pronunciation of the Manchu characters in the pre-conquest and Qīng period well enough for the purposes of this discussion. This will allow us to identify certain rules in the order of the sequence. The rules could have been intuited by Qīng learners, who could then have relied on the regularities as a mnemonic when learning the syllabary.

We can identify three local rules within the inner sequence. The first rule operates among the vowels, which tend to appear in the order *a–e–i–o–u–û* throughout the syllabary. This regular sequence did not originate entirely with the Manchus, who had adopted most of it along with the Mongol script. The sequence *a–e–i–o–u* existed also in the Mongol script (where under certain conditions the glyphs representing *a*, *o* and *u* could also represent *e*, *ö* and *ü*); the Manchu vowel *û* was written with a glyph used in Mongol to represent the vowels *ö* and *ü*.[35] Since all the syllables except those used to transcribe certain Chinese sounds (containing

[30]Ligeti 1952, 249–50.

[31]Ligeti 1952, 250.

[32]E.g. Amiot 1789–1790.

[33]Norman 1978, 2013.

[34]Dollinger and Li 2014, 395.

[35]European scholars noted early that the Manchu sequence of the vowels coincides with the order of the vowels in the Greek alphabet, and concluded that it had come to Inner Asia through a late form of the Syriac script, which had introduced vowels into the alphabetic sequence under Greek influence (Abel-Rémusat 1820, 43–44). In other words, the Manchu order of the vowels was in the mind of those scholars genealogically linked to the order of the vowels also in the Roman alphabet, used in Europe and also derived from the Greek script. Just as this circumstance was remarked by early European

syllabic consonants in lieu of vowels) contained a vowel nucleus, the fixed order of the vowels would have substantially simplified memorizing the inner sequence.

The remaining two rules that we can see operating in the inner sequence order consonants according to phonetic traits. The second rule operates among the stops, and holds that voiceless will precede voiced, so that *t* will precede *d,* and *k* will precede *g.* The third rule operates among the velars, where stops regardless of voicing precede fricatives, so that *k* precedes *g*, which in turn precedes *h*. In the case of the pair *p–b*, the rule ordering the vowels (rule no. 1) takes precedence over the rule ordering voiceless and voiced (rule no. 2). In the case of the dental stops *t–d*, however, the rule of voiceless and voiced (rule no. 2) takes precedence over the rule of vowels (rule no. 1): *ba–be–bi–bo–bu–bû* precede *pa–pe–pi–po–pu–pû*, whereas *ta–da* precede *te–de*, which in turn precede *ti–di* and so on down through the vowels. The back-vowel velars function like the dental stops, although the rule that gives stops precedent over fricatives (rule no. 3) is also at play here, leading to the sequence *ka–ga–ha–ko–go–ho–kû–gû–hû* (note that the vowels *e, i,* and *u* are absent here—without consequence for the order proper—since they can only appear after the front-vowel velars).

The order in which syllables appear in the inner sequence can thus partially be rationalized and understood as the consequence of (at least) three organizing rules. Such a structural understanding of the sequence nevertheless has clear limits, as there appears to be no definite hierarchy of rules. Some groups of syllables are ordered according to one rule hierarchy, whereas the order of another group can only be explained as the result of a different hierarchy. In the end, the only rule that can be called hard and fast is the one ordering the vowels (rule no. 1).

The fact that the series of syllables beginning with *b-* precedes the sequence of syllables in *p-* shows that rule no. 2 does not hold true throughout the syllabary. The character *p-* is of relatively recent vintage, appearing in the archive from 1629 to transcribe words of foreign origin.[36] Its shape (ᡦ) is clearly derived from that of *b-* (ᡝ). The two graphs also have similar pronunciations, both representing bilabial stops. It would therefore had made sense to insert the derived character *p-* after its model *b-* in the sequence of initials. Similar stories may lay behind the positioning of both back-vowel and front-vowel *g-* and *h-*, which developed out of *k-*, and of back- and front-vowel *d-*, which developed out of *t-*.

From the above examples, we see that the order of the Manchu syllabary was not entirely arbitrary; some regularities would have made its memorization by a learner relatively easy.

5.3 Development of the Syllabary

Liào Lúnjī's *Shíèr zìtóu* (1670)

The earliest extant presentation we have of the syllabary in twelve sections, bilingual or otherwise, dates from 1670. The syllabary and its "Prelude" (*yǐn* 引) were finalized by Liào Lúnjī on November 13, 1670 (Kāngxī 9/10/1). Although it occasionally appears as an inde-

scholars of Manchu, it was also noted by Chinese students of that language (Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:*xù*: 1a–b).

[36] Weiers 2002, 273.

pendent work,[37] it was as mentioned[38] included in the first edition of the Chinese dictionary *Zhèngzì tōng* 正字通 (Mastery of correct characters), which was published in Jiāngxī in 1671. Liào's syllabary was bilingual, in that each written Manchu syllable (with some exceptions) was accompanied by a Chinese character specifying its pronunciation.

Liào prefaced the syllabary with a "Prelude to the twelve character heads" (*Shíèr zìtóu yǐn* 十二字頭引), in which he stressed the role of language in government administration; the association of writing and statecraft in antiquity; the proper method of learning Manchu; the structure of the Manchu language and script with relation to Chinese; and the limits of his own contributions to Manchu studies.

Liào said that imperfect Manchu writing on the part of clerks in the bureaucracy infuriated their superiors: "Whenever the dots and strokes [of writing] do not accord, the bureau chiefs often refuse to acknowledge the communications of their subordinates."[39] The superiors were "enraged by the fact that the Chinese (*Hànrén*) study only Chinese characters,"[40] and not Manchu. This piece of information was related in the beginning of the text, highlighted, perhaps, to incite a will to study Manchu in the "Prelude's" readers. It follows that the intended audience of the "Prelude" and the syllabary it introduced were adults. The 'Manchu and Chinese' who master both languages in Liào's text probably referred to functionaries in the banner establishment. Nowhere in the text did Liào refer to the teaching of Manchu literacy to children. Also, it should be noted, nowhere did Liào mention Manchu learners of the script; his "Prelude" was a text written in Chinese for adult readers literate in that language.

Some sentences into the "Prelude," Liào wrote regarding the Manchu script (which he also noted was written and read "from left to right" [*zì zuǒ zhì yòu* 自左至右]):[41]

> [In this ideal world, where right and wrong is as clear to all as] the light of day, Manchu and Chinese are both written, and Manchu and Chinese people are made to read both languages. As long as he does not know Manchu, a person with good calligraphic skills will only produce columns of pictograms [when writing in Manchu, without understanding what they mean]. Knowing only [where to put] the dots and strokes will not enable him to put them into words. A person ignorant of Manchu characters who wants to learn the Manchu language quickly, without having [first] practiced its sounds, will bring difficulties upon himself. Therefore, he must mimic the lips and cheeks [and learn how to pronounce the sounds] before practicing to write the script. Thereafter, he can master the meaning of the words.
>
> …
>
> Some people [think], that since in Qīng writing, one sound corresponds to only one character, the Qīng script does not present much to teach to people who do not master the Manchu language. Actually, Manchu characters must be connected together to form Manchu speech, [after which] the meaning of a text

[37] E.g., the copy now held at Indiana University Library, as described in Walravens 1976, 578.
[38] Page 170.
[39] Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *Shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:1a: 凡點畫未合，部司封駁不少.
[40] Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *Shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:1a: 怒漢人惟習漢字.
[41] Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *Shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:3b.

> starts to emerge; [the script is] inexhaustible in its thousand changes and myriad transformations. How could this be easily surmised [by someone who has not studied Manchu]?[42]

Liào wrote that he had based his version of the syllabary on prints from the "state schools" (*guānxué* 官學),[43] which probably referred to elementary schools for the instruction of children in the banners. He wrote further that his contribution to the original syllabary had only been to "research the sounds and rhymes" (*chuǎimó yīnyùn* 揣摩音韻), or to add Chinese characters to gloss the pronunciation of the Manchu original. His syllabary, which featured both Manchu and Chinese script, was in that regard similar to the Manchu versions of the Chinese primers *Qiānzì wén* and *Bǎijiā xìng*.

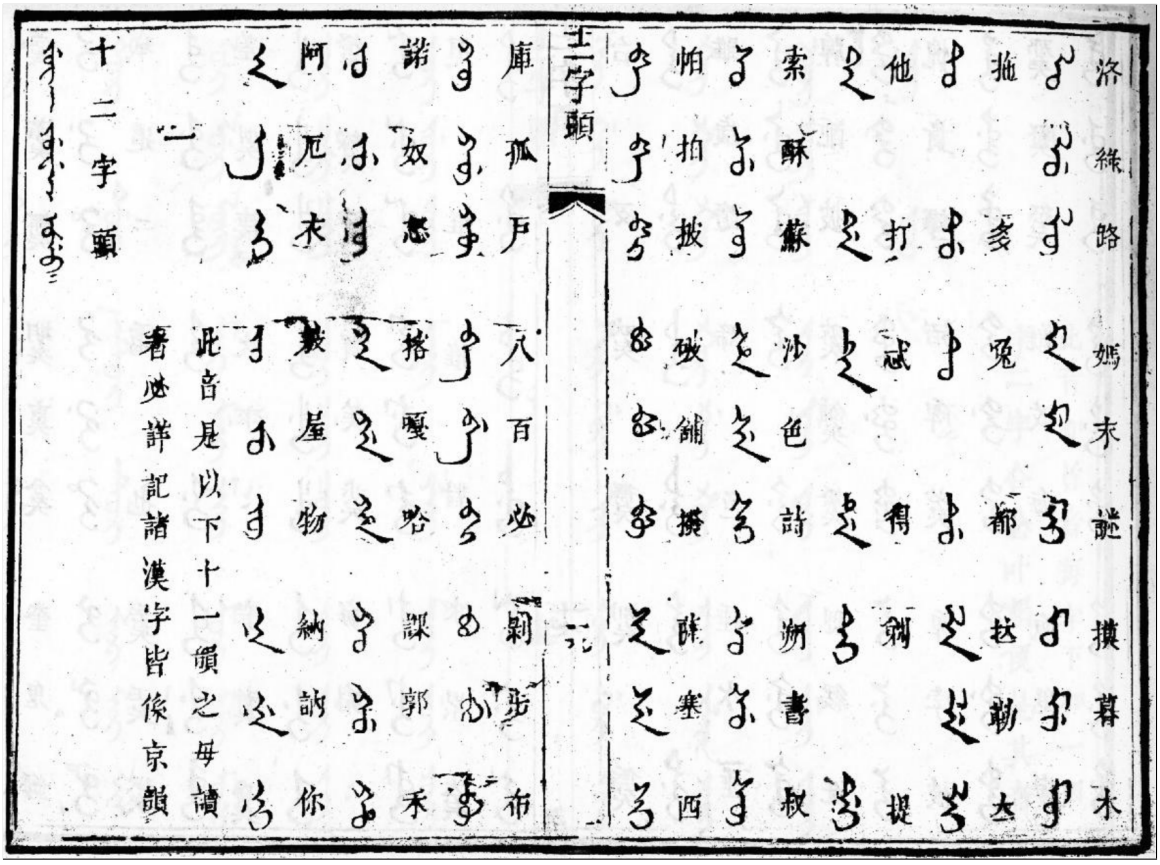
As Liào himself noted, his Chinese-character transcriptions were not without problems. Liào's audience would have to have been literate in Literary Chinese and proficient in the koinē to be able to make use of the sound glosses. This circumstance is another indication that the book was intended for adults, but the method of study that it implies, which was also spelled out by Liào, was close to the aural-oral paradigm identified in the instruction of basic Chinese literacy and discussed earlier in this chapter.

Liào explicitly rejected the idea that one can learn Manchu by simply copying characters. He asserted that one could very well learn to copy a Manchu text as one would copy a drawing, without understanding Manchu orthography or pronunciation. This was not, however, the proper way to learn Manchu. To do that one needed to repeat after someone *speaking* Manchu; the syllabary, as far as we can infer from Liào's "Prelude," was originally intended to be recited by a teacher for the students to repeat. It seems to have been precisely in order to enable students to study by themselves, without for that reason relinquishing the aural-oral method, that Liào had added phonetic transcriptions in the form of Chinese characters. Relying on the transcriptions, students literate in Chinese could approximate the Manchu sound by reading the Chinese even before they could read the Manchu script. Liào thus added explanatory notes at the introduction of every section to help the student with its pronunciation.[44] By relying on such notes, Liào seemed to imply, the reader could learn how to pronounce Manchu without recourse to a teacher; using only the Chinese-character equivalents and paraphrastic explanations, the Manchu sound could be successfully conjured.

[42]Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *Shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:1b–3a: 于光天化日者，滿與漢並書，俾滿漢人通曉也。夫人不知滿語者，字雖工，僅得象形之表；徒知點畫，不能成言。不學滿字者，音未習，欲驟學滿語為難。故習字必先肖唇頰，而後語義可通也。… 或以清書一音止有一字，蓋對未通滿語者言，非所論于滿字也。夫滿字必相連書以成滿語。文意始見，而千變萬化不可窮詰。豈易測度耶?

[43]Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *Shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:4b.

[44]For example, the first section was prefaced by the note: "This sound is to be used with the genera [lit. 'mothers'] of the eleven rhymes [i.e. the remaining eleven sections]; the reader must carefully remember them. The Chinese characters [used as glosses] all belong to the rhymes of the capital [i.e. should all be read in koinē pronunciation]" (Liào Lúnjī [1671] 1996, *Shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:1a: 此音是以下十一韻之母；讀者必詳記。漢字皆係京韻). In the case of the tenth section, which had a final in *-o*, Liào further wrote: "This is pronounced as if you read it out loud while adding the character *yóu* to the end of every initial character" (Liào Lúnjī [1671] 1996, 15a: 此音如首音每字下加一「由」字念，便是其音).

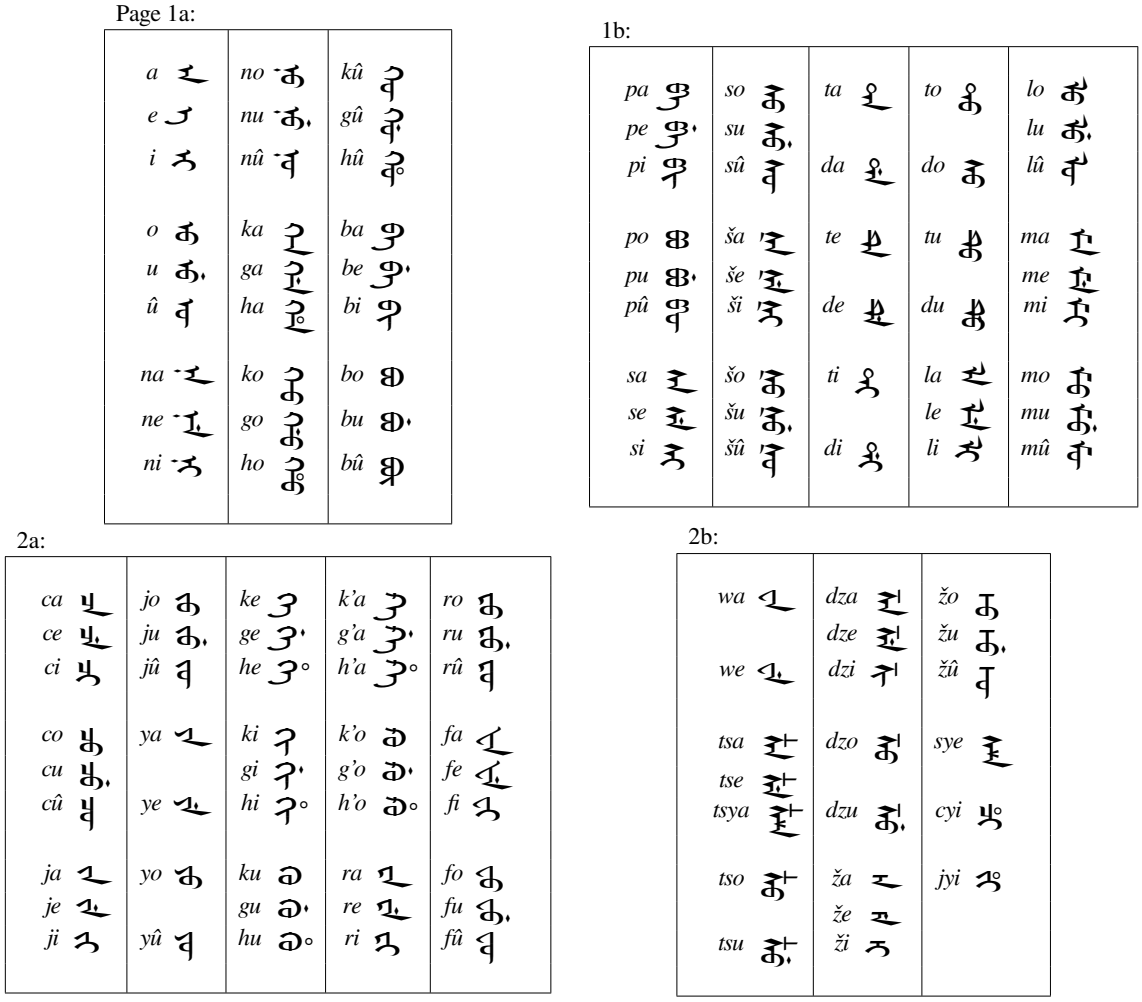


Reproduced from Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *shíèr zìtóu*:1a–b (61; not to scale).

Figure 5.1 – Pages from Liào Lúnjī's *Shíèr zìtóu* (1670)

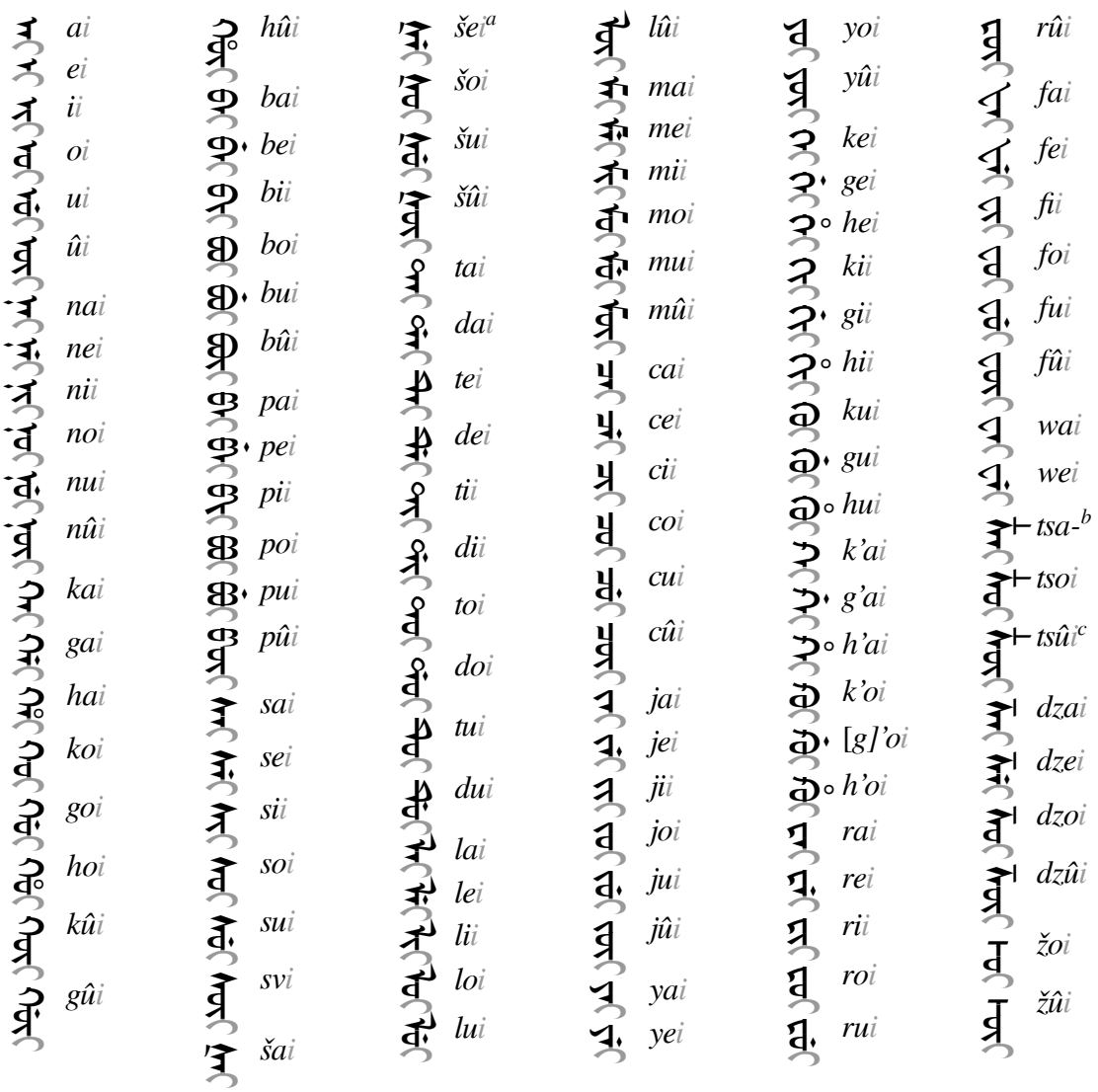
The presentation of the syllabary on the printed page shows the affinity of Liào's publication with Chinese primers. Liào's syllables were arranged in groups of three or, more rarely, two, separated by whitespace. In this way, each column on the page was made to contain three syllable groups of uniform size, thus facilitating browsing of the syllabary. Although some of the syllable groups coincided with sequences of characters sharing phonetic traits, which would have been intuitive to Manchu speakers, such a presentation also had a clear analog in Chinese primers. The latter were composed of often rhymed syntactic units of two, three, or more syllables. The purpose of such groups was to facilitate recitation and memorization of the contents.

Liào Lúnjī's Manchu syllabary was intended to be recited and memorized by the students, with or without the aid of a teacher. Liào did not provide any explanation of the Manchu script, beyond comparing it in very general terms to Chinese writing and noting that it was both written and read from left to right. Liào's syllabary primarily taught spoken Manchu to speakers of Chinese. If it taught Manchu writing at all, it left it to the student to discern the structure of Manchu characters.



Schematic representation of Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *shíèr zìtóu*:1a–2b (61) showing the syllabary's first section divided into groups of two to three syllables, presumably to facilitate recitation.

Figure 5.2 – The First Section in Liào Lúnjī's *Shíèr zìtóu* (1670)



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boi
bui
bûi
pai
pei
pii
poi
pui
pûi
sai
sei
sii
soi
sui
svi
šai

šei[a]
šoi
šui
šûi
tai
dai
tei
dei
tii
dii
toi
doi
tui
dui
lai
lei
lii
loi
lui

lûi
mai
mei
mii
moi
mui
mûi
cai
cei
cii
coi
cui
cûi
jai
jei
jii
joi
jui
jûi
yai
yei

yoi
yûi
kei
gei
hei
kii
gii
hii
kui
gui
hui
k'ai
g'ai
h'ai
k'oi
[g]'oi
h'oi
rai
rei
rii
roi
rui

rûi
fai
fei
fii
foi
fui
fûi
wai
wei
tsa-[b]
tsoi
tsûi[c]
dzai
dzei
dzoi
dzûi
žoi
žûi

[a]The syllable **šii* would be expected here, given the presence of *ši* in the first section, but it is absent.

[b]Several syllables that would be expected given the presence of their counterparts in the first section are absent, presumably since they were never used.

[c]The corresponding syllable **tsû* would be expected in the first section but is absent there.

The syllabary's second section reorganized as a list, based on the different presentation in Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *shíèr zìtóu*:2b–4a (61–62).

Figure 5.3 – The Second Section in Liào Lúnjī's *Shíèr zìtóu* (1670)

Shěn Qǐliàng's *Qīngshū zhǐnán* (*1682; 1713)

The second-oldest syllabary that we know of to appear in print is found in a collection by Shěn Qǐliàng titled *Qīngshū zhǐnán* 清書指南 (Guide to the Manchu language). The syllabary itself, however, is anonymous, not Shěn's original work. Shěn first assembled his collection in 1682, but the syllabary only survives in a second and only reprint dated to 1713. This syllabary does not represent the earliest extant version, both it is arguably the most archaic edition of the syllabary, both in terms of structure and presentation. It contains no prefatory material and no commentary, and I hold it for very probable that it reflects an early stage in the development of the syllabary, dating from before Manchu language learning became influenced by the Chinese tradition.

The most immediately noticeable characteristic of the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, when compared with most other Qīng syllabaries, is the near absence of Chinese text. In fact, the only Chinese text in Shěn's syllabary were the headings, which identified the sections as "the first" (*dì yī* 第一), "the second" (*dì èr* 第二) and so on.

The sections of the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* also appear in an order that differs somewhat from that seen in most other syllabaries.[45] It is possible, although perhaps not likely, that the different order reflects a separate pedagogical tradition, no longer visible to us, which would have disappeared in the eighteenth century as it was completely eclipsed by what we now consider the syllabary's conventional order.

Yet it is also possible that the order of the sections in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* is actually idiosyncratic, the result of disregard on Shěn's part with regards to the order of the sections, each of which occupied exactly one page in his collection. This second explanation would presuppose that the Chinese headings identifying the sections as 'the first,' 'the second' and so on were Shěn's contribution, added only after the syllabary had been assembled in the order in which we now find it. If that assumption is correct, then the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* would originally have been completely monolingual, before Shěn's editorial hand confused the order of the sections and added numbering in Chinese.

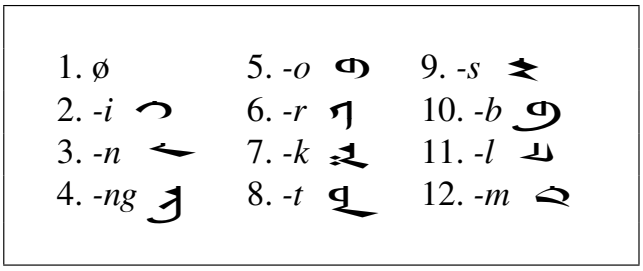
The placement of each section on a single page is a second characteristic of the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*. It is a simple, economical publication.

We see in this syllabary, as we do in others, a separation of the syllable sequences that were listed inside the sections into groups of two or three syllables. *Qīngshū zhǐnán* used a Manchu punctuation mark, in narrative text used similarly to our comma, to separate the syllables; Manchu-Chinese versions of the syllabary usually did not use this spatially economical method of separating the syllable groups, but opted for whitespace as a separator. The absence of Chinese glosses, the use of Manchu punctuation marks, and the compactness of the printed page (reminiscent, really, of a mnemonic) together suggest, that the syllabary published by Shěn represents a very early version of the syllabary.

In addition to the different order of the outer sequence, the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* added several syllables at the end of some of the sections, evidently serving to transcribe Chinese sounds.[46]

[45] The conventional order can be seen in figure 3.4 on page 136.

[46] At the end of the second section, which had a coda in *-i*, the following four syllables were listed: *nioi*, *jioi*, *kioi*, and *gioi* (Shěn Qǐliàng [1682] 1713, 1:1b). Furthermore, at the end of the fourth section,



List based on Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, 1:1a–6b.

Figure 5.4 – The Syllabary's Outer Sequence in the Order Seen in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* (*1682, 1713)

In sum, the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* contained no explanatory text of any kind, it only conveyed information by grouping syllables using punctuation, whitespace, and arrangement of one section per page. It did not explain how Manchu was pronounced, nor did it give any instruction on the structure of the characters. These circumstances made the syllabary unlikely to be used by adult Chinese autodidacts. Rather, the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* was probably intended as a mnemonic to be used by teachers, who would have complemented its listing of the syllables of Manchu with oral explanations.

Shěn Qǐliàng's *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù* (1686)

Shěn Qǐliàng also published a bilingual syllabary. An integral part of Shěn's elementary Manchu textbook *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù* 十二字頭集註 (Collected notes on the twelve heads; 1686), the syllabary seems to have been compiled without knowledge of Liào's publication.

Yet the syllabary in *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù* had many similarities with publications in the tradition of Liào's *Shíèr zìtóu*. Shěn's syllabary featured Chinese transcriptions of all Manchu syllables, using diacritics to capture some of the distinctions of Manchu phonology not easily represented using Chinese characters alone. It also included a long preface that dealt largely with the pronunciation of Manchu. Using a great number of terms borrowed from the discipline of Chinese phonology, Shěn identified each of the syllabary's sections with a particular articulation of the speech organs. That identification was very forced, however, as the characteristics of the sounds' articulation varyingly included either the place or the mode of articulation in a way suggesting that Shěn's main concern was to make the number of identified articulations match the number of codas in the syllabary. Still, Shěn's attempt to give a comprehensive account of Manchu phonology was unprecedented both in ambition and level of detail.

Shěn spent much time on pronunciation, yet his ideas of how Chinese people ought to study Manchu differed markedly from Liào Lùnjí's. Shěn acknowledged that a second-language learner studying Manchu writing as part of his studies of the Manchu language had different needs from a native Manchu speaker merely learning how to read and write. "If the beginning

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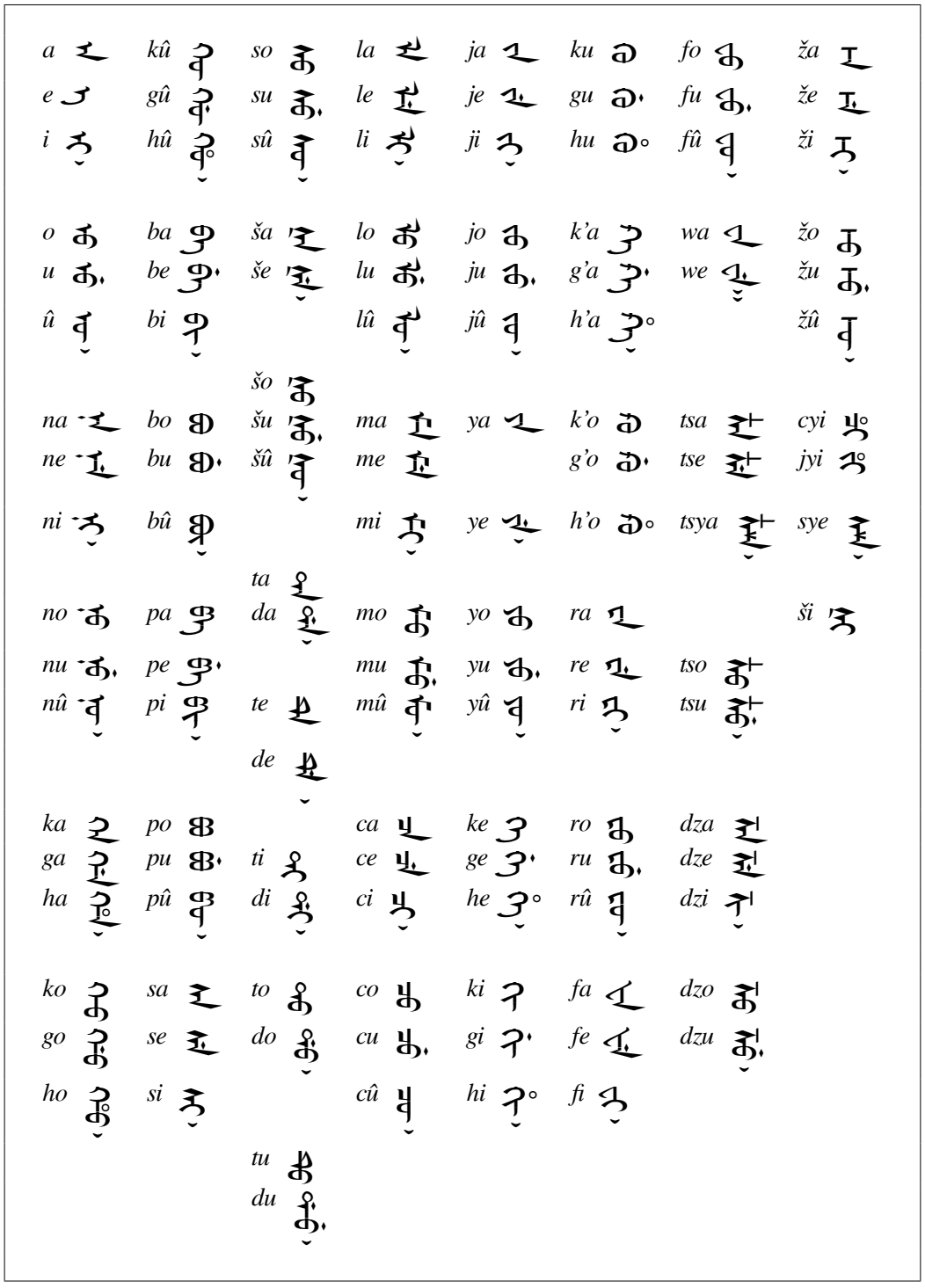
which in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* had a final in *-ng*, the following three syllables were listed: *kiong*, *giong*, and *hiong* (Shěn Qǐliàng [1682] 1713, 1:2b).



Schematic representation of Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, 1:1a showing the syllabary's first section divided into groups of two to three syllables, presumably to facilitate recitation. Whitespace has been added to accentuate the groups.

Figure 5.5 – The Complete First Section in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* (1682, 1713; Page Layout)

[a]Unlike Liào's syllabary *Shíèr zìtóu* (1670), the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* did not place *ši* here among the other syllables in *š-*, but at the very end of the section.

[b]Liào did not include *yu* in the first section.

[c]The order of these three syllables were different from in Liào's syllabary.

The syllabary's first section reorganized as a list, based on the different presentation in Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, 1:1a. Cf. figure 5.3.

Figure 5.6 – The Complete First Section in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* (1682, 1713; List)

students are Manchu, then they will know Manchu pronunciation and the tongue's movements (*gǔnshé*) natively. If the students are not Manchu, then they will not know the sounds and they will think the tongue's movements difficult,"[47] Shěn wrote. He continued:

> The student must know that the method of moving the tongue has a fixed and natural internal logic to it. With effort it will be attained, and the student will produce the tongue's movements without thinking about it. Aspiring students who are not Manchu do not have to rigidly adhere to the Manchu movements of the tongue and let that hurt their motivation to study. All they have to do is to take the twelve heads [i.e. the syllabary], look at the Manchu characters and read, recite, write, and think about them until they feel completely familiar. Completing these four operations to the point of complete familiarity is the secret key to the tongue's movements, which [in turn] opens up the subtleties of Manchu pronunciation.[48]

Already in this passage do we see that Shěn's view on learning Manchu differs from that of Liào; the general impression from reading Shěn's text is that he downplays pronunciation, arguing that correct pronunciation will follow by itself from sustained study. Noteworthy is also that Shěn included writing (*xiě* 寫) among the necessary motions for learning Manchu.

Shěn spoke out forcefully against people claiming that Manchu should be learned first and foremost by assimilating the spoken language. He criticized those who wanted to put writing aside and "proceed directly to the study of the tongue's movements." Such people, Shěn wrote, "use the following argument":

> "A long time ago, Confucius was born in Lǔ. Those in the realm who wanted to read his writings first had to learn the local pronunciation of the land of Lǔ before they could chant his poetry and read his books. If they did not first learn the sounds of Lǔ, their pronunciation would not match [what Confucius intended], and the writings would be difficult to read."[49]

Shěn found such an argument ridiculous:

> It goes without saying that these words cannot be believed. Do the people who use this argument not know, that once the student has learned the Qīng characters, they will also have learned the Manchu pronunciation? That once they have mastered the principles of writing, the tongue's movements come naturally?[50]

[47] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *xù*:1b: 抑初學者，若係滿洲，則有本來之滿音，有本來之滾舌；若非滿洲，則無其音，而難其滾舌矣.

[48] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *xù*:2a: 要知滾舌之法有固自然之一理在內，功到渠成；其滾舌不欲滾而自滾者也。今之學者若非滿洲，可不必拘泥在滿音滾舌之上，以難其向學之心思；只要將十二字頭，照字熟讀，熟背，熟寫，熟思；此四個熟字，即便是得滾舌之秘法，領滿音之微妙矣.

[49] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *xù*:2a: 先欲正滿音，先學滾舌，以此論之：「昔孔子生於魯，而天下之人，欲讀其書者，必該先學魯地之土音；然後可以誦其詩，讀其書，不然，則音不對；書難讀也」.

[50] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *xù*:2b: 其言之不足信也；不待言而可知矣。殊不知夫清字既熟？而滿音自曉，文理既通，而滾舌自便乎?

Shěn's views on how Manchu should be studied contrasted markedly with Liào Lùnjí's comparable pedagogical exhortation from a few decades earlier. Whereas Liào had criticized the habit of learning how to write without learning how to pronounce Manchu,[51] Shěn seemed to be criticizing those who were content with trying to learn Manchu through osmosis or assimilation in a Manchu speech community. Perhaps this difference reflected Shěn's situation in Běijīng, where Manchu at this time was a spoken language. In a context where Manchu was heard spoken every day, there was little need for the pedagogue to stress the importance of exposure to the sounds of Manchu for learning the language.

Shěn's stress on mastering the principles of Manchu writing were coupled with detailed exemplification of the changing shapes of Manchu graphs when connected into words. Shěn used nonsensical combinations of Manchu characters to illustrate their changing shapes depending on their placement at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a word. For example, in an eight-point note on writing that succeeded the first section in the textbook, Shěn offered the following instruction:

> [The first section] contains the characters *ba bi bo pa pi po sa so šo la lo ma mo ca co ya yo*. If we connect these seventeen characters and write them together, we get *babibopapiposasošolalomamocacoyayo*.[52]

Despite its apparent simplicity, Shěn's instruction represented a momentous development in Manchu pedagogy. From having been focused on recitation and memorization of Manchu syllables, and thereby inseparable from spoken Manchu, Manchu pedagogy in Shěn's textbook now divorced the script from speech to illustrate a point that more simple versions of the syllabary had left unstated: the sometimes substantial changes that Manchu graphs underwent depending on their position in actual words.

Shěn was aware that his "detailed instructions on how to connect characters into words" would be new and, perhaps, counterintuitive to his readers. He thus felt the need to specify their purpose:

> These instructions, grouping seven, eight, or even ten or more characters together, are intended to give a taste of how Manchu characters are actually written; they are devoid of meaning and cannot be used in real language. You should not ignore them just because they do not form real words, but verify their structure character by character.[53]

Not only did Shěn show by example that Manchu writing consisted of units that changed shape completely independently of their realization in speech (which remained the same), he also referred to those units explicitly by name. Adding a coda from the outer sequence to syllable from the inner sequence was in Shěn's parlance to "form a character" (*chéng zì* 成

[51]Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, *shíèr zìtóu yǐn*:2a–b.

[52]Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *shíèr zìtóu*:3b: 有 *ba bi bo pa pi po sa so šo la lo ma mo ca co ya yo*。此十七字連寫在一處者則 *babibopapiposasošolalomamocacoyayo* 也.

[53]Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *dúfǎ*:1a–b: …細講連字之法，尤宜細玩：又有七八字，或十数字連寫在一處者，俱係不成話不成句之詞；獨爲初學者，認連字之法也。須當按字確認，不可因其不成話而忽之.

字).[54] The 'formed' characters could be understood as consisting of an "upper" and a "lower half block" (*shàng xià bànjié* 上下半截).[55]

The 'half blocks' of Shěn's analysis corresponded to *akṣara*. His notion was formed in relation to the written syllable, which as a 'character' remained the basic unit in his understanding of the script. Shěn described the subsyllabic structure of the script in some detail, assigning names to the strokes that made up the blocks by means of a descriptive terminology largely derived from the Chinese tradition. He described characters as being divided into hooks (*gōu* 勾) and short or long descending diagonal strokes (*cháng piē* 長撇, *duǎn piē* 短撇, or *nà jiǎo* 捺脚). We remember that some of these words were also technical terms used in Chinese calligraphy (see chapter 2). The strokes, furthermore, could be either "straight" (*zhèng* 正) or "bent" (*qǔ* 曲).[56]

Other terms used by Shěn were not derived from the Chinese tradition, but were translations of Manchu that had originally been borrowed from Mongol along with the Mongol script. Such terms included the circular "belly" (*dù* 肚) seen on some Manchu characters.[57] The circle was a shape unknown in the regular Chinese script, so no term existed in the Chinese terminology on writing that could readily be used in reference to it. Shěn opted instead for a term ultimately derived from Mongol *gedesün*, which had the same basic meaning.[58] Most probably, he had learned the term from his Manchu teachers in Běijīng.

Shěn's analysis of the structural components of Manchu characters, appearing as early as 1686, already contained many of the characteristics of the discourse on the Manchu script as it came to develop later in the Qīng period. Shěn, a Chinese scholar from the lower-Yángzǐ region living in Manchu-speaking Běijīng and familiar with both the Chinese and Manchu educational traditions, used a terminology derived in part from analyses of the Chinese script (greatly popularized in seventeenth-century lexicography, discussed in chapter 2) and in part from Manchu and Inner Asian pedagogy. These two traditions would remain the main inspirations for discussions of the Manchu script throughout the Qīng period. Likewise, Shěn's understanding of the Manchu script as consisting of syllabic 'characters' composed of *akṣara* which in turn consisted of a number of standardized strokes would also remain constant for the duration of the dynasty. Characters, *akṣara*, and strokes, not 'letters' and 'words'; Qīng discourse on the Manchu script was carried out in the Chinese language and in an episteme in which the exemplar of writing was the Chinese character and that of speech was the *akṣara*.

Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén's *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* (1699)

Following its initial publication in 1670, several works appeared that were similar to Liào Lúnjī's syllabary, although not necessarily based on it. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the earliest edition of a work derived primarily from Liào's syllabary is dated almost three decades later. We find the syllabary in Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén's collection *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* 新刻清書全集 (Complete collection of Manchu writing, newly cut), which

[54] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *shíèr zìtóu*:7a.
[55] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *shíèr zìtóu*:7a.
[56] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *shíèr zìtóu*:3a.
[57] Shěn Qǐliàng 1686, *shíèr zìtóu*:3a.
[58] Róna-Tas 1965, 135.

was published in Nánjīng in 1699.[59] The syllabary contained no substantial innovations and can with reason be treated as a second edition of Liào Lúnjī's work.

Líng and Chén's collection as a whole was a high-end publication, with large, clear print and flowery seals. To a large extent, the collection was a guide to phonetic transcription from and into Manchu, but it also contained a glossary that might have been memorized by language learners. The elegant presentation and heavy focus on transcription between Manchu and Chinese would indicate that Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén's collection was targeted towards literati with an eye towards the civil service examinations and a career in the central government, perhaps also with an interest in Manchu phonology.

The syllabary is found in the first of the collection's five volumes. The same volume also contains a preface; a "Small Prelude" (*xiǎo yǐn* 小引); and, strangely, two largely overlapping "Statements of Editorial Principles" (*fánlì* 凡例). However, the "Statements" seem to refer to the collection as a whole, and, in addition, only the first of them make a brief mention of the syllabary. Comparing the first "Statement" with the second, we see that the mention of the syllabary appears to have been added onto a pre-existing "Statement" which did not refer to the Manchu syllabary, but to a separate work also included in *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí*. The interpolated passage on the syllabary explicitly linked the present edition to Liào Lúnjī's *Shíèr zìtóu* and reads as follows:

> 1. In Qīng writing, only the twelve character heads are predominant. It undergoes a thousand changes and a myriad transformations, but it never leaves the scope of [the syllabary]. This is what *zhuānzhuō wūzhū* [i.e. Ma. *juwan juwe uju*, the syllabary in twelve sections] refers to. Its patterns separate and are joined, gather clarity and accumulate meaning in the most wide-ranging way; it is the gate through which the beginning student enters virtue. This book is entirely based on the appearance of the Manchu and Chinese characters that were used for sound and explanations in the state school xylograph [of the syllabary, i.e. Liào's work] included in [the dictionary] *Zhèngzì tōng* [Mastery of correct characters]. The Chinese characters serving as glosses in that book all belong to the northern rhymes. [We will now] prolong its life by engraving it on the yellow catalpa boards [for printing].[60]

The quoted passage from the "Statement," referring to the Manchu script's ability to combine a limited number of characters into an unlimited number of words, expressed a fascination with the phonetic character of the Manchu script that reappeared in other writings in the Qīng period. The passage did not, however, explain the structural properties of the Manchu script. Similarly to other early versions of the syllabary, the one in *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* focused more on enabling the student to acquire the sounds of Manchu, rather than understanding the workings of its script beyond what could be gained from a simple learning by osmosis.

[59]Fuchs 1942, 1–4. The title page is reproduced in Huáng Rùnhuá 2010, 16.

[60]Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699b, vol. 1, *fánlì* [1]:1a: 一、清書唯以十二字頭為主，而千變萬化，不出範圍。所謂「專拙烏朱」是也。其文分合綜晰蘊義最弘；為初學入德之門。其書悉本『正字通』所載官學刻本音釋滿漢字樣，併所註漢字俱係北韻。壽之於梓.

The second half of the passage stated that the syllabary was a reproduction of Liào Lúnjī's work from the dictionary *Zhèngzì tōng*. It is true that the two syllabaries are sufficiently similar for us to confidently label the one in *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* a second edition of Liào's work: both syllabaries present each section spread out over several pages and feature interlinear Chinese transcriptions. In both cases, the transcriptions disappear in the later sections, as the student learns to predict the pronunciation of the characters. Still, the two syllabaries are not identical. The notes on pronunciation, for example, which preceded each section were formulated differently.[61]

The only innovation that Líng and Chén made in the presentation of the syllabary concerned the syllables used to transcribe foreign (mostly Chinese) words. In the sections where they occurred, Liào had appended transcribed syllables to end of the sequence without setting them apart by means of punctuation or spacing. Líng and Chén, by contrast, put them on a separate and last page, which in the sections that did not contain any such syllables was left blank. Thus the syllables of Manchu proper were separated from those used only in words of foreign origin. This difference in presentation between Liào on the one hand and Líng and Chén on the other indicates that the editors of the syllabary in *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* themselves had some proficiency in Manchu, and that they possibly also consulted other syllabaries than Liào's before printing their own.

Líng and Chén's collection of Manchu pedagogical material was, as mentioned, a high-quality publication probably catering to people of some means. I have found evidence, however, that its contents appealed also to other readers. Keio University Library holds a different edition of the collection, still carrying the indication that the blocks were held at the same publisher, but appearing to be a cheaper print. That it represents a different edition is clear from the fact that it only includes one of the two "Statements of Editorial Principles."[62] Líng and Chén's collection remains rare, but might in its day have reached more readers than one would at first be inclined to think.

In addition to the printed editions considered above, manuscript syllabaries in the style of Liào Lúnjī's *Shíèr zìtóu* are also extant. One manuscript held at the Palace Museum Library in Běijīng titled *Mǎnzhōu shíèr tóu yī běn* 滿洲十二頭一本 (Manchu book of the twelve heads; n.d.),[63] for example, presented the syllabary similarly to Liào. Many more probably existed, copied among students of Manchu in the banner garrison towns.

The Anonymous *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu* (1701)

In 1701 a syllabary appeared that made reference to Shěn Qǐliàng's *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù*, but which was most probably published without Shěn's involvement. Titled *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu* 箋註十二字頭 (The twelve heads, annotated), it now only survives in an incomplete copy held

[61] The note preceding the tenth section, for example, which I quoted from Liào's syllabary on page 223 reads differently in *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí*: "This track of characters is read out loud by adding the character *yóu* to the end of every initial character" 此字路如首音于每字下加一「由」字，合音念出 (Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699b, vol. 1, *shíèr zìtoú*:19a).

[62] Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699c. The collection where this book is found is described in Kin Bunkyō and Takahashi Satoshi 2002.

[63] Cover and first page reproduced in Gùgōng 2009, 68–69.

at the Vatican Apostolic Library.[64] The preface of this book was a paraphrase of parts of the preface to *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù*, consisting of a summary of Shěn's detailed description of Manchu phonology. Indeed, the focus in this syllabary was Manchu pronunciation; the only addition that was made to the paraphrastic preface was the promise that if students only learned the syllabary, then "there will be nothing to slow [them] down when reading the names of persons and clans in the archival records."[65] The author of the preface was here indicating, perhaps, that students were not expected to necessarily master Manchu, but merely to acquire enough knowledge of Manchu phonology through study of the syllabary to be able to successfully parse transcribed Manchu names encountered in administrative Chinese prose. Gone was Shěn's stress on mastering Manchu writing.

The layout of the main body of the book can be called 'joint-faced' (*hébì* 合璧) in the old, Míng sense of the word: the page had an upper and a lower section, with two texts running parallel to each other across the pages (see chapter 2). The book was also 'joint-faced' in the sense familiar from later bilingual Qīng books, with alternating lines of Manchu and Chinese text together sharing the entirety of the page, as the Manchu syllables, similarly to the presentation in Liào Lúnjī's syllabary, were accompanied by Chinese-character transcriptions. In *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu*, the upper section contained the miscellaneous Manchu phrases, whereas the much larger lower section contained the syllabary. The layout, reminiscent of Míng prints, shows this syllabary as belonging to the early phase of Manchu publishing, as discussed briefly in chapter 4.

The anonymous author began the actual text of the syllabary with a note:

> These sounds are the genera of the twelve character heads [i.e. sections of the syllabary] and the progenitor of the billion words [lit. *zì*, 'characters']. You should apply yourself with these characters, and correctly distinguish the sounds. Then reading the [other] eleven character heads will be easy.[66]

The first section followed spread out over two pages. Save for two syllables, the contents and order of the first section was identical to that in Liào Lúnjī's syllabary.[67] Also the presentation was similar.[68] The Manchu syllables included a few misspellings. Like in other syllabaries, the author included extra syllables for the transcription of Chinese to some of the sections.

Xióng Shìbó's *Děngqiè yuánshēng* (1709)

One of the earliest analyses of the Manchu script to appear in print was Xióng Shìbó's *Děngqiè yuánshēng* 等切元聲 (The fundamental sounds, spelled and arranged in grades) from 1709.

[64] Kanda Nobuo 1968, 89; 1969, 129; Stary 1985, 41–42; Yáo Xiǎopíng 2006, 103–104.

[65] *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu* 1701, 1a: 讀檔案上人名姓氏，則無滯矣.

[66] *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu* 1701, 1b: 此音乃十二字頭之母，百千萬字之祖。字要着力，音要辨正；後讀十一字頭則易矣.

[67] *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu* 1701, 1b–2a did not include the syllable *žû*, which Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, 1a–b included, but did include *yu*, which Liào's syllabary lacked.

[68] The anonymous author increased the number of syllable groups separated by whitespace to four per column, up from three per column in Liào's syllabary.

Xióng's book, by virtue of its title a work on general phonology, has to the extent of my knowledge never been discussed in relation to Manchu language studies, be it in the Qīng period or thereafter. A geographically peripheral intellectual, Xióng's influence as a theoretician of Manchu seems to have been virtually nil. His contribution to the study of the Manchu language was nevertheless very original.

The title of Xióng's treatise, "Yuē Qīngshū zìtóu" 閱清書字頭 (Reading the character heads of Qīng writing), makes it clear that we are dealing with a text concerned largely with the Manchu *script*. Still, only the first few pages of Xióng's dissertation actually treat the Manchu script; the rest is a study of Manchu phonology, which Xióng did not clearly separate from writing. Xióng's comments on the script indicates that he might have been exposed to an older as well as a more recent Manchu ductus. From his comments, it is clear that he had access to an "old booklet" (*jiù běn* 舊本), which appears to have been a Manchu syllabary with its sections in the conventional order, and a "guide" (*zhǐnán* 指南), in all likelihood referring to Shěn's *Qīngshū zhǐnán*.[69] He used the knowledge of the changes in the realization of some Manchu graphs and of Chinese writing, as well as Manchu phonology, to provide a structural analysis of the Manchu script. Xióng's analysis presupposed the presentation of the syllabary as integral to the script itself, and not just an arbitrary order in which the characters were arranged.

Xióng focused on the graphs as a system defined by internal relationships and contrasts. For Xióng, the history of Manchu writing could be seen by unravelling the structure of the syllabary:

> Among the twelve heads [i.e. the sections of the syllabary], the first is the predominant (*wéi zhǔ*). The others follow it and transform by accretion. In the first head, every character has its own shape.[70]

The history of Manchu language reform was never known in the Qīng beyond the few ambiguous mentions found in the *Veritable records* of the early Manchu reigns (see chapter 3), but Xióng does not seem to have been aware even of these. Xióng believed that "when the characters were first invented, the inventors probably took a descending diagonal stroke [*piē*] … and added [a long descending stroke bending to the left] to form" the first two vowels of the syllabary's inner sequence.[71] He then proceeded to derive the rest of the syllables of the inner sequence in the same manner.

A Chinese scholar with less exposure to Manchu pedagogy than Shěn Qǐliàng, Xióng relied on the Chinese tradition for his graphological analysis of Manchu characters. Yet he also used original descriptive terms for certain elements, like the "small circles" (*xiǎo quān* 小圈) and "bends" (*qǔ* 曲).[72]

Xióng's description of the Manchu script closely followed the lists of syllables that made up the sections of the syllabary. He began by describing the first section in its entirety, followed by comments on the structure of each of the remaining eleven sections. For Xióng, the

[69]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:4a, 8b–9a (in the margin), 9b (in the main text).

[70]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:1a: 十二字頭以弟一為主，餘俱從此增添變化，而此字頭各為一體.

[71]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:1a: 大約創字之始，以一撇為 亞， 下加 為 額.

[72]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:1a–2a.

organization of the Manchu characters into twelve sections was itself a feature of the script; as mentioned, in his mind the script and the syllabary were inseparable. Xióng seems to have been unaware of the appearance of the Mongol alphabet and its relationship to Manchu, but he intuited that the Manchu script had a distant genetical relationship to the Roman alphabet. Having seen the Roman alphabet in Jesuit writings, Xióng wrote that "the ductus [of Manchu] is roughly like the symbols of the Western classicists; they are drawn out and extended, transformed without end."[73] Xióng compared Manchu and European writing, but his analysis did not operate with a notion comparable to the European letter.

Xióng referred to all of the syllables in the first section as 'characters' (*zì*), regardless of whether they consisted of one or two letters by Western reckoning. Beneath the level of the *zì*, however, Xióng distinguished 'strokes' (*huà*). Sometimes, what Xióng described as a 'stroke,' while still denoting a single movement of the brush, also coincided with what Western scholars would later identify as Manchu letter. Unlike for the Western scholars, however, Manchu writing for Xióng consisted of atomic 'strokes' of several types ('slanted,' 'bent' and so on), which together made up 'characters.'

'Characters' most of the time referred to *akṣara*, either those of the inner sequence, coterminous with the syllables in the first section, or the codas of the outer sequence, which could not constitute full syllables by themselves. For Xióng, the 'character' or *akṣara* corresponded to written units below the level of the 'connected character' (*liánzì*), which is most often translatable as 'word.'

When describing the composition of the syllabary's sections, Xióng called the first *akṣara* (the part of the character stemming from the inner sequence) the "top character head" (*shǒu zìtóu* 首字頭), to which a 'character' (*zì*; a coda or final *akṣara*) was added from the outer sequence. This implies that in Xióng's analysis, the characters in sections number two to twelve were composite, consisting of two *akṣara*: onset and nucleus on one hand, coda on the other. However, Xióng also referred to the final form of structurally simple characters, which represented single-*akṣara* syllables, as 'characters.'[74]

Xióng Shìbó, a man of the century, would have been introduced to the study of scripts in an environment where the conceptualization of (Chinese) script as consisting of syllabic blocks divisible into strokes was very widespread, if not universal. Since a young age he had also been trained in Chinese phonology, a tradition that seems to have assimilated the Indic notion of *akṣara* (see chapter 2). In his analysis of the Manchu script, Xióng used this paradigm to make sense of a new arrival in the world of Chinese print culture. The stroke and *akṣara* paradigm enabled him to reduce the basic units of the script from the more than 1,300 written syllables of the syllabary to a handful of stroke types. He thereby increased the conceptual economy of the script's conceptualization.

Xióng used his knowledge of Chinese phonology, especially the rhyme tables, to graphically highlight some of the structural regularities that existed in the Manchu syllabary (figure 5.7). With some exceptions visible in Xióng's presentation, the inner sequence listed all syllables containing the same onset as one group, so that the syllables with a zero onset (i.e.

[73]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:2a: 用筆略如西儒之號，引而伸之，變未有窮矣.

[74]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 9:3a–b: "Characters [*zì*] such as *-r*, *-k*, *-t*, *-s*, *-b*, *-l*, *-m* are completely different from the characters of the top character head [*shǒu zìtóu zì*]" *-r*而、*-k*客、*-t*忒、*-s*思、*-b*卜、*-l*尔、*-m*母等字與首字頭字絕不相.

Detail reproduced from Xióng Shìbó 1709, 219-155 (pagination of the reprint [ch. 9]; not to scale).

The schematization below has simplified the original presentation by not including Xióng's glosses. We see that Xióng's attempt to align the onsets from the syllabary's inner sequence in the same column is not entirely successful because of the imperfect regularity of the original sequence.

㊥影	㊥泥	㊥溪	㊥幫	㊥滂	㊥心	㊥審	㊥透	
a	*na*	*ka* ㊥見	*ba*	*pa*	*sa*	*ša*	*ta* ㊥端	…
e	*ne*	*ga* ㊥曉	*be*	*pe*	*se*	*še*	*da* ㊥透	…
i	*ni*	*ha* ㊥溪	*bi*	*pi*	*si*	*ši*	*te* ㊥端	…
o	*no*	*ko* ㊥見	*bo*	*po*	*so*	*šo*	*de* ㊥透	…
u	*nu*	*go* ㊥曉	*bu*	*pu*	*su*	*šu*	*ti* ㊥端	…
û	*nû*	*ho* ㊥溪	*bû*	*pû*	*sû*	*šû*	*di* ㊥透	…
		kû ㊥見					*to* ㊥端	…
		gû ㊥曉					*do* ㊥透	…
		hû					*tu* ㊥端	…
							du	…

Legend:

Ⓧ represents a Middle Chinese initial:

Chinese:	Approximate sound:[a]	Notes:
㊥影	ø	Zero initial
㊥泥	*n-*	
㊥溪	*kh-*	Aspirate or non-voiced
㊥曉	*h-*	
㊥幫	*p-*	Perhaps voiced
㊥滂	*ph-*	Aspirate or non-voiced
㊥心	*s-*	
㊥審	*sh-*	Inferred from modern Chinese
㊥透	*th-*	Aspirate or non-voiced
㊥端	*t-*	Perhaps voiced

[a] Based on Branner 1999; Branner and Weng 2004–2009.

Figure 5.7 – The Syllabary in Xióng Shìbó's *Děngqiè yuánshēng* (1709).

the pure vowels) would be listed first, followed by the syllables with the onset *n-* (i.e. *na, ne, ni, no, nu, nû*), followed by all those with back-vowel velar onsets, and so on.

Xióng's reformed syllabary highlighted this regularity. In his version, the syllabary's sections were still presented as a linear sequence running from left to right in columns across the page. Xióng interrupted the flow of syllables across the page by listing only syllables with

the same onset in one column. Thus the first column contained only the vowels, the second column only the syllables beginning with *n*-, and so on. At the head of every column, Xióng added a Chinese character indicating the initial represented in that column. The Chinese characters were drawn from the set of thirty-six initials used in Middle Chinese rhyme tables (introduced in chapter 2). This arrangement did not disrupt the original order of the sequence, it merely divided it up into structurally similar chunks.

The advantage of Xióng's reformed syllabary was that a reader could ascertain the spelling of a given Manchu syllable more accurately. In the original syllabary, a reader had to read through the entire sequence contained within a section to find the written syllable he was looking for. Now, after having found the relevant section (i.e. the section containing the relevant coda), the reader could narrow down his search further by also identifying the column containing the relevant onset. Instead of reading through a list of around one hundred and thirty written syllables, the reader now only had to read through approximately six syllables.

It is clear that the syllabary as presented by Xióng presupposed an entirely different usage from Liào Lúnjī's bilingual syllabary and especially from the monolingual lists seen in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*. Those syllabaries were first and foremost teaching aids. They were intended to be recited by dividing the syllables into groups of two or three, as in the Chinese primers, and committed to memory. In the case of the monolingual syllabary, the student might not even have had his own syllabary, but merely listened and repeated after his teacher. Xióng's syllabary, by contrast, was written for a scholar sitting down with a book. Its presentation was similar to the grid of the rhyme tables, which in the late imperial period were often used as indexes. It was probably not intended for recitation and memorization so much as for consultation.

The Syllabary in East Asia: Ogyū Sorai's "Manbun kō" (c. 1711–16)

Outside the Qīng empire, the most important country in the sinosphere for the study of Manchu was Chosŏn Korea. The history of Manchu studies in that country is part of the history of the Office of the Interpreters (Sayŏkwŏn 司譯院), the agency of the Chosŏn central government that trained, examined, and employed interpreters for diplomatic missions abroad.[75] Surprisingly, there is no evidence that the Koreans ever used the syllabary in twelve sections in their teaching of Manchu. In addition to their own textbooks, the Korean interpreters instead made use of the bilingual Manchu-Chinese *Qiānzì wén*, to which they sometime after 1690 added glosses in Korean script to both the Chinese and Manchu text.[76]

The Manchu syllabary was studied in Japan, however. Anecdotal information about the Manchu language reached the Japanese reading public in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[77] but there is no evidence of sustained study of the language before the brothers

[75]The institution has been extensively studied: Kang Sinhang 1978; Lín Dōngxī 1982; Song 1981, 2001; Kim Yangsu (1985) 1995; Mende 1992; Yi Namhŭi 1999; Kim Yangsu 1999.

[76]Chŏng Kwang 2002, 551–576 (573–574 for the *terminus post quem* of the Korean annotations). The Manchu-Chinese *Qiānzì wén* with Korean glosses is not mentioned in Song 2001; Lie 1972. (This last work is best read together with Franke 1975.)

[77]Naitō Konan (1912) 1969, 248; Shinmura Izuru 1927, 98.

Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) and Hokkei's 北溪 (1673–1754) work in the second and third decades of eighteenth century.[78]

Our knowledge of Sorai's Manchu studies, and the syllabary that resulted from it, is hazy. In fact, there is no consensus on the title of Sorai's work. In his collected works (*zenshū* 全集), printed in 1974, Sorai's syllabary was included under the title "Manbun kō" 滿文考 (Examination of Manchu text),[79] a choice which Kanda Nobuo justified, *faute de mieux*, by the simple fact that this is the title of the manuscript (held at Osaka Prefectural Library) from which the facsimile was made.[80] Uehara Hisashi, on the other hand, argued that the original title of Sorai's work must have been *Manji kō* 滿字考 (Examination of Manchu characters), since this term figures both in Sorai's sources and in eighteenth-century mentions of his work.[81] For the sake of convenience, I will here refer to the text using the title of the facsimile version.

As the text is undated, we do not know exactly when Sorai wrote "Manbun kō." Kanda Nobuo, considering when Sorai's sources were printed and imported to Japan, estimates that the text ought to have been written sometime between 1711 and 1716.[82] There are more than ten extant manuscript of "Manbun kō," none of them by Sorai's hand.[83] Naturally, this makes any judgment of the quality of Sorai's Manchu ductus difficult. The Manchu writing in the reprinted manuscript, in any case, is poorly executed to the point that many very different characters have been made indistinguishable from each other.

The contents of "Manbun kō" seems to be the results of Sorai's efforts to understand the Manchu script. As a work of Manchu scholarship, it is uniformly considered to be lacking in quality, and it is clear that Sorai neither knew how to speak Manchu, nor was able to properly vocalize Manchu writing. Nevertheless, his text is worlds apart from the anecdotal reporting of isolated Manchu words and sounds that we see elsewhere in eighteenth-century Tokugawa literature; "Manbun kō" is a creative synthesis of Liào Lúnjī's syllabary and a Manchu-Chinese *Qiānzì wén*.[84] Both these books had, somewhat circuitously, reached Sorai through the Níngbō-Nagasaki merchant route. The Manchu-Chinese *Qiānzì wén* was made more accessible in Japan when it was reprinted there in 1715.[85]

[78]Ogyū Hokkei's studies are the subject of Yoshimitsi Kuzunoki 2013.

[79]Ogyū Sorai 1974, vol. 2, 698–726.

[80]Kanda Nobuo (1993b) 2005, 420.

[81]Uehara Hisashi 1988, 3.

[82]Kanda Nobuo (1993b) 2005, 424.

[83]The reprinted version includes a final note: "The preceding *Examination of Manchu text*, in one chapter, is the work of Butsu [Ogyū] Sorai. I asked U[sami] Shinsui to get it from [Sorai's studio] the Miscanthus Garden. I copied it and collated the text several times, and kept it at home. ‖ Written by Ki[mura] Kōkyō of Naniwa [i.e. Ōsaka] in the 2nd month of the *hinoeinu* year of Meiwa [1766]" (Ogyū Sorai 1974, vol. 2, 726: 右『滿文考』一卷, 物徂徠所著也。頃懇宇 [佐見] 灊水得蔾園, 謄寫覆校, 秘諸家云。明和丙戌春二月—浪華木 [村] 弘 [read: 孔] 恭識; the emendation from *kō* 弘 to *kō* 孔 is by Kanda). Usami Shinsui (1710–76) was one of Sorai's disciples, and Kimura Kōkyō (Kenkadō 蒹葭堂, 1736–1802) an Ōsaka townsman (*chōnin* 町人) and polymath. Kanda reported that the manuscript does not appear to be of Kenkadō's hand, but must be a copy made by a third person (Kanda Nobuo [1993b] 2005, 419).

[84]Ogyū Sorai (1728) 1974, vol. 2, 722.

[85]Fuchs 1942, 22.

Sorai's originality in "Manbun kō" lay in taking the syllabary from Liào Lúnjī's publication and changing its linear presentation into a structurally more complex, but (for a Japanese reader) intuitive two-dimensional grid, similar to the conventional presentation of the kana syllabary.[86] Its structure was identical to that of Siddhaṃ syllabaries (e.g., the one described in section 7.1),[87] showing the long-term influence of that Indic tradition on Japanese language studies.

Sorai's grid was made even easier to understand by its author's differentiation of the codas from the onsets and nuclei by writing the former in red ink. The graphic differentiation that we saw in Xióng Shìbó's reformed syllabary is similar to the presentation achieved in "Manbun kō." Yet Sorai went further than Xióng, completely abandoning the linear arrangement of the sections in favor of a grid that highlighted structural regularities. Sorai's syllabary was an intellectual achievement of some note.

The vertical, or *y*, axis in Sorai's grid listed the twelve sections from top to bottom. The horizontal, or *x*, axis in the grid included the syllable sequence making up the syllabary. The vertical axis could be included in its totality on one page, but the horizontal axis, which included more than 130 syllables, ran across twenty-two pages. Save for the inversion of the *x* and *y* axes, Sorai's grid is identical to the presentation of the Manchu syllabary that I gave in figure 3.3.[88]

Stressing that his syllabary was made for reading, Sorai wrote: "Now … I have arranged [the Manchu syllabary] by spreading it out into a chart. Furthermore, I have written the base of the characters in red to facilitate browsing."[89] It appears from Sorai's words that the organization into a grid enabling the retrieval of a written syllable according to its initial was intended to facilitate its use as a work of reference.

It appears to have been the removal from the context of aural-oral education that made Sorai's original syllabary possible. His two-dimensional grid seems to have been made to look at: the eye can move both right, along the inner sequence inside the sections, or down, through the outer sequence. To the right, the onsets and nuclei change. Downward, it is the codas that change instead. The early Qīng syllabaries had been devised in order to be memorized, beginning with the first section and continuing down through the remaining sections. Sorai's syllabary, in contrast, appears as the Manchu syllabary adapted for the disinterested armchair scholar, for whom Manchu was a *curiosum*. Following the presentation of the syllabary, Sorai also copied parts of the text of *Qiānzì wén*, adding phonetic transcriptions in Chinese characters that he extrapolated from his grid.

Scholars have remarked on the inaccuracy of the phonetic glosses in the form of Chinese characters that Sorai added to the Manchu text of "Manbun kō," treating them as an indication of Sorai's lack of proficiency in Manchu and of the rudimentary state of Tokugawa Manjuristics at this time.[90] The fact that Sorai was able to make any sense whatsoever from the crude transcriptions of Manchu then available can only be attributed to his interest in contemporary

[86] Kanda Nobuo (1993b) 2005, 420–421.
[87] Page 355.
[88] Page 136.
[89] Ogyū Sorai (1728) 1974, vol. 2, 722: 今…横列為，而其字踈朱書以便觀覽.
[90] Kanda Nobuo (1993b) 2005, 424; Uehara Hisashi 1988, 9.

	Page:	1					2						3–22
The Outer Sequence	1st	*a*	*e*	*i*	*o*	*u*	*û*	*na*	*ne*	*ni*	*no*	*nu*	…
	2nd	*ai*	*ei*	*ii*	*oi*	*ui*	*ûi*	*nai*	*nei*	*nii*	*noi*	*nui*	…
	3rd	*ar*	*er*	*ir*	*or*	*ur*	*ûr*	*nar*	*ner*	*nir*	*nor*	*nur*	…
	4th	*an*	*en*	*in*	*on*	*un*	*ûn*	*nan*	*nen*	*nin*	*non*	*nun*	…
	5th	*ang*	*eng*	*ing*	*ong*	*ung*	*ûng*	*nang*	*neng*	*ning*	*nong*	*nung*	…
	6th	*ak*	*ek*	*ik*	*ok*	*uk*	*ûk*	*nak*	*nek*	*nik*	*nok*	*nuk*	…
	7th	*as*	*es*	*is*	*os*	*us*	*ûs*	*nas*	*nes*	*nis*	*nos*	*nus*	…
	8th	*at*	*et*	*it*	*ot*	*ut*	*ût*	*nat*	*net*	*nit*	*not*	*nut*	…
	9th	*ab*	*eb*	*ib*	*ob*	*ub*	*ûb*	*nab*	*neb*	*nib*	*nob*	*nub*	…
	10th	*ao*	*eo*	*io*	*oo*	*uo*	*ûo*	*nao*	*neo*	*nio*	*noo*	*nuo*	…
	11th	*al*	*el*	*il*	*ol*	*ul*	*ûl*	*nal*	*nel*	*nil*	*nol*	*nul*	…
	12th	*am*	*em*	*im*	*om*	*um*	*ûm*	*nam*	*nem*	*nim*	*nom*	*num*	…

Schematic representation of Ogyū Sorai (1728) 1974, vol. 2, 720–719 (not to scale).

Figure 5.8 – Ogyū Sorai's "Manbun kō" (c. 1711–16)

vernacular Chinese, which he also studied with interest.[91] The fact that Sorai was unable to learn how to vocalize Manchu based on the transcriptions available to him cannot be seen as a failing on his part. When considered in relation to the state of Manchu studies in his time, Sorai's transcriptions do not appear qualitatively worse than anything else currently available.

After Sorai's "Manbun kō," we have no solid evidence of sustained study of the Manchu syllabary in Japan before the nineteenth century. Based on mentions in Tokugawa literature, Shinmura Izuru 新村出 (1876–1967) assumed the existence of studies on the Manchu language by Amano Sadakage 天野信景 (1663–1733), Kameda Bōsai 龜田鵬斎 (1752–1826), and Shokatsu Ko 諸葛晃 (d. 1847).[92] However, no copies of their work have ever surfaced, and it is unclear whether they were original works, or just copies or redactions of Sorai's syllabary.[93]

Chū Qíshǔ and Chū Jǐngfū's "Fānyì fāwēi" (1727)

I will briefly discuss another didactic work from the early eighteenth century that never made it into print.

Chū Qíshǔ 初齊曙 (n.d.) and Chū Jǐngfū's 初敬敷 (n.d.) "Fānyì fāwēi" 翻譯發微 (Explanations of the subtleties of translation) from 1727 was an exposition on the Manchu language written for the benefit of translators of documents. Like Xióng, its authors did not separate the study of the script from the study of sound, but unlike him remained firmly rooted in the

[91] Pastreich 2001.
[92] Shinmura Izuru 1927, 106.
[93] Uehara Hisashi 1988, 2.

aural-oral paradigm. The work stressed that "when it comes to characters, one must first correctly realize their sound."[94] The analysis that followed explained the makeup of the Manchu syllabary not on the basis of the graphic structure of the graphs, but on their pronunciation. "Fānyì fāwēi" singled out the five vowels at the beginning of the inner sequence as "genera" (*mǔ* 母) from which all other syllables, including "miscellaneous characters and outer characters" (*zázì wàizì* 雜字外字), were derived: "Every sound, every rhyme," it asserted, "stems from the five characters" that constitute the vowels.[95]

Qíshǔ and Jǐngfū did not present a detailed analysis of the Manchu script, but it appears they understood it in terms borrowed in part from Chinese phonology.

Wǔ-gé's *Qīngwén qǐméng* (1730)

We saw that Shěn Qǐliàng's textbook from 1786 went beyond the aural-oral paradigm reigning in much of Manchu and Chinese education and introduced into the curriculum instructions on not just on how to read, but how to write Manchu characters. Shěn had initiated the discussions of the Manchu script in a pedagogical context. In the first half of the eighteenth century, analyses of the script in Manchu pedagogy became more common and more widespread. After 1730, a segmentation of the characters of the Manchu syllabary was made available to many students of Manchu by the efforts of an ingenious bannerman who was spreading his ideas through the commercial publishers of Běijīng.

The Manchu grammar and primer *Qīngwén qǐméng* 清文啟蒙 (Qīng language primer; 1730) by Wǔ-gé,[96] is one of the most well-known works of Manchu language pedagogy. It was widely published and circulated in the Qīng period, and was translated into English by Alexander Wylie (1815–1887) in the mid-nineteenth century.[97]

By exploring the structure of Manchu characters, Wǔ-gé laid bare the discrepancies that existed between how Manchu was presented in the syllabary and the way it was actually used in documents. It was not his stated intention, but by reading his book students of Manchu were trained to see written words as subdividing into segments (which could in turn be ordered to arrange the words in dictionaries). The main objective of pedagogues like Wǔ-gé remained the resolution of certain perceived problems in Manchu education enabling the quick acquisition of Manchu writing ability, not a comprehensive and theoretically coherent description of the structure of the script. Like other pedagogues, Wǔ-gé was content with explaining in an ad hoc manner the instances in which the functioning of the script could not be easily construed

[94]Chū Qíshǔ and Chū Jǐngfū 1727, vol. 1, "Zìmǔ biān" 字母辨 (Distinguishing characters; no pagination): 字必先正其音.

[95]Chū Qíshǔ and Chū Jǐngfū 1727, vol. 1, "Zìmǔ biān": 一聲一韻悉宗此五字. The authors seem not to have considered the sixth vowel *û* to be on a par with the other five.

[96]Ēn-huá (1936) 2006, 12.

[97]Wylie 1855. The relationship between the various editions of the book has been clarified by Ikegami Jirō 1962, who grouped the them into three groups (114–116 for group I), each represented by several editions. I have used the Sānhuái Táng edition (no date of printing), classified by Ikegami as representing the original version of *Qīngwén qǐméng*. The book is also studied or mentioned in Coblin 2003a; Hauer 1932, 632; Crossley and Rawski 1993, 83, 90; Crossley 1994, 346; Puyraimond 1979, 36–37; Ikegami Jirō 1986, 1987; Gùgōng 2009, 72; Zhào Zhìzhōng 2000; Ochiai Morikazu 1989; Lǐ Xuézhì 1992; Qīnggéěrtài 1995; Pang 1988, 92, among other works.

on the basis of the syllabary in twelve sections. He did not question the syllabary as a paradigm for the organization of the Manchu writing system.

The first "chapter" (*tebtelin*) *cum* volume of Wǔ-gé's book was dedicated to the instruction of the Manchu script and pronunciation. As such, it also featured a substantial amount of phonological discussion.[98] The first section of the first chapter, titled "Guide to the twelve heads of Manchu characters," opened with a syllabary in twelve sections. The presentation of sections number two to twelve was in the style of Liào Lúnjī's *Shíèr zìtóu*, but appended to each sections were notes explaining peculiarities of their writing.

The great originality of Wǔ-gé's syllabary lay in its presentation of the first section. Whereas many previous syllabaries had presented each of the sections as flowing in columns across the page, Wǔ-gé opted for a different arrangement, one that invited the reader to consider the syllabic characters as realizations of smaller, abstract units of writing. As can be seen in figure 5.9, Wǔ-gé presented the first section linearly as running across the upper section of the page over twenty-two pages, with six syllables per page. Beneath every syllable, Wǔ-gé provided words that exemplified the appearance of the syllable in question in initial, medial, and final position. Next to the words, he wrote the illustrated syllable in isolation, retaining their initial, medial, or final shape. By thus highlighting the different ways of writing Manchu characters, he clearly depicted the syllables as the building blocks of words, which conversely were showed to subdivide into syllables. Wǔ-gé referred to the syllables simply as 'characters' (*zì*).

Appended to each of the remaining eleven sections of the syllabary were a few notes on their writing. While referring to the written syllables (combinations of the *akṣara* of onset-nucleus and coda) as 'characters,' Wǔ-gé also used specific terms for written syllables in various positions. Syllables written in isolation were referred to as "head characters" (*tóuzì* 頭字). He also used terms for the *akṣara*, referring to the coda (syllable-final *akṣara*) as the "tail" (*wěiba* 尾巴), and pointed out that some tails would "change shape inside connected characters" or words.[99] Wǔ-gé also referred to individual *akṣara* as 'characters.'[100] His explanation of the changing shapes of parts of characters depending on their position implied that although the parts were not graphically identical, they represented one and the same underlying, abstract

[98]The contents of the first chapter (Wǔ-gé 1730c, vol. 1, *zǒngmù*:1a–b) was as follows: *manju hergen-i juwan juwe uju, emteli [?] hergen, holboho hergen-i jyi nan,* 滿洲十二字頭單字聯字指南 (Guide to the twelve heads of Manchu characters, and to simple and connected characters); *manju acan mudan-i hergen,* 切韻清字 (Manchu combined sound characters; the Chinese version of the title translates as "Spelled rhymes of Qīng characters"); *manju tulergi emteli hergen* 滿洲外單字 (Simple outer Manchu characters); *manju tulergi holboho hergen* 滿洲外聯字 (Connected outer Manchu characters); *manju acan mudan-i hergen be acabure arga,* 清字切韻法 (The way of combining Manchu combined sound characters); *mudan acu-i manju hergen,* 異施清字 (Manchu words with irregular pronunciation); *manju hergen ararade fi nikere ilhi,* 清書運筆先後 (The order to refer to when writing Manchu characters). Abel-Rémusat 1820, vol. 1, 100–103 also translates the titles and summarizes the content.

[99]Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:13b–14a: …在聯字內必變體.

[100]After the presentation of the third section, Wǔ-gé explained that the medial position of the section's coda, *-r*, represented the same character as medial *-r-*, and added that: "If we write the character *-r* beneath the character *a-*, we get *ar-*. This connects into *argi*, 'distilled spirits'" 如 *a-*阿 字下加 *-r*尔 字，是 *ar-*阿尔。連寫 *argi*阿尔敖，「燒酒」(Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:15b).

nû			
nu	*nu-* *nure* "rice wine"	*-nu-* *becunuhe* "[we] argued and quarreled"	*-nu* *inu* "yes"; "also"
no	*no-* *nomin* "green and yellow stone"; "milt"	*-no-* *sonombi* "stick one's butt out"	*-no* *bono* "hail"
ni	*ni-* *nicuhe* "pearl."	*-ni-* *funima* "midge spawned in dung"	*-ni* *mekeni* "mouth organ"
ne	*ne-* *nere* "pot"; "fire pit"; "three *avayava*"	*-ne-* *kenehe* "[I] left."	*-ne* *inemene* "willful"; "it is what it is"
na	*na-* *nari* "bear sow"	*-na-* is written like this in medial position. *ganara* "choosing"	*-na* is written like this in final position. *tana* "Lower Yángzǐ pearl"
û	*û-* *ûren* "statue." This character *-û* is pronounced *ao* when inside words. When used alone, it is pronounced *o*.		
u	*u-* *ufa* "flour, noodles"; "dust"		
o	*o-* *oke* "aunt." This character *-o* is pronounced *ao* when inside words. When used alone, it is pronounced *o*.		
i	*i-* *ice* "first day of new year"; "new"; "dye"		
e	*e-* *eme* "mother."		
a	*a-* is written like this in initial position. The other characters also function like this. *ama* "father."		

Schematic representation and translation of Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:1b–2a.

Figure 5.9 – "Guide to the Twelve Heads" in *Qīngwén qǐméng* (1730)

unit. For example, following the second section, which had a coda in *-i* ᡳ, Wŭ-gé explained that the alternative form *-ii* ᡳᡳ, assumed by the coda under certain conditions according to the conventions of Manchu orthography, was simply an alternative shape for the same underlying sound or graph (the description does not make the distinction explicit):

> The tail of the character of the *ai ei ii* head above is simply the characters of the *a e i* head with the addition of an *-i*. This *-i* will change shape to *-ii-* inside words.[101]

Wŭ-gé's comments were only made in reference to local features of the orthography; he did not translate the conceptualization implicit in his presentation of the syllabary and the related comments into general statements about the Manchu script.

The explanatory note most revealing of Wŭ-gé's understanding of the Manchu script followed the sixth section, which had a coda in *-k*. As he listed the syllables of this section, Wŭ-gé wrote the final form of the consonant /*-k*/ variably as front-vowel *-k* and back-vowel *-k*, not depending on what vowel followed, because there was no vowel following, but depending on what vowel preceded. There was, to be sure, reason to present the final form of /*k*/ by alternating between the front- and back-vowel versions; remnants of vowel harmony in Manchu meant that if a word had a front vowel in one syllable, chances were that it would have one in the next as well. So writing a front vowel *-k* following a front vowel, even when there was no second syllable, would have been intuitive to speakers of Manchu or individuals used to reading documents written in the language. Nevertheless, the understanding of the script that lay implicit in the Manchu syllabary did not in itself determine how final form /*k*/ should be graphically rendered; the variation in the realization of *nek* in the three syllables pictured in figure 5.10 shows, for instance, that at least two renderings were possible in the case of that syllable.

The realization of /*-k*/ shows that the Manchu syllabary cannot be explained as constructed on the basis of a single set of principles. Initial /*k*/ was treated as two entirely different characters (front- and back-vowel *k-*), appearing at different places in the inner sequence, when final-form reflexes of the same graphs appeared in the coda. Yet Wŭ-gé treated them as variants (we would today call them allographs in complementary distribution) of the same character. What at the beginning of a written syllable was considered two different graphs entirely was considered instances of the same graph at the end of the syllable.

The syllabary's varying treatment of /*k*/ depending on its position in the syllable did not appear to Wŭ-gé as a problem. In Wŭ-gé's view, shapes and strokes were first and foremost seen as parts of written syllables. The shapes we see as realizations of /*k*/ in either the onset or the coda were for him entirely different things, precisely because some of them belonged to the inner sequence and others to the outer. Syllable-initial *akṣara* and syllable-final *akṣara* were two very different things. There is no sign that Wŭ-gé grouped different shapes together primarily according to whether they represented the same individual speech sound.[102]

[101] Wŭ-gé 1730c, 1:13b–14a: 以上 *ai ei ii* 頭字尾巴，只此 *a e i* 頭字下多一 *-i*衣 字。此 *-i*衣 字在聯字內，必變體寫作 *-ii-*衣 式.

[102] The reader should infer from this discussion that Wŭ-gé did not reason in the alphabetical manner

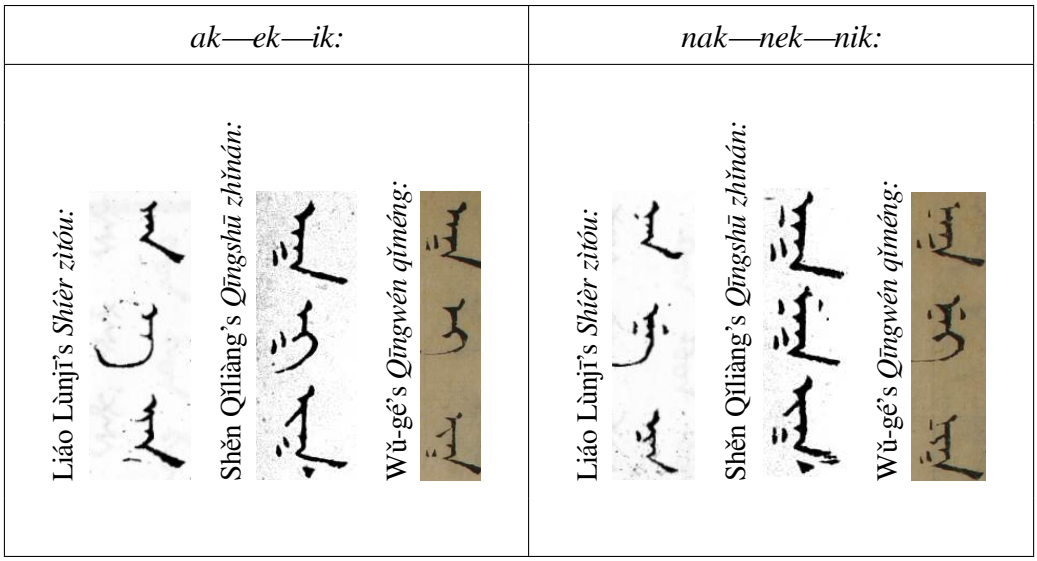


Figure 5.10 – Realizations of the Coda of the Sixth Section (*/-k/*) in Three Manchu Syllabaries

Wǔ-gé, dedicated pedagogue as we was, tried to close the gap between the Manchu script as presented in the syllabary and as encountered in running text. The syllabary in twelve sections did not include all syllable types occurring in Manchu as actually used. In the instructions that he made accompany the listing of syllables, Wǔ-gé complemented the lacunae in the original syllabary's presentation of the script. By using the example of actual words, he explained that different shapes could in fact represent the same underlying character. In the process, he also introduced shapes of graphs that were not attested in the simple syllabary, but would be encountered when reading actual Manchu documents.

One example is the medial form of */k/*: *-k-* ᡴᡳ. It was not attested in the simple syllabary, which only showed */k/* either in initial or in final position, regardless of whether the front- or the back-vowel forms were used. Wǔ-gé discussed the behavior of */k/* as seen in actual words:

> Above, the tail of the head characters *ak, ek,* and *ik* is simply the head characters *a, e,* and *i* with the addition of a *-k* [or] *-ek* [sic]. This *-k* [or] *-ek* character always changes shape inside connected characters [i.e. words], and is written as *-aka-* [sic] [or] *-ke*. If we add a *-k-* after *a-*, we get *ak-*. This connects into *akdun*, 'honest'; 'steady.' If we add a *-ke* after *e-*, we get *ek*. This connects into *ekšembi*, 'be in a hurry.'[103]

that we see in some of the scholars studied in the appendix. Furthermore, we find an additional instance where Wǔ-gé does not seem to have reasoned alphabetically in his comment to the syllabary's fifth section, which had a coda in *-ng*. Wǔ-gé here added a note in which the section's coda, *ng*, was described as one character and not further subdivided (Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:19b). Yet according to an alphabetical understanding of the script, this coda ought reasonably be understood as composed of the two letters */n/* and a fourth form of */g/*, which would be unattested elsewhere in the writing system.

[103] Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:20b: 以上 *ak eke ik* 頭字尾巴只比 *a e i* 頭字下多一 *-k*珂 *-ek*珂 字。此 *-k*珂 *ek*珂 字在聯字內必變體寫作 *-aka-*珂 *-ke*珂 式。如 *a-*阿 字下加 *-k-*阿珂 字是 *ak-*阿珂，聯寫 *akdun*阿珂敦，「信

In this passage, Wǔ-gé seems to refer to *k* sometimes as a character in its own right, and sometimes as part of a syllable, be it as the onset or the coda. To represent the shape of front-vowel *-k*, Wǔ-gé was forced to write out the syllable *ek*, lest he confuse it with the initial front-vowel *k-*, which, as we saw, the syllabary interpreted as a completely different character. In other words, Wǔ-gé sometimes, but not always, used full written syllables to refer only to one of their elements. More than any other, this passage shows the fluidity of Wǔ-gé's understanding of the script.

Despite detailed examples and explanations of the changing shapes of characters depending on their position, Wǔ-gé did not present a clear-cut model for understanding written Manchu in the opening section of *Qīngwén qǐméng*, be it as 'characters' subdividing into 'strokes,' or as letters forming syllables. The very need for additional explanations of character shapes implied that some information with regards to the functioning of the Manchu script was missing in the syllabary, but Wǔ-gé did not divorce the script from its usual form of presentation. Like other pedagogues, he continued to identify the Manchu script with its customary organization into a syllabary in twelve sections, regardless of the fact that his own work tended to highlight the limitations of the original syllabary.

In the first section of *Qīngwén qǐméng*, Wǔ-gé's description of the Manchu script essentially did what Shěn Qǐliàng had also done in *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù*, a publication that does not seem to have been known to the author of *Qīngwén qǐméng*. Yet in later sections of the primer's first chapter, the banner pedagogue pushed the analysis beyond what Shěn had done in *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù*.

Both Shěn and Wǔ-gé complemented the simple syllabary with examples of the differing shapes of Manchu graphs, including those not attested in the syllabary itself. By extracting the graphs from their original context inside actual words, both writers demonstrated the underlying unity of differing forms as realizations of one and the same character. Although not identified as such, both in *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù* and in *Qīngwén qǐméng*, Manchu writing thereby became an object of study in itself, distinct from Manchu speech.

The first of Wǔ-gé's achievements concerned what he and others called the 'outer characters,' the syllables that were often encountered in written Manchu but were not included in the syllabary. Among the sections that followed *Qīngwén qǐméng*'s reformed syllabary, Wǔ-gé included several lists. Of these, "Manchu combined sound characters"; "The way of combining Manchu combined sound characters"; and "Manchu words with irregular pronunciation" dealt with Manchu transcriptions of Chinese syllables alien to Manchu phonotactics and irregular pronunciations of native syllables. "Simple outer Manchu characters" and "Connected outer Manchu characters," furthermore, identified their contents as syllables that were not part of the syllabary proper. The separation of "simple outer Manchu characters" and "Manchu combined sound characters" into two lists is puzzling. For although Wǔ-gé did not explicate their usage, the "simple outer characters" were transcriptions of monosyllabic Chinese expressions, as were "Manchu combined sound characters," from which they can hardly be qualitatively distinguished. Wǔ-gé described the latter as "Chinese characters pronounced using the Manchu language, representing sounds that are not included inside the twelve heads."[104] By all appearances, the "simple outer characters" were precisely that as well. Perhaps Wǔ-gé's dis-

實」，又「堅固」。如 *e-*惡 字下加 *-ke*坷 字是 *ek*惡坷 字，聯寫 *ekšembi*惡坷賒嚏，「急忙」….

[104]Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:35b: 十二字頭內無其音者，用滿洲語音漢字.

tinction of the categories into two groups was not a consequence of his analysis, but of the history of the syllabary. As we saw, syllables used only to transcribe Chinese sounds were customarily appended to the end of some of the syllabary's sections; Wǔ-gé, who extracted them from the syllabary and let them form a section of their own, might still have wanted to keep them distinct from other syllables used in transcriptions for a kind of backwards compatibility, as it were, with earlier syllabaries.

As we saw, Shěn Qǐliàng had also set the syllables used to transcribe Chinese apart as a separate section in *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù*. The novelty in Wǔ-gé's presentation was the distinction of a category of 'connected outer characters,' which was a collection of Manchu words that had nothing to do with Chinese.[105] Yet like the 'simple outer characters,' the 'connected' characters contained clusters of sounds not found in the pairs of *akṣara* that made up the syllabary. By identifying a group of "connected outer characters," Wǔ-gé acknowledged that even the structure of actual Manchu words (and not just words borrowed from Chinese) was often different from what a student might predict from having memorized the syllabary in twelve sections.

The second achievement of *Qīngwén qǐméng* compared to *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù* concerned the identification and organization of strokes. The last section of *Qīngwén qǐméng*'s first chapter was titled "The order to refer to when writing Manchu characters," and it dealt exclusively with the script. The section was more a didactic overview than a graphological analysis, however. Wǔ-gé explained the writing of Manchu characters by breaking down every character to its constituent brush strokes, but he did not describe the strokes, nor did he identify them by name. First, he explained the writing of simple syllables from the inner sequence stroke by stroke. Thereafter, he explained the writing of multisyllabic words syllable by syllable. Wǔ-gé did not conclude the existence of a finite number of strokes from his linear presentation of the brushwork needed to write Manchu. Yet in addition to the clear pedagogical value of the instructions, they effectively serialized the writing of Manchu characters. In that regard, Wǔ-gé's presentation was similar to the section in Méi Yīngzuò's dictionary *Zìhuì* that explained the order of the writing of Chinese characters. The title of Wǔ-gé's presentation and the structure of his instructions even evoked the corresponding section in *Zìhuì*,[106] on which they were probably modeled. In *Zìhuì*, the instructions served to highlight the number of constituent strokes in a character, which in turn helped determine its location in the dictionary. Wǔ-gé's description of the writing of Manchu characters had the potential of serving a similar purpose. His instructions effectively taught the segmentation of Manchu words into a series of syllables with a clear progression from first to last. As such, they were not only instructions of how to write Manchu, but also of how to unravel the graphic structure of Manchu words.[107]

After *Qīngwén qǐméng*, graphological analysis of Manchu characters started to appear in a wider range of pedagogical texts, including higher level textbooks and manuscript syllabaries.

[105]The section included, for example, *sain* (*saiin*), 'good'; *duin* (*duiin*), 'four'; *ainci* (*aiinci*), 'possibly'; and *aššambi*, 'to move': Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:36a.

[106]Méi Yīngzuò 1615, *shǒujuàn*:1a–5b.

[107]Wǔ-gé 1730c, 1:52a–57a.

Hi Hiya's Reedition of Shěn's Annotated Syllabary (1733)

In 1733, a work was published that was heavily indebted to *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu*, the anonymous work based on one of Shěn Qǐliàng's syllabaries (discussed above). The work in question had been augmented by Hi Hiya and published with the title *Măn-Hàn quánzì shíèr tóu* 滿漢全字十二頭 (The twelve heads in complete Manchu and Chinese characters).[108] The preface to the work partly repeated the paraphrase of Shěn Qǐliàng's original that had been included in the preface to the publication from 1701, this time without any attribution to Shěn. Next to the original Chinese, Hi Hiya added Manchu transcriptions, so that a reader fluent in the Chinese Northern Vernacular and literate in the Manchu script, but not in Chinese characters, could understand some of the preface, which was written in simple literary language. The preface also reiterated the by now familiar idea that:

> These [sections of the syllabary] are the commander of Manchu books. You should let your eyes go over the first division a billion times and learn to recite it completely. Then the following eleven heads will be easy to master. Although the connected characters [i.e. words] are all different, the aspiring learner should take this [book] as his subtle guide, and nothing will be difficult.[109]

In the main body of the text, Hi Hiya corrected misspellings in the Manchu and wrote out the original Manchu for the words in the "Miscellaneous phrases" occupying the upper section of the 'joint-faced' page that in *Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu* had only been given in Chinese-character transcriptions. The syllable groups in each column had again been reduced to three, as in Liào Lúnjī' syllabary, whereas they had been four in the syllabary from 1701.

The Manchu text was clearly cut and printed, but the overall impression of *Măn-Hàn quánzì shíèr tóu* is that of a cheap print, a "popular publication" (*súběn* 俗本), as Fēng-kuān wrote in his précis of the work.[110] Hi Hiya's book probably targeted young or adult learners of sub-elite standing; an audience very different from that appealed to in Líng and Chén's *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* almost half a century earlier.

Hi Hiya's syllabary, itself a second edition of a partially derivative work, was subsequently published several times. An edition seemingly contemporaneous with the Běijīng print studied here appeared in Mukden in Manchuria.[111] In 1861, Hi Hiya's book was reprinted with the same preface in an edition that had evidently been put together using blocks from two separate earlier editions.[112] The existence of these editions suggest that this version of the bilingual

[108]The title page is reproduced in Huáng Rùnhuá 2010, 17.

[109]Hi Hiya 1733b, 1a–b: *tsya [na]i wan bu man jeo šu jyi dzung ling ye, dang yoo giyang teo i piyan, be ciyan wan lan, šu hi du teo, dze heo ši i teo i ke tung i, sui dzi ge biye kio ši je [tsya] wei dzi in, dze u nan ye,* / 此乃萬部滿洲書之總領也。當要將頭一篇，百千萬覽，熟習讀透，則後十一頭易可通矣。雖連字各別，求識者，此微指引，則無難也.

[110]*"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 6, 48. Fēng-kuān there also erroneously claims it to be the earliest printing of the syllabary as a separate work.

[111]Matsumura Jun 1999, 22 lists an edition from 1733 printed by Zhìhé Táng 致和唐 in Mukden.

[112]*Măn-Hàn shíèr zìtóu* 1861, 11a, after which the running title and the pagination change, indicating the use of two different sets of blocks. The end of the book (page 9a in the new pagination) says that it was printed by Hóngwén Gé 宏文閣, responsible also for one of the 1733 editions. It it likely that this is

syllabary, stressing pronunciation and recitation of the written Manchu syllables, circulated widely among learners of Manchu well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Juntu's *Yī xué sān guàn Qīngwén jiàn* (1746)

In 1746, another important work of Manchu pedagogy appeared from the commercial publishers in Běijīng. Written by Juntu[113] (n.d.) and titled *Yī xué sān guàn Qīngwén jiàn* 一學三貫清文鑑 (Mirror of the Manchu language, which will direct you to three things when you consult only one),[114] it contained an analysis of the Manchu script similar to the one seen in *Qīngwén qǐméng*. The 'three things' that the reader of Juntu's work would simultaneously learn were Chinese characters and expressions; how to translate them into Manchu; and the Manchu language itself.[115]

Juntu was dissatisfied with the simple Manchu syllabaries: "The twelve heads have always been the key entryway [to the Manchu language], but students cannot understand them by themselves unless they come with explanations," he wrote. On the one hand, he wanted to remedy this by providing detailed instructions on pronunciation. On the other, and more important for this discussion, he also wanted to "demonstrate [the structure of the script] using the method of connecting characters" into words.[116] Juntu's illustrations of Manchu characters in various positions, abstracted from their original context in written words, were similar to Shěn Qǐliàng's and Wǔ-gé's presentations.

The bulk of Juntu's book, however, consisted of running bilingual text largely in the form of dialogues, through which the student was expected to acquire Manchu and Chinese vocabulary on various topics. The fact that a precise description of the positionally conditioned shapes of Manchu graphs made its way even into such a work is revealing with regards to the development of basic Manchu pedagogy in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Separated by several decades, Shěn Qǐliàng and Wǔ-gé had seemingly independently of each other written textbooks that turned the students' attention to the structure of the Manchu script and its realization in practice. Both the terms they used and the organization of their instructions showed similarities with discussions of the Chinese script found in seventeenth-century dictionaries of that language. Juntu's textbook, in contrast, consisted largely of narrative text for students who had already learned to read and write Manchu graphs. The instructions that he nevertheless chose to include, as an inroad to the dialogues, incorporated

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the copy that was previously owned by Walter Fuchs, who described a copy of this edition and whose Manchu collection eventually passed into the hands of Yenching and later Peking University (Fuchs 1942, 16). Other copies identical to Fuchs' also survive, e.g., *Măn-Hàn shíèr zìtóu* 1861, second Minzu University of China copy. The latter half of Fuch's copy (with new pagination) corresponds to Hi Hiya 1733a. According to *Shāndōng Dàxué Túshūguǎn gǔjí shànběn shūmù* 2007, 47 a copy was also owned by a Republican collector with the studio name Qīlüè Ān 七略盦 (n.d.). However, the manuscript bibliography of this collector (ZZCSJSMHK:MQJ [1368–1911] 2005, vol. 38, 463–491) does not list the work.

[113]Imanishi Shunjū 1966, 402 uses the spelling "Juwentu".

[114]Described in Puyraimond 1979, 39; Gùgōng 2009, 78.

[115]Juntu (1746) 2001, *fánlì*:1a.

[116]Juntu (1746) 2001, *fánlì*:1b: …十二字頭原屬入門要訣。茆學之者，非解說不能自明。… 且示以連字之法.

illustrations of abstract Manchus graphs probably influenced by his predecessors. The inclusion of instructions of how to write Manchu into a textbook, whose main concerns lay elsewhere, shows that by the mid-eighteenth century, analyses of the script in a pedagogical context no longer constituted a novelty in the world of Manchu print culture. Having initially been pioneered by writers interested in teaching the rudiments of written Manchu, the analysis of Manchu characters had entered the mainstream of textbook publishing.

The Court-Sponsored *Huángcháo tōngzhì* (1787)

The history of the syllabary in twelve sections, and the discussions of the Manchu script that it inspired, was largely played out in printed books and manuscripts produced without any government involvement. Although the vast majority of Manchu documents were produced by the imperial administration, the government seems to have taken little interest in producing textbooks explaining the basics of Manchu language and script. We know that the 'state schools' (*guānxué*) printed simple syllabaries,[117] but given their poor rate of survival, they seem to have been considered ephemeral publications by those who handled them. They probably did not include elaborate discussions on the structure of Manchu graphs.

Just as the government did not seem very interested in promoting a certain Manchu language curriculum through the publication of textbooks, it did not get involved in discussions on the structure of the Manchu script, which are rare in government-sponsored books. Most often, government-instigated discussion of the script amounted to isolated comments.

An example is found in one of the postfaces to the Kāngxī emperor's thesaurus of Manchu from 1708, which touched on the history of Manchu language reform. Collectively signed by a group of scholars, the text said that when Nurhaci "began writing the dynastic script, he took the six characters (*hergen*) as the weft (*fulehe ten*) [lit. 'the basis'] and the twelve heads as the warp (*hešen hergin*) [lit. 'wound thread']"[118] and thus produced Manchu writing. The passage is remarkable for giving an account, in Manchu, of the syllabary in twelve sections as the product of the outer and inner sequences, visualized as the intersecting threads on a loom.

As the original meaning of *wén*, 'writing,'[119] discussed in chapter 2, was 'pattern,' a metaphor seemingly inspired by the structure of textiles might have been close at hand for people educated in the Qīng grammatological paradigm. As is clear from the quote, the postface analyzed the inner sequence as having as its basis the six vowels that formed the nuclei for all syllables. Envisioning Manchu words as the products of two sequences woven together brings to mind the braided structure of Manchu lexicographical arrangement (to be discussed in chapter 6), especially since the index to the imperial thesaurus was also considered to be something 'wound' together (*hešen* [a noun]). It is possible that behind the quoted comment on Manchu language reform lay an understanding of the Manchu script informed by the mechanics of linear arrangement of words in dictionaries.

Rather than pedagogy, government involvement in Manchu language studies was focused on standardization of the Manchu lexicon and of transcriptions between Manchu and other

[117]Liào Lúnjī (1671) 1996, 4b.

[118]Transcribed in Jiāng Qiáo 2009a, 196: *…gurun i bithe be deribume arara de, ninggun hergen be fulehe ten, juwan juwe uju be hešen hergin obufi.…*

[119]The general Manchu equivalent to *wén* would have been *šu*, a word not used here.

languages and scripts. Tellingly, the most widely circulating book produced by the central government to include a Manchu syllabary was a manual for phonetic transcription (see chapter 8).[120]

Yet some discussion on the script itself is found in court-sponsored publications. As elsewhere, the syllabary was seen as coterminous with the script. Furthermore, it was rationalized in order to strengthen Manchu imperial ideology. The preface to one court-sponsored publication from 1765, presented as the words of the Qiánlóng emperor, associated the order of the syllabary with the natural acquisition of speech sounds by children:

> Now our state writing begins with *ā*. The Sanskrit scriptures also say that *ā* is able to include all the sounds of civilization, which are multiplied and ordered by themselves. Now let us prove this using the first sounds that a human produces: despite the fact that language differs between countries and places, when it comes to the cries of children, they all stem from *ā*. Thus *ā* constitutes the origin of the syllables of all regions. From this we learn that by arranging their differences, we obtain what [the various languages have in common].[121]

Here, the strong association between phonology, as the study of speech sounds, and grammatology, as the study of systems of writing, is very clear.

The scholars of Qiánlóng's government also included an analysis of the Manchu script in the first chapter of "Liùshū lüè" 六書略 (Outline of the six types of writing), which was included in *Huángcháo tōngzhì* 皇朝通志 (Comprehensive treatises of our august dynasty; 1787). The *Comprehensive treatises* were not teaching material; ranging across numerous subjects of interest to the imperial government, including geography, civil administration, and the judiciary, the *Treatises* also provided state-of-the-field essays on the study of the empire's languages and scripts. Of the work's 126 chapters, seven were dedicated to topics of language.

As the *Comprehensive treatises* were summaries of pre-existing accounts, reference works, and imperially sponsored studies, much of what they contained was not original material. However, throughout the text the editors added comments to the passages they excerpted from the books in the imperial archive. These original comments contain some of the most interesting material with regards to the Manchu script's conceptualization that we find in Qīng sources.

Like the scholars who before them had written on the Manchu script, the imperial commentators saw written Manchu as composed by 'characters' (*zì*). Also like their predecessors, the compilers of the *Comprehensive treatises* did not separate the script itself from its organization into a syllabary in twelve sections; the syllabary equalled the script, and the syllable was the basic unit of the written language. The commentators' discussion of the addition of

[120] *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (1773) 1836.

[121] *Qīndìng yīnyùn shùwēi* (1765) 1782, 1:1b–2a: 夫國書以「阿」字為首。梵經亦謂「阿」字能括天下之音；其生生之序出於自然。今以人之始生證之：雖各國地殊語，至其孩啼音皆出於「阿」，則「阿」字之為諸方聲韻之源。綜其異而得其同，從可知矣.

diacritics to distinguish certain consonants and vowels suggested that they saw the diacritics as distinguishing syllables and not any kind of smaller graphical units.[122]

Yet the imperial compilers also believed that Manchu syllables were of varying complexity. When they commented on the structure of the syllabary, they noted, like their predecessors, that the first section formed the basis of the others. (It consisted of single-*akṣara* syllables.) Within the first section, they identified the simple vowels, which opened the syllabary, as the basis for the rest of the section's syllable sequence.[123] Reflecting the strong focus on phonology in government-sponsored texts on the Manchu language, the editors framed their acknowledgement that the vowels were the basis of the other syllables as a phonological statement, referring the reader to the treaties on phonology for further elaboration.[124]

Later in the chapter, the imperial scholars returned briefly to the appearance of Manchu characters. The compilers, like the authors of commercially published pedagogical texts before them, identified the different shapes a written syllable would assume depending on whether it was written in isolation or in the beginning, middle, or end of words. "Connected characters," by which the compilers meant words, "separate into the transformed shapes (*biàntǐ*) of initials, medials, and finals."[125] This comment was made in reference to an early source that only by a great stretch of the imagination could be interpreted as illustrating the changing shapes of Manchu graphs, indicating that the court scholars' real source of inspiration lay with the commercially published textbooks that had first drawn attention to the transformation of Manchu characters; as record keepers of the imperial archive, however, the compilers made no reference to such lowly publications.

[122]Commenting on an account of the addition of diacritics to Old Manchu in the 1630s, the compilers of the *Treatises* wrote: "Your imperial servants note: This [reform created] the dynastic script that we use nowadays. The beginning of adding dots involved, for example, [the creation of] *u* in [the series] *o—u—û* [by adding a dot to the side of *o*]. The beginning of adding circles involved, for example, [the creation of] *ha* in [the series] *ka—ga—ha* [by adding a circle to the side of *ka*]. In general, the twelve character heads are organized by groups of two or three characters, which uninterruptedly connect into phrases [and sentences]. Since dots and circles were added, *aga,* 'rain,' can no longer be confused with *aha,* 'slave,' [with which it had been previously been indistinguishable in writing], and *boigon,* 'household,' can no longer be confused with *boihon,* 'soil,' [with which it had been previously been indistinguishable in writing] … [The words] are now completely distinct; the characters let no sound escape, and the sounds leave no characters behind" 臣等謹按：此即今所遵用國書。如 *o u û* 之 *u* 字，即加點之始。*ka ga ha* 之 *ha* 字，即加圈之始。大抵十二字頭率以三字或二字，蟬聯成句。自加圈點，而 *aga*雨 不至混於 *aha*奴僕；*boigon*戶口之戶 不至混於 *boihon*泥土之土…即若列眉。於是字無遁聲，聲無遺字 (QDHCTZ [1787] 1882, 11:3a–b). In their praise of the phonetic precision of reformed Manchu, the compilers did not go beneath the syllable as a unit of writing, even when discussing diacritics that modified only the pronunciation of syllabic onsets; the diacritic circle was presented as changing *ka* into *ha*, not *k* into *h*.

[123]"The twelve character heads are truly the ever-producing genera of the dynastic script, and the first character head, furthermore, is the genus of the [other] eleven character heads. As for these six characters [*a, e, i, o, u,* and *û*], they are additionally the genera of the first character head" 十二字頭實為國書生生不已之母，而第一字頭又為十一字頭之母。至此六字，則更為第一字頭之母 (QDHCTZ [1787] 1882, 11:3b–4a).

[124]QDHCTZ (1787) 1882, 11:4a.

[125]QDHCTZ (1787) 1882, 11:7a–b: 聯字變體之分上中下者.

Having clarified that the syllabic blocks (*zì*) of Manchu writing could be understood as consisting of several smaller elements, the authors of the *Comprehensive treatises* commented on the drawing of the strokes of Manchu characters. Unlike Xióng Shìbó and Shěn Qǐliàng, they used a bilingual Manchu-Chinese terminology to identify the parts of characters. They distinguished "teeth" (Ma. *a*; Ch. *zì zhī yá* 字之牙), referring to small horizontal strokes often signaling the beginning of a new graph in running text; "dots" and "circles" (Ma. *tongki* and *fuka*; Ch. *zì zhī diǎn* 字之點 and *zì zhī quān* 字之圈), serving as diacritics to distinguish certain syllable pairs, and "tails" (Ma. *uncehen*; *zì zhī wěi* 字之尾), found at the end of syllables written in isolated or final position.[126] In these pairs of terms, the Manchu clearly represented the original, from which the Chinese had been translated. Some of them were in turn calques on corresponding Mongol words.[127]

The compilers of the *Comprehensive treatises* distinguished two parts of every written syllable: the 'tooth' and the 'tail.' The bipartite division of characters was similar to Shěn Qǐliàng's distinction of an upper and a lower part of Manchu characters and probably reflected a phonological model based on *akṣara*. The court scholars analyzed written Manchu syllables as dividing in the middle, but they also recognized certain features that seemed to have belonged to the syllable as a whole (the dots and circles). Not as detailed as Xióng Shìbó's description of the strokes that constituted Manchu characters, the court scholars seem to have shared the Jiāngxī scholar's conception of Manchu writing as having the *akṣara* as the smallest unit carrying a sound. Beneath the level of the *akṣara*, all we have in their analyses are strokes, dots, and circles, which by themselves were not associated with specific sounds.

Following the presentation of the characteristics of each of the syllabary's sections, the compilers of the *Comprehensive treatises* appended a discussion of the "outer characters" (*wàizì* 外字) that, as we have seen, either transcribed sounds that were not native to Manchu, or included clusters of vowels or consonants felt not to fit within the twelve sections. As the compilers noted, the 'outer characters' included, among other things, a class of syllables used to transcribe Chinese. That class of syllables, they specified, "constitute simple outer characters" (*wéi wàidānzì* 為外單字). Like Wǔ-gé before them, they also identified the category of "connected outer characters" (*wéi wàiliánzì* 為外聯字).[128] Since the 'simple outer characters' were used to transcribe Chinese, one might suspect that the 'connected outer characters' too were used to transcribe foreign words. Indeed, the 'connected outer characters' included some Mongol loans.[129] Yet we ought not assume that Manchus of the late eighteenth century clearly distinguished all the Mongol loans figuring among common Manchu vocabulary, which furthermore were not limited to the ones listed as 'connected outer characters.'

It seems that the 'connected outer characters' were grouped together for a reason other than their etymology. These words were considered to belong outside the twelve sections,

[126]QDHCTZ (1787) 1882, 11:8a. The Manchu *a* was forgotten in the Guāngxù xylograph edition of the *Comprehensive Treatises,* which I have generally relied on here. I have reconstituted the missing character from QDHCTZ, SKQS ed. (1782–1787) 1983, 11:9a (115).

[127]Manchu *uncehen* corresponds to Mongolian *segül*: Róna-Tas 1965, 135.

[128]This category was exemplified with the words *sain* (*saiin*), "good," and *duin* (*duiin*), "four" (QDHCTZ [1787] 1882, 11:6a).

[129]*sain* is a loanword borrowed from Mongol. *duin*, however, is not a loan: Starostin, Dybo, and Mudrak 2003, 1224, 1377.

and they had nothing in common except for their spelling. Indeed, only the spelling can explain their status as 'outer characters'; the combinations of graphs that made up these words were all unusual from the point of view of the syllabary, inside which they had no obvious place.[130] This is not to say that it was impossible to reconcile these words with the syllabary; by reinterpreting the orthographic peculiarities common to the 'outer connected characters,' they could indeed have been parsed into syllables admitted in the syllabary.[131] The 'simple outer characters,' used to transcribe Chinese, could also be segmented in accordance with the syllabary. Yet in both cases, the reinterpretation would necessarily have involved segmenting what was but one syllable in speech as several syllables in writing, effectively changing the syllable as primarily a unit of spoken language to merely a structural unit of the script.

The spelling cannot satisfactorily explain why the 'connected characters' were divided into two groups, as also the syllables transcribed from Chinese had spellings that could be reconciled with the syllabary only with difficulty. It seems that the two groups of 'outer characters' were divided on semantic grounds: the syllables used to transcribe Chinese were part of larger linguistic units, such as names or phrases, whereas the Manchu words categorized as 'outer connected characters' were words (*liánzì*, 'connected characters') in their own right.

Yet myriad words could be constructed from the syllables listed in the twelve sections without them for that reason featuring in theoretical discussions of the script itself. The regular 'connected characters' of the lexicon, although certainly carrying meaning and consisting of multiple vowels, were not classified as 'outer characters.' They did not feature in the discussion of the script's structure at all, since they were themselves assembled from syllables in the syllabary and thus existed only at a higher level of complexity.

The syllables classified as 'outer' all had something in common, which distinguished them both from the rest of the Manchu lexicon and from the syllables found in the twelve setions. For them to have been outside the syllabary, these syllables and words must have been considered structurally incompatible with it, yet different from regular words.

We saw that the 'outer characters' could be construed of consisting of two, three, or more syllables taken from the syllable sequences that constituted the syllabary, just as words could. The fact that they were singled out as 'outer,' however, tells us that in the eyes of the imperial compilers, they were not to be segmented along the lines of the inner and outer sequences. Rather, probably realized in speech as diphthongs or even triphthongs, they were construed either as indivisible monosyllabic units themselves, or as containing at least one such unit, that had no place in the syllable sequences within the syllabary.

The problem stemmed from the fact that in the syllabary, every syllable had to have a nucleus consisting of one vowel that was part of the first *akṣara*. In case a syllable contained second vowel (e.g., *ai* or *eo*), that second vowel was interpreted as the coda, the second *akṣara*.

[130] All 'connected outer characters' contained a vowel followed by an *-i-*, doubled according to the rules of Manchu orthography, resulting in a combination that could be interpreted as constituting a single closed syllable in which the nucleus was a diphthong. A syllable of that type was not permissible according to the phonotactics of the syllabary in twelve sections, which allowed only for closed syllables with a monophthong coda.

[131] Both the sequences *sain* and *saiin* (the latter transcription reflecting the double *-ii-* ᡳᡳ of the original Manchu spelling) were possible to segment in accordance with the syllabary, alternatively as *sa in*, *sai in*, or *sa i in*.

The 'outer characters,' in contrast, all contained sequences of characters that in speech were realized as one syllable, but which, since they had a diphthong nucleus in addition to a consonantal coda, according to the logic of the syllabary would have constituted two syllables.

This conclusion is corroborated if we further consider what words were listed among the 'connected outer characters' in Wŭ-gé's *Qīngwén qǐméng*, whose list included more words than the *Comprehensive treatises.*[132] Like the words in the *Treatises*, the pedagogue's words did not offer a straightforward segmentation according to the syllabary; in some cases,[133] the segmentation would lead to forcibly dividing the word into three syllables (as opposed to the two syllables it would occupy in speech) and in other cases,[134] a segmentation in accordance with the syllabary would have to involve an equally forced separation of a consonant cluster and their reinterpretation as parts of two separate syllables. By instead classifying such words as 'outer characters,' Wŭ-gé and the scholars behind the *Comprehensive treatises* declined to segment the words in ways seemingly at odds with the realization of the words in speech. Instead, they chose to treat them as incompatible with the syllabary in twelve sections, to which they formed an appendix.

The solution opted for by both Wŭ-gé and the imperial scholars show both the unassailable position of the syllabary as sole framework for understanding the Manchu script, if not the outright identification of the script with its organization into a syllabary, as well as the important role played by phonology in the understanding of the script. In both publications, the authors kept the 'outer characters' as a category apart from the syllabary rather than integrating them into the twelve sections at the cost of interpreting them separately from their realizations in speech.

Court-sponsored writing on the Manchu language after the *Comprehensive treatises* was, by contrast, concerned mostly with phonology. When the scholars of the Jiāqìng court in 1807 praised the "dynastic script" (*guóshū*) in an introduction to a collection of imperially endorsed texts on "the study of writing" (*zìxué* 字學), they stressed its ability to faithfully reproduce the phonotactics of Chinese.[135] This ability was a consequence of certain properties of the Manchu script, but 'the study of writing' was evidently only relevant to the extent it affected the production of sound. The Jiāqìng scholars, summarizing the results of previous government involvement in Manchu language studies, showed no interest in the internal structure of the script per se.

Fügiyün's *Sānhé biànlǎn* (1780) and *Qīngwén zhǐyào* (1809)

A relatively late monolingual syllabary is found included in Fügiyün's dictionary *Sānhé biànlǎn* 三合便覽 (Book made from a combination including three languages; 1780, 1792), which circulated widely. Fügiyün presented the syllabary's sections, similarly to *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, by separating the syllable groups using Manchu punctuation. Unlike in Shěn's collection, however, Fügiyün let each section run across two pages, and made each syllable group occupy the same amount of space using whitespace. The presentation of the syllabary in even-spaced

[132] Wŭ-gé's list also included the words *ainci* and *aššambi*.
[133] As in the case of *ainci*.
[134] E.g. *aššambi*.
[135] Qìng-guī (1807) 1994, vol. 2, 899.

columns was similar to several other syllabaries. Like the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, Fügiyün added extra syllables that did not follow the structure of the syllabary.[136] The extra syllables in Fügiyün's syllabary were more numerous than those in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, showing that there was some accretion in the number of syllables over time, as the need to accurately represent Chinese sounds using Manchu script grew during the course of the post-conquest period.

Fügiyün's textbook *Qīngwén zhǐyào* 清文指要 (Guide to Manchu; 1809) presents an example of a graphological analysis included in a printed higher level textbook. The bulk of the textbook was partially based on an earlier, anonymous collection of Manchu dialogues.[137] The textbook was to be used in the second stage of Manchu education, after the elements of the script had already been acquired, but Fügiyün included some comments on how to write Manchu graphs. Fügiyün's comments concerned the changing shapes of the coda in the sixth section. As we saw, the behavior of coda number 6 was ultimately related to the remaining traits of vowel harmony in Manchu, but appeared in the syllabary as an unexplained idiosyncracy seemingly at odds with the general principle that every section contained only one syllabic coda (see figure 5.10). Fügiyün therefore added a jingle explaining how to determine what shape to choose for the coda.[138] The jingle described when the coda (*wěi* 尾, "tail") was to be written using the "double dots" (*shuāng diǎn* 雙點) and the "bow" (*gōng* 弓), referring to different strokes.[139] This jingle reappearer in pedagogical manuscripts later in the century.

[136]Fügiyün appended the syllables *kioi*, *gioi*, *hioi*, *cioi*, *jioi*, *sioi*, *ioi*, *nioi*, and *lioi* to the second section (Fügiyün 1780a, *shíèr zìtóu:*2b). Since Fügiyün followed the conventional order of the outer sequence, what had been the fourth section in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* was now the fifth. Fügiyün added the syllables *kiong*, *giong*, *hiong*, *ciong*, *jiong*, *siong*, *iong*, *niong*, and *liong* to the fifth section (Fügiyün 1780a, *shíèr zìtóu*:5b). The addition of syllables in these sections was not without precedent in Manchu syllabaries.

[137]Pang 1988, 95.

[138]Fügiyün seems to have implied that he had compiled jingle, writing: "On the left side facing the tails (*uncehen*) of seventy-two of the characters (*hergen*) in the sixth head, there are always two dots (*tongki*). Furthermore, among the forty characters that lack these two dots, twenty characters often written connected in the Manchu language are … particularly difficult. For that reason, [I] have compiled a song in six phrases for every seven characters. Familiarize yourself with this song and remember it, and you will be able to distinguish [the characters] flawlessly" (Fügiyün 1809, *shàng*: 14a–15a: *ningguci ujui nadanju juwe hergen-i uncehen-i teisu hashû ergide gemu juwe tongki bi, geli ere juwe tongki akû dehi hergen-i dorgi, manju gisun de holbobufi kemuni arara orin hergen be, enjere* [?] *de umesi mangga ofi tuttu nadata hergen ninggun gisun-i ucun banjibuha, erebe ureme ejehe de, uthai ilgame mutefi tašaraburakû ombi.* / 第六頭七十二字尾左, 皆有雙點, 又有無此雙點四十字內, 關係清語, 不時書寫者二十字殊難記憶, 是以編作七言六句之歌。將此記熟, 則能辨別無差矣). My translation implies that Fügiyün was the author of the jingle, but there are circumstances that suggest that the jingle had been inserted in his text as a kind of quotation. The jingle is written in Chinese interspersed with Manchu syllables, yet the rest of Fügiyün's text is bilingual. If he had written it along with the rest of the text, why would he not have made the jingle bilingual as well?

[139]Fügiyün 1809, *shàng*:15b.

Two Undated Printed Syllabaries

After Shěn Qǐliàng's *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, monolingual Manchu syllabaries in general appeared either as private manuscripts, or embedded in reference works of broader scope.[140]

The National Palace Museum in Táiběi has a large woodblock print that, given the origins of the collection, probably belonged the imperial household.[141] Entirely in Manchu, the syllables inside the sections are here again divided into groups of two or three syllables. The syllabary includes only the bare minimum; all syllables included are Manchu, there are no transcriptions of Chinese sounds. Like the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, it cannot have served as a textbook for autodidacts. Perhaps it was used for the instruction of members of the imperial clan.

At the Harvard-Yenching library we find an anonymous printed syllabary that does not include Chinese sound glosses in the manner of the bilingual syllabaries, but features Chinese commentary. It is made up of a syllabary without prefatory or other material. On every page, the space beneath the fish-tail (a part of the fold of a Chinese folio) indicates the relevant section synecdochically, using the first three syllables of every section.[142] The presentation is similar to that seen in the "Index" (*uheri hešen*) to the imperial Manchu dictionary from 1708,[143] and it is possible that the presentation of this anonymous syllabary is derived from the imperial dictionary. In any case, the well-preserved pages make it likely that we are dealing with a late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century print. It is possible that is one of the 'state school prints' we see mentioned in some sources.

The syllabary carries no preface, but the first section has an introductory note stressing its role "linking" (*xì* 係) the other eleven divisions and the need to commit it to memory.[144] The note is interesting for urging the student to "try to wait until the brush strokes and principles of pronunciation [of the first section] is clear before reading …[illegible]… the other heads [i.e. sections]."[145] The stress on *writing* the syllables, in addition to just learning to recite them from memory, is not seen in early syllabaries. If this syllabary is indeed of relatively recent origin, which I suspect, it is representative of a trend toward increased focus on writing in basic Manchu education that I hypothesized at the beginning of this chapter.

This anonymous syllabary is also remarkable for explicitly referring to the division of the syllable sequence into groups. After the first three groups of syllables with velar onsets,[146] a comment followed: "The above three phrases should be read heavily with a guttural sound; the

[140]One exception is the manuscript syllabary that Fēng-kuān described as *Qīngzhuàn shíèr zìtóu* 清篆十二字頭 (The twelve heads in Qīng seal script; probably later than 1748), written on the order of the Qiánlóng emperor (*"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào [gǎoběn]* 1996, vol. 5, 408–409). Although in Manchu, this work was written in a late form of the Manchu script, invented to mimic Chinese seal script.

[141]*Juwan juwe uju* n.d.

[142]*a e i* for the first, *ai ei ii* for the second, *ar er ir* for the third and so on.

[143]I have referred to the "Index" in the later expanded version of the dictionary: *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn, Sìkù quánshū huìyào* edition (1771–1773) 2005, "uheri hešen," ch. 1–8.

[144]I have already quoted this note in part on page 216.

[145]*Shíèr zì tóu* n.d., 1a: 務候筆畫音韻清楚之後，再讀口餘字頭.

[146]That is, *ka*, *ga*, *ha*, *ko*, *go*, *ho*, *kû*, *gû*, and *hû*.

other eleven heads [i.e. sections] are all read like these three phrases."[147] Similar comments appeared again twice in the first section, still in order to specify the pronunciation of the velars.

Such comments show that the groups of two or three syllables that made up each section were referred to as 'phrases' or 'sentences' (*jù*) and were read as a unit. The separation of two or three units for recitation, implicit in the structure of the syllabary since its earliest extant editions (including the other monolingual copies surveyed above), was here made explicit using vocabulary drawn from Chinese prosody and pedagogy. Like many others, the anonymous monolingual syllabary added additional syllables to some of the sections.[148] In addition, the anonymous syllabary also included a four-page appendix with transcriptions of Chinese sounds.[149]

Like the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, and unlike many later syllabaries, this anonymous syllabary had no Chinese-character transcriptions, and used the distinctly non-Chinese Manchu punctuation marks to separate the syllable groups. However, it also made use of technical vocabulary from the Chinese discipline of phonology, and included a much-expanded list of transcribed syllables, both of which reflected mid-Qīng developments in Manchu language studies.

Graphological Analysis in Nineteenth-Century Manuscripts

The preceding sections dealt with literati reflection on the Manchu script, both by private scholars (Xióng Shìbó) and by the emperor's men, as well as by pedagogues writing for the Běijīng textbook market. With a few exceptions, they shared the medium of print. Yet discussions of the Manchu script were also carried out in manuscript in the Qīng period. Most manuscripts are undated and sometimes even anonymous, making it impossible to ascertain with confidence under which circumstances they were written. Some manuscripts treating the Manchu script survive from the first half of the eighteenth century ("Fānyì fāwēi," discussed above) but most of extant texts probably date from the last century of Manchu rule. In some cases, dates, references to other books or events, or the observance of imperial taboo characters provide us with a *terminus post quem*, but in many cases the date can only be guessed at by the ductus or general state of preservation of the paper. Some of the texts studied in this section as nineteenth-century manuscripts have only been included on the basis of conjectures according to these criteria.

Simple bilingual syllabaries persisted as basic teaching material into the nineteenth century, but the attention payed to the Manchu script in commercial textbooks from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries clearly affected Manchu pedagogy more broadly in the late Qīng period. In the nineteenth century, manuscripts probably intended as teaching material in family or other non-governmental schools incorporated detailed expositions on the structure of the Manchu script, sometimes couched in theories of sound, speech, and language in general. Reflecting the educational experience of people living in a time of several original developments in Manchu-Chinese lexicography and phonology, the new pedagogical

[147] *Shíèr zì tóu* n.d., 1a: 上三句重讀喉音；其下十一字頭俱倣此三句讀.

[148] They were the same as the extra syllables in the syllabary in Fügiyün's dictionary: *Shíèr zì tóu* n.d., 2b, 5b.

[149] *Shíèr zì tóu* n.d., 13a–14b.

texts can help us understand the context in which the last few generations of Manchu scholars carried out their work and studies.

"Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá" 清文後學津筏 (Manual for the advancement of the beginning student of Manchu), an anonymous manuscript in the holdings of Dalian Library, contained a section titled "Tentative discursive analysis of the Manchu script" (Ch. *Guóshū nǐ yìjǐe* 國書擬議解; Ma. *manju hergen be dursuleme gisurere subun-i bithe*). Like other Qīng texts, it did not clearly separate the study of the Manchu script from Manchu phonology. Quite the opposite: it joined phonology and graphology together in a view of language as a product of nature. In this view, the first three vowels of the Manchu syllabary's inner sequence represented heaven (*tiān* 天), earth (*dì* 地), and humankind (*rén* 人). The characters, representing the sounds produced by the speech organs, thereby "obtained sounds derived from nature."[150] Recycling an ancient theory on the invention of Chinese writing in imitation of the traces left by birds and beast in the wild,[151] the anonymous author of the manuscript asserted that the traces were represented also in Manchu writing. The shapes of characters were even explained by metaphysical unity of sounds and graphs: the author of "Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá" claimed that some Manchu vowel signs were "round as to symbolize the throat"[152] where those sounds were produced.

Aside from ad hoc explanations of the shape of characters on the basis of the place of articulation of the sounds they represented, there was little analysis of the structure of the Manchu script in "Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá." The text did, however, distinguish two parts in the composition of characters. In syllables consisting of more than just a pure vowel, the different parts were called "half shapes" (*bànxíng* 半形) and "half sounds" (*bànyīn* 半音). This distinction echoed that made by earlier writers, including Shěn Qǐliàng, and probably reflected an interiorized understanding of phonology based on *akṣara*.

At Dalian Library we also find another work, titled "Mǎn-Hàn zìyīn liánzhù shìwén" 滿漢字音聯註釋文 (Character pronunciations, linked annotations, and textual explanations in Manchu and Chinese).[153] Internal evidence shows that this text must have been finished in the period 1861–1875, but it probably contains material of a substantially older date. The work is clearly related to a differently titled manuscript held at a library in Běijīng,[154] but a philological study of the two manuscripts has not yet been undertaken. I find it likely that both manuscripts reflect a pedagogical tradition that proliferated with some variation in different localities and texts. In its present state, the text appears to be a transcription in the same hand of various tables, rules, and mnemonic jingles, mostly dealing with Manchu language and writing. Like other aids for teaching basic Manchu literacy, the Manchu script was presented in the form of the syllabary in twelve sections. Yet the book was a far cry from the simple syllabaries, as it presented the Manchu characters in tables that were arguably even more elaborate than what we saw in *Qīngwén qǐméng*.

The jingles and rules explained and commented on the tables, in which characters were

[150]"Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá" n.d., vol. 1, under section "Tentative discursive analyis on the Manchu script" (Ch. *Guóshū nǐ yìjǐe* 國書擬議解; Ma. *manju hergen be dursuleme gisurere subun-i bithe*; no pagination): …出之自然成音也.

[151]The *locus classicus* is translated in Malmqvist 1974.

[152]"Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá" n.d., loc. cit.: …成圓以像喉者也.

[153]"Mǎn-Hàn zìyīn liánzhù shìwén" 1861–1875.

[154]"Chūxué Mǎnwén zhǐméng gē" 1862–1911.

presented in their isolated, initial, medial, and final forms. Parts of characters were further highlighted in red ink. The many comments on the Manchu script and its usage found in this work constitute one of the richest sources for Qīng grammatological terminology, but inconsistencies suggest that the richness is in part the result of cumulation over many years.

As in other sources, the basic unit of the Manchu script was in the Dalian manuscript the character (*zì*). The forms of syllables written in isolated position were called the "true character types" (*zhēnzì shìyàng* 真字式樣), but the initial, medial, and final forms of characters were referred to using a variety of terms, which told the reader that the form is "[to be used] at the head" or at the "tail of a character" (*zìtóu* 字頭; *zìwěi* 字尾); to be "used at the top" or "at the bottom" (*shàng yòng* 上用; *xià yòng* 下用), and so on. Sometimes a given form was explained to "connect to" or "be placed at the tail" (*jiē wěi* 接尾; *zuò wěi* 坐尾) of other characters, showing a general recognition of a fixed number of character forms described with a less than standardized terminology. The recognition of two parts to a syllabic character, reflected in such a terminology, is consistent with the paradigm of *akṣara*.

The outer sequence was, as elsewhere, referred to as "heads" (*tóu* 頭) or "chapters" (*piān* 篇). The inner sequence was called the "initials" and said to be "located in the first chapter."[155] One note also explained that "in the other eleven chapters, the heads change and the body (*shēn*) [of the syllables] transforms; [a part] is deleted and it meets a tail."[156]

In descriptions of characters, the text frequently isolated and discussed individual graphs that, pronounced by themselves, did not form syllables, but corresponded to strokes. The kinds of strokes identified were relatively numerous, including "short and long teeth" (*cháng duǎn yá* 長短牙);[157] the diacritic "double dots" (*shuāng diǎn* 雙點), which in turn was associated with the final stroke called the "*ā* [vowel] tail" (*ā wěi* 阿尾); the "bow" (*gōng* 弓)-shaped stroke associated with the "*é* [vowel] tail" (*é wěi* 額尾), both of which can be seen in figure 5.10; the small "hooks" (*gōu* 勾) at the end of characters; and the "square hooks" (*fāng gōu* 方勾), consisting of "one tooth [*yá*] and one pole [*tiāo* 挑]," [158] used to distinguish certain graphs.[159] Unlike in some other sources discussed elsewhere in these pages, the circular shape of some graphs was called the "bubble" (*pāo* 泡), not the 'belly.' In the various positions of 'head,' 'middle,' or 'tail,' these elements "met" (*jiē* 接) or "supported" (*tuō* 托) each other to form characters or words. Although not explicitly identified as 'strokes,' the elements were clearly graphic units that were not in themselves associated with sound.

The Harvard-Yenching Library holds an anonymous syllabary in manuscript that provides some graphological analysis. It analyzed the script with an instructional purpose.[160] Like several other didactical texts, this syllabary features red and black ink. It is likely that the red ink represents a later commentary on an originally monochrome and monolingual syllabary.[161]

[155] "Chūxué Mǎnwén zhǐméng gē" 1862–1911, vol. 1 (no pagination): 字母在首篇.

[156] "Chūxué Mǎnwén zhǐméng gē" 1862–1911, vol. 1 (no pagination): 後十一篇，改頭變身，刪化接尾.

[157] The long tooth being the initial tooth of a written syllable.

[158] "Chūxué Mǎnwén zhǐméng gē" 1862–1911, vol. 1 (no pagination): 一牙併一挑.

[159] The 'square hook' referred to the *l*.

[160] "Juwan juwe uju bithe" n.d.

[161] At one point, the red ink corrects a wrongly written character in the original black (*zài* 在 corrected to *zài* 再: "Juwan juwe uju bithe" n.d., no pagination).

In its present form, however, the syllabary appears as a pedagogical text possible to use for self-study of the script. The interlinear red ink annotations illustrate written syllables in their "initial" (*shàng* 上), "middle" (*zhōng* 中), and "final" (*xià* 下) forms. (An identical presentation is found in a bichrome manuscript syllabary held at Kyujanggak in Seoul.)[162]

The anonymous syllabary includes a note clarifying the behavior of the coda of the sixth section, which changed shape depending on the preceding vowel. I discussed this feature in relation to Fügiyün's *Qīngwén zhǐyào* above.[163] The anonymous syllabary described the difference seen in the realization of the coda as a difference in the "characters' tail" (*zìwěi* 字尾). The 'tail' could be either a "turned-over bow" (*bèigōng* 背弓), referring to its concave shape, which extended toward the left, or "dotted in front" (*qiándiǎn* 前點), referring to the two diacritics added to the left side of the other shape, which in the cursive writing of the manuscript syllabary bent to the right.[164] The graphological analysis implied by this mnemonic jingle merely distinguished strokes, not subsyllabic graphic constituents associated with a speech sound. The presence of the note in the syllabary is a testament to the syllabary's development into a tool for teaching how to write Manchu, as opposed to teaching only how to speak it.

The Harvard-Yenching syllabary included the mnemonic jingle we saw in Fügiyün's *Qīngwén zhǐyào* explaining when to use 'double dots' and when to use the 'bow.' The same jingle can also be seen in other pedagogical texts, including a manuscript dated 1902[165] and others dating perhaps to the Republican period.[166] One of the copies of *Sānhé biànlǎn* at Princeton University Library, furthermore, has annotations in the margin of the syllabary explaining that the "female sounds" (*yīnyīn* 陰音; the front vowels) take the "turned-over bow."[167] The marginalia in another copy of the same dictionary, held at Kyujanggak in Seoul, although not including verbal instructions, illustrated the changing shapes of characters according to position in the manner of *Qīngwén qǐméng* next to the printed, initial-position forms.[168]

We also find an anonymous manuscript titled "Chūxué biānshí Qīngzì xūzhī" 初學辨識清字須知 (What the beginner needs to know to decipher Qīng characters) and probably written after 1830, which includes a jingle similar in purport but different in form. This syllabary and primer noted that "inside words, every character changes shape in a specific way."[169] It consequently featured ample instructions on how to write Manchu, employing several terms for

[162]"Mǎnzhōu yǔ bǐfǎ" n.d.

[163]The note followed the sixth section, which had a coda in *-k*. Written in the form of a jingle for easy memorization, it outlined which syllables were to be written using, respectively, front-vowel *-k* and back-vowel *-k*. In other words, the note sought to clarify the confusion that followed from the ambiguous status of the two different *k* as both letters and allographs. In the anonymous Harvard-Yenching syllabary, *-k* was realized similarly to in Wǔ-gé's syllabary, shown in figure 5.10, which shows different renditions of *-k* in three publications. Also the note was similar to Wǔ-gé's comment regarding the sixth section in *Qīngwén qǐméng*, quoted and discussed above.

[164]"Juwan juwe uju bithe" n.d., no pagination.

[165]Algitai 1902, which features a slightly different version of the jingle.

[166]*Mǎn-Hàn hébì shíèr zìtóu* n.d., which includes the jingle (11a–b), might be a Republican print. "Mǎnwén zìtóu" n.d., which also includes it, is likely a Qīng manuscript.

[167]Fügiyün (1780b) 1792, Princeton University Library copy with call number A 161.1487, vol. 1, *shíèr zìtóu*:6a.

[168]Fügiyün (1780b) 1792, Kyujanggak copy with call number 奎章 4507, vol. 1, "Shíèr zìtóu."

[169]"Chūxué biānshí Qīngzì xūzhī" n.d., no pagination: 在聯字內，各字均有變寫之法.

the elements of the script that we do not see elsewhere. As in other books, we here encounter terms like "tooth" (*yár* 牙兒) and "bubble" (*pāo*), but also the "tall waist" (*chángyāor* 長腰兒);[170] the "long extension" (*chángchūr* 長出兒);[171] and most enigmatically, the phrase *bāyàn wùshù* 巴彥兀术 used in reference to *b* as either onset (*b-*) or coda (*-b*). This term seems to be a transcription of Mongol *bayan üsüg* or Manchu *bayan uju*, 'the rich character,' 'head,' or '*akṣara*,' a phrase whose first character in both languages was precisely *b-*. Remarkable not only for being a transcription rather than a translation (the terms 'tooth,' 'belly' etc. were all translations), this term is also unique for relying on acrophony to name a character. I will return to the importance of this term presently.

The existence of pedagogical manuscript material from the second half of the nineteenth century of the kind discussed here suggests that the graphological analysis of the Manchu script, which had begun in the last decades of the seventeenth century and gained traction with Wǔ-gé's popular primer *Qīngwén qǐméng* from 1730, at some point thereafter became an integral part of the teaching of basic literacy.

5.4 Variations in the Manchu Syllabary and Its Implications

The preceding survey of syllabaries suggests that it in its various iterations was widespread, appearing in print from 1670 into the second half of the nineteenth century. The main location of publication was Běijīng, but some editions were also produced in Nánjīng and Mukden; most probably, the syllabary also circulated in other garrison towns. The survey showed that the simple syllabary existed in two different versions: one monolingual, serving primarily as a mnemonic for Manchu teachers, and one bilingual, allowing self-study by autodidacts literate in Chinese.[172]

One purpose of the survey has been to provide an empirical account of a type of text, the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections, which up until now has not been at the center of historical investigation. The syllabary was the inroad to Manchu proficiency for most, if not all, second-language learners, who did not benefit from immersion in a community where Manchu was the privileged vehicle of social intercourse. As for the teaching of Manchu literacy, the use of the syllabary was probably even more widespread, extending to learners for whom Manchu was a native language. Because of its great popularity as an educational text, the syllabary was repeatedly printed and edited. In addition to the prints, many manuscript copies of the syllabary also remain in libraries and collections. Sometimes layered with annotations and emendations, these manuscripts show the syllabary in action, as a tool for instruction or self-

[170]Referring to the form of *e-* in initial position.

[171]Referring to the final stroke in *û-* in initial position.

[172]I should note that not all bilingual syllabaries might have been intended as textbooks. Notably, before the main body of the most widely circulating edition of the imperial *Mirror* (*Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn,* original printed edition 1771–1773) was included a Manchu-Chinese syllabary, whose main purpose seems to have been as pronunciation guide for users of the dictionary. Offprints of this syllabary seem to have also circulated as independent works, e.g.: *Han-i araha nongime toktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe: juwan juwe uju* 1771–1911.

study. By describing several versions of the syllabary in some detail, I hope to have shown its centrality to Manchu education and publishing.

The syllabary's early history can only be inferred from relatively late extant copies, but it seems to have originated as simple lists entirely in Manchu and developed into full-fledged bilingual textbooks in the Kāngxī period. Originally, the audience for the bilingual syllabaries seems to have been Chinese individuals who had already undergone basic education in Literary Chinese. In time, however, bilingual syllabaries were probably also studied by bannermen, as native proficiency in Manchu declined and the language's pronunciation had to be studied along with its script. A pedagogical tradition focused on writing soon developed out of the bilingual syllabaries, but down through the nineteenth century people evidently continued to study Manchu primarily by reciting and memorizing the syllable lists. Originating in a context of face-to-face instruction with minimal recourse to written material, the aural-oral paradigm was partially reproduced in the explanations and glosses added to bilingual syllabaries from the late seventeenth century onward. Universal reliance on the syllabary in twelve sections for learning basic Manchu literacy and a widespread focus on recitation and memorization thus meant that the educational experience was similar for Manchus and Chinese throughout the Qīng period.

Regardless of the precise context in which it was taught, the syllabary was ubiquitous in Manchu education; it seems to have been successful as a teaching tool. It also had a relatively uniform structure. Except for the syllabaries printed by Shěn Qǐliàng, all known copies used the same order for the outer sequence. With a few exceptions, the order of the inner sequence was also the same across syllabaries (see figures 5.3 and 5.6). Differences in the syllable lists inside the sections were not so much the result of differences in order, but stemmed from the fact that not all theoretically possible syllables expected from a pairing of the inner and outer sequences were actually realized in the syllabaries. There was a general tendency to exclude rare or unattested syllables, but the degree to which they were included varied between versions. Such differences only concerned the realizations of the order, not the order itself.

Another difficulty for pedagogues was posed by the syllables attested in Manchu writing as actually used in books and archival documents but not included in the syllabary. Together, the inner and outer sequences included all the graphemes (although not all the graphic realizations) found in the Manchu script, but not all possible combinations in which they could occur. In the syllabary, all syllables included an onset, a nucleus consisting of a monophthong, and a coda (of which the onset and coda could both be zero); in Manchu as actually used, however, syllables could occasionally include a diphthong as nucleus paired with a consonantal coda. These were similar to the so-called 'outer characters,' although not always called by that name. The many Chinese syllables commonly found in Manchu texts either as transcriptions of Chinese names or as part of loanwords in common Manchu use, furthermore, took the shape of two or more syllables in writing but were pronounced as one syllable in speech. Writers interested in teaching how to write Manchu appear to have handled the presentation of such syllables on an ad hoc basis.

In the simple syllabaries, monolingual and bilingual alike, some of what was later referred to as the 'outer characters' were included inside the syllabary, as we saw previously. The syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, for example, highlighted some syllables structurally similar to the 'outer characters,' and even the transcription syllables at the end of the first section (which had the standard structure but whose onsets were associated with foreign words), by setting them

slightly apart from the rest of the syllables in the list.[173] If it is correct to see the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* as representing an early stage in its development, dating from a time when the book was used largely to teach literacy to monolingual Manchus, then it would follow that the separation of characters used to spell native words from those used only in foreign words was a representation of the epilinguistic consciousness of the syllabary's originator and, perhaps, its audience; the native characters would have been perceived as the natural constituents of the language's words, whereas the 'outer characters' might not have sounded Manchu at all.

At the end of other sections, as hinted at previously, syllables were added that were obviously meant to write Chinese words and that had a structure that departed from that of other characters in the syllabary. Both Liào Lùnjí's and Fügiyün's syllabaries also included similar syllables in the same places, but the syllables added were not the same in all cases.[174]

Much more comprehensive lists of syllables used to transcribe Chinese were sometimes added outside the twelve sections of the syllabary, as in Wǔ-gé's textbook. As Manchu pedagogy changed in the eighteenth century, so did the space accorded Chinese syllables in primers for teaching Manchu.

5.5 Understanding Qīng Grammatology

This chapter's survey of syllabaries has described and characterized the graphological analysis that we see from the late seventeenth century onward. Despite the large time-frame of approximately two centuries, from Shěn Qǐliàng's structural analysis of the Manchu script to the educational jingles in nineteenth-century syllabaries, it is very difficult to construe the succession of these analyses as moments in the history of a developing field of study; two of the lengthiest and most detailed analyses of the Manchu script that I have examined were also the earliest. Both were also without great influence on later writers. Shěn Qǐliàng's textbook *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù* was never reprinted. Xióng Shìbó's analysis also remained without noticeable influence, forming part of a phonological treatise written and published in Jiāngxī, far from the center of Manchu education and publishing in the imperial capital. The work did come to the attention of the bibliographers of the imperial library in the 1770s, who nevertheless left its graphological analysis without comment while finding its phonological theory flawed.[175]

In the 1780s, the scholars compiling the *Comprehensive treatises of our august dynasty* for the Qiánlóng court likewise analyzed the Manchu script. They were better informed than Xióng with regards to the history of the script's development, but their analysis was not qualitatively different from Xióng's.

Wǔ-gé's primer *Qīngwén qǐméng*, which underwent several editions, seems to have been most influential on later generations. Yet it only analyzed the Manchu script as part of instructional examples of how to write it; it did not present a general theory of the script in the manner of Xióng Shìbó. It was in this manner, as pedagogy, that the analysis of the Manchu script was continued in the nineteenth century.

[173]This can be seen in figure 5.5, where a double Manchu punctuation mark and whitespace follow *we* and precedes the Chinese-sounding *tsa* in the second column from the right.

[174]Compare the syllables added to the syllabary in *Qīngshū zhǐnán* and *Sānhé biànlǎn* in footnotes 46 (page 227) and 136 (page 259).

[175]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 172.

Common to all analyses of the Manchu script that I surveyed was its characterization as consisting of 'characters': *zì* in Chinese and *hergen* in Manchu, the latter term featuring most notably in Wǔ-gé's *Qīngwén qǐméng*. The precise meaning of the term 'character' varied, but not so much between scholars as within one and the same analysis. In the texts I have studied, a Manchu 'character' referred most often to the written syllables, which numbered more than 1,300 and together constituted the syllabary. Occasionally, however, a 'character' could refer to either the first *akṣara* (onset-and-nucleus) of a written syllable, corresponding to the syllables in inner sequence, or the second *akṣara* (coda), belonging to the outer sequence.

The word 'character' was sometimes used indiscriminately, but there was the notion that some of the entities referenced using this term were more fundamental than others; notably, the structurally simple 'characters' (*akṣara*) were described as the 'genera' (or 'mothers,' *mǔ*) that 'produced' (*shēng*) the rest. However, statements about genera and the production of characters never amounted to an explication of the script's structure, but remained general descriptions. In such descriptions, it was often difficult to distinguish grammatology, the study of the script, from phonology, the discipline that lent them much of the technical vocabulary used.

Qīng scholars recognized that the same 'character' came in different shapes depending on their position in a word, and those shapes were understood as variants of the same character. They also recognized many of the 'characters' could be further subdivided into smaller units. The diacritics accompanying some 'characters' were referred to as 'dots' (Ma. *tongki*, Ch. *diǎn*) and 'circles' (Ma. *fuka*, Ch. *quān*), depending on their shape. The two filled diacritic added to some characters were called 'frontal dots' (*qiándiǎn*) or 'double dots' (*shuāng diǎn*). The ending section of a written syllable, furthermore, was referred to as the 'tail' (Ma. *uncehen*, Ch. *wěi* or *wěiba*), which in some characters had the shape of a 'turned-over bow' (*bèigōng*). The beginning of a syllable, conversely, was referred to as the 'tooth' (Ma. *a*, Ch. *yá*) or as the 'descending diagonal stroke' (*piē*). Other parts of the character were also described as 'strokes' (*huà*). Not all of these terms were used by all scholars and in all texts, but there was a certain degree of overlap. Xióng Shìbó, writing in Jiāngxī, used a terminology largely derived from Chinese epigraphy. Scholars in Běijīng used both terms derived from the study of the Chinese script, as well as terms from the Manchu tradition, even though the Manchu terms often appeared only in Chinese translation. Judging from the nineteenth-century manuscript syllabaries, the terminology never became completely standardized, and several terms are attested in one text only. Nevertheless, the idea that the Manchu writing system equaled the syllabary in twelve sections, consisting of mostly syllabic 'characters,' was generally shared. This was consistent with the conception of writing prevalent in China when the Manchus took the throne as rulers of China in 1644, which on the basis of Chinese characters saw writing as consisting of syllabic blocks subdividing into a limited number of standardized brush strokes.

Acrophony and the Manchu Script as Alphabet

To conclude this chapter, I want to stress that the Manchu script was understood by writers in the Qīng period as something very different from an alphabet. We see this most clearly in the radical difference of metalinguistic terminology used in Qīng China and Europe. The names

for the letters of the Greek alphabet had been inherited from its Near Eastern predecessors and probably formed according the principle of acrophony.

I use this word in a weak sense, meaning that the names for the letters were derived from words in the language whose first sound corresponded to the sound represented by the letter.[176] Such names (*alpha*, *beta* etc.) identify the sound represented by the letter, and thus implies a relationship between a graphic unit and a sound. The strokes considered to make up Manchu characters, in contrast, had names ('tooth,' 'belly,' 'hook' etc.) that referred only to their shape. The names implied no relationship between a shape and a sound. The only exception is the enigmatic term *bāyàn wùshù*, seen in only one nineteenth century work but probably reflecting a pre-existing Inner Asian tradition, which appears to have named a letter according to its sound in the manner of the Greeks. The sole appearance of this term indicates both that a notion of sound-bearing letters could develop in societies using the Manchu-Mongol script as well as that such a notion did not manage to take root in a culture where Chinese characters remained the exemplar of writing.

Users of the Manchu script do not seem to recognize the letter as a structural unit even today. As mentioned in chapter 3, Giovanni Stary reported on names used by the Sibe people living in today's Xīnjiāng, who speak and write a dialect of Manchu. The Sibe refer to as the initial part of the syllable, in a manner seemingly at odds with the Qīng conceptualization of the script, as the "head" (*uju*). Among the Sibe, the term *uju* also refer to the *aleph*, the stroke at the beginning most initial syllables. In some cases, the names coincide with letters.[177] Yet when we examine the names of the letters in their totality, we see that the nomenclature of the Sibe does not in fact recognize the letter as a component of the script. *Aleph* in mid-level position, for example, is called the 'tooth' (*argan*), which one would be tempted to read as the name for the letter *a.* This glyph, however, forms part of several other letters.[178] As part of those letters, it is still referred to as the 'tooth,' which implies that the 'tooth' is not the name of a letter at all, but the name of a stroke found in several letters. Similarly, the final stroke of the letters *a, n, k,* and *t* in final position, a graphic unit that exists at a lower level of abstraction than the letter, is referred to as the 'masculine tail' (*haha uncehen*). Unlike the 'tooth,' the 'masculine tail' is never coterminous with any one letter, but can only refer to a stroke making up but one part of a letter. The letters themselves, which for the most part consist of several strokes, are not included in the list of names reported by Stary.[179] The Sibe do not appear to have names for the letters, probably because they do not recognize them as important structural units. It thus seems that the Sibe of today are thinking about their script in the same metalinguistic paradigm as did their Qīng predecessors.

We saw that Qīng scholars complemented the syllabary in twelve sections without ques-

[176]That is, I use it only in reference to a certain system of naming letters, not in reference to a specific theory of the origin of the Semitic letters in Egyptian hieroglyphs. For this original, strong sense of acrophony see Krebernik 2007, 136, who notes that the theory of acrophony in relation to Egypt remains contested. Pope (1975) 1999, 83 speaks of "rather questionable principle of acrophony," and the concept as a theory of the origin of letters in Egypt is equally questioned in Powell 1991, 24–25.

[177]Front-vowel *k*, for example, is called "the bow" (*gungniozi*). (We saw that the term "bow" [*gōng* 弓] was also used in the Qīng period in relation to the Manchu script.)

[178]*Viz. a, e, n,* and back-vowel *g, k, h* in medial position.

[179]Stary 2006, 15–6.

tioning the paradigm that it represented.[180] The identification of the script with its organization into the syllabary; the Chinese heritage of analyzing writing as 'characters' composed of 'strokes'; and the ultimately Indic understanding of syllables as consisting of two *akṣara*, seem to have prevented the idea of Manchu writing as consisting of letters to take root in the Qīng period.

That is not to say that the metalanguage which developed around the Manchu script was without consequence; on the contrary, the segmentation of Manchu words into 'characters,' and the arrangement of these segments in a fixed order through the syllabary in twelve sections, which was propagated both by pedagogical texts and scholarly treatises, helped create a shared understanding of what the Manchu script was and how it functioned. This circumstance was consequential for the development of linguistic technologies, notably Manchu lexicography. Through exposure to the syllabary and the analysis of the script that came to accompany it, readers of Manchu, I am tempted to infer, must have developed an increased predilection for graphologically organized Manchu dictionaries, which also developed in the same period.

[180]In the case of the treatment of front- and back-vowel *k* and the 'outer characters.'

Chapter 6

Manchu Dictionaries and Their Arrangement

If a harsh sentence from the judges awaits someone, once
He has been condemned to afflictions and penalties,
Let workhouses not fatigue him with raw material to be wrought
Nor let mines of metal pain his stiffened hands:
Let him make DICTIONARIES. Need I say more? This
One labour has aspects of every punishment.

Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609)[1]

This chapter will treat the history of Manchu dictionaries, in the most narrow sense of the term defined as linguistic reference works featuring a graphological (i.e. script-based) arrangement of lemmata according to the syllabary in twelve sections (studied in chapter 5). For the time being, the reader can think of Manchu graphological arrangement as filling the same function in Manchu lexicography as the alphabetical order seen in Western dictionaries. Yet this chapter will argue that the Manchu arrangement was different from Western alphabetical order in conception, structure, and degree of application.

I will begin by examining the origin of Manchu lexicography by giving particular attention to the first dictionary that has come down to us. Next, I will trace the development of Manchu dictionaries and thesauri in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Following the historical survey, I will examine the Manchu graphological arrangement and evaluate the applications to which it was put in the Qīng period. I will describe its functioning, development, and degree of application.

6.1 Origins of Manchu Graphological Lexicography: Shěn Qǐliàng's *Dà-Qīng quánshū* (1683)

"I am Chinese," Shěn Qǐliàng wrote in the preface to his bilingual, Manchu-Chinese dictionary *Dà-Qīng quánshū* 大清全書 (Complete book of the Great Qīng; 1683). "Still I have loved Qīng books all my life."[2] The book he was introducing in that preface, by far the most famous of his works, was a monument to Qīng, or Manchu, literature. The dictionary is the earliest extant dictionary of the Manchu language.

Similar to the situation in the ancient Near East and early modern Europe, discussed in chapter 2, dictionaries of the Manchu language began as bilingual works listing words in the Manchu language, written in the Manchu script, and giving their translation in the Chinese

[1] Quoted here as transcribed and translated in Considine 2008, 72 (including in the notes): *Si quem dura manet sententia Judicis, olim* | *Damnatum aerumnis suppliciisque caput:* | *Hunc neque fabrili lassent ergastula massa,* | *Nec rigidas vexent fossa metalla manus.* | *LEXICA contexat. Nam caetera quid moror? omnes* | *Poenarum facies hic labor unus habet.*

[2] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *xù*:4a: 予漢人也。且生平篤好清書.

language, written in Chinese characters. From the beginning, the Chinese translations and explanations of Manchu expressions were often in Written Early Modern Chinese, not in Literary Chinese (again, see chapter 2 for these terms). From Shěn Qǐliàng's dictionary onward, Manchu lexicography strongly linked the Manchu language to the written Chinese idiom based on the Northern Vernacular, or Mandarin in the broad sense of that term.[3] (Chapter 8 will explore the link between these two languages further.)

Dà-Qīng quánshū was one of the earliest Manchu books to be printed and published in Běijīng, appearing in 1683 from Wǎnyú Zhāi. The publisher evidently had difficulties printing a work in Manchu: Shěn's dictionary included many mistakes in the presentation of the Manchu script, especially the diacritics.[4] In 1713, a second edition was printed by Sān yì Táng 三義堂 (Three-Righteous Hall). This was immediately reprinted from the same blocks by Zūngǔ Táng 尊古堂 (Respecting-Antiquity Hall).[5]

The title, *Dà-Qīng quánshū* in Chinese, *Daicing gurun-i yooni bithe* in Manchu, was not unprecedented in the history of Chinese publishing. Notably, it echoed the well-known title *Wànbǎo quánshū* 萬寶全書 (Complete book of a myriad treasures), which was applied to a series of encyclopedias for daily use that flourished in the late Míng and all through the Qīng periods (discussed briefly in chapter 4). The fact that Shěn included *quánshū* in the title of his dictionary helped situate the work within a pre-existing tradition of Chinese publishing.

The dictionary's lemmata consisted of Manchu words and expressions. The explanations consisted of Chinese translations and Manchu examples of usage. There were no transcriptions or indications with regards to pronunciation; Shěn assumed familiarity with the Manchu script. The work had a preface, a statement of editorial principles (both written by Shěn in Chinese), and a table of contents in Manchu. Furthermore, at the beginning of every chapter and volume were listed, for easy reference, the word-initial Manchu syllables constituting the sections in that volume.[6]

In the preface to *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, Shěn first associated written culture with good government while making reference to the civilized rule of antiquity. He then linked Chinese

[3]See page 41 in chapter 2.

[4]Jì Yǒnghǎi 1990, 44.

[5]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683b) 1713. With regards to the existence of a third printing, I follow Jì Yǒnghǎi 1990, 43–44. Poppe, Hurvitz, and Okada 1964, 207 give a different account, and Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 3 suspect that the differences between copies that have prompted the conclusion that there must have been two printings in 1713 might in reality have been due simply to damage to the blocks.

[6]Bibliographical introductions to *Dà-Qīng quánshū* are numerous. Good and accessible ones include Jì Yǒnghǎi 1990; Chūnhuā 2008c, 293–297; Tóng Yǒnggōng 2009, 67–70. I have also consulted the following publications on the subject of Shěn's dictionary: Creamer 1991, 39; Fuchs 1936, 92; Kanda Nobuo 1969, 132–123; 1968, 80; Klaproth 1826, vol. 3, 12; Laufer 1908, 31; Crossley and Rawski 1993, 86; Pang 1998, 57; 1988, 92; Rawski 2005, 314–315; Sǒng Paegin 1984, 10–17; Elliott and Bosson 2003, 83–84; Wylie 1855, xlvii–viii; Zhuāng Jífā 1997, 19; Zhū Sàihóng, Cáo Fèngxiáng, and Liú Lánxiāo 2008, 308; Zakharov 1875, xv; Chūnhuā 2008c, 293–297; Lǐ Déqǐ 1933, 22; Jiāng Qiáo 2006, 44; Jiāng Qiáo 2009a, 101–107; *"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 6, 55; Sǒng Paegin 1990, *passim.* Huáng Rùnhuá and Qū Liùshēng 1991, 91; Walravens et al. 2006, 132; Hauer 1932, 631; Schmidt 1932, 598; Puyraimond 1979, 41–42; Poppe, Hurvitz, and Okada 1964, 207–208; Walravens 1998, 402; Volkova 1974; Zhào Língzhì 2009.

antiquity to contemporary Qīng rule:

> From the primordial chaos, heaven and earth split. The three emperors rose, and began charting the stems and branches. Tàihào invented writing on wooden slips, drew the eight trigrams, and became the progenitor of the writing of ten thousand generations. After Cāngjié created the written characters, sagely lords, worthy servants, and written law arose and flourished. The regular, cursive, clerical, and seal scripts all grew, like the trunk of a sandalwood tree, into illustrious traditions [of calligraphy]. Through hundreds and thousands of years they were transmitted, until our Supreme Progenitor, the Lofty Emperor [Nurhaci], accepted destiny and followed the rise of the dragon. He established the three bonds and five constant virtues and created Qīng characters in order to establish his doctrine of governance. Then our Dynastic Progenitor, the Brilliant [Shùnzhì] Emperor established the cauldrons on the central plain and made the Chinese to also study Qīng characters. The Qīng army likewise [learned to] master Chinese documents, whose use the emperor promulgated and expanded. The governance of standardized written language prospered even more brilliantly.[7]

Through such statements Shěn firmly anchored his lexicographic project in a long tradition of statecraft and civilized rule. Shěn then further compared the Manchu and Chinese languages, praising the former for its concision and clarity, while characterizing much of Chinese writing as complicated and convoluted:

> Certainly, Chinese literature contains many chapters and verses that are flowery and brilliant; in those, every character is a gem. There is no lack of such writing. There is also Chinese writing that is unclear, where every word is weighty with ornaments. Such writings are definitely not lacking either. Then what about the Qīng writing of our Sagely Dynasty, which is simple and gets the meaning across? It lets people see clearly at first glance, being bright for eyes and ears like the morning star or the autumn moon. Once translated, a character that was obscure in the Chinese version is immediately rinsed completely clear; [in the Manchu version,] there is not a smudge of ornamentation left. Is this not the great systematic and ordered way, the way of removing the complicated while transmitting the essential?[8]

Shěn went further than to stress the need for officials to master both Chinese and Manchu; he argued for the superiority of Manchu in clarity of expression. Shěn's target audience appears to have been translators of Chinese literature, not the writers of administrative reports.

[7]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *xù*:1a–2a: 竊惟渾沌作，而天地分；三皇立，而干表始；太昊造書契，畫八卦，為萬世文字祖。迨倉頡造字之後，聖君、賢士，書法迭興；真草隸篆，各擅名宗。千百年來。傳至我太祖高皇帝，應運龍興，立萬世之綱常，作清字以定政教。暨世祖章皇帝定鼎中原，令漢人並習清字。清軍亦通漢書令；皇上廓而大之。同文之治彬彬乎益盛矣.

[8]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *xù*:2a–b: 但漢書章句敷衍詞章，有藻麗英華，字字珠玉者；代不乏也。有支離隱遁，言言粉餙者；固亦不少。何如我聖朝清書，文簡詞達，使人一覽朗然。猶曉星秋月，昭昭耳目間。倘漢文中有一字支離，一經飜譯，便豁然滌盡；粉餙無存。此非錯綜不紊，去繁扤要之大道乎?

In the next section of the preface, Shěn related the present dictionary to his earlier compilation *Qīngshū zhǐnán* and to the Chinese dictionary *Zìhuì*, discussed in chapter 2:

> Surely, the [list of] Qīng characters in twelve heads has long been available in the print shops. However, the twelve heads only contain the genera (*mǔ*) [lit. 'mothers'; *akṣara*?] of Qīng characters. The twelve heads do not contain connected characters or set phrases. Although writings composed of connected Qīng characters exist, language is something that is vast and expansive. Language spreads itself out everywhere; one cannot contain it by separating it into groups and categories [in the manner of semantically organized thesauri]. [Faced with such thesauri], the student sees a road that rises far and is hard to walk. There are no shortcuts [to language in such thesauri].
>
> I have previously printed and published a *Guide to Qīng writing* (*Qīngshū zhǐnán*), which explains the gist of grammatical particles (*xū zì*) [lit. 'empty characters'] and enables the student to translate with ease and clarity. If you are willing to look it through, you will learn [the Manchu language] easily. If you want to read and understand texts completely at first glance, [however,] you need a book like the Chinese *The characters collected* (*Zìhuì*), in which you turn to the right chapter and find the information [you need]; all the sundry threads [of language] are contained within it. [In such a book] the ten thousand symbols can all be included, so there will no worry of anything being left out.
>
> Now, I have relied on the method used in *The characters collected*, and assembled the many Qīng characters in one book. I have called it *Complete book of the Great Qīng* (*Dà-Qīng quánshū*), and it is hereby printed and published for the world. Now, as long as the student has already learned how to connect characters [using *Qīngshū zhǐnán*], he can consult this book by himself. Thereby, he will certainly have found a shortcut [to language]![9]

The Question of the Dictionary's Origins

Scholars disagree regarding the origins of *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. Two circumstances call into doubt the assumption that Shěn was the dictionary's sole originator. First, a dictionary printed in 1690 under the title *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* 滿漢同文全書 (Complete book in standardized Manchu and Chinese writing)[10] contains several indications that a dictionary with a title similar to Shěn's might have predated *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. Second, several formulations found in Shěn's publications seem to indicate that he did not consider himself the author of *Dà-Qīng quánshū* in the sense of having written the dictionary from scratch.

[9] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *xù*:1a–4a: 抑清字十二字頭久有梓布坊間。然十二字頭止為清字之母無連字成語。其連字雖有成書，而言語廣大，散佈前後。無分門別類之可稽。故學者視為高遠難行；莫揣途徑。予前梓行『清書指南』一書，乃解說虛字總要，使學者易明飜譯之理。如欲一覽了然。博涉無遺，必有如漢書中之『字彙』一書；展卷即知。則萬緒千端総不出其範圍；可以包羅萬象而無遺憾矣。予今照『字彙』之法，編集諸清字彙成一書，名曰：『大清全書』，梓行於世。俾學者既能認連字，即可以自問於『全書』。此誠路近易至，道顯易明之捷徑也.

[10] *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* 1690.

Ivan Il'ich Zakharov (1816–1885) first proposed that a Manchu dictionary had been compiled around 1669, more than a decade earlier than *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, but granted that he did not have access to that dictionary as he was writing in the 1870s.[11]

Walter Fuchs was, to my knowledge, the first to provide a description of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*. This dictionary has a macrostructure similar to *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, but has no prefatory material or any indication of authorship. Fuchs noted a partial overlap in the contents of the two dictionaries, concluding that *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* must have originally been published before 1682 and then been used by Shěn in the compilation of *Dà-Qīng quánshū*.[12] The copy of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* in the library of Minzu University of China conforms to Fuchs' description. It consists of eight volumes in one box. The box carries a title slip (perhaps original) with the text *yooni bithe* 全書. On the cover of the first volume there is another title slip, which by its appearance and condition seems to be original. That slip reads *yooni bithe uju debtelin* 全書卷一: "The complete book, volume one." This title is by itself similar to *Daicing gurun-i yooni bithe* (*Dà-Qīng quánshū*'s Manchu title).

Lǐ Déqǐ 李德啓 (fl. 1933) noted the presence of a xylograph titled *Qīngwén quánshū* 清文全書 (Complete book of Qīng writing), or *Yooni bithe*, in Běijīng.[13] Chūnhuā recently noted that the National Library of China holds an undated dictionary, which although lacking a title page, carries the Manchu title *Manju yooni bithe* (The complete Manchu book) on the cover. Chūnhuā commented that it is "in fact" *(shíjì shàng* 实际上) a copy of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*.[14] It is possible that this is the same copy first that Lǐ described. It might represent the elusive 1669 printing.[15]

In addition to providing a bibliographical description of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*, Fuchs also cited a comment that Shěn Qǐliàng made in 1682 as he was preparing the publication of *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. Fuchs read it as an acknowledgment that Shěn was relying on a work titled

[11]Zakharov wrote, in M.F.A. Fraser's translation, that "from about this time [i.e. 1669] dates the first Manchu dictionary, which contained only 1500 words, and has not come down to us" (Zakharov 1891, 150; 1875, xv: *въ это же время пѣложено было начало составленію словаря маньчжурск. Языка, въкоторый внесено было только 1500 словъ, и который не дошелъ до нашего времени*. Zakharov's account is also referenced in Poppe, Hurvitz, and Okada 1964, 211–212, as well as in Walravens et al. 2006, 123). Zakharov did not elaborate further.

[12]Fuchs 1936, 12 remarked that the cover of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* carried a note saying that it was "newly printed in *gēngwǔ* of Kāngxī [1690]" 康熙庚午新刊, which would mean that it was not a first edition. However, no other edition of this work has ever surfaced, and Fuchs' conclusion with regards to an earlier edition must be considered conjectural.

[13]Lǐ Déqǐ 1933, 22.

[14]Chūnhuā 2008c, 298.

[15]Fuchs might have had access to this copy; after all, he paid close attention to the increased availability of the Manchu material in Běijīng, where he lived in the 1930s (as evidenced by Fuchs 1932). If he consultet this copy, that might have informed his judgment on the relationship between *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*. However, only further investigation of the book itself could tell whether it is a copy of the 1690 edition, or whether we are in fact dealing with a copy of the purported 1669 edition. If this is indeed a copy of an edition antedating *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, we will have to reconsider the relationship between the two dictionaries. Unfortunately, the Manchu books at the National Library of China remains inaccessible at the time of writing (2014).

yooni bithe in his work on the dictionary, which is why he argued that the first edition of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* must have been published already by that time.[16] Shěn had written:

> The book *yooni bithe* is, like *The characters collected* in Chinese literature, absolutely indispensable. As I have been using it, I have continuously taken excerpts. But copying by hand is really inconvenient, and wide dissemination is impossible. So now I have handed [the dictionary] over for printing, so that you gentlemen can read it conveniently.[17]

On the basis of this quote; the title of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*; the indication that the extant edition of this dictionary was not the first; and finally the partial overlap in vocabulary between *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* and *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, Fuchs argued that the latter was based on a pre-existing Manchu dictionary titled *Yooni bithe*, which had a *terminus ante quem* of 1682.[18] Imanishi Shunjū later refused the conjecture that *Yooni bithe* had been a printed dictionary. He argued that Shěn's words on the benefit of printing over the inconvenience of copying by hand should be read to mean that Shěn was describing *Yooni bithe* as a dictionary that circulated in manuscript at that time.[19] This seems plausible, if we infer, from what we know of Qīng Běijīng as a center for government administration and Manchu education, that Shěn was emerged in a dense and educated Manchu community where publishing had yet to pick up but the written word nevertheless easily exchanged hands. If Shěn was active in a community with easy access to Manchu literature in manuscript, it is probable that he also had access to manuscript dictionaries or glossaries.[20]

Later research by Sŏng Paegin suggested that the similarities between the two printed dictionaries had been overstated; that *Dà-Qīng quánshū* might just as well have influenced *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* than the other way around; and that the evidence previously cited

[16]Fuchs 1936, 12.

[17]Shěn Qǐliàng (1682) 1713, *"Qīngshū zhǐnán" shuō*:2b: 至於 *yooni bithe* 一書：如漢書中之『字彙』也。萬不可少。自來用者，俱係抄寫，奈抄寫甚繁，不能遍及。今亦付梓，以備諸君子所易覽焉.

[18]He wrote that *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, a "well-known dictionary with alphabetical arrangement" was "not an original work, but only an enlarged reworking of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*, which so far has only been seen in a reprint from 1690" (Fuchs 1936, 91–92: *Wohlbekanntes Wörterbuch in alphabetischer Anordnung … Es ist … keine originale Arbeit, sondern nur eine erweiterte Neubearbeitung des* Man-han t'ung-wen ch'üan-shu*, welches bisher nur in dem Neudruck von 1690 bekannt ist*).

[19]Imanishi Shunjū 1956, 10. Imanishi's understanding of Shěn's statement is more convincing than Fuchs', especially if we also consider whom Shěn must been addressing as "you gentlemen" *(zhū jūnzǐ)* in the quoted passage. Earlier in the same text, Shěn had written "those among you gentlemen, who are already skilled in Manchu writing are now engulfed in Chinese literature, thoroughly study both past and present" (Shěn Qǐliàng [1682] 1713, *"Qīngshū zhǐnán" shuō*:2b: 諸君子既精滿書者，當潛心漢文，學究今古) I read this as implying that Shěn's target audience included both translators whose strongest language was Manchu, as well as beginners in the study of that language.

[20]Kanda Nobuo 1969, 132–133 responded to Fuchs and Imanishi, refuting the idea that Shěn Qǐliàng would have based his work on an earlier, manuscript dictionary that would have been an earlier version of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*. Kanda notably pointed out that the order of the arrangement of the two dictionaries *(Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* and *Dà-Qīng quánshū)*, although both based on the Manchu syllabary, was nevertheless not identical.

to suggest that the latter dictionary was not a first edition was not compelling.[21] Sŏng noted that Shĕn Qĭliàng had only studied Manchu for a few years when he published his dictionary. It was obvious that he in compiling *Dà-Qīng quánshū* "relied heavily" *(k'ŭge ch'amgo* 크게 참고) on manuscript dictionaries then in circulation.[22]

Shĕn did not make any statement allowing us to definitively determine whether or not he relied on pre-existing dictionaries, but he made clear that was relying on a pre-existing corpus of Manchu literature. In general, Míng and Qīng lexicographers seem to have considered their craft as one of "collecting" (*jí* 集), as in *Zìhuì*;[23] "organizing and compiling" (*biānjí* 編輯), as in *Qīng-Hàn wénhăi* 清漢文海 (Sea of Manchu and Chinese writing; 1821);[24] or "compiling" *(jí* 輯), as in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*.[25] I read these descriptions of the lexicographer's craft as implying that dictionaries did not so much spring from the innate linguistic knowledge of the author, but from extensive reading of a corpus of texts in the language described by the dictionary. Shĕn's dictionary too seems to have such origins.

[21]The definite version of Sŏng's magisterial examination of the earliest Manchu dictionaries is Sŏng Paegin (1986) 1999, which superseded Sŏng Paegin 1984. Sŏng reconsidered the meaning of *yooni bithe*, which he argued in the late seventeenth century was a generic term for 'Manchu dictionary,' as indicated by the several printed dictionaries, including Shĕn Qĭliàng's, that included *yooni bithe* in their titles. When Shĕn used this term in *Qīngshū zhĭnán*, Sŏng argued that it simply meant 'the dictionary,' which given the context would have referred to *Dà-Qīng quánshū* itself. (In the early Qīng, *yooni bithe* actually featured also in the titles of books that were not dictionaries [Fuchs 1936, 46].) Sŏng also reevaluated the significance of the indication on the cover page of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* that the dictionary was "newly printed" *(xīn kān)*. Sŏng argued that this expression in the world of Manchu publishing did not unambiguously indicate that a work was the reprint of an earlier published work. He pointed out that the second (1713) edition of *Dà-Qīng quánshū* was not labelled as 'newly printed,' but as "engraved anew" *(chóngjuān* 重鐫), even though it was "an edition printed from the same blocks" (*huswoebon* 후쇄본). Sŏng might not have been entirely correct on this point, however: Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 3 write that differences between the two editions are numerous, and that the second edition was probably carved from a revised manuscript. Sŏng also pointed to the fact that some copies of *Măn-Hàn lèishū* 滿漢類書 (Book of Manchu and Chinese texts separated into classes) from 1700 carried the indication "newly printed in the *gēngchén* year of Kāngxī [1700]" 康熙庚辰年新刊 even though it was the first time this dictionary was printed, as indicated by the fact that its preface was also signed in the same year. Sŏng concluded from this that among the Manchu publishers in Bĕijīng, 'newly printed' could also mean that the print represented a new, original work, not that it was a reprint of an existing work. Sŏng also compared the contents of the two dictionaries in question, pointing out differences in arrangement, microstructure (including Manchu examples and Chinese definitions), and spelling. His conclusion was that the writer of *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* must have consulted Shĕn Qĭliàng's dictionary, but that the two should nevertheless both be considered independent works of lexicography (Sŏng Paegin [1986] 1999, 208–217).

[22]Sŏng Paegin (1986) 1999, 210.

[23]Méi Yīngzuò 1615, *shŏujuàn*:1a.

[24]Banihûn 1821, 1:1a.

[25]Shĕn Qĭliàng (1683a) 2008, 1:1a. And the opening of every chapter thereafter: "Compiled by Mr. Hóngzhào—Shĕn Qĭliăng of Lóudōng" 婁東沈啟亮弘照氏輯.

The Citations in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*

Certain remarks that Shěn made in the "Statement of editorial principles" indicate that he was writing for an audience who were familiar with the textual basis for his dictionary, but to whom he had to explain the innovations he had introduced during compilation. He remarked that "there are a few characters that do not accord with the order. This is because they were excerpted at different times and inserted in places throughout the text."[26] We learn from this note that Shěn based his dictionary on a corpus of Manchu texts. He was not working *ex nihilo*. Later in the same "Statement," Shěn specified parts of the corpus he used. He wrote that the longer lemmata and example sentences, what he called "set phrases" *(chéngyǔ* 成語), were phrases "that have been excerpted from the various documents in the *Five classics* and from the fixed document formats used in the Six Boards."[27]

Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao have recently revealed that some of Shěn's citations stemmed from the *Four Books* and some of the Classics, notably the *Classic of Poetry*.[28] Other citations were taken from the Manchu translation of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sān guó yǎnyì* 三國演義). The precise sources of the remaining citations have not yet been determined, but it is clear that some derive at least indirectly from the Confucian canon.[29]

[26]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:3b–4a: 亦或有一兩字不依序者。因採集非一時，先後增入.

[27]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:4b: 即『五經』諸書，六部定例內採入者也.

[28]Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 4–6.

[29]For example, in the entry for *henduhengge*, '[it is] said,' Shěn listed an untranslated Manchu example sentence: "In the *Record of rites* (*Lǐjì*) it is said, 'one serves the wife's parents in the same way as one serves one's [own] parents; one asks in a nice voice and with a gentle face whether they are hot or cold…'" (Shěn Qǐliàng [1683a] 2008, 14:46b: *li gi de henduhengge, urun-i amhan emhe be weilerengge, ama eme be weilere adali, cira nesuken, jilgan hûwaliyasun halhûn šahûrun be fonjimbi* …; Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 253). The source for this example sentence is unknown, but its format is suggestive of its origins. The example sentence quotes the familiar Confucian book *Lǐjì* 禮記 (Record of rites), and can thus not have been taken directly from that work itself. It appears to have been taken from a commentary on the Confucian canon. Hayata and Teramura have speculated that similar quotations in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* were taken from the a Manchu version of a collection of Confucian lectures. It is likely that this quote has similar origins. We know that some Manchu collections of commentaries on the Confucian canon that had been published at the time when Shěn was compiling his dictionary were monolingual, containing no Chinese text. Such was the case of *Rìjiǎng "Sì shū" jiěyì* 日講四書解義 (Daily lectures explaining the meaning of the *Four Books*) from 1677, on which Shěn might have relied in some cases (Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 4; the book is described in Walravens 1976, 555). The example sentence quoting the *Lǐjì* was likewise monolingual, having no Chinese translation. As Shěn usually gave a Chinese translation of his examples, its absence in this case is a telling circumstance. The absence might be the result of Shěn not having had the time to verify the Chinese text in the separate Chinese edition of the lectures before entering the sentence in his dictionary. Other quotes in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* appear to be from the *Four Books* (Ma. *Duin bithe*) themselves, the Manchu translation of which had been completed in 1654 and were published in 1677 (Durrant 1977, 53). As an example sentence in the entry for *aname*, 'name,' we find: "In order of great[ness], [one] distinguished the superior" (Shěn Qǐliàng [1683a] 2008, 1:2a: *amba ci aname wesihun be ilgahabi,*; 序爵所以辨貴賤也). The Chinese equivalent is in this case taken from the *Doctrine of the Mean*, which Andrew Plaks translates as: "The hierarchical ordering of official ranks in the service provides the occasion for distinguishing the higher or lower status of

Shěn also mentioned that lemmata and example sentences were taken from model documents from the Six Boards, presumably mock administrative documents used for the training of official personnel. It is possible that he lifted those sentences from compendia of stock phrases that had been assembled for instructional purposes and circulated in Běijīng in manuscript.[30]

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the participants" (Plaks 2003, 78). The 1677 translation of the *Four Books* is rare (not held in any American library), and I have not yet been able to verify that quotes such as this one were lifted from that translation. Since the 1756 revised translation of the *Four books* differ from the 1677 version, my comparison with this translation proved inconclusive as to the precise source of Shěn's quotations from the *Four books*. I compared some of Shěn's quotes with the copy of the 1756 translation held at Harvard-Yenching Library, only to conclude that they are different. For example, still in the entry for *aname*, Shěn writes: "Although [I,] Zhū Xī, am not clever, even I had the fortune of reflecting [upon it], and was able to progress through [the things I] heard" (Shěn Qǐliàng [1683a] 2008, 1:2a: *udu ju si i ulhisu akû beye ci aname inu jabšan de gûnifi bahafi donjiha de dosika,*; 雖以熹之不敏亦幸私淑而有與聞焉). This is from Zhū Xī's 朱熹 (1130–1200) *"Dàxué" zhāngjù xù* (Preface to the *Great Learning* by chapter and verse; translated in Bary and Bloom 1999–2000, vol. 1, 724). In the revised translation from 1756, this line reads *udu ju hi bi ulhisu akû seme, inu jabšan de cisui dursulame bahafi donjiha*, "Although Zhū Xī says that 'I am not clever,' by a stroke of luck I too managed to hear [of it]" (*Yùzhì fānyì "Sì shū*" 1756, *"Dàxué" xù*:6a).

[30]One lemma that appears to have been taken from such a model document reads: "What the Prefect of Sūzhōu Sūn Bǐng reported in writing on the evil intentions of this official is not strange, if compared to what I, your servant, heard" (Shěn Qǐliàng [1683b] 1713, 7:20a: *su jeo fu jyifu sun bing, ere hafan-i ehe hacin be arafi boolanjiha be amban mini donjiha de acabuci encu akû,*; 蘇州府知府孫丙揭報本官劣狀前來與臣所聞無異; I follow Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, 113 in reading *boolanjiha* as a variant of *bolanjiha*). This sentence seems to come from a mock document, as no official named Sūn Bǐng ever held the position of prefect for Sūzhōu (there is no Sūn Bǐng listed among the prefects in *Tóngzhì Sūzhōu Fǔ zhì* [1883] 1991). Furthermore, there is no person with that name in QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987. We cannot identify Shěn's exact source for this example sentence, but we know that compilations of set phrases circulated in both print and manuscript in the Qīng period. However, known compilations all postdate *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. For example, the widespread and printed *Liú bù chéngyǔ* 1742, which is one such collection, is only extant in a copy from 1742. My undoubtedly impressionistic view is that the phrases included in that work are shorter than the pieces of administrative prose found in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. The phrases in the later compilation *Qīngyǔ zhāichāo* 1889 (for which see, e.g., Gùgōng 2009, 64; Hosoya Yoshio 1979) are definitely shorter than some of the 'set-phrase' citations in Shěn's dictionary. Comparing these shorter and probably widely used expressions is not particularly rewarding, since it is not obvious that Shěn obtained them directly from collections of mock administrative prose (as opposed to from the spoken language of his day). Closer in time to the publication of Shěn's dictionary, however, we find the dictionary Ā-dùn et al. 1700, which includes many phrases and sentences reaching five or more characters in length and drawn from administrative writings. These partially overlap with entries in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. Such is the case with the following phrase, for example, which Ishibashi Takao 1995, 52 identified as a set phrase used in the Board of Punishments: "One should not speak out in an evil and cruel manner" (Shěn Qǐliàng [1683a] 2008, 2:7b: *ehe oshon arbun be tucibume gisureci ojorakû,* 慘毒之狀不勝髮指; Ā-dùn et al. 1700, 3:22a; Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 3, 52). Since Ā-dùn et al. 1700 postdate *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, it is possible that Shěn's dictionary was the source for this phrase. It is also possible, however, that the compilers of both dictionaries obtained the phrase from a separate collection of mock

The Traces of Earlier Dictionaries and Primers in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*

The available evidence shows that Shěn was using excerpts from Manchu literature and administrative documents as sources for his dictionary. It does not show whether Shěn also relied on earlier dictionaries, glossaries, or primers in his work on *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, as some scholars have speculated (see above). There are, however, a few indications that he did.

The clearest indication that I have found that Shěn was working from an earlier dictionary whose arrangement was similar to that of *Dà-Qīng quánshū* are two mentions in the book's second chapter. In the entry for *ori*, 'essence' (*jīng* 精), Shěn wrote that "this character was originally [listed] in the *oo*- character head." Similarly, under *oren*, 'ancestral tablet' (*shīwèi, shénzhǔ* 尸位、神主), he wrote that "this character was originally [listed] in the *eo*- character head."[31] Now, both these words seem to have had variant pronunciations respectively as *oori* and *ûren* (but not **eoren*).[32] It is possible that Shěn's indications only sought to indicate these alternative pronunciations, but is seems equally possible to me that he wanted to indicate that he had moved and respelled these entries, which had been listed under different spellings in a manuscript dictionary that he was reworking.

A second indication of Shěn working from earlier dictionaries, glossaries, or phrasebooks are the differences in the format of the Chinese equivalents to the Manchu lemmata. The explanations often identify an equivalent Chinese character by a bisyllabic expression in which it is part (most probably a vestige of oral instruction), but in some cases the explanations are constructed differently. Shěn's tendency of providing bisyllabic expressions is so strong that he provides such expressions even in cases where they are completely superfluous, as in the Chinese gloss "the 'inside' of 'inside and out'" (*nèiwài zhī wài* 內外之內) for the Manchu *dorgi*, 'inside.'[33] Yet in some cases the explanations lack these expressions, even when they would have been required for oral comprehension. For example, Shěn glosses the Manchu *ejufen* as "harm; be defeated; wane" *(wēi*; *bài*; *bì* 危；敗；弊), all of which he gave only as monosyllabic expressions not used as such in Northern Vernacular Chinese.[34] This difference in the format of the glosses suggests that Shěn lifted one or both of these types of entries from different pre-existing glossaries.

Finally, there are indications that Shěn drew on texts used for second language education or education of children. In the entry for *lefu*, 'bear,' Shěn provided the following example sentence: "Lion, elephant, tiger, leopard, bear, *bi* [brown bear?], seal, roe deer and deer, red wolf and wolf, corsac fox, otter, lynx, zeren, boar, and sow are all animals that can run."[35]

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administrative documents or set phrases. Shěn's examples of administrative prose might also have been taken from collections of phrases that circulated in manuscript, but all such collections that I know of postdate *Dà-Qīng quánshū* (the earliest being "Mǎnwén zòuzhé lù" 1736–1820).

[31]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683b) 1713, 2:44b: 此字本在 *oo* 字頭內 … 此字本在 *eo* 字頭內.

[32]Norman 2013, 298–289, 398; Jiāng Qiáo 2009b, 199, 445.

[33]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, 9:15a.

[34]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, 2:11a.

[35]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, 9:48a: *arsalan, jufan, tasha, yarha, lefu, bi, fethi, sirhan, buhû, jarhû, niohe, kirsa, hailun, silun, jerin, aidaha, sakda be gemu faksime gurgu kai,*; 獅象虎豹熊羆海豹獐鹿豺狼沙狐水獺猞猁黃羊牙猪母猪皆走獸也. I follow Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 159 in reading *jufan* as a corruption of *sufan*, *sirhan* as a corruption of *sirgan*, and *faksime* as a corruption of *feksime*. I read *jerin* and *aidaha* as corruptions of *jeren* and *aidagan*, which are the forms

This sentence seems to have been taken from an encyclopedic text explaining the taxonomy of animals, but is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, not found in any of the classical Confucian texts.

Based on the research and evidence cited here, I conjecture that Shěn's *Dà-Qīng quánshū* was probably based on a corpus of Manchu texts that included translations of Confucian literature; mock administrative documents; and glossaries, phrasebooks, or other didactic literature that circulated in Běijīng in manuscript.

There are also entries in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* that seem to be the result of what metalexicographers call "introspection,"[36] the reliance of the compiler's or his informants' knowledge of the language independently of a written corpus. In the case of Shěn's dictionary, the entries that appear to be the result of introspection occasionally offer vivid glimpses into life in Manchu Běijīng. For example, the lemma *ana*, 'push!,' is glossed by Shěn as "what you would tell the person standing in front of you if you were crammed in a tight spot while in line to enter [some place], in order to make them move along."[37] We imagine that this was probably a common occurrence in a city where the flow of people was obstructed by narrow and guarded city gates.

We find further examples of introspection in entries where Shěn's explanation is more encyclopedic than linguistic. For example, in the entry for *tuibumbi*, "to pray in the dark,"[38] Shěn writes that "it refers to the nightly dance to arouse the spirits in Manchu homes, when they blow out the lights and perform blessings and good wishes."[39] It is possible that Shěn obtained this description of a private religious ritual gloss from a book, but I find it far more likely that he was here expressing knowledge gained from interacting with Manchus and observing life in Manchu Běijīng.

Shěn's Working Method

The above discussion has attempted to shed some light on the sources used by Shěn Qǐliàng as he compiled his dictionary, but it has done little to illuminate how Shěn went about to put the disparate source material together to form a book. We know that lexicographers in the Qīng period used yellow slips glued on to the page, on which they wrote additions or corrections to the dictionaries they were compiling. For example, the Qiánlóng emperor added such notes to a Manchu-Chinese thesaurus that the court was then revising, as evidenced from a manuscript still held at the Palace Museum Library in Běijīng.[40]

Shěn seems to have used a different method. The clearest indication of Shěn's working method is the comment he made in the dictionary's "Statement of editorial principles," quoted above, that some characters were "excerpted at different times and inserted in places through-

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the words have in Norman 2013, 8, 210.

[36]Svensén 2009, 39–40.

[37]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, 1:1a: 如排列而進有一處擠住者令前任推上之詞也.

[38]Translation adapted from Stary 1993. The practice (Ch. *bèidēng jì*, Ja. *haitōsai* 背燈祭) is also described in Mitamura Taisuke 1958, 527, 541–543.

[39]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683b) 1713, 9:27a: 滿洲家夜間跳神吹燈祚祝之意.

[40]Pictured in Chūnhuā 2010, 78 (figure 10).

out the text."[41] It appears from this comment that Shěn was using a codex-style notebook, which he had first divided into sections and gradually filled up with words and expressions as he encountered them in his reading.

Shěn's working manuscript does not survive, but other manuscript Manchu dictionaries from the Qīng period do, and they indicate that Shěn's method was followed by some of his successors. An anonymous manuscript Chinese-Manchu dictionary titled "Qīngwén dānkǎo" 清文單考 (Itemized examinations of Qīng literature),[42] held at Harvard-Yenching Library, for example, has several empty pages at the end of many sections, presumably waiting to later be filled in with new words as needed. Shěn's manuscript probably looked similar.

A cumulative working manuscript might help explain some of the unevenness in the dictionary's contents. For example, Shěn listed a lemma that includes a mention of "the sixth year of Kāngxī (*elhe taifin*) [1667]."[43] In the entry for *elhe taifin*, however, we do not get the expected gloss *"Kāngxī" 康熙, but only "peaceful borders" *(ān rǎng* 安壤) and "great peace" (*tài píng* 太平).[44] The absence of that gloss contrasts with the lemma *ijishûn dasan*, which has the expected gloss "Shùnzhì" 順治,[45] the reign name of the emperor who died in 1661. These examples indicate that Shěn did not review and revise the totality of his material before handing the dictionary over for printing.

6.2 Early Manchu Lexicography After Shěn Qĭliàng: Thesauri (1690–1708)

It was mentioned above that Shěn Qĭliàng might have based his dictionary on an earlier work published in 1669, which would have been lost since. Judging by the sources now extant, it appears that the period roughly covering the years 1690 to 1708 was a first peak in the publication of Manchu dictionaries. As mentioned previously, *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* was published in Běijīng in 1690 and apparently sold by several shops according to the common practice of Manchu publishers noted in chapter 4.[46] It had a form of arrangement similar to Shěn Qĭliàng's dictionary, published seven years earlier.

As graphologically organized dictionaries developed, so did thesauri. Books of this latter type were not graphologically arranged, but divided into sections according to subject matter (as mentioned in chapter 2).[47] They were thematically organized vocabulary repositories, not reference works in the sense that they did not lend themselves easily to quick consultation of a specific word. Yet they could serve as a resource for learning Manchu or Chinese words, and we find evidence that they were used in that way.

[41] Shěn Qĭliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:4a.

[42] "Qīngwén dānkǎo" n.d.

[43] Shěn Qĭliàng (1683a) 2008, 8:30a–b: *elhe taifin-i ningguci aniya*.

[44] Shěn Qĭliàng (1683a) 2008, 2:21b.

[45] Shěn Qĭliàng (1683a) 2008, 2:32a.

[46] See the note on *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* 1690 in the bibliography. A different copy of the same edition is described in Poppe, Hurvitz, and Okada 1964, 211–212.

[47] Page 78.

In 1693, *Tóngwén guǎnghuì quánshū* 同文廣彙全書 (Broadly collected complete text in standardized writing) was published in Běijīng.[48] In 1700, it appeared again under a different title.[49] This second edition came with a supplement, *Liánzhū jí* 聯珠集 (Collection of stringed pearls), a bilingual text with an instructive intent that had been written in 1699.[50] The thesaurus was later republished again in Nánjīng in 1702 under the original title. The publisher or vendor marketed the book by adding seals to the cover that asserted its high quality.[51] It is likely that the book was used to study Manchu (or perhaps Chinese) vocabulary.[52]

In 1700, Sangge 桑額 (n.d.)[53] printed his book *Măn-Hàn lèishū* 滿漢類書 (Standardized writing in Manchu and Chinese, divided into sections). The book was part thesaurus, part graphologically organized dictionary. It was originally privately published in Shānxī and the next year reprinted in a revised version by the Provincial Governor's office there, where Sangge worked as a ranking Clerk (*bithesi*).[54] In 1706, the original, unrevised edition was reprinted by a commercial publisher in Běijīng under a different title.[55] Sangge described how the work that eventually led to the thesaurus had begun:

> Stupid me, since I was young I could not find an occasion to study. Only later, after I had grown up, did I together with a few friends [begin to] on a daily basis review Manchu books in order to learn [the language]. From this point on, I saved every single one of the words and characters (*hergen*) that we obtained either from books—the histories and classics—or from asking elderly people.[56]

[48] Ā-dùn et al. 1693b. It is described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 205–207. The relationship between this book and the later editions is exhaustively studied in Sŏng Paegin (1986) 1999.

[49] Ā-dùn et al. 1700. Sŏng Paegin (1986) 1999, 197 also lists an edition from 1693 with this title.

[50] Poppe, Hurvitz, and Okada 1964, 212.

[51] See the seal on the cover depicted in Huáng Rùnhuá 2010, 34.

[52] The marginalia seen in Ā-dùn et al. 1702 indicates such a usage.

[53] Not to be confused with Sangge 桑格 mentioned in chapter 3.

[54] Sangge 1700a, (1700b) 1701. Fuchs 1936, 93 (including in the notes) suspected that Sangge was also a translator of two works of Chinese military strategy into Manchu.

[55] Sangge (1700c) 1706. The relationship between the editions and printings is clarified in Sŏng Paegin (1986) 1999, 199–200, 219–225.

[56] Sangge 1700a, *xù* (1):1b–2a: *mentuhun bi, ajigan ci tacire ba ufarafi, amala mutuha manggi, teni juwe ilan gucusei emgi, inenggidari manju bithe be tacime urebume, ereci acara gisun be, eici ging suduri bithe ci tukiyeme gaire, eici sakdasa de fonjire de, baha emu gisun emu hergen seme waliyahakû,*; *xù* (2):1a: 愚自幼失學，迨至成立始與二、三同志逐日學習清書。凡語言宜錄者，或採擇於經史，或諮詢於老成。所獲一字、一句，未嘗棄擲而紀載者…. "This recording and collecting" was carried out "more than ten years" ago (*ejeme gaihangge juwan aniya funcehebi.*; 殆十有餘年矣). Publication was delayed by Sangge's subsequent professional duties, which appear to have included participation in Kāngxī's campaign against the Western Mongol leader Galdan (1644–1697): "Later, I worked in the Hànlín Academy, where I sought out fine gentlemen and collected and gathered [new words] by the day and month. Only after another six or seven years had passed had I obtained this much of the language (*gisun*). Since the Manchu language is inexhaustible, how could this book constitute even one tenth of it? In the past, when I was working in the office [of the Hànlín] and when I subsequently [participated] in the army's campaign outside the border, I could not find the time to print [this book]" (Sangge 1700a, *xù* (1):2a–b: *amala bithei yamun de baitalabufi, mangga niyalma de tacibure be baime, inenggidari*

A few other privately or commercially published vocabularies are also known from the early eighteenth century.[57] Yet the early thesauri were soon largely eclipsed by a monumental work with imperial backing. In 1708, the monolingual Manchu thesaurus *Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* (Imperially commissioned Mirror of the Manchu language) was published by the imperial print shop in Běijīng. On the basis of extant copies, scholars have distinguished two printed editions of the thesaurus: a first, trial print run and a definite edition which included corrections and changes.[58] However, some copies from the trial run were clearly swiped from worn blocks, indicating that that set of blocks continued to be used even after the revised version had appeared. If we consider the fact, mentioned in chapter 2, that one block could produce a considerable number of copies before getting worn out, we can infer that the *Mirror* was produced in many copies.

The book was the result of a long process that appears to have begun in 1673,[59] when Kāngxī commissioned a Manchu dictionary on the model of *Zìhuì*.[60] Several highly placed officials were successively in charge of the compilation, which involved about fifty people,[61] but it appears the actual work was carried out under the leadership of Hesu, who was introduced in chapter 4. Judging by Dominique Parennin's oft-quoted words, Hesu and his team appear to have used a method similar to that previously used by Sangge and his friends:

> This work was produced with extraordinary diligence. Whenever there was case for doubt, they interviewed old men of the eight Tartar banners. When greater research was needed, they consulted people recently arrived [in Běijīng] from deep in their homeland [of Manchuria]. Rewards were promised to those who unearthed a few old words or expressions fit to be placed in the thesaurus.[62]

Parennin also commented on the intention behind the *Mirror* and its usability:

> Since this book is written in Tartar language and script, it is of no use for beginners, and can only benefit those who know the language already but want to perfect their knowledge or write a book in it. The main goal was to have some

isabume biyadari iktambume, geli ninggun nadan aniya oho manggi, teni ere udu gisun bahabi. manju gisun inu mohon akû be dahame, ere bithe, juwan ubu de ainahai emu ubu bini. seibeni yamun de baita weilere jasai tule dahalame cooha tucire de, folobure šolo akû ofi; *xù* (2):1a: 嗣後承乏翰苑，就正高明。日積而月累者，又六、七年，始獲語言若干。然清語無窮，而茲書豈能備十分之一耶？曩曰辦事館中，隨征塞外，不暇刊刻). After that, he was posted to Shānxī where the book was printed.

[57] See items 5–7 in Sŏng Paegin (1986) 1999, 200–204.

[58] The copies from the trial run further subdivide into two groups that differ in their prefatory material: Sŏng Paegin et al. 2008.

[59] Sŏng Paegin (1982) 1999, 185–186.

[60] Jiāng Qiáo 2009a, 25.

[61] Imanishi Shunjū, Tamura Jitsuzō, and Satō Hisashi 1966, vol. 1, 18–19.

[62] Parennin (1738) 1811, 229: *Cet ouvrage s'exécuta avec une diligence extraordinaire. S'il survenait quelque doute on interrogait les vieillards des huits bannières Tartares; et s'il était nécessaire d'une plus grande recherche, on consultait ceux qui arrivaient nouvellement du fond de leur pays; on proposait des récompenses à ceux qui déterraient quelques vieux mots, quelques anciennes expressions propres à être placées dans le trésor.*

> sort of collection of the entire language, so that the latter would never perish as long as the Dictionary still exists.[63]

To make the thesaurus more useful as a reference work, the editors appended a graphologically organized "Index" (*uheri hešen*), referred to as its "alphabetical tables" (*tables alphabétiques*) by an early European commentator.[64]

As a monolingual Manchu thesaurus, the imperial *Mirror* was something distinctly new.[65] Its arrangement, however, had deep roots. Chūnhuā, building on earlier work by Jiāng Qiáo,[66] has shown that the *Mirror's* division of its entries into categories according to their subject matter largely followed the precedent set by an imperially commissioned Chinese encyclopedia (*lèishū*) from the tenth century CE. Ultimately, the practice of dividing the entries into semantic categories went back to some of the earliest encyclopedic and lexicographic works in the Chinese tradition, which I discussed in chapter 2. As mentioned in that chapter, another genre of books to have been influenced by the ancient system of semantic arrangement were the sino-xenic thesauri that included, notably, classified vocabularies of Mongol and Jurchen from the Míng period. Closer in time and contents to the imperial *Mirror*, Sangge's *Măn-Hàn lèishū* was also influenced by the Chinese encyclopedic tradition. The imperial *Mirror* showed similarities to Sangge's book.[67] In a sense, the monolingual Manchu thesaurus was a product both of its times and of the Chinese literary tradition.

Were the Thesauri Dictionaries?

As discussed in chapter 2, there is reason to restrict the meaning of the term 'dictionary' to books used as linguistic reference works. It appears that topically organized thesauri like *Tóngwén guănghuì quánshū* and *Măn-Hàn lèishū* were not used in a way that would warrant the label of dictionary. Already the title of *Măn-Hàn lèishū* suggests that Sangge thought of his book as similar primarily to Chinese encyclopedias. Likewise, the title of the imperial *Mirror* drew on traditions other than lexicography. When it was published in 1708, the word 'mirror' (Ma. *buleku*) had already been used in the translation of Chinese encyclopedic works of statecraft.[68] It seems that by naming the thesaurus the *Mirror of the Manchu language*, the compilers wanted to stress its role in classifying and categorizing language, not produce a work for easy word-retrieval. As has been pointed out in the literature, the purpose of such multilingual thesauri might even have been primarily ideological;[69] by juxtaposing and arranging the scripts of the empire in the same order, the emperor also asserted his right to

[63] Parennin (1738) 1811, 230: *Comme ce livre est écrit en langue et en caractères Tartares, il n'est d'aucune utilité pour les commençans, et ne peut servir qu'à ceux qui sachant déjà la langue, veulent s'y perfectionner, ou composer quelque ouvrage. Le dessein principal a été d'avoir une espèce d'assortiment de toute la langue, de sorte qu'elle ne puisse périr, tandis que le Dictionnaire subsistera.*

[64] Langlès (1787b) 1807, 74–76 (refers to the 1771 edition of the *Mirror*).

[65] How the editors chose to define Manchu words using explanations in the same language is the topic of Chŏng Chemun and Kim Chuwŏn 2008.

[66] Jiāng Qiáo 2009a.

[67] Chūnhuā 2007.

[68] Fuchs 1936, 46.

[69] Crossley and Rawski 1993, 96.

rule and manage the regions in which they were used. The imperial *Mirror* might thus just as well be considered an encyclopedia in the sense of collections of 'classified texts' (*lèishū*).

People appear to have more or less read thesauri from cover to cover, or section by section, in order to learn new words. The marginalia we see in the thesauri give us little reason to assume that they were used to look up unknown words encountered in reading or needed in composition. For instance, one manuscript thesaurus, probably dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, has manuscript marks over practically every word. A reader probably put them there to mark off words as he learned them.[70] A copy of *Tóngwén guǎnghuì quánshū* also contains such marks, especially in the first volume.[71] Accompanying the marks are progressive dates, presumably indicating the time when the reader (fl. 1748) memorized certain groups of words. A copy of *Mǎn-Hàn lèishū* contains similar marginalia, including the note "written up to here" (*xiě zhì cǐ* 寫至此) at the bottom of one page.[72] Probably the reader had copied all the words up until that point.

One eighteenth-century scholar confirms that thesauri were not considered as reference works, but as vocabulary repositories. In the preface to his version of a graphological Chinese-Manchu dictionary, he wrote that some lexicographers "organize [their books] topically, which makes them convenient to read continuously in order to gather [words] belonging to the same category, but difficult to use for consultation."[73]

6.3 Manchu Thesauri and Graphologically Arranged Dictionaries in the Eighteenth Century

Manchu thesauri diversified in the eighteenth century.[74] In the same period, lexicographers continued the tradition of graphologically arranged dictionaries in the manner of Shěn's *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and the anonymous *Mǎn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*.

Characteristic for the genre of the thesauri was, first, the very prominent role played by the imperial court and its print shop at the Wǔyīng Diàn in their production and, second, the steady accretion of languages featured in them. In, 1717, a new *Mirror* was published at the palace. The editors had removed the citations figuring in the Manchu definitions of the lemmata and replaced them with the lemmata's translation into Mongol, creating a bilingual Manchu-Mongol thesaurus.[75] In 1743, a new edition of this work was published, in which the

[70] "Èr tǐ hébì wénjiàn" n.d.

[71] Ā-dùn et al. 1702.

[72] Sangge 1700a, 27:40b.

[73] Mingcang 1793, vol. 1, "Preface" (*šutucin; xù* 序): *embici hacin meyen dendefi duwali be tuwame isabure jakade, eyeme hûlara de ja ningge, baicame tuwara de ja akû* 或分門目而類聚之，便於記誦者，不便於檢閱 (no pagination). In other copies of this work, the preface is signed by both Mingčang and Urtai 伍爾泰.

[74] The genre's development is traced in Chūnhuā 2006.

[75] The Manchu title of the new thesaurus remained the same as in the 1708 edition (*Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe*). The Mongol title differed, however, translating as "Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu and Mongol languages" (*Qaγan-i bičigsen manju mongγol ügen-ü toli bičig*. It is described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 110–113.

Mongol text had been transcribed into the Manchu script in order to unambiguously indicate its pronunciation. One of the stated goals of that project was to encourage and facilitate for Manchus to learn Mongol.[76]

As the court scholars were working on Manchu-Mongol thesauri, the Manchu scholar Mingdo compiled a Manchu-Chinese thesaurus, using the *Mirror's* division into categories, which he published in 1735. It was repeatedly reprinted from the commercial publishers in Běijīng (one reprint is dated 1757)[77] and appears to have remained in print for some time.[78]

Graphologically organized dictionaries also appeared in the first few decades of the eighteenth century. In 1722, Daigu, whom we met in chapter 4, published *Qīngwén bèikǎo* 清文備考 (Definitive collection of the Manchu language; 1722),[79] parts of which were organized similarly to *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. As we saw, Daigu's book was printed in two editions.

In 1724, Lǐ Yánjī, also introduced in chapter 4, published his dictionary *Qīngwén huìshū* 清文彙書 (Collected texts in Qīng writing; 1724).[80] The dictionary was based on the imperial *Mirror* from 1708. Lǐ replaced the Manchu definitions with Chinese translations and changed the semantically based arrangement into categories with a graphological arrangement based on the Manchu script.[81] His book was reprinted in 1751 and again in 1806.[82] At least one reader associated the dictionary's arrangement with the system based on radicals and stroke order used in the Chinese *Zìhuì*, marking his copy of Lǐ's book as "Qīngwén zìhuì" 清文字彙 (The characters collected in Qīng writing).[83]

The Manchu language-studies titles sponsored by the court and printed at Wǔyīng Diàn for sale and wide distribution were thesauri and, later, rhyme books and transcription manuals. Yet scholars working for the court also produced a graphologically arranged dictionary. It was not intended to circulate widely and, indeed, it never did.

The background for the court's graphologically arranged dictionary was the philological work undertaken to edit the original Manchu archives, which had been moved from Manchuria to Běijīng with the conquest of China (discussed in chapter 3).[84] The Kāngxī emperor was aware of this collection and referred to it in conversations with his officials.[85] The Qiánlóng emperor felt that the collection, consisting of heterogenous material written partially in unreformed Manchu, was inaccessible, and ordered it researched and eventually transcribed and

[76] *Han-i araha manju monggo gisun-i buleku bithe* 1743. Described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 114–119.

[77] Chūnhuā 2008c, 188.

[78] I have consulted copies from four different printers: Mingdo 1735a, 1735b, 1735c, 1735d. Several of these publishers also printed a phrase book by the same author (Mingdo 1737; prints from other publishers mentioned in Huáng Rùnhuá and Qū Liùshēng 1991, 95).

[79] Daigu 1722a.

[80] Lǐ Yánjī (1724–1751) 2001.

[81] Imanishi Shunjū, Tamura Jitsuzō, and Satō Hisashi 1966, vol. 1, 19 for the relationship between Lǐ's dictionary and the *Mirror*. Tóng Yuè 1988 writes that the definitions are not very precise, but that the book contains a wealth of information on Manchu customs of the time.

[82] Lǐ Yánjī (1724b) 1751. Other printings are mentioned in Huáng Rùnhuá and Qū Liùshēng 1991, 107.

[83] Lǐ Yánjī (1724c) 1751, vol. 1, outside cover.

[84] Especially in footnote 105 on page 120.

[85] Yán Chōngnián 1999a, 244–245.

edited. In 1741 he ordered the compilation of a graphologically arranged lexicon in order to facilitate research on the old archives.

The result was "Tongki fuka akû hergen-i bithe" (Book of writing without dots and circles), in which words in the old orthography were defined using their equivalents in eighteenth-century standard Manchu. The book was entirely in Manchu. It was never printed and only a few manuscripts appear to have been made. The Manchu compilers Ortai 鄂爾泰 (1680–1745) and Sioi Yuwan Meng 徐元夢 (1655–1741) wrote that in accordance with the imperial order,

> the complete [book] will be stored at the Grand Secretariat and copies made for storage in the Clan school [for members of the collateral branches of the imperial house]; the Gioro school [for direct descendants of the emperor], and the various schools of the Directorate of Education, so that future generations will remember that Manchu documents once began from this [kind of] characters.[86]

As Manchu and Manchu-Chinese dictionaries graphically arranged according to the Manchu script appeared, lexicographers also compiled graphologically arranged Chinese-Manchu dictionaries. Such dictionaries listed Chinese lemmata which were translated into Manchu inside the entries. They could therefore be arranged on the basis of the Chinese script. Given the great success of Chinese dictionaries in the tradition of *Zìhuì* (see chapter 2), it is not surprising that the graphologically arranged Chinese-Manchu dictionaries of the eighteenth century were modeled on that book. The first such dictionary to appear was *Qīngwén diǎnyào* 清文典要 (The fixed standards of Qīng writing; 1738), whose author is only known under the pseudonym "Master of Fragrant Autumn Grass Hall" (Qiūfāng Táng zhǔrén 秋芳堂主人; n.d.).[87]

Under the Qiánlóng emperor, the court sponsored several new thesauri in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1771, *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn* 御製增訂清文鑑 (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language, expanded and emended) was finished and then, in 1773, printed at Wǔyīng Diàn.[88] The book retained the arrangement of the *Mirror* from 1708,[89] but replaced the Manchu definitions of the lemmata with Chinese translations; added Chinese sound glosses to the Manchu words; and thoroughly revised and expanded the Manchu vocabulary included in the thesaurus.

Since the conquest of China, considerable numbers of Manchu books had been published in Běijīng and countless documents written or translated into the language by the civil and

[86] Ortai and Sioi Yuwan Meng (1741) 1959, 5–6: *dorgi yamun de emu yohi asarabureci tulgiyen, uksun, gioroi tacikû, guwe dz giyan yamun-i geren tacikû de emte yohi sarkiyame gamabufi asarabufi amaga urse be, manju bithe daci ere hergen ci deribuhengge be sakini*. It is described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 303–307. On Ortai (no mention of the dictionary): Mish 1962.

[87] Qiūfāng Táng 1738a.

[88] *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn,* original printed edition 1771–1773. It has been widely studied: Walravens et al. 2006, 118–119.

[89] According to Joseph Amiot, Qiánlóng would have originally wanted a graphologically arranged book, but chose to retain the topical arrangement following the suggestion of his officials (Amiot et al. 1776, 516).

military authorities in both the capital and the provinces. A consequence of the greater application of the Manchu language in writing was the introduction of new words, many of which were transliterations of Chinese terms. The Qiánlóng emperor sought to replace such loans with neologisms coined from existing Manchu morphemes or at least from combinations of sounds that appeared Manchu to his ear.[90] The emperor's personal involvement in this process can be gleaned from a manuscript still held at the palace in Běijīng, which represents a draft of the thesaurus. On some pages yellow slips have been added with corrections "fixed by the emperor" (*qīndìng* 欽定).[91]

Naturally, a project of language standardization of this scope could not be carried out by the emperor alone. Scholars in various posts appear to have been charged with revising the terminology in specific fields, which we know from a blockprint titled *"Qīngwén jiàn" wài xīnyǔ* 清文鑑外新語 (New words that were not in the *Manju gisun-i buleku bithe*). The book, which appears to have survived in only one copy, was compiled by Yǒng-guì 永貴 (d. 1783), a Manchu official then serving as Financial Commissioner in Zhèjiāng in the lower-Yangzǐ region. The book listed the Chinese names for various government agencies with translations in Manchu that constituted proposed additions to the *Mirror*.[92]

Qiánlóng's Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* officially only appeared in one printed edition.[93] In reality, the book was repeatedly revised after its initial printing. Today it is found in many copies in libraries all over China and indeed the world. The extant copies show a fair amount of variation and cannot all stem from the first print run. However, there is no consensus as to how many editions can be said to exist. In consequence, we do not know how the book was actually printed and published.[94] It appears that after the initial printing, various agencies in the capital and provinces were allowed to print their own copies, varyingly modifying the blocks as they did so. After 1773 new words were included in some copies, and more were included at a later date. The thesaurus was, then, widely reproduced and probably reached many readers. The existence of abbreviated manuscript copies shows that readers who might not have been in a position to buy the book still found a way ot make use of it.[95]

[90]Examples of changes in vocabulary between the 1708 and 1771–73 *Mirrors* are found in Sǒng Paegin 2000.

[91]Gāozōng 1736–1771. The book is introduced with a few pictures in Chūnhuā 2010.

[92]Yǒng-guì 1736–1771. For Yǒng-guì's title *Bùzhèng shǐ* 布政使: BH 1912, 425. Yǒng-guì's book is described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 444–447.

[93]Manuscript copies for the *Sìkù quánshū* project were also produced (e.g. *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn, Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū* edition [1771–1773] 1983), but they had limited circulation in the Qīng period. Manuscript copies produced at the palace for some other, unknown purpose are also extant (e.g., the copies described in Kanda Nobuo 1968, 66, including in the notes; Matsumura Jun 1999, 29–30).

[94]Imanishi Shunjū 1938b identified three editions, the latter two included new vocabulary. Sǒng Paegin 2003 and Sǒng Paegin et al. 2004 divided copies seen in Korea, Japan, and Mongolia into two groups representing an early and a late printing. New vocabulary and other differences can be found in copies from each group, with the consequence that it is ultimately very difficult to determine the exact relationships between them. Lǐ Xióngfēi 2013 also divides some copies the author has seen in China into two major groups, but, if I am reading these articles correctly, his criteria are different from those used by his predecessors.

[95]I am thinking of the item described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 129–130.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, several new court-sponsored thesauri appeared while private and commercial interests produced several graphologically arranged dictionaries. Early in 1780, after four years of work, it was announced to the emperor that *Yùzhì Mǎnzhū, Měnggǔ, Hànzì sānhé qièyīn Qīngwén jiàn* 御製滿珠蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑑 (Imperially commissioned Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese script mirror with tripartite spellings) had been "compiled, transcribed in a fair copy, and collated."[96] Qiánlóng gave his approval for the manuscript to be divided up and sent to scribes with the necessary linguistic competence in order to write up several more manuscripts for inclusion in the Imperial Library (*Sìkù quánshū*) project. The book was also printed. Scholars have been particularly impressed by its sound glosses, which are among the most precise of any lexicographic work from the Qīng period.[97] The printed copies are relatively rare today; it does not appear that the work circulated nearly as widely as its bilingual Manchu-Chinese predecessor from 1771.

The compilation of Manchu thesauri including ever larger numbers of languages reached its peak in the latter years of the Qiánlóng emperor's reign. A manuscript of Imperial Household Department provenance, now found in the palace in Běijīng, listed Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic words.[98] In another palace manuscript from this period, perhaps produced in preparation for a lexicographic project that was never realized, the languages included were increased to five. In addition to Manchu, Mongol, and Turki (related to Uighur), the manuscript includes words from two Tibetan languages, all transcribed using the Manchu script.[99]

Most noteworthy are the finished large-scale multilingual thesauri. The court produced two such works: *Yùzhì sìtǐ Qīngwén jiàn* 御製四體清文鑑 (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language with four kinds of script placed together) and "Yùzhì wǔtǐ Qīngwén jiàn" 御製五體清文鑑 (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language with five kinds of script placed together). They both included Manchu, Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan. The five-language version included also Turki. According to Jiāng Qiáo, they both came out of the court's project to translate the Tibetan kanjur into Manchu. Compilation of the four-language thesaurus was underway by 1777. Only after that project had begun did the scholars receive an order to add Turkic to the four languages, leading to the branching of the project into a four-language and a five-language version. The latter was finished in 1791, but was never printed, remaining in the palace in three or four manuscript copies. The four-language version was published as a xylograph in 1795.[100]

Another multilingual thesaurus, *Sìtǐ hébì wénjiàn* 四體合璧文鑑 (Mirror with four kinds of script placed together), was actually not a court publication, but a print from a temple in Běijīng.[101] It is possible that it was printed in the nineteenth century, but definitely after 1771.[102]

[96]The date was January 30, 1780 (Qiánlóng 44/12/24). QNFKS (1644–1911) 2007, vol. 1, 283: 纂輯完竣，繕寫校對.

[97]Jiāng Qiáo 2009b, 7.

[98]Chūnhuā 2008c, 176–178.

[99]Described and depicted in Gùgōng 2009, 32–33; Chūnhuā 2008c, 180–184.

[100]Jiāng Qiáo 2000; Corff et al. 2013, vol. 1, xxiv–xxvi, furthermore, discusses the relationships between extant manuscripts of the five-language thesaurus.

[101]*Sìtǐ hébì wénjiàn* 1771–1911.

[102]Chūnhuā 2008c, 210–214.

Graphologically arranged dictionaries also appeared in the late eighteenth century. As in the case of court-sponsored thesauri, there was a tendency toward including more languages into the dictionaries. In 1780, Mongol made its first appearance in a graphologically arranged Manchu dictionary with Fügiyün's (for whom see chapter 4) *Sānhé biànlǎn* 三合便覽 (Book made from a combination including three languages), a dictionary that appeared again from a commercial press in 1792. Fügiyün's dictionary listed Manchu lemmata and their translation into Chinese and Mongol. In compiling the dictionary, Fügiyün was continuing the work begun by his father, a circumstance that can perhaps explain the fact that the dictionary as published does not appear complete. Its lemmata list is divided into two unintegrated parts, each arranged similarly according to the Manchu script. Imanishi Shunjū noted shared idiosyncracies in the vocabulary included in Fügiyün's dictionary and *Yùzhì sìtǐ Qīngwén jiàn*, one of the court-sponsored thesauri compiled around this time that I mentioned above. Imanishi believed that Fügiyün's father might have worked on the editorial team for the four-language thesaurus and used the same lemmata list in his own dictionary project.[103] We see that private and commercial lexicography were closely related to court scholarship.

Apart from *Sānhé biànlǎn*, privately compiled multilingual dictionaries were not printed.[104] Presumably the desire to include Inner Asian languages previously largely unknown in the capital reflected the increased attention paid to Inner Asia by some scholars following the empire's expansion, but market demand might have been lacking.

Separate from the court's expansionist policies, its efforts to regulate and reform the Manchu lexicon also influenced private and commercial lexicography. In 1786, *Qīngwén bǔhuì* 清文補彙 (Manchu collected, supplemented) appeared. It was privately printed by its compiler, Yí-xīng 宜興 (1747–1809), an imperial clansman. Yí-xīng had begun his career already in his eleventh year as a Clerk (*bithesi*) and was by this time in Shěnyáng (Mukden) serving as a Vice President at the Board of Rites.[105] Yí-xīng presented his dictionary as a complement to Lǐ Yánjī's work from more than half a century earlier. Since the publication of Lǐ's dictionary, the Qiánlóng emperor's new thesaurus and other imperially sponsored Manchu books had introduced many new words, Yí-xīng explained,[106] creating the need for a supplement to Lǐ's book. In 1802, Yí-xīng produced a second privately published edition of *Qīngwén bǔhuì*, revised by his nephew on Yí-xīng's request.[107]

6.4 Manchu Lexicography in the Nineteenth Century

Following the trends in Manchu publishing identified in chapter 4, the court became less involved in Manchu lexicography in the nineteenth century. Instead we see dictionaries produced, and sometimes published, in the garrisons and in some government agencies in Běijīng.

The eighteenth century had been the century of thesauri and graphologically arranged dictionaries in which the leading language was Manchu; the nineteenth was characterized by

[103] Imanishi Shunjū 1966, 151–154.
[104] See the discussion of Fügiyün's Oirat dictionaries in chapter 4.
[105] Chūnhuā 2008c, 312–313.
[106] Yí-xīng 1786a, *xù*:1b–2a.
[107] Yí-xīng (1786b) 1802.

lexicographic works in which the leading language was Chinese or Mongol. In such books, entries typically consisted of Manchu translations of the Chinese or Mongol lemmata. No new Manchu thesauri or graphologically arranged Manchu dictionaries were published until at the very end of the century, and presumably mostly because the older dictionaries were at that time becoming increasingly hard to come by, not because they were obsolete.

In 1821, Banihûn's (mentioned in chapter 4) *Qīng-Hàn wénhǎi* (Sea of Manchu and Chinese writing) was published at the Jiāngnán Garrison. It was a Chinese-Manchu phrase book based on an imperial lexicon for the composition of poetry.[108] Other Chinese-Manchu dictionaries circulated only in manuscript, the prime example being Mingcang 明昌 (n.d.) and Urtai's 伍爾泰 (n.d.) "Qīngwén diǎnyào dàquán" 清文典要大全 (Complete essentials of the fixed standards of Qīng writing; 1793), which circulated widely.[109] That dictionary was arranged, like *Zìhuì*, according to the radicals and stroke order of the Chinese characters.

The Mongol scholar and official Sayišangγ-a (1797–1875) published corrections and complements to Fügiyün's dictionary, but these publications were not comprehensive works. Besides, they were intended mainly to facilitate the study and use of Mongol, not Manchu.[110] In 1851, Sayišangγ-a finished a Mongol-Chinese-Manchu dictionary, in which the Mongol lemmata were written using the Manchu script. Like other works by Sayišangγ-a, the Mongol dictionary was based in part on Fügiyün's *Sānhé biànlǎn*. It was never printed in its compiler's lifetime, but survives in several manuscript copies, the exact relationships between which have yet to be established. The Chinese title of the book varies between manuscripts, given either as "Měngwén huìshū" 蒙文彙書 or "Měnggǔ wénhuì" 蒙古文彙, both translating as "Mongol collected."[111]

A new lexicographic genre appeared in the nineteenth century: the Chinese-Manchu dictionary arranged graphologically according to the Manchu script. Constituting a genre existing exclusively in manuscript, Chinese dictionaries organized in the Manchu script are often of unclear date and authorship. In most cases surviving only in unique copies, they are also difficult to consult; for example, the unforeseen renovation of one major library rendered two relevant dictionaries unavailable for the present study.[112] For the same reason, damage to a manuscript

[108] Banihûn 1821.

[109] I discussed the circulation of Manchu manuscripts in the nineteenth century with reference to this dictionary in chapter 4 (page 205, including footnote 245).

[110] *"Biànlǎn" zhèng'é* 便覽正訛 (Correction of mistakes in *Sānhé biànlǎn*; 1848) and Sayišangγ-a (1848b) 2001. Both are described in Chūnhuā 2008c, 328–332. Sayišangγ-a's father was an amateur lexicographer, whose work was posthumously edited and published by the son (Sayišangγ-a 1848a; see Chūnhuā 2008c, 323–325; also Chūnhuā 2005).

[111] Unlike the Chinese, the Manchu and Mongol titles do not vary. Chūnhuā 2008c, 332–336 refers to the book as *Měngwén huìshū*, which is also the title of Sayišangγ-a 1851b, the Harvard-Yenching manuscript. Sayišangγ-a 1851a, the Minzu University manuscript, has the alternative title. It is unclear which, if any, of the extant manuscripts constitutes Sayišangγ-a's holograph. As the Manchu collections at two of the libraries reportedly holding copies of the book (National Library of China; Liaoning Provincial Library) are currently (2014) not accessible to the public, a philological study of the manuscripts will probably not be possible for some time. See the bibliography for further details on the manuscripts. I will discuss Sayišangγ-a 1851a in more detail below.

[112] Liaoning Provincial Library was closed for renovation as I was doing research for this study (2014), preventing me from consulting the two dictionaries held there and described in Lú Xiùlì and Yán

can lead to a whole title having to be disregarded for certain purposes, since there is no other version to turn to when faced with a unique fragmentary copy.[113] The medium of manuscript also means that the difference between a private collection of notes and a book intended for circulation is not always easy to establish satisfactorily.[114] Such difficulties have left me with five Chinese books with Manchu arrangement that can be properly called dictionaries.[115]

The only work in this genre that can be positively dated is "Fān Qīng yuèmù biànlǎn" 翻清閱目便覽 (Listed items for convenient browsing, turned into Manchu), which was compiled by Quán-xǐ in 1865. It is also the most substantial Chinese dictionary arranged according to the Manchu script that we possess. As mentioned in chapter 4, Quán-xǐ worked both in the capital and in the garrisons, suggesting perhaps that the genre in which he was active reached readers outside Běijīng. Some of the other Chinese-Manchu graphological dictionaries are also found in archives in the northeast, suggesting that their writers or readers were active there. As argued briefly in chapter 4, Manchu language studies in the nineteenth century became increasingly focused on the translation of written documents (as opposed to acquiring the ability to speak Manchu). These dictionaries invite such an application, as their users could rely on them for identifying the Manchu equivalents of Chinese words that they needed to translate in their clerical work.

Finally, as mentioned previously, there was a brief renaissance of Manchu printing in the last years of Qīng rule, which affected also lexicography. However, to a large extent, the revival of Manchu lexicography was but a consequence of the development of Mongol publishing and language studies.

The court had produced Manchu-Mongol thesauri already in the early eighteenth century, and from the 1780s, there were also private and then commercially published dictionaries that included Mongol. Sayišangγ-a's Mongol dictionary from the mid-nineteenth century was never published, but it formed the basis of *Měngwén zǒnghuì* 蒙文總彙 (Comprehensive collection of Mongol) and *Qīndìng Měngwén huìshū* 欽定蒙文彙書 (Imperially authorized collection of Mongol), which were printed and published in 1891 and 1892 respectively. The preface to the privately published *Měngwén zǒnghuì* identified its source as "a certain number of scattered Mongol volumes assembled by some earlier scholar,"[116] which Lyi Küng 李鋐 (n.d.), learned translator of sutras (*küsi lhama* 固什喇嘛) in the Yellow Hat sect, had found.[117] The editors of *Qīndìng Měngwén huìshū* were more explicit, specifying that they had used "a

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Xiàngdōng 2002, 64–67.

[113]This forced me to exclude "Măn-Hàn hébì yīnyì míngzhǐ quánshū" n.d. Lǐ Xióngfēi 2006, 67–68 speculates that this work might have been written as early as the Kāngxī period. I find this highly unlikely, and tend to think with Chūnhuā 2008c, 362–363 that it dates from the late Qīng.

[114]"Măn-Hàn zìdiăn" n.d., for example, could have been either a first outline of a planned dictionary or a collection of phonological study notes.

[115]Quán-xǐ 1865; Xī-lín n.d.; "Lèiyīn *Zìhuì*" n.d.; [Lǐ Dānnián] n.d.; and "Tóngyīn zìhuì" n.d.

[116]Lyi Küng (1891) 1913, *xù*:6b–7a: Mo. *…sirege-dür talbiγsan edüčinegen debter, uridu erdemten-ü quriyan mongγo bičig*; Ma. *…dere de sotaha utala tebtelin nenehe saisai isamjame banjibuha monggo bithe*; Ch. 案頭置有蒙文若干卷 (the translation follows the Mongol and Manchu; the Chinese has a different meaning). The relationship of *Měngwén zǒnghuì* and *Qīndìng Měngwén huìshū* to *Měnggǔ wénhuì*/*Měngwén huìshū* is outlined in Chūnhuā 2008c, 344–345.

[117]*"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 6, 79.

manuscript that Sayišangγ-a had put together."[118] As its title indicates, this dictionary was sponsored by the court. Their editors were affiliated with the administration of Qīng Inner Asia.

In 1897, finally, Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān, the Manchu Instructors at the Jīngzhōu Garrison whom we met in chapter 4, published *Qīngwén zǒnghuì* 清文總彙 (Comprehensive collection of Qīng writing). The dictionary was a combination of *Qīngwén huìshū* from 1724 and *Qīngwén bǔhuì* from 1786.[119] As its compilers wrote, they "copied out the two books as one" (…*èr bù hé chāo* 二部合鈔).[120] The publication of the dictionary appears to have been motivated by the increased unavailability of these earlier works. Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān's dictionary was reprinted in 1911, the very last year of Manchu rule.[121]

6.5 Manchu Graphological Arrangement

Among the books discussed in preceding sections as part of Manchu lexicography, only the graphologically arranged works can easily be called 'dictionaries' in the sense outlined in chapter 2. This section will describe how the arrangement of those dictionaries worked, how it developed, and how it was applied.

The first thing we, as users of Western alphabetical dictionaries, need to understand regarding Manchu graphological arrangement is the fact that it is not based on letters, but *akṣara* and syllables. As I indicated in chapter 5 and will argue in detail in the second part of the appendix, the idea that the Manchu script is an alphabet is an idea developed by early modern European scholars that was not shared by their counterparts in Qīng China. The first part of the appendix, furthermore, will argue that the very division of scripts into 'alphabets' and 'syllabaries' is problematic and often unproductive. We should not expect Manchu graphological arrangement to function like Western alphabetical order.

[118]Sungsen 1892, *yuánzòu*:6b–7a: Mo. *…sayišangγ-a-yin baγulγan bičigsen quriyaγsan bičig,*; Ma. *…saišangga-i sarkiyame araha isabuha bithe*; Ch. 賽尚阿鈔本彙書. It is clear that the two dictionaries were based on different manuscript copies of Sayišangγ-a's work. Not only were *Měngwén zǒnghuì* and *Qīndìng Měngwén huìshū* produced at the same time, the manuscript that formed the basis of the latter was found in an office of what we can infer must have been the Board for the Administration of the Outer Regions, where *Qīndìng Měngwén huìshū*'s head compiler worked. The manuscript was specified as a "…*Mongol collected* in our office, by the late former official Sayišangγ-a" (Sungsen 1892, *yuánzòu*:2b–3a [actually 17b–18a; the pagination starts from 1 on what should be folio no. 16]: … *man-u ǰurγan-dur nigente önggereksen tüsimel sayišangγ-a-yin bičigsen mongγol üsüg-ün quriyaγsan bičig…*; Ma. *…meni jurgan de emgeri akûha amban saišangga-i araha monggo hergen-i isabuha bithe…*; Ch. 臣院存有故臣賽尚阿『蒙文彙書』).

[119]Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1897a; Chūnhuā 2008c, 348.

[120]Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1897a, vol. 12, *bá*:2a.

[121]Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān (1897b) 1911.

Dà-Qīng quánshū

Manchu graphological arrangement seems to emerge fully formed with the first Manchu dictionary.[122] As evidenced by the discussion on the origins of Shěn's dictionary earlier in this chapter, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent that circumstance is a distortion caused by the loss of earlier glossaries or dictionaries. It is nevertheless clear that when Shěn Qǐliàng published *Dà-Qīng quánshū* in 1683, he felt the need to explain its arrangement to his readers, like Robert Cawdry had for the English public a few generations earlier (see chapter 2).

Shěn associated his dictionary with the graphologically arranged Chinese dictionary *Zìhuì* and the divinatory symbols of the *Change Classic*. The references to the *Changes* in the preface to *Zìhuì* echoed in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. In the opening sentences of the book's preface, Shěn talked about the invention of writing as the "drawing of the eight trigrams" (*huà bā guā* 畫八卦),[123] a reference perhaps not only to the *Changes*, but also to the preface to *Zìhuì*. Adopting a language familiar from the prefaces of Chinese dictionaries appears to have been a way for Shěn to inscribe his Manchu dictionary in a pre-existing tradition of Chinese lexicography.

For both the author of *Zìhuì* and for Shěn, it seems that the itemization and quantification of the written representations of language was the link between lexicography and the study of the *Changes*. Shěn wrote that "although the order of Manchu characters lacks the separation by number of strokes in the Chinese *The characters collected* (*Zìhuì*), it does not differ by much."[124] He seems to have associated the organization of words according to *akṣara* and syllables in descending order, which he used in his Manchu dictionary, with Méi Yīngzuò's method. In order to compile his dictionary, Shěn had to analyze, segment, compare, and rearrange words and phrases. Perhaps these motions evoked the operations of diviners or the manipulations of the demotic mathematical art of the counting rods. It certainly seems to in Shěn's mind have been related to the study of the divinatory trigrams, and thereby to the segmentation and quantification of Chinese characters in *Zìhuì*.

It is possible that graphologically arranged word lists were in circulation by the time Shěn published his dictionary, but we can be relatively certain that *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, with both a preface and a "Statement of editorial principles" in Chinese, represented one of the first (with great likelihood, *the* first) attempt to explain in Chinese the serial arrangement of words on the basis of the Manchu script. The Chinese traditions of lexicography and phonology had developed a substantial technical vocabulary in order to discuss and handle sounds, signs, and their components. Shěn was clearly conversant in these traditions, as his references to Méi Yīngzuò's dictionary show.

The vocabulary used in monolingual Chinese dictionaries like *Zìhuì* had been developed in reference to the Chinese script, which was composed of syllabic signs exhibiting recurring structural patterns. Written Manchu words, by contrast, consisted of several sound-bearing characters joined together in combinations running to many syllables in length. Explaining the structure of this writing system, and the form of serial arrangement that it supported, in a

[122] An account of the development of Manchu graphological arrangement (that does not describe the technical development of the system itself) is found in Chūnhuā 2008a.

[123] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *xù*:1a.

[124] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:2b–3a: 清字次序，雖無有如漢字彙之一畫二畫之別，然亦不大相殊也.

language and discourse that did not offer the technical vocabulary developed for that purpose was not an easy task. Given the incomplete realization of the graphological arrangement that we see in the main body of the dictionary, it is even possible that Shěn had not fully theorized what to us appear as the inner logic of his system.

For the sake of clarity, I will explain the functioning of Shěn's system using a terminology that I have developed specifically for this purpose, which I will relate to Shěn's own explanations. I will then examine to what extent the graphological system was actually realized in the dictionary.

As the examination of his pedagogical texts showed, Shěn seems to have considered the Manchu script as consisting of syllabic units subdividing into *akṣara*, a term that was of course unknown to him. A few years after he had published the dictionary, Shěn described written Manchu syllables as consisting of 'upper' and 'lower half blocks' (see chapter 5).[125] Each one of these corresponded to an *akṣara*. We will see in the following discussion that Shěn did not use this terminology in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*; perhaps his theoretical understanding of the Manchu script was yet undeveloped. We will see that it is, nevertheless, the conceptual model best suited to understand the arrangement of his dictionary.

In order for the words to be arranged in the dictionary in an orderly fashion, they had to be segmented into commensurable units. In Western alphabetical order, those units are the letters of the alphabet. In Manchu graphological arrangement, they are *akṣara* and syllables.

We remember that in the Indian tradition, *akṣara* could be of two types: (1) the onset-and-nuclei of syllables and (2) the coda of syllables. The Manchu syllabary was structured around two sequences of *akṣara*. The syllabary's 'inner sequence' contained *akṣara* of type 1 and the 'outer sequence' contained *akṣara* of type 2. Type 1 corresponds to Shěn's 'upper half blocks' and type 2 to his 'lower half blocks.' Shěn's dictionary arranged words by segmenting them into *akṣara* and placing them according to the positions that the *akṣara* occupied in the syllabary's inner and outer sequences. The arrangement relied on these two linear sequences in a fixed order. First, the place of a syllable's first *akṣara* in the inner sequence was taken into account, followed by the place of its second *akṣara* in the outer sequence. The arrangement of Shěn's dictionary thereby took into account both the syllabary's inner and outer sequences, weaving them together in order to deal with the entirety of the syllables in the listed headwords.

The arrangement was unable to account for a few syllable types, which were dealt with in an unexplained, ad hoc manner. More important, Shěn declined to apply his braided graphological arrangement with complete consistency, leaving many headwords out of position, sometimes forcing the reader to browse the relevant section of the dictionary at random in order to find a word. Moreover, the sequences used to arrange the words seem to have changed somewhat throughout the dictionary;[126] it is unclear whether Shěn was aware of this circumstance.

Extrapolating from Shěn's explanations, the lemmata in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* were arranged on three levels.[127] One the first or topmost level, words were arranged according to the place

[125]Page 232.

[126]Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 18.

[127]The clearest and most revelatory analysis of the arrangement of *Dà-Qīng quánshū* is that in Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 16–19. Although I will present the arrangement in Shěn's dictionary in somewhat different terms, I owe my understanding of it largely to them.

of the first *akṣara* (always of type 1: *a-*, *e-* … *na-*, *ne-* etc.) of the word's first syllable in the inner sequence.

We remember the makeup of the inner sequence:

Inner Sequence:	1	2	3	4	5	…	79	80	81	82 …	etc.
	a-	*e-*	*i-*	*o-*	*u-*	…	*ya-*	*ye-*	*yo-*	*yu-* …	

In general, the position in the inner sequence of the type-1 *akṣara* seen in examples from *Dà-Qīng quánshū* cited here can be discerned from consulting figure 5.5.[128] The sections of the dictionary were divided according to the order of the inner sequence, or the first type-1 *akṣara* of the words that they contained. The division of the word list into sections constituted arrangement on the first level.

On the second level, the words in one section, whose first syllable all had the same first *akṣara*, were further arranged according to the place of the second *akṣara* (always of type 2: *-ø* [zero], *-i*, *-n* … *-m*) of their first syllable in the syllabary's outer sequence. We remember the idiosyncratic order of the outer sequence used by Shěn:

Shěn's Outer Sequence:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	[-ø]	*-i*	*-n*	*-ng*	*-o*	*-r*	*-k*	*-t*	*-s*	*-b*	*-l*	*-m*

On the third level, finally, the words were further arranged by the first *akṣara* of the word's second syllable and third syllables (the type-1 *akṣara* of those syllables). Arrangement by the second or type-2 *akṣara* was not practiced in the second and third syllables of words, but it could theoretically have been implemented there as well.

The first and second levels were graphically represented using a table of contents and a division into chapters (for the first level, marking sections) and circular marks (for the second level, marking subsections). The third level was not graphically marked; it was hidden in the lemmata list.

In accordance with this system, the dictionary was thus first divided into one hundred sections, named after the first *akṣara* in the first syllable of the words they contained: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *na*, *ne*, *ni*, etc. Some of these sections were void of words, but present nonetheless since they were expected by the inner sequence. Other expected *akṣara*, by contrast, were not listed, inviting the suspicion that Shěn was more interested in having a neat one hundred sections for his dictionary, than using a syllable list accurately reflecting the structure of Manchu words.

In the following discussion I will repeatedly illustrate the segmentation of Manchu words according to the system represented in Shěn's dictionary with reference to the framework used by Shěn and other pedagogues and theoreticians of the Manchu script, as seen in chapter 5.

I will illustrate the segmentation of words into syllables and *akṣara* using figures that translate their position in the syllabary's sequences into numbers. To clarify to the reader how those figures should be read, I will first present one that parses the familiar English word 'book' according to the equally familiar Western conceptual model of the alphabet:

[128] Page 229.

$$\text{book} = \underset{\text{letter}}{b}\ \underset{\text{letter}}{o}\ \underset{\text{letter}}{o}\ \underset{\text{letter}}{k}$$

In an English dictionary with alphabetical arrangement the placement of this word would depend on the position of each of its letters in the conventional sequence of letters that constitute the English version of the Roman alphabet, in which *a* has position no. 1, *b* position no. 2 etc. If we assign each letter a number according to that principle, we get:

$$\underset{2}{b}\ \underset{15}{o}\ \underset{15}{o}\ \underset{11}{k} = \text{2-15-15-11}$$

The word *book*, represented by the number sequence 2-15-15-11, would in an English alphabetized dictionary be listed after *apple* (1-16-16-12-5) but before *burn* (2-21-18-14). Since *apple* and *book* differ already in their first letter, we do not have to verify the position of the remaining letters in the sequence of the alphabet in order to arrange them:

1. $\underset{1}{a}$*pple*
2. $\underset{2}{b}$*ook*

With *burn* added, we need to consider also the second letter:

1. $\underset{1}{a}$*pple*
2. $\underset{2}{b}\ \underset{15}{o}$*ok*
3. $\underset{2}{b}\ \underset{21}{u}$*rn*

A similar system is at work in Shěn's dictionary, as seen in the following example of the words *ama*, 'father,' and *eme*, 'mother.' We find *ama* in the dictionary's first section, since its first syllable begins with *a* (*a* being the first *akṣara* in the inner sequence), and the word *eme* in its second section, since its first syllable begins with *e* (*e* being the second *akṣara* in the inner sequence). At this first level, Shěn's system looks deceptively similar to European alphabetical order. From the point of view of Shěn's system, however, the words *ama* and *eme* have been placed in their respective sections because of the following analysis into syllables and *akṣara* ordered according to the syllabary's two linear sequences (with [ø] marking a zero *akṣara*):

ama parses as $\overbrace{\underset{\text{type-1 } akṣara}{a}\ \underset{\text{type-2 } akṣara}{[ø]}}^{1^{st}\text{ syllable}}\ \overbrace{\underset{\text{type-1 } akṣara}{ma}\ \underset{\text{type-2 } akṣara}{[ø]}}^{2^{nd}\text{ syllable}}$

We see that in this analysis, every syllable by necessity contains one type-1 *akṣara* and one type-2 *akṣara* (not more, not less), the latter of which can be zero (ø).

We did not see the notion of a zero *akṣara* expressed in the pedagogical and theoretical texts examined in chapter 5. Reading Shěn's explanation of the division of the dictionary into

one hundred sections, we likewise do not find a word for *akṣara*, be it zero or otherwise. In its absence, Shěn referred to the inner sequence synecdochically, by naming the first three *akṣara* in the series: *a*, *e*, *i*. By contrast, he did have a word for the *akṣara* of the outer sequence, which he referred to as *piān* 篇, "sections." We saw, however, that there was an understanding among scholars that the first section, which had a zero type-2 *akṣara* and was thus on the surface identical to the inner sequence, was the "predominant" one (*wéi zhǔ*). In Xióng Shìbó's words, the other sections, followed from it and "transform by accretion," meaning that they were coupled with *akṣara* from the outer sequence.[129] Positing a zero *akṣara*, however, allows us to coherently explain the functioning of Shěn's system with the greatest level of conceptual economy.

We can mark each *akṣara* with a number showing its place in the relevant sequence (inner sequence for type-1 *akṣara*; outer sequence for type-2 *akṣara*), similarly to what we did for the English words *apple*, *book*, and *burn* above. The great differences with the English example are (1) the *akṣara* can be both more and (in the case of the type-2 *akṣara*) less than a Roman letter, and (2) depending on whether they constitute the first or the second part of a syllable (i.e. is of type 1 or type 2), they will receive a number from either the inner or the outer sequences; that is, they will not be arranged only according to one sequence, as would the letters of the Roman alphabet. The Roman alphabet constitutes one linear sequence that contains all the letters. The Manchu syllabary, by contrast, contains two sequences, each containing one kind of *akṣara*.

In the figure below, the numbers reflect the position of a given *akṣara* in the inner sequence for those of type 1, marked above the word (Shěn's 'upper half blocks'), and the outer sequence for those of type 2, marked below the word (Shěn's 'lower half blocks'). The number sequence is then written out with the *akṣara* commuted to their respective numbers, with the type-1 *akṣara* written in superscript and the type-2 *akṣara* written in subscript.

The *akṣara* of *ama* in the order of the syllabary: $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}}\overset{61}{\overline{ma}}\underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{61}{}_{1}$

We now effectuate the same analysis for *eme*:

eme parses as $\overbrace{\underbrace{e}_{\text{type-1 } akṣara}\ \underbrace{[ø]}_{\text{type-2 } akṣara}}^{1^{\text{st}}\text{ syllable}}\ \overbrace{\underbrace{me}_{\text{type-1 } akṣara}\ \underbrace{[ø]}_{\text{type-2 } akṣara}}^{2^{\text{nd}}\text{ syllable}}$

The *akṣara* of *eme* in the order of the syllabary: $\overset{2}{\overline{e}}\underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}}\overset{62}{\overline{me}}\underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}} = {}^{2}{}_{1}{}^{62}{}_{1}$

As was the case with *apple* and *book*, we do not have to check every *akṣara* of *ama* and *eme* against the syllabary in order to arrange them into separate sections, because they differ already in their first *akṣara*:

[129] Quoted with original Chinese text on page 237 in chapter 5.

$\overset{1}{\bar{a}}$ *ma* —> 1st section of the dictionary
$\overset{2}{\bar{e}}$ *me* —> 2nd section of the dictionary

We see, then, how a segmentation into *akṣara* and their subsequent arrangement beginning at the head of the word according to their position in the Manchu syllabary led to the word *ama* being placed in the dictionary's first section, headed by *a*, and *eme* being placed in its second section, headed by *e*.

Shěn explained the division of the words into sections according to this system in the "Statement of editorial principles." The term Shěn opted for to explain the arrangement of words into sections was *mǔ* 母, literally 'mothers,' but as we saw in 2, the term is more appropriately translated as 'genera.' It referred to the type-1 *akṣara* that determined ('generated') the arrangement into sections. We saw that this term had a long history in Chinese lexicography and phonology as referring parts of Chinese syllables. The notion of 'genera,' quite possibly also inspired by the Indian notion of *akṣara*, were similar to Shěn's sections in that they were linked to the pronunciation of the words they contained. By appropriating and redefining terms from Chinese lexicography, Shěn inscribed his Manchu dictionary in a lexicographic tradition that predated the Manchu language. At the same time, he formulated a set of terms to describe an entirely new kind of dictionary.

The explanation of the division into sections constituted the first of the three points that Shěn made with regards to the structure of *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. Shěn explained:

> Now I have taken the characters *a*, *e*, *i*, etc. from the first section (*piān*) [of the Manchu syllabary] as the genera (*mǔ*) [i.e. the organizing elements of the first order] of the twelve sections.[130]

Second, Shěn explained the arrangement of the dictionary on the second level, where words were arranged according to the second *akṣara* of their first syllable in the order of the syllabary's outer sequence. In the idiosyncratic order chosen by Shěn (explained in chapter 5), the sequence ran: *-ø* (zero final), *-i*, *-n*, *-ng*, *-o*, etc.[131] The operation of this ordering sequence will only become apparent in the case of words whose first *akṣara* was identical. Thus, in the case of the word pair *ama* and *eme*, ordering according to the second *akṣara* (and thus the outer sequence) does not come into play, as the first difference between these words occurs in the first *akṣara*, which is *a* in one case, *e* in the other.

The operation of arrangement according to the second *akṣara* (and thus the outer sequence) is visible, however, in the case of *aniya* and *anggala*, whose first difference occurs in the second *akṣara*, which is zero (-ø) in one case, *-ng* in the other. The syllable *a*, on the surface realized as only one sound, has a zero type-2 *akṣara*. We remember that the outer sequence begins with a zero *akṣara*, coupled with the inner sequence in the syllabary's first section, whereas the type-2 *akṣara* of the syllable *ang* is *-ng*, which occupies position no. 4 in

[130]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:3a: 今將頭一篇 *a*、*e*、*i* 等字，為十二篇之母.

[131]Following certain syllables, Shěn tended to diverge from this order: Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, 18.

the idiosyncratic order of the outer sequence favored in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*. We can schematize these two words in the manner of the words above:

aniya = 1st syllable: *a* (type-1 *akṣara*) [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*); 2nd syllable: *ni* (type-1 *akṣara*) [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*); 3rd syllable: *ya* (type-1 *akṣara*) [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*)

and with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{9}{ni}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{79}{ya}\underset{1}{[ø]} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{9}{}_{1}{}^{89}{}_{1}$

We now do the same for *anggala*:

anggala = 1st syllable: *a* (type-1 *akṣara*) *ng* (type-2 *akṣara*); 2nd syllable: *ga* (type-1 *akṣara*) [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*); 3rd syllable: *la* (type-1 *akṣara*) [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*)

and with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\underset{4}{ng}\overset{14}{ga}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{55}{la}\underset{1}{[ø]} = {}^{1}{}_{4}{}^{14}{}_{1}{}^{55}{}_{1}$

Again, as in the examples above, we do not need to check all the *akṣara* against the syllabary's sequences in order to arrange the two words *aniya* and *anggala*. However, we need to take into account the two first *akṣara*, as the first difference between the words occur in the type-2 *akṣara* of the first syllable:

1. $\overset{1}{a}\underset{1}{[ø]}niya$
2. $\overset{1}{a}\underset{4}{ng}gala$

The word *aniya*, representing the number sequence ${}^{1}{}_{1}\cdots$, will be listed before the word *anggala*, representing the number sequence ${}^{1}{}_{4}\cdots$. According to these principles, the words of the dictionary's first section, whose first type-1 *akṣara* was *a*, were further arranged according to their first type-2 *akṣara*, so that words whose first syllable contained a zero type-2 *akṣara*, like *aniya*, preceded words whose first syllable had the type-2 *akṣara -i* in their first syllable. Words with that type-2 *akṣara* were in turn followed by those with the type-2 *akṣara -n*, followed by those with *-ng*, and so on down through the outer sequence.

Arrangement by the type-2 *akṣara* of the first syllable constituted the arrangement on the second level. We remember that the ordering sequence for type-2 *akṣara* was the syllabary's outer sequence:

> [The type-1 *akṣara* of the inner sequence] lead the eleven divisions [i.e. the type-2 *akṣara* of the outer sequence, minus the zero type-2 *akṣara*]. As in the heads [i.e. the Manchu syllabary], the first [section] begins with *a*. It then follows [the order of the outer sequence] and ends with the twelfth section's *am*.

> Likewise, the second [section of the dictionary] starts from the character *e* and follows [the order of the outer sequence] and ends with the twelfth section's *em*. This applies also to the order of the rest of the characters.[132]

Third, Shěn described the arrangement at the third level. On the first level, words had been assigned to sections according to the first *akṣara* of their first syllable, grouping all words beginning in *a-* in the dictionary's first section, all words beginning in *e-* in the second, and so on. On the second level, furthermore, the words that had been grouped together by virtue of identical first *akṣara* were arranged according to the first syllable's second *akṣara* (their type-2 *akṣara*). The third level, finally, concerned word pairs whose first difference occurred in the second syllable.

Structurally speaking, Shěn's third level was simply the application of the ordering on the first level on the second syllable of every word. Yet Shěn did not explain things in this way, opting for a separate explanation for the arrangement in the second syllable.

In Shěn's system, the words *anatanumbi* and *aniya*, both listed in the dictionary's first section, share the first *akṣara a-* in their first syllable (which, moreover, has a zero second *akṣara*). However, *anatanumbi* precedes *aniya* because *-na-*, being the first *akṣara* of the second syllable in *anatanumbi*, precedes *-ni-*, being the first *akṣara* of the second syllable in *aniya*, in the order of the inner sequence.

We have already schematized the segmentation of *aniya* above. Now we schematize *anatanumbi*:

anatanumbi ᠠᠨᠠᠲᠠᠨᡠᠮᠪᡳ =

1st syllable		2nd syllable		3rd syllable		4th syllable		5th syllable	
a	[ø]	*na*	[ø]	*ta*	[ø]	*nu*	*m*	*bi*	[ø]
type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*

and with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{7}{na}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{45}{ta}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{11}{nu}\underset{12}{\overset{24}{m}}\overset{}{bi}\underset{1}{[ø]} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{7}{}_{1}{}^{45}{}_{1}{}^{11}{}_{12}{}^{24}{}_{1}$

Again, as in the examples above, we do not need to check all the *akṣara* against the syllabary's sequences in order to arrange the two words:

1. $\overset{1}{a}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{7}{na}$ *tanumbi*
2. $\overset{1}{a}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{9}{ni}$ *ya*

${}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{7}{}_{\ldots}$ will be listed before ${}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{9}{}_{\ldots}$

In the "Statement of Editorial Principles," Shěn synecdochically explained that the arrangement on the third level was based on the inner sequence, which had already been applied on the first level to divide the dictionary into sections. Shěn wrote:

[132]Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:3a–b: 綱領十一篇。如「頭」一篇：第一箇 *a* 字起，順領至第十二篇 *am* 字終。再如第二箇 *e* 字起，順領至第十二篇 *em* 字終。以下字之次序，俱照此也.

1st level	2nd level	3rd level
a		
		ana
		anaha
		anakû
		anakû bahafi
		anakû arambi
		anaci
		aname
		aname jafabume
		…
	ai	
		ai ai
		ai ai jaka
		ai ocibe
		ai baita jihe
		ai baningge
		ai ba
		ai ohode
		aini
		ai boljon
		…
	an	
	ang	
	ao	
	ar	
	ak	
	as	
	at	
	ab	
	al	
	am	
	…	
e		
i		
o		
u		
na		
ne		
ni		
no		
nu		
…		

Figure 6.1 – Visualization of *Dà-Qīng quánshū*'s Structure According to Shěn's Explanations

> Furthermore, the words (*liánzì*) [lit. 'connected characters'] grouped under *a* follow a certain order. For example, the character *a* is linked to the character *na*, which forms the character *ana*. When the [words beginning with] the character *ana* are exhausted, *ni* follows. From there, we arrive at the character [or word] *aniya*. The other [words] function like this example.[133]

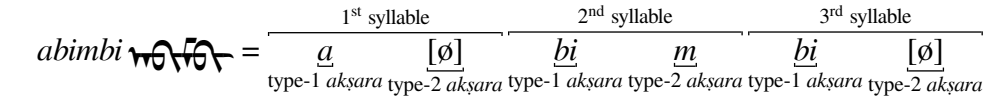
As the arrangement at the third level followed the same principle as that at the first level, Shěn effectively described a system where words were arranged syllable by syllable first according to the place of that syllable's first *akṣara* (type-1) in the inner sequence, and then by the same syllable's second *akṣara* (type-2) in the outer sequence, down through the syllables in a word. His system allowed for the arrangement to work its way through all of the words in a way similar to the complete alphabetization of early modern European dictionaries. It was not, however, applied that way in the dictionary.

The Limited Application of the System

Shěn did not apply ordering according to both a syllable's first and second *akṣara* after the first syllable of a word. As he described in his third point, which I referred to as the arrangement on the third level, words whose *first* syllables were identical, that is words whose two first *akṣara* were identical, were arranged according to the first *akṣara* of their *second* syllable. However, words whose first three *akṣara* (i.e. the first and second *akṣara* of the first syllable as well as the first *akṣara* of the second syllable) were identical were not further arranged according to the place of their *fourth akṣara* (by necessity a type-2 *akṣara*) in the outer sequence of the syllabary.

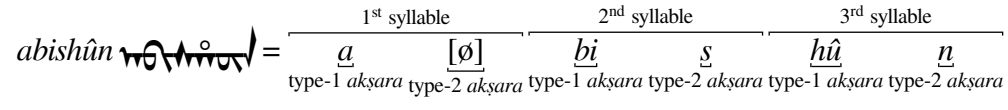
Thus, in his dictionary, the words *abimbi*, *abishûn*, and *abide* appeared in the order in which they are listed here.[134] Again, we need to parse, or segment, the words in order to verify the principles behind their arrangement.

Following the logic of Shěn's system, we parse the word *abimbi* into syllables, each consisting of a type-1 and a type-2 *akṣara*:



and with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{24}{bi}\underset{12}{m}\overset{24}{bi}\underset{1}{[ø]} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{24}{}_{12}{}^{24}{}_{1}$

The second word in the list, *abishûn*, has the following structure:



[133] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:3a–4a: 抑 *a* 字中之連字，亦有次序順去。如 *a* 字連至 *na* 字；即 *ana* 字也。*ana* 字完，順至 *ni* 字；即 *aniya* 字也。餘者類此.

[134] Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 3.

and with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{s}_{9}\,\overset{21}{\overline{hû}}\,\underbrace{n}_{3} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{24}{}_{9}{}^{21}{}_{3}$

Finally, the third word, *abide*, has the following structure:

abide = $\overbrace{\underbrace{a}_{\text{type-1 } akṣara}\ \underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{\text{type-2 } akṣara}}^{1^{\text{st}}\text{ syllable}}\ \overbrace{\underbrace{bi}_{\text{type-1 } akṣara}\ \underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{\text{type-2 } akṣara}}^{2^{\text{nd}}\text{ syllable}}\ \overbrace{\underbrace{de}_{\text{type-1 } akṣara}\ \underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{\text{type-2 } akṣara}}^{3^{\text{rd}}\text{ syllable}}$

and with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{48}{\overline{de}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{24}{}_{1}{}^{48}{}_{1}$

With the addition of the number sequences, we easily see the logic of Shěn's arrangement of the three words. I have marked the *akṣara* until the point where they differ. Next to the order in which we find the words in the dictionary, I have listed the order that we would expect if the arrangement described in the "Statement of editorial principles" would have been carried out beyond the third *akṣara*:

ACTUAL ORDER:	EXPECTED ORDER:	
1. $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{m}_{12}\,bi$	1. $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,de$	
2. $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{s}_{9}\,hûn$	2. $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{s}_{9}\,hûn$	since ${}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{23}{}_{1}{}^{\cdots}$ should precede ${}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{23}{}_{9}{}^{\cdots}$ which should precede ${}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{23}{}_{12}{}^{\cdots}$
3. $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,de$	3. $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\,\underbrace{[\text{ø}]}_{1}\,\overset{24}{\overline{bi}}\,\underbrace{m}_{12}\,bi$	

As we saw above, Shěn did write that "there are a few characters that do not accord with the order. This is because they were excerpted at different times and inserted in places throughout the text."[135] Shěn seems to have been aware that his arrangement was only inconsistently applied beyond the third *akṣara*. Because Shěn did not consider differences in the fourth *akṣara* of words, his arrangement on that level looked very similar to the 'syllabic alphabet' that we in chapter 2 saw used in medieval European dictionaries.

Arrangement of 'Outer Characters'

Notwithstanding the flexibility with which the arrangement was applied beyond the third *akṣara* of words, Manchu graphological arrangement faced a separate problem. The problem stemmed from the difficulty of analyzing the so-called 'outer characters' (see chapter 5) as made up of syllables that could all be understood as the sum of a type-1 *akṣara* from the inner sequence paired with a type-2 *akṣara* from the outer sequence. For example, how should Shěn arrange the 'connected outer character' (the term is Wǔ-gé's) *ainci*, 'perhaps,' in

[135] Shěn Qǐliàng (1683a) 2008, *fánlì*:3b–4a.

Manchu written as *aiinci*, whose problematic doubled *-ii-* allowed for two parsings into *akṣara*?[136]

The word could be understood as subdividing into two syllables and four *akṣara* or as three syllables and six *akṣara*:

ainci = 1st syllable: *a* (type-1 *akṣara*), *iin* (type-2 *akṣara*); 2nd syllable: *ci* (type-1 *akṣara*), [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*)

ainci in 2 syllables and 4 *akṣara*, with *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\ \underset{?}{\underline{iin}}\ \overset{69}{\overline{ci}}\ \underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}} = {}^{1}{}_{?}{}^{69}{}_{1}$

We see that this parsing presents a problem of how to arrange *-iin*, which is not one of the *akṣara* found in the syllabary's outer sequence. Either we treat it as *-[ii]n*, an equivalent of *-n*, which Shěn placed in position no. 3 in the outer sequence, or we treat it as *-i[in]*, an equivalent of *-i*, which occupies position no. 2 in the sequence:

-iin treated as *-[ii]n* []: $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\ \underset{3}{\underline{[ii]n}}\ \overset{69}{\overline{ci}}\ \underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}} = {}^{1}{}_{3}{}^{69}{}_{1}$

or alternatively:

-iin treated as *-ii[n]* []: $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\ \underset{2}{\underline{[ii]n}}\ \overset{69}{\overline{ci}}\ \underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}} = {}^{1}{}_{2}{}^{69}{}_{1}$

The parsing into two syllables and four *akṣara* would, then, force us to choose between two arrangements, one based on the number sequence ${}^{1}{}_{3}{}^{69}{}_{1}$, the other based on other sequence ${}^{1}{}_{2}{}^{69}{}_{1}$.

If we instead parse the word as consisting of three syllables and six *akṣara*, we get:

ainci = 1st syllable: *a* (type-1 *akṣara*), *i* (type-2 *akṣara*); 2nd syllable: *i* (type-1 *akṣara*), *n* (type-2 *akṣara*); 3rd syllable: *ci* (type-1 *akṣara*), [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*)

When we assign numbers to the *akṣara* according to their position in the inner and outer sequences, we see that this parsing presents less ambiguity than did the first one:

ainci in 4 syllables and 6 *akṣara*, with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{\overline{a}}\ \underset{2}{\underline{i}}\ \overset{3}{\overline{i}}\ \underset{3}{\underline{n}}\ \overset{69}{\overline{ci}}\ \underset{1}{\underline{[ø]}} = {}^{1}{}_{2}{}^{3}{}_{3}{}^{69}{}_{1}$

[136]I have chosen the example of the word *ainci* under the influence of the discussion in Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 20.

The parsing into two syllables and four *akṣara* more accurately reflected the realization of the word in speech, but could not unambiguously be arranged in a word list on the basis of the position of its *akṣara* in the inner and outer sequences of the Manchu syllabary. The parsing of the word into three syllables and six *akṣara*, by contrast, included only *akṣara* found in the syllabary's inner and outer sequences, and thus made it easier to arrange on their basis. However, such a parsing came at the price of dividing the doubled *-ii-* , written with two Manchu graphs only by convention, into two artificial syllables with no corresponding phonetic reality.

We can discern how Shěn parsed it by considering the place in which it was arranged in the dictionary. Shěn placed the word *ainci* following *aiman* (written *aiiman* in Manchu orthography) and preceding *aifini* (written *aiifini* in Manchu orthography):

1. *aiman*
2. *ainci*
3. *aifini*

Let us parse the words *aiman* and *aifini* into syllables and *akṣara* in as we did with the words above. We begin with *aiman*:

aiman in 2 syllables and 4 *akṣara*:

1st syllable		2nd syllable	
a	*ii*	*ma*	*n*
type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*

aiman in 2 syllables and 4 *akṣara*, with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\underset{?}{\underline{ii}}\overset{61}{ma}\underset{3}{\underline{n}} = {}^{1}{}_{?}{}^{61}{}_{3}$

Again, we see a difficulty of assigning the *akṣara -ii* a position in the outer sequence. However, as we saw in chapter 5, Manchu pedagogues such as Wǔ-gé explained *-ii* as simply a variant of *-i*. We can assume users of Shěn's dictionary would have made the same inference. If that is correct, we can parse the word as follows:

aiman with *-ii-* treated as equal to *-i* : $\overset{1}{a}\underset{2}{\underline{ii}}\overset{61}{ma}\underset{3}{\underline{n}} = {}^{1}{}_{2}{}^{61}{}_{3}$

If we instead parse *aiman* into three syllables and six *akṣara*, we get:

aiman in 3 syllables and 6 *akṣara*:

1st syllable		2nd syllable		3rd syllable	
a	[ø]	*i*	*i*	*ma*	*n*
type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*

aiman in 3 syllables and 6 *akṣara*, with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\underset{1}{[ø]}\overset{3}{i}\underset{2}{\underline{i}}\overset{61}{ma}\underset{3}{\underline{n}} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{3}{}_{2}{}^{61}{}_{3}$

We can, then, understand *aiman* as representing one of the two number sequences $^{1}{}_{2}{}^{61}{}_{3}$ and $^{1}{}_{1}{}^{3}{}_{2}{}^{61}{}_{3}$.

With *aiman* parsed, we now parse *aifini*. Since the word is longer than *ainci* and *aiman*, the choice will stand between three syllables and six *akṣara* on the one hand, and four syllables and eight *akṣara* on the other:

aifini in 3 syllables and 6 *akṣara*:

1st syllable		2nd syllable		3rd syllable	
a	*ii*	*fi*	[ø]	*ni*	[ø]
type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*

with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,\overset{107}{fi}\,\underset{1}{[ø]}\,\overset{9}{ni}\,\underset{1}{[ø]} = {}^{1}{}_{2}{}^{107}{}_{1}{}^{9}{}_{1}$

or alternatively, *aifini* in 4 syllables and 8 *akṣara*:

1st syllable		2nd syllable		3rd syllable		3rd syllable	
a	*[ø]*	*i*	*i*	*fi*	[ø]	*ni*	[ø]
type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*	type-1 *akṣara*	type-2 *akṣara*

with the *akṣara* numbered: $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{1}{[ø]}\,\overset{3}{i}\,\underset{2}{i}\,\overset{107}{fi}\,\underset{1}{[ø]}\,\overset{9}{ni}\,\underset{1}{[ø]} = {}^{1}{}_{1}{}^{3}{}_{2}{}^{107}{}_{1}{}^{9}{}_{1}$

We see that *aifini* can be taken to represent one of the two number sequences $^{1}{}_{2}{}^{107}{}_{1}{}^{9}{}_{1}$ and $^{1}{}_{1}{}^{3}{}_{2}{}^{107}{}_{1}{}^{9}{}_{1}$.

If we append the number sequences to the words in their order in which Shěn arranged them in the dictionary, we will be able to discern how he parsed them. First, we look at at the parsing that accorded better with the realization of the word in speech: the segmentation into as few syllables as possible (two each for *ainci* and *aiman*; three for *aifini*):

?	1. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,man$ 2. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{3}{[ii]n}\,ci$ or $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii[n]}\,ci$ 3. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,fini$	Which parsing did Shěn use?

We see that *ainci* interpreted as composed of two syllables and four *akṣara* made possible two different interpretations, giving two possible number sequences and expected arrangements. If we choose the first sequence, we are forced to conclude that the arrangement of the three words does not follow the rules described by Shěn:

ainci in 2 syllables, possibility no. 1, actual order:	1. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,man$ 2. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underbrace{[ii]n}_{3}\,ci$ 3. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,fini$	The order is violated.

We see that the principles of the arrangement are not followed in this version, since the words are arranged in the order 2–3–2. We would have expected:

ainci in 2 syllables, possibility no. 1, expected order:	1. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,\overset{61}{ma}\,n$ 2. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,\overset{107}{fi}\,ni$ 3. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underbrace{[ii]n}_{3}\,ci$	*ainci* should follow *aifini*, which in turn should follow *aiman*.

This order shows the arrangement representing the transposition of the order of the *akṣara* that we see in the Manchu syllabary's sequences. Yet Shěn did not arrange the words in that way, indicating that he did not segment *ainci* as $\overset{1}{a}\,\underbrace{[ii]n}_{3}\,\overset{69}{ci}\,\underbrace{[ø]}_{1}$.

If we try instead to understand the arrangement using the other understanding that we saw was possible on the basis of a parsing into two syllables and four *akṣara* ($^{1}{}_{2}{}^{69}{}_{1}$), we get:

ainci in 2 syllables, possibility no. 2, actual order:	1. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,\overset{61}{ma}\,n$ 2. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underbrace{ii[n]}_{2}\,\overset{69}{ci}$ 3. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{ii}\,\overset{107}{fi}\,ni$	The actual order is what we would expect.

We see that the understanding of *ainci* as representing $^{1}{}_{2}{}^{69}{}_{1}$ gives the arrangement 61–69–107, which is in accordance with the order of the syllabary. It is, then, possible that Shěn understood the word in this way. Before we can conclude that to be the case, we need to see if we can understand the arrangement of the three words to follow a segmentation into the maximum number of syllables, which as we saw was further removed from their realization in speech but had the advantage of subdividing only into *akṣara* attested in the syllabary's inner and outer sequences.

We append the number sequences to the words while presenting them in the order given by Shěn in the dictionary:

ainci in 3 syllables, actual order:	1. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underbrace{[ø]}_{1}\,\overset{3}{i}\,\underset{2}{i}\,\overset{61}{ma}\,n$ 2. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underset{2}{i}\,inci$ 3. $\overset{1}{a}\,\underbrace{[ø]}_{1}\,\overset{3}{i}\,\underset{2}{i}\,\overset{107}{fi}\,ni$	The order is violated; *ainci* should follow *aifini*.

We see that this arrangement does not follow the order of the Manchu syllabary.

We can now conclude that Shěn did not parse the word *ainci* as consisting of three syllables and six *akṣara*. Shěn clearly parsed the word as consisting of two syllables and four *akṣara*, opting for the solution more closely reflecting the word's realization in speech. As we saw, this solution presented him with the problem of how to interpret the second *akṣara* (by necessity of type 2) in light of the order of the syllabary's outer sequence. We see that he chose one out of two possible interpretations, ignoring the *-n-* in *ainci*, arranging the word as if it did not exist. He never explained this ad hoc solution to his readers.

The preceding discussion has shown that Shěn used an arrangement based on a segmentation of the words into syllables and *akṣara*. The words were arranged according to the position of their constituent *akṣara* in the inner and outer sequences of the Manchu syllabary. Shěn did not typically arrange words beyond their third *akṣara*; words whose first difference occured in their fourth *akṣara* tended to be arranged at random in the dictionary. The so-called 'outer characters' such as *ainci*, studied in detail in the preceding, could not be easily arranged according to Shěn's system.

Semantic Arrangement in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*?

The limited and not entirely predictable application of the graphological arrangement in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* invites the question whether some other arrangement was used to complement it. Given that the major genre of Manchu lexicography other than the graphological dictionary was the semantically arranged thesaurus, we might suspect that Shěn used some kind of semantic arrangement to complement his graphological system.

The three words *abimbi*, *abishûn*, and *abide* that I studied above as an example of randomly placed words whose first difference occured in the fourth *akṣara* do not appear to have been arranged on semantic principles. They translate as 'to swell' (a verb); 'slightly swollen' (an adjectival noun);[137] and the question word 'where?.' It is conceivable that the order of *abimbi* and *abishûn*, which does not follow from the graphological arrangement, would reflect a semantic arrangement that privileged verbs over nouns. Yet that cannot explain why *abide* follows them both; it is semantically unrelated but ought on the basis of the graphological system to precede them.

Other word sequences might reveal a preference for listing the finite imperfect form of verbs, characterized by their ending *-mbi*,[138] before other forms. For example, Shěn listed the

[137]From my reading of Gorelova 2002, I conclude that Manchu adjectives function like nouns and are only called 'adjectives' by Western grammarians because of their correspondence in meaning with adjectives in European languages.

[138]Gorelova 2002, 286.

following words in the following order:

1. *asarambi*, defined by Shěn as "take away and store" (*shōushí cángqǐ* 收拾藏起);
2. *asaracina*, "well, I'm keeping it" (*shōuzhe shì ne* 收着是呢);
3. *asarakini*, "why don't you accept it from him" (*yóu tā shōu ba* 由他收罷);
4. *asarabuha*, "I gave it to him to keep" (*yǔ zhī shōu le* 與之收了).[139]

In this sequence, which would be ordered differently if we applied the graphological arrangement up to the sixth *akṣara* (where the words begin to differ in graphological structure), it appears that *asarambi* has been placed before the other forms because it expresses the basic meaning of the verb. It is possible that Shěn thought that his dictionary would thereby had been easier to use, but if he did, he did not explain it to his readers. Nor is it obvious that a hybrid graphological/semantic arrangement would have made the book easier to use as a reference work.

The examination of *Dà-Qīng quánshū*'s arrangement and its author's explanations of it shows that Shěn did not make his dictionary conform entirely to any one system. His successors were thus left with several possibilities of how to continue the lexicographic tradition he had inaugurated.

The "Index" of the Imperial *Mirrors*

As mentioned, the otherwise semantically arranged *Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* from 1708 contained an "Index" (*uheri hešen*) arranged on the basis of the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections. However, the editors of this work chose a system quite different from that seen in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*.

We find very few comments on the structure of the "Index" in the prefatory material to the imperial *Mirror*. The first of the two collectively signed postfaces merely noted that

> after the [main] text, there is also an index in several chapters. The idea of the index comes from the twelve *uju* ['the Manchu syllabary' or 'syllable-final *akṣara*']. As for the twelve *uju*, they are transformed without end. All of the words have been included in the index.[140]

However, the very name of the "Index" is informative. As was hinted at already in chapter 5, the word *uheri hešen*, although certainly inspired by the older Chinese term *zǒnggāng* 總綱, 'the assembled mesh of a net; the overall system,' which it translated, might have been related to an understanding of Manchu words as woven together from threads represented by the inner and outer sequences of the syllabary. Such a reading of the connotations of *uheri hešen*

[139]Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 3.

[140]Transcribed in Jiāng Qiáo 2009a, 191–2: *jai bithei amala, geli uheri hešen udu debtelin bi. uheri hešen i gûnin, juwan juwe uju ci deribuhebi. juwan juwe uju oci, kûbulire forgošorongge mohon akû. uheri hešen oci, eiten hacin gemu baktakabi*.

would imply that the compilers of the imperial *Mirror* thought of the structure of Manchu graphological arrangement as braided in the most literal sense of the word.

Since the "Index" was based on the syllabary in twelve sections, we would expect it to function like Shěn Qǐliàng's dictionary. Yet that is not the case. *Dà-Qīng quánshū* was divided into sections according to the first *akṣara* of the words. Since the first *akṣara* was always of type 1 (onset-and-nucleus), their order reflected that of the inner sequence of the Manchu syllabary. The *Mirror's* "Index," by contrast, was divided into sections according to the entire first syllable, which as we have seen would always correspond to two *akṣara*. The order of the syllables followed the order of the combinations of type-1 and type-2 *akṣara* that constituted the syllabary's twelve sections.

Since the syllabary's first section on the surface appeared identical to the inner sequence, the difference in arrangement between the two works is not apparent in the "Index's" first sections. Like in *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, the first section contained words that began with *a-*, the second words that began with *e-*, the third words that began with *i-* and so on. Yet in reality, that similarity was superficial, reflecting two different segmentations of the Manchu words.

In *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, the division into sections containing words beginning with *a-*, *e-*, *i-* and so on stemmed from a segmentation into *akṣara*; those sections contained words whose first *akṣara* was *a-*, *e-*, *i-*, etc. The section headed by *a* thus included words whose first *akṣara* was *a-* and second *akṣara* zero (ø), but also *-i*, *-n* and so on all the way down to the end of the outer sequence's type-2 *akṣara*, *-m*.

In the *Mirror's* "Index," by contrast, all words in the section headed by *a* contained *a* as their first syllable. In terms of *akṣara*, their first type-1 *akṣara* was *a-* and their first type-2 *akṣara* was zero (ø). Words whose first syllable included any type-2 *akṣara* other than zero (ø) were not included in the first section. As mentioned, the "Index's" sections corresponded to the sections of the syllabary, so that after the syllables consisting of the type-1 *akṣara* of the inner sequence plus the zero type-2 *akṣara*, the syllables consisting of the type-1 *akṣara* of the inner sequence plus the type-2 *akṣara -i* followed, etc.

The difference can be illustrated with an example. The word *aniya* was according to Shěn's system segmented above as:

$$\overset{1^{st}\ \text{syllable}}{\overset{1}{\overline{a}\,\underset{1}{[ø]}}}\quad \overset{2^{nd}\ \text{syllable}}{\overset{9}{\overline{ni}\,\underset{1}{[ø]}}}\quad \overset{3^{rd}\ \text{syllable}}{\overset{79}{\overline{ya}\,\underset{1}{[ø]}}}$$

Since it had *a-* as its first (type-1) *akṣara*, the word *aniya* was placed in the dictionary's first section, headed by *a*.

In the *Mirror's* "Index," the word was also found in the first section, but for a different reason. Its placement there reflected not an analysis into *akṣara*, but into syllables. The first section contained words whose first syllable was *a*. According to the system used in the "Index," the word *aniya* should be parsed as:

$$\overset{1^{st}\ \text{syllable}}{\overline{a}}\quad \overset{2^{nd}\ \text{syllable}}{\overline{ni}}\quad \overset{3^{rd}\ \text{syllable}}{\overline{ya}}$$

Having *a* as its first syllable, the "Index" arranged *aniya* in the first section, which was headed by *a*.

In the case of *aniya*, two different analyses led to the word's placement in the same section. In other cases, however, the different analyses led to different placement. We can see the radical difference in the parsing of words by looking at another example.

Words beginning with the two graphs *an-* ᠠᠨ (*a-* ᠠ + *-n-* ᠨ) were of two types. On the one hand, they comprised words that had the same structure of syllables and *akṣara* as did *aniya*, that is:

Type *aniya*: 1st syllable: *a* (type-1 *akṣara*) [ø] (type-2 *akṣara*); 2nd syllable: *na/ne/ni…* (type-1 *akṣara*) … (type-2 *akṣara*) | Same section in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and the *Mirror's* "Index."

We saw that in both In *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and in the "Index," words of this type were placed in the first section of the lemmata list.

On the other hand, there were words whose first two graphs were also *a-* ᠠ and *-n-* ᠨ, but in which *-n-* represented not the first graph of the type-1 *akṣara* of the second syllable, but the type-2 *akṣara* of the first syllable. A word of that type was *anjimbi*, 'to hack, to chop.' Shěn parsed this word as:

1st syllable	2nd syllable	3rd syllable
1	75	24
a *n*	*ji* *m*	*bi* [ø]
3	12	1

and placed in the dictionary's first section, headed by *a*.[141] In the "Index," by contrast, the word would have been parsed as:

1st syllable	2nd syllable	3rd syllable
an	*jim*	*bi*

As such, it belonged in the section headed by the syllable *an*, which was at a considerable distance from *a* in the "Index's" lemmata list, because *an* was a syllable that in the Manchu syllabary did not occur until in the third section. The word *anjimbi* was of a different type from *aniya*, a word whose first two graphs were *an-* ᠠᠨ but whose first type-2 *akṣara* was not zero:

Type *anjimbi*: 1st syllable: *a* (type-1 *akṣara*) *i/n/ng…* (type-2 *akṣara*); 2nd syllable … | Different sections in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and the *Mirror's* "Index."

[141] Hayata Teruhiro and Teramura Masao 2004, vol. 1, 10.

From the placement of words of type *aniya* and *anjimbi* in the two dictionaries, we see that the top-level division into sections was entirely different in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and the *Mirror's* "Index."

Within the "Index's" sections, the lemmata do not appear to have been arranged in any particular order. Users of the "Index" would know which section to go for finding a given word (they would just go to the section headed by the syllable also found at the beginning of the word in question), but beyond this top-level arrangement the order of the words appears largely arbitrary. We do not see arrangement according to the inner sequence's type-1 *akṣara*; the outer sequence's type-2 *akṣara*; or the syllables formed by combinations of the two, that constituted the syllabary's sections.[142]

The subsequent revisions and expansions of the imperial *Mirror* continued the tradition of including an "Index." The arrangement of words within it did not differ substantially from the 1708 original, showing that the court lexicographers were content with the graphological arrangement that the first version represented.[143]

With one important exception to be discussed presently, the influence of the indexes on the development of graphologically organized Manchu dictionaries was negligible. Yet the use made of the indexes shows that graphological arrangement was a popular way to access the otherwise semantically organized *Mirrors.* The indexes even seem to have been printed and bound as independent works, which, with the manuscript addition of interlinear Chinese or Mongol translations, could be turned into reference works in their own right, to be used entirely without recourse to the main body of the thesaurus. Such is the state in which we find the copy of the "Index" to the original *Mirror* now held at Peking University Library.[144] The existence of such modified indexes show that convenient word-retrieval was one of the things most desired by the users of Manchu word repositories.

Shěn Qǐliàng's Successors and the Unfolding of Manchu Graphological Arrangement

It was not in the imperial *Mirrors*, but in private and commercial publishing that Shěn Qǐliàng's lexicographic arrangement was continued. By 1780, almost a century after the initial publica-

[142]The following sequences from the first section of the "Index" should make clear that arrangement based on those principles was not applied: *aniya, aniya inenggi, amaga, amaga inenggi, aniyadari, aniyalame; ahûlambi, ahûlabumbi, anahûnjambi, anabumbi, acan, acalambi; ališabumbi, ališacuka, akacun, akambi, akacuka, aliyacun, aliyambi*; etc. (*Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe: uheri hešen* 1708, vol. 1, *uheri hešen a e i*:1a–8a).

[143]Comparing the "Index" in *Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe: uheri hešen* 1708 with that in *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn, Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū* edition (1771–1773) 1983 (a similar version: *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn, Sìkù quánshū huìyào* edition [1771–1773] 2005), we find that they have 238 lemmata in common, of which 39 are arranged differently, corresponding to a difference of 16.39%. The structure of the two indexes was identical, however. Although the 1771 edition contained 749 organizing syllables on the second level of arrangement, as compared to the 732 syllables of the original 1708 edition, there were no differences in the arrangement of the 718 organizing syllables that they had in common.

[144]*Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe: uheri hešen* 1708.

Dà-Qīng quánshū (1683)	1173	syllables
Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū (1690)	686	”
Qīngwén bèikăo (1722)	751	”
Qīngwén huìshū (1724)	732	”
Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn (1771)	749[a]	”
Sānhé biànlăn (1780)	749[b]	”
Qīngwén bŭhuì (1786)	625[c]	”

Figure 6.2 – Number of Organizing Syllables Marked in the Lemmata Lists of a Few Manchu Dictionaries

[a]Excludes the section containing ‘Outer characters.’
[b]First part of the lemmata list only.
[c]Excludes the section containing ‘Outer characters.’

tion of Shĕn’s dictionary, five major graphologically arranged Manchu-Chinese dictionaries had been published. In addition to *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, they included *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*, *Qīngwén bèikăo*, *Qīngwén huìshū*, and *Sānhé biànlăn*, all of which I discussed previously. Comparing the arrangement in the five dictionaries reveals the level of uniformity in the graphological arrangement in the genre of Manchu dictionaries.

The basic structure of the later dictionaries was similar to *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, but it was not identical, nor was it presented in the same way to the reader. Some dictionaries included, as did *Dà-Qīng quánshū* before them, a table of contents,[145] but most did not. Yet they followed *Dà-Qīng quánshū* in marking the sequence of syllables representing groups of words whose first difference occured in the third *akṣara* (Shĕn’s second level of arrangement, grouping words whose first syllable, type-1 and type-2 *akṣara* included, were identical) inside the dictionary proper, by setting them off from the surrounding text using whitespace, headings, or circular marks. The number of thusly marked syllables in various dictionaries can be seen in figure 6.2. The number seen there varies, since some dictionaries chose to include syllables that were theoretically possible to derive from the syllabary in twelve sections, but did not occur in the initial position of any Manchu words, or did so only rarely.

Comparison of the Arrangement of Manchu Graphological Dictionaries

Shĕn Qĭliàng had based his arrangement on an idiosyncratic order of the syllabary’s outer sequence, causing the arrangement of his dictionary to differ substantially from the dictionaries of his successors. The difference, however, only became visible on the second level of arrangement: the outer sequence was a sequence of type-2 *akṣara*, whereas the top-level

[145]Daigu 1722a.

	Dà-Qīng quánshū (1683)
Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū (1690)	15.85%[a]
Qīngwén bèikǎo (1722)	16.30%[b]
Qīngwén huìshū (1724)	16.92%[c]
Sānhé biànlǎn (1780)[d]	16.62%[e]

Figure 6.3 – Degree of Difference on the Second Level of Arrangement Between *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and Some of Its Successors

[a] 107 differences in a common sequence of 675 syllables.
[b] 119 differences in a common sequence of 730 syllables.
[c] 121 differences in a common sequence of 715 syllables.
[d] First part of lemmata list only.
[e] 121 differences in a common sequence of 728 syllables.

arrangement in these dictionaries represented the sequence of type-1 *akṣara* that constituted the inner sequence and was largely identical between Shěn's syllabaries and the others. Perusing the tables of contents of *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and *Qīngwén bèikǎo*, for example, reveals them as almost identical, with only minor differences.[146]

Matters are very different with the organization on the second level. Here, the type-2 *akṣara* came into play, causing substantial differences between *Dà-Qīng quánshū* and its successor dictionaries (figure 6.3). That these dictionaries structurally still belong in the same lineage as Shěn's dictionary becomes obvious when we consider the much greater degree of difference between the same group of dictionaries to the most widely circulating edition of the imperial *Mirror* (figure 6.4). Among each other, the arrangement within sections (second-level arrangement) differed very little in the successors to *Dà-Qīng quánshū* (figure 6.5).

Unlike Shěn Qǐliàng, the authors of the later Manchu dictionaries did not explain the lexicographical arrangement to the reader. Some books did not contain any prefatory material at all.[147] Daigu, author of *Qīngwén bèikǎo*, of which only some parts were graphologically organized, said in the preface that he "collected and examined many Manchu books and then

[146] The table of contents in *Dà-Qīng quánshū* listed 100 syllables and that in *Qīngwén bèikǎo* listed 98. Removing duplicate syllables and syllables present only in one of the tables of contents leaves 91 common syllables, of which the order differed in 3 cases, corresponding to 3.29%.

[147] E.g. *Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū* 1690.

	Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn (1771)
Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū (1690)	86.26%[a]
Qīngwén bèikǎo (1722)	86.97%[b]
Qīngwén huìshū (1724)	86.90%[c]
Sānhé biànlǎn (1780)[d]	87.40%[e]

Figure 6.4 – Degree of Difference Within Sections Between the "Index" of *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn* and Some Eighteenth-Century Dictionaries

[a]565 differences in a common sequence of 655 syllables.
[b]621 differences in a common sequence of 714 syllables.
[c]617 differences in a common sequence of 710 syllables.
[d]First part of lemmata list only.
[e]638 differences in a common sequence of 730 syllables.

compiled this book."[148] A postface to the same dictionary written by a different individual asserted that:

> Structure and glosses are to all books what the five senses are to the human body, and the yardstick is to craftsmen; if people did not have the five senses, what would show them the shapes and make them distinguish things? If craftsmen did not have the yardstick, what would they have to rely upon? From this one understands the great importance of structure and glosses.[149]

[148]Daigu 1722a, *beyei araha sioi*:2b: *mini beye, geren manju bithe be isabufi narhûšame kimcifi, ere bithe be šošome arafi*; *zìxù*:2b: 予遂爰集諸家清書，深加研究，彙成是編.

[149]Šen Kiyan in Daigu 1722a, *xùhòu*:1a: *yaya bithede, jergi ilhi suhe bithe bisirengge niyalmai beyede sunja tušan bisire faksisa de durun kemun isire adali yaya niyalma de sunja tušan akû oci, aibi durun be tuwabume arbun be ilgabumbi, faksisa de durun kemun akû oci, aibi jakabe tuwame tetun be šanggabumbi, bi ereci bithede jergi ilhi suhe bithe be umesi oyonggo be sahabi,*; 夫書之有序次銓釋，猶人身之有五官，工師之有規矩也；蓋人無五官將何以鑒形別貌，工師舍規矩，將何以度材成物？我於是知書之序次銓釋最為切要.

	Qīngwén bèikǎo (1722)	*Qīngwén huìshū* (1724)	*Sānhé biànlǎn* (1780)[a]
Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū (1690)	0.75%[b]	1.08%[c]	0.77%[d]
Qīngwén bèikǎo (1722)		1.41%[e]	0.56%[f]
Qīngwén huìshū (1724)			1.28%[g]

Figure 6.5 – Degree of Difference on the Second Level of Arrangement Between a Few Eighteenth-Century Dictionaries

[a] First part of lemmata list only.
[b] 5 differences in a common sequence of 664 syllables.
[c] 7 differences in a common sequence of 648 syllables.
[d] 5 differences in a common sequence of 653 syllables.
[e] 10 differences in a common sequence of 709 syllables.
[f] 4 differences in a common sequence of 712 syllables.
[g] 9 differences in a common sequence of 701 syllables.

We might read this as an assertion of the importance of graphological arrangement, but the generality of the remark suggests that it refers to the general division of *Qīngwén bèikǎo*'s contents into a section on grammar, one on set phrases used in the Six Boards, and so on. Nowhere in *Qīngwén bèikǎo* do we find an explicit description of graphological arrangement.

Lǐ Yánjī, author of *Qīngwén huìshū*, likewise did not explain his arrangement. Lǐ wrote that he had based his dictionary on the topically arranged imperial *Mirror*, which he "carefully glossed and translated, relying on the order of the twelve heads."[150] The reason he called the words and phrases in his dictionary "collected" (*huì* 彙) was because "in general, [words] that are arranged together [in this book] all show similarities."[151] It is probable that Lǐ was here associating his work to the Chinese dictionary *Zìhuì*, which 'collected' (*huì*) graphically similar characters into the same category. If this reading is correct, Lǐ would, just like Shěn Qǐliàng before him, have thought of Manchu graphological arrangement as similar to the graphological system so prominent in the Chinese tradition of lexicography. Lǐ did not elaborate on his arrangement beyond these brief comments.

Fügiyün, author of *Sānhé biànlǎn*, said of his arrangement that "not only" had the sections of the dictionary been

> arranged according to the characters (Ma. *hergen*; Mo. *üsüg*) [*akṣara*?] of the

[150] Lǐ Yánjī (1724–1751) 2001, *xù*:2a–b: 謹按十二字頭挨次譯註.
[151] Lǐ Yánjī (1724–1751) 2001, *xù*:2b: 凡同類者舉相似也.

> twelve heads (Ma. *juwan juwe uju*) [Mo. *čaγan toloγai*, lit. 'white heads'], but the characters [or *akṣara*] of every head [i.e. section] have also been arranged in that order, making it very easy to search despite the large number of volumes.[152]

Fügiyün's comment, like Lǐ's, was also very general, but he seems to stress that the graphological arrangement had been carried through with relatively great consistency, extending beyond the ordering of words into sections according to their first *akṣara* to encompass also their ordering within each section. This arrangement was no different from that practiced by Shěn Qǐliàng, however, and Fügiyün's stress on the value of the arrangement for easy word-retrieval also echoed Shěn's concerns.

Looking over these few quotes culled from the graphologically arranged Manchu dictionaries of the eighteenth century, we see that our harvest is poor indeed. Shěn Qǐliàng's successors did not elaborate very extensively on their choice of lexicographic organization. Probably, they took for granted that their readers knew that 'organized according to the twelve heads' meant organized in the manner of *Dà-Qīng quánshū* (and not the imperial *Mirror*'s "Index"). It is also possible that their lexicographic work consisted more of collecting, verifying, and translating words than arranging them. The absence of a discourse on graphological arrangement might very well have hid a general lack of interest in the perfection of lexicographic arrangement. Was Shěn Qǐliàng's system convenient enough as it was?

Comparing the arrangement in the five dictionaries will reveal the level of success achieved by Manchu lexicographers in the development of graphological arrangement. The degree of uniformity can be discerned by comparing their section headings and lemmata. In order to make sequences from the dictionaries comparable, we need to first make them commensurable. In the following section, I will explain how that can be achieved. Next, I will proceed to compare Shěn's dictionary with those of his successors.

Dictionary Arrangement and Generic Ease of Word-Retrieval: A Methodological Digression

This section will demonstrate step by step the method I will use to compare arrangement between dictionaries. First, sequences from two dictionaries are made comparable by being reduced to words they have in common. Second, the order of those words is compared to ascertain to what degree the arrangement differs.

Basics of the Method

In order for the comparison to be meaningful, we have to eliminate differences between the dictionaries that are not related to the arrangement. Notably, the two dictionaries compared

[152] Fügiyün (1780b) 1792, *xù*:7a–b: Ma. *terei jergi ilhi be uthai juwan juwe ujui hergen-i songkoi faidame araha dade uju tome geli sirame hergen be tuwame ilhi aname faidahabi, ede debtelin udu labdu bicibe, baicame tuwara de nokai ja, …*; Mo. *tegün-ü dan ǰerge-yi mön čaγan toloγai-yin üsüg-ün yosoγar ǰiγsaγaǰu bičigsen bügün, doloγan büri basa-ded [?] üsüg-i üǰeǰü desleǰü ǰiγsaγaǰuγui egün-dür debter kedüi olan bolbaǰu, bayičaγaǰu üǰegüi-dür teyin kilbar…*; Ch. 其次序，即依十二字頭，而每字頭之中，又自爲次序之，以故卷帙雖繁，而簡閱頗易….

	Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū (1690)	*Qīngwén bèikǎo* (1722)	*Qīngwén huìshū* (1724)	*Sānhé biànlǎn* (1780)
Dà-Qīng quánshū (1683)	23.75%[a]	25.13%[b]	19.58%[c]	24.55%[d]
Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū (1690)		23.49%[e]	23.35%[f]	22.44%[g]
Qīngwén bèikǎo (1722)			36.80%[h]	25.26%[i]
Qīngwén huìshū (1724)				40.63%[j]
Average difference:	26.50%			

Figure 6.6 – Differences in Arrangement on the Second and Third levels (Section on *a*) in Major Manchu dictionaries

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[a] 90 differences among 379 common lemmata.
[b] 99 differences among 394 common lemmata.
[c] 66 differences among 337 common lemmata.
[d] 41 differences among 167 common lemmata.
[e] 74 differences among 315 common lemmata.
[f] 67 differences among 287 common lemmata.
[g] 35 differences among 156 common lemmata.
[h] 198 differences among 538 common lemmata.
[i] 79 differences among 314 common lemmata.
[j] 141 differences among 347 common lemmata.

might not (most probably will not) contain exactly the same set of words; before comparison, all words not common to both dictionaries will have to be removed, producing two word-lists of equal length and contents, but with a potentially different order of the words. The lists can then be compared, and the number of differences will tell us to what extent the differences in organizing principles have impacted the placement of the words.

For example, assume the following two sequences:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Sequence no. 1:	A	B	**C**	**D**	**E**	**F**
Sequence no. 2:	A	B	**Bb**	**C**	**E**	**D**

Since sequence no. 2 contains the lemma Bb, which is not in sequence no. 1, a comparison of the two would reveal that sequence no. 2 differs from sequence no. 1 in 4 out of 6 cases: each letter occupying any of positions 3–6 in sequence no. 1 differ from the letter on the corresponding position in sequence no. 2. However, if we remove all lemmata not found in both sequences (meaning, in our case, removing Bb and F) we see that they still differ, but only in their arrangement:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Sequence no. 1:	A	B	C	**D**	**E**
Sequence no. 2:	A	B	C	**E**	**D**

What constitutes a difference can be understood as a discrepancy in one sequence when compared to the other. However, in the case of a comparison of only two sequences, as opposed to a comparison of two sequences against a third sequence, any discrepancy in one sequence with regards to the other will have a corresponding difference in the other sequence. I count such pairs of corresponding differences as one difference.

In the case of our mock example, sequences no. 1 and 2 would thus differ in 2 (D and E) out of 6 lemmata, corresponding to a difference rate of approximately 33.3%. In other words, were a reader to look for E or D in sequence no. 2 while assuming the arrangement of sequence no. 1, he would not find it in its expected place. Would he, on the other hand, look for A, B, C, or D, he would find them in their expected places. As long as he is not familiar with the arrangement of sequence no. 2, he would have to a certain extent rely on trial-and-error to retrieve desired words from the dictionary.

Now we reintroduce the lemmata, Bb and F, that we removed because they lacked an equivalent in the opposite sequence into their original place. If our reader tries to look up F in the dictionary represented by sequence no. 2, he still will not be able to find it. In the case of a 100% correspondence in arrangement, the absence of these lemmata could have been determined with absolute certainty when he on his first attempt did not find it after D, but such confidence is impossible in the case of a dictionary having an arrangement differing at a rate of 33.3% from the one with which he is familiar. He could of course give up his

search, but in order to make sure the desired word is not included, he would have to either learn the organizing principles underpinning the arrangement of the dictionary represented in sequence no. 2, or go look at all the other positions in the sequence. No matter what he does, the difference in arrangement will have slowed him down, and we would be compelled to conclude that as a generic tool of information management, the group (i.e. the genre) of dictionaries represented by sequences no. 1 and 2 would do a very poor job indeed.

The Method Applied to Contemporary English Dictionaries

I will now demonstrate the method on a real world example. Let us, by simply picking two English dictionaries off the shelf, compare sequences from dictionaries of familiar arrangement: *MacMillan Student Dictionary* and *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English,*[153] both of which use English alphabetical order. Taking the first 100 lemmata in both dictionaries, beginning with *a*, and comparing them, we find that only 37 lemmata are common to both dictionaries. I will go through the process of identifying the common lemmata step by step.

The first 100 lemmata in *MacMillan Student Dictionary* are as follows:

1 a	abeyance	35 abortion	absorb	69 access	accountant
aback	19 abhor	abound	53 abstain	acessible	87 accredited
3 abacus	abide	37 about	abstract	71 accession	accrue
abandon	21 ability	above	55 abstruse	accessory	89 accumulate
5 abase	abiotic	39 abrasion	absurd	73 accident	accurate
abashed	23 abject	abreast	57 abundant	acclaim	91 accursed
7 abate	ablaze	41 abridge	abuse	75 acclimatise	accuse
abattoir	25 able	abroad	59 abysmal	accolade	93 accustom
9 abbess	ablution	43 abrupt	abyss	77 accommodate	ace
abbey	27 abnormal	abscess	61 acacia	accompany	95 acetate
11 abbot	aboard	45 ascissa	academic	79 accomplice	acetic
abbreviate	29 abode	abscission	63 academy	accomplish	97 acetone
13 abdicate	abolish	47 abscond	accede	81 accord	acetylene
abdomen	31 abominable	absent	65 accelerate	according	99 ache
15 abduct	abominate	49 absolute	accent	83 accordion	achieve
aberration	33 aborigine	absolution	67 accentuate	accost	
17 abet	abort	51 absolve	accept	85 account	

Listing 6.1 – The first 100 lemmata in *MacMillan Student Dictionary.*

The first 100 lemmata of *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English* are as follows:

A, a	AAAS	aback	abbacy	abdomen
2 a	12 Aachen	22 abacus	32 abbé	42 abdominal
a−	aardvark	abaft	abbess	abduce
4 a−	14 Aaron	24 abalone	34 abbey	44 abduct
A	AARP	abandon	abbot	abeam
6 a.	16 ab−	26 abandoned	36 abbrev., abbr.	46 abed
A 1	AB	abase	abbreviate	Abel
8 AA	18 A.B.	28 abash	38 abbreviation	48 Aberdeen
A.A.	aba	abate	ABC	aberrant
10 AAA	20 abacá	30 abattoir	40 abdicate	50 aberration

[153]Manser 1996; Barnhart 2008.

abet
52 abeyance
abhor
54 abhorrence
abhorrent
56 abide
abiding
58 Adidjan
ability
60 abject
abjure
62 abl.
ablate
64 ablation
ablative
66 ablaze
able
68 able−bodied
abloom
70 ablution
ably
72 abnegate
abnormal
74 abnormality
abnormal psychology
76 aboard
abode
78 abolish
abolition
80 abomasum
A−bomb
82 abominable
abominate
84 abomination
aboriginal
86 aborigine
abort
88 abortion
abortionist
90 abortive
abound
92 about
about−face
94 above
aboveboard
96 abracadabra
abrade
98 Abraham
abrasion
100 abrasive

Listing 6.2 – The first 100 lemmata in *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English.*

Before comparing the lists, we need to remove all the lemmata found only in one dictionary but not the other. It turns out that the sequence from *MacMillan Student Dictionary* contains 63 lemmata not included in *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English.* These will have to be deleted. Lemmata to be deleted are marked with a minus sign ("–"):

a
aback
abacus
abandon
abase
– abashed
abate
abattoir
abbess
abbey
abbot
abbreviate
abdicate
abdomen
abduct
aberration
abet
abeyance
abhor
abide
ability
– abiotic
abject
ablaze
able
ablution
abnormal
aboard
abode
abolish
abominable
abominate
aborigine
abort
abortion
abound
about
above
abrasion
– abreast
– abridge
– abroad
– abrupt
– abscess
– ascissa
– abscission
– abscond
– absent
– absolute
– absolution
– absolve
– absorb
– abstain
– abstract
– abstruse
– absurd
– abundant
– abuse
– abysmal
– abyss
– acacia
– academic
– academy
– accede
– accelerate
– accent
– accentuate
– accept
– access
– acessible
– accession
– accessory
– accident
– acclaim
– acclimatise
– accolade
– accommodate
– accompany
– accomplice
– accomplish
– accord
– according
– accordion
– accost
– account
– accountant
– accredited
– accrue
– accumulate
– accurate
– accursed
– accuse
– accustom
– ace
– acetate
– acetic
– acetone
– acetylene
– ache
– achieve

Listing 6.3 – Lemmata to be deleted from the sequence in *MacMillan Student Dictionary* (marked with "–").

Conversely, lemmata included in *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English* but not in *MacMillan Student Dictionary* also number 63. These lemmata, again marked with a minus sign ("–"), will have to be deleted:

– A, a
a
– a–
– a–
– A
– a.
– A 1
– AA
– A.A.
– AAA
– AAAS
– Aachen
– aardvark
– Aaron
– AARP
– ab–
– AB
– A.B.
– aba
– abacá
aback
abacus
– abaft
– abalone
abandon
– abandoned
abase
– abash
abate
abattoir
– abbacy
– abbé
abbess
abbey
abbot
– abbrev., abbr.
abbreviate
– abbreviation
– ABC
abdicate
abdomen
– abdominal
– abduce
abduct

− abeam
− abed
− Abel
− Aberdeen
− aberrant
aberration
abet
abeyance
abhor
− abhorrence
− abhorrent
abide
− abiding
− Adidjan
ability
abject
− abjure
− abl.
− ablate
− ablation
− ablative
ablaze
able
− able−bodied
− abloom
ablution
− ably
− abnegate
abnormal
− abnormality
− abnormal psychology
aboard
abode
abolish
− abolition
− abomasum
− A−bomb
abominable
abominate
− abomination
− aboriginal
aborigine
abort
abortion
− abortionist
− abortive
abound
about
− about−face
above
− aboveboard
− abracadabra
− abrade
− Abraham
abrasion
− abrasive

Listing 6.4 – Lemmata to be deleted from the sequence in *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English* (marked with "–").

After removal, the list of lemmata common to *MacMillan Student Dictionary* and *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English* looks as follows:

a
2 aback
abacus
4 abandon
abase
6 abate
abattoir
8 abbess
abbey
10 abbot
abbreviate
12 abdicate
abdomen
14 abduct
aberration
16 abet
abeyance
18 abhor
abide
20 ability
abject
22 ablaze
able
24 ablution
abnormal
26 aboard
abode
28 abolish
abominable
30 abominate
aborigine
32 abort
abortion
34 abound
about
36 above
abrasion

Listing 6.5 – List of lemmata common to *MacMillan Student Dictionary* and *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English.*

The list is exactly the same for both dictionaries, since the principles underlying the arrangement of both dictionaries are identical. The 37 lemmata are arranged in exactly the same way, giving two identical lists running from *a* to *aback* and down to *abrasive*. The identity of the lists allows us to conclude that the alphabetical order is identical in both dictionaries, and that a reader can pick up any of them and use without first learning a new set of organizing principles. A word might be in one dictionary and not the other, meaning that an attempt at word-retrieval might end in failure, but if a word exists in a given dictionary, a reader familiar with English alphabetical order will be able to infer its placement with absolute certainty in all cases. Thus, if a reader attempts to look up the word *abiotic,* which is only listed in *MacMillan Student Dictionary,* in *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English,* he would not find it at the expected position between *ability* and *abject*, but that one word-retrieval operation alone would allow him to determine that the word *abiotic* is not listed in *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English,* and he could confidently abandon the search.

However, in the case the arrangement would indeed have differed between *MacMillan Student Dictionary* and *The Facts on File Student's Dictionary of American English,* our reader would have failed to find words in their expected place also in cases where the word sought

was actually listed somewhere in the dictionary, and much more wasteful searching would be necessary lest he learn the organizing principles of both dictionaries.

The Method Applied to Qīng Dictionaries of Manchu

To clarify this point, I will go through a comparison of the arrangement of two Manchu dictionaries step by step. We will compare all the words in the section on *a* in *Qīngwén bèikǎo* (1722) and *Qīngwén huìshū* (1750). In *Qīngwén bèikǎo*, the section headed by *a* includes 756 lemmata. In *Qīngwén huìshū*, the corresponding section includes 836 lemmata. Before we can compare the arrangement, we need to remove 218 lemmata from *Qīngwén bèikǎo* that are not present in *Qīngwén huìshū*. From *Qīngwén huìshū*, we need to remove 298 lemmata not present in *Qīngwén bèikǎo*. This leaves us with two sequences, both including the same 538 lemmata, but in different orders reflecting their relative positions in the two dictionaries. If we compare the two sequences, we find that they differ; unlike in the case of the two English dictionaries compared above, the order used in the Manchu dictionaries is not identical. It turns out that the sequences differ in 198 lemmata out of a total of 538, corresponding to 36.80%. This comparison is the source for the number in figure 6.6.

The difference in order can be demonstrated as follows. In the list below, lines common to both dictionaries are unmarked; lines from *Qīngwén bèikǎo* are marked with alpha (α); and lines from *Qīngwén huìshū* are marked with beta (β):

a
anakû
anakû sejen
anakû jui
anami
β anan šukin
anambi
anagan
anatambi
anabumbi
α anan šukin
aniya
aniyadari
aniyangga
aniyaingge
akambi
β aka niyehe
β akacun
akacuka
akara urere
α akacun
α aka niyehe
aga
agambi
aha
α ahasi
α aha sengse
ahantumbi
ahada šusiha
α ahada gurjen
β aha sengse
ahadan
β ahasi
β ahada gurjen
akû
β akûmi
akû oho
β akûnjimbi
akûci
β akûngge akû
akûn
α akûnjimbi
akûnambi
α akûmi
α akûngge akû
akûmbumbi
agûra
agûra hajun
ahûn
ahûta
β ahûngga jui
ahûšambi
ahûlambi
ahûcilambi
ahûcilabumbi
α ahûngga jui
ahûrambi
ahûri hûyari
aba
abalambi
abalabumbi
α abalandumbi
abalanambi
abalanjimbi
α abu
β abalandumbi
β abišaha dabišaha
abuha
abulikabi
aburi ehe
α abišaha dabišaha
β abu
asara
asaha fasaha
β asihiya
β asihiyabumbi
asihan
asihata
asihaki
α asikasi
α asikan
asihan sargan
α asihiya
α asihiyabumbi
β asikan
β asikasi
asu
asumi
asuru
α asuki
asuršambi
α asukingga
β asuki
asukilambi
asukilabumbi
β asukingga
aša
ašata
aššan
α aššabumbi
aššandumbi
β aššabumbi
ašu
ašumbumbi
atan
α atarambi
atanggi
atanggi bicibe
β atarambi
ada
α adaha
α adabumbi
adambi
β adabumbi
β adaha
adanambi
adanumbi
adasun
adali
α adalio
adalingga
β adališambi
adalikan
adaliliyan
α adališambi
adaki
adarame
adarame seci
β adalio
adarame bahafi
α atu
atuha
atuha dafaha
α adu
β atu
β adun
aduci
α aduhi
β adun−i da
adulabumbi
adurambi
α adun
α adun−i da
adunggiyambi
α adunggiyabumbi
β adu
β aduhi
β alabumbi
ala
α ala šala
alambi
alanambi
β alarame
alanjimbi
α alabumbi
β ala šala
β alan alambi
β alan weihu
β alakdaha
alanggimbi
alanggibumbi
alandumbi
alan
α alan alambi
α alan weihu
α alarame
α alakdaha
β alihan
β alisun
ali
alimbi
aliha cooha
aliha amban
α aliha bithei da
α alihan

α alisun
β alin
ališambi
ališabumbi
ališatambi
ališacuka
alikû
alimbaharakû
aliyacun
α alin
α alin efimbi
aliyambi
aliyabumbi
β alin efimbi
alin jakaraha
β aliha bithei da
ama
amaga
amasi
amala
amila
α amida
amu
β amida
amuta
amu šaburambi
amu suwaliyame
amuran
amurangga
acambi
α acabumbi
α acanjimbi
acabun
β acabumbi
β acan giranggi
acabuki
β acalambi
acamjabumbi
acan
α acalambi
α acan giranggi
β acanjimbi
acandumbi
α acika
α aciha
acimbi
α acilambi
acibumbi
β aciha
acindumbi
α acihi jafambi
β acika
β acilambi
acihilambi
acihilabumbi
β acuhiyan
β acihi jafambi
acinggiyambi
acinggiyabumbi
β acun de cacun
acu
α acu facu
α acuhûn akû
α acuhiyan
β aja
acuhiyadambi
acuhiyadabumbi
α acun de cacun
α aja
β acu facu
β acuhûn akû
ajabumbi
ajaja
aji
α ajilambi
α ajilabumbi
ajige
α ajigesi
ajigen
β ajigesi
β ajin
β ajilambi
β ajilabumbi
ajida
ajigan
ajirka
α ajin
β ayan tashari
β ayan fodoho
β ayan suwayan
ayara
α ayambi
α ayalambi
ayan
α ayan suwayan
α ayan wehe
α ayan dengjan
ayan hiyan
α ayan fodoho
α ayan tashari
α ayan gaha
β ayalambi
β ayan dengjan
β ayan wehe
ayan silmen
β ayambi
ayoo
α ake
β ahita
β ayan gaha
age
β ake
ageli
α akiyame gecehe
akiya
akiyaha
α ahita
agu
ara
β arandumbi
arambi
arabumbi
α are
ari
α arandumbi
β are
arun furun
β afan amba
β afaha
afambi
β afatambi
afanambi
afanjimbi
α afandumbi
α afaha
afabumbi
β afandumbi
β akiyame gecehe
afanggala
α afan amba
α afatambi
afin
afiya
afiya tura
β adunggiyabumbi
ai
ai ai
ai ai jaka
α ainambi
α ainaha
α ainambihe
α ainarangge
α ainahai
α ainahani
α ainambahafi
β ai hala
β aihû
β ai gajiha
β ai dalji
β ai baita
β ai geli
β ai gelhun akû
ainarahû
β ainambi
β ai yokto
β ai hihan
ainame ainame
ainame okini
ainaki sembi
ainaci ojoro
α ainaha seme
β ainambahafi
β ainambihe
β ainaha
ainahabi
β ainahani
β ainaha seme
β ainahai
ainahai ombini
β ainarangge
ainu
aika
β ai joboro
aika jaka
α aikanaha
aikabade
β aikanaha
β aihanaha
β aihadambi
aikan−i gese
α ai gajiha
aiha
α aihadambi
α aihanaha
α ai hala
aigan
α aihû
aihûma
β aibici
aibaci
α ai baita
α aibi
β ai be
aibimbi
α aibihabi
aibishûn
α ai be
β aibihabi
β aibi
aibide
α aibici
aibingge
aise
α aisembi
aisehe
β aisembi
aiserengge
aiseme
α aisi
β aisin
aisilambi
aisilabumbi
β aisi
aisilatambi
α aisilandumbi
aisingga
α aisin
β aisilandumbi
aisilara cooha
aidahašambi
α ai dalji
aide
β ailungga
aituha
α aitubumbi
aituhabi
β aitubumbi
aimaka
α ailungga
aiman
ainci
α ai joboro
α ai yokto
α ai geli
α ai hihan
α ai gelhun akû
aifini
aifumbi
ar
α arkan
β arga jali
arga
α argadambi
argambi
argabumbi
α arganambi
β argangga
β argadambi
argadabumbi
β arkan
argan
β arbun
β argali
argan mudun
argatu
α argali
α arga jali
α argangga
α arbun
β arganambi
β aršan burga
β arbun dursun
arbungga
α arbun−i angga
arbušambi
β arsalan
arsari
α arsun
arsumbi
α arsalan
α aršan burga
α arda
β arsun
β arke
arcambi
arjan
α arke
arki
argiya
argiyambi
argiyabumbi
β arda
β arbun−i angga
arfa
arfukû
α arbun dursun
an−i
α an akû
α an kooli
an−i baita
an be tuwakiyambi
α anda
β an akû
β an kooli
antaka
β anda
antaha
antahasa
anda jafambi
β anda saikan
andarambi
andala
α andala giyamun
andan
α anda saikan
β andala giyamun
antu
andubumbi
anduhûri
α ancu hiyan

β ancun umiyaha
ancun
α ancun−i bohori
ancun gûwara
α ancun umiyaha
β ancu hiyan
β ancun−i bohori
anja
anji
α anjikû
anjimbi anjibumbi
β anjikû
anju
α anwan
anfu cooha
β anwan
ang
angga
β angga mimimbi
anggatu
anggûta
anggasi
α angga isi
α angga isimbi
α angga isibumbi
α angga isika
α anggalambi
α anggalinggû
α anggasilambi
anggala
α anggara
α angga hetumbumbi
α angga mimimbi
α angga sonjombi
β anggalambi
angga tucike
β angga hetumbumbi
anggiyan
β angga cakcahûn
β anggara
β anggalinggû
β anggasilambi
angga fodorokobi
α anggir niyehe
β angga sonjombi
angga mentuhun
α angga cakcahûn
β angga isi
β angga isimbi

β angga isibumbi
β angga isika
β anggir niyehe
ak
α aksambi
α aksabumbi
aksakabi
β aksabumbi
β aksambi
akšan
akšun
akšulabumbi
β akta uše
akta
aktalambi
α akta uše
β akdan
akdambi
α akdabumbi
α akdahabi
akdame gûniha
akdacun
α akdan
β akdabumbi
β akdahabi
akdun
β akdukan
β akdun temgetu
akdulambi
akdulabumbi
akdulandumbi
α akdukan
α akdun temgetu
akjan
akjambi
akjaba
akjambulu
asha
β ashan
ashambi
ashabumbi
α ashan
α ashan−i amban
ashan−i duka
α ashangga mahala
β ashan−i amban
ashangga singgeri
β ashangga mahala
ashûmbi

β abkai jui
abka
α abka eherehe
abkana
α abkai ari
α abgari banjimbi
α abkai cooha
α abkai jui
abkai fejergi
β abka eherehe
β abkai cooha
β abgari banjimbi
absa
absambi
α absalan
absi
absi oho
absi ojoro
absi serengge
α absi genembi
α abtala
α abtalambi
α abtajambi
α abtarambi
β abkai ari
β absalan
abdaha
β abtalambi
abdaha aisin
β abtarambi
abdaha efen
β abtajambi
β abtala
β absi genembi
alha
α alhambi
alhata
β alha niyehe
alha bulha
α alhûdambi
β alhacan niyehe
β alhambi
alhûdan
α alhûdabumbi
alhûwa
β alhûdambi
β alhûdabumbi
alkûn
albatu

α albatulambi
albatukan
alban
α alban šulehen
β albatulambi
alban jafambi
α alda
β alban−i usin
β alban šulehen
aldasi
aldasilambi
β alda
aldangga
β algingga
aldungga
alcu
β algimbi
aljambi
aljabumbi
algin
α algimbi
β algingga jubengge
algišambi
algimbumbi
α algingga
α algingga jubengge
algiyambi
algiyabumbi
α alha niyehe
α alhacan niyehe
α alban−i usin
amha
α amhûlan
amba
β amba halhûn
β amba beikuwen
β amhûlan
β amba baita
β amba konggoro
niongniyaha
β ambasa saisa
β ambaki
β ambasa
ambakan
ambakasi
ambarambi
α ambaki
α ambakilambi
α ambalinggû

β ambula
β amba kesi
amba muru
α ambasa
α ambasa saisa
amba ija
α amba konggoro
niongniyaha
α amba halhûn
α amba beikuwen
α amba baita
α amba kesi
β ambula beikuwen
β ambakilambi
β ambalinggû
ambu
α ambula
ambumbi
α ambula beikuwen
amsun jafambi
amsun−i yali
amtan
β amtan tuheke
β amtalambi
amtangga
amtan simten
α amtalambi
amtašambi
α amtan tuheke
amda musihi
β amdun bilcambi
amdun
amdulambi
α amdulabumbi
α amdun bilcambi
amcambi
β amcatambi
amcanambi
amcabumbi
α amcatambi
α amcakûšambi
amji
amjita
β amcakûšambi
β amdulabumbi
amba lampa

Listing 6.6 – Differences in Arrangement Between *Qīngwén bèikǎo* and *Qīngwén huìshū*.

The number 36.80% means that a reader familiar with the arrangement in one of the dictionaries who wants to look up a word in the other will not find the desired word in the expected place in approximately one third of instances. In alphabetically arranged English dictionaries, be they monolingual, bilingual, etc., by contrast, the user would always find the word in the expected place, as our initial comparison of two contemporary English dictionaries indicated. All percentages indicating the degree of difference between lists of lemmata or section headings that I will present in the following have been obtained using the method just

outlined.

We compare the arrangement manifest in these five dictionaries, while taking into account that some words were present in some dictionaries but not in others. On average, the arrangement of the five dictionaries varies by around one fourth (figure 6.6). Curiously, the effects of the idiosyncratic order of the outer sequence used by Shěn, which set the arrangement of his dictionary apart from other major graphologically arranged Manchu dictionaries, are neutralized when we consider the arrangement of the headwords themselves; under-determination and inconsistent application have created such disorder that it hardly matters according to which general order the type-2 *akṣara* (syllabic codas) are organized.

In other words, a reader in 1780 who had familiarized himself with the order of one of the five dictionaries and attempted to use any of the other according to the same principles might often not find the desired word at the expected place. For instance, if the reader was used to looking up the Chinese translation of Manchu words in Shěn's *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, and now wanted to look up also the Mongol translation in the trilingual *Sānhé biànlǎn*, he would not find the word where he would have expected it in one case out of four. If we evaluate graphologically arranged Manchu dictionaries in aggregate, as a genre, according to such numbers, we cannot but conclude that Manchu and Chinese lexicographers appeared relatively uninterested in developing graphological arrangement as an information management tool.

Did no one care? Unlike in early modern Europe, where dictionaries stirred up heated debates among intellectuals,[154] scholars of Manchu in the Qīng period do not seem to have written critically on the dictionaries they were using. The information we have on the reception of Manchu lexicography comes from the dictionaries themselves.

Occasionally, marginalia can give us some information. In their present state, many Manchu dictionaries include notes and corrections left behind by their users, including the addition of new words. Readers' addition of words to the lemmata list, although not in itself a comment on the arrangement, is instructive with regards to how it was understood: When readers added new words to their dictionaries, they often appended them to the end of the relevant section, where a few empty columns allowed them to fit more easily. These readers thus only engaged with the graphological arrangement on the top level, arranging the new words only by the position of their first syllable's first *akṣara* in the inner sequence.[155]

Sometimes the marginalia explicitly address the arrangement. We find an example in the notes left by an anonymous careful reader of a copy of *Sānhé biànlǎn* found at Harvard-Yenching Library, who seems to have gone through the dictionary in its entirety while comparing it to a different copy. The notes include some criticism of the graphological arrangement used in that work. With regards to the words *kaskan* and *kaskanahabi* ('What arrogance!'), found among the words whose first two *akṣara* were *ka-* and zero (ø), for example, the anonymous reader wrote that "these two words belong under *kas-*" (*èr zì rù* kas 二字入 *kas*), referring to the second-level section containing words whose first syllable was constituted by the two

[154]This is the impression I get from reading Quemada 1968.

[155]That is the case with the additions in Yí-xīng 1786a, *passim*. One of the copies of Fügiyün 1780a held at Capital Library (call number 乙 · 一 121) has additions that sometime follow graphological arrangement, but only when it does not conflict with what the annotator seems to have considered semantic or etymological order. For instance, *alime…* has been added (2:13a) after *alimbi*, of which it is a conjugated form, rather than before it, as graphological arrangement would have demanded.

akṣara ka- (type 1) and *-s* (type 2). The reader accordingly added the words in that subsection in the same red ink. Likewise, with regards to the words *šoošī* ('Junior Preceptor'), *šooboo* ('Junior Guardian') and *šoofu* ('Junior Tutor'), which appeared between *šuk-* (i.e. the syllable constituted by the type-1 *akṣara šu-* and the type-2 *akṣara -k*) and *šul-* (i.e. the syllable constituted by the type-1 *akṣara šu-* and the type-2 *akṣara -l*), an annotation informs us that "these three words ought to have been included in the earlier *šoo-* section," referring to the second-level section including words whose first syllable was constituted by the type-1 *akṣara šo-* and the type-2 *akṣara -o*.[156]

A reader of a copy of the same dictionary now found at Capital Library in Běijīng[157] has similarly moved a few of these words,[158] without offering the kind of explanations for the editorial license thus exercised that we see in the Harvard-Yenching copy.

The marginalia in these two copies show that at least two readers were dissatisfied with the very inconsistent graphological arrangement applied in *Sānhé biànlǎn*. Yet the placement of the new words also indicate that the anonymous readers did not care about the arrangement beyond the first syllable (or second *akṣara*) of the words. Erroneously placed words were moved to the second-level section headed by the appropriate syllable, but not entered at the expected place within that section.

Another clear criticism of graphological arrangement as carried out in eighteenth-century dictionaries comes from Yí-xīng's *Qīngwén bǔhuì*. Yí-xīng's criticism concerned his predecessors' handling of the 'outer characters,' words containing syllables whose structure could not straightforwardly be construed as made up of a type-1 *akṣara* from the syllabary's inner sequence and a type-2 *akṣara* from the outer sequence. Earlier dictionaries had dealt with such characters in various, unexplained ways, effectively making it impossible for a reader to predict their placement.[159] Referring to *Qīngwén huìshū*, Yí-xīng wrote that words with irregular structure "were … previously all haphazardly included in the sections [of Lǐ Yánjī's earlier dictionary], making it somewhat difficult to search."[160]

Yí-xīng's solution to the problem of the 'outer characters' was not his own, but that of the Kāngxī emperor's in-house lexicographers. In the original monolingual *Mirror of the Manchu language*, as in its Manchu-Chinese revised edition from 1771, the court scholars had appended a section to the end of the graphologically arranged "Index" titled "Outer charac-

[156]Fügiyün (1780b) 1792, 4:2b, 4:13a, 6:109b: 三字應入前 *šoo-* 部. We know that the reader compared the Harvard-Yenching copy (call number MO 5805.01 3624) to another one of the same dictionary, since the former misses the last folio of the last volume, the contents of which the reader has copied in manuscript. English translations are from Norman 2013.

[157]Call number 乙・一 123, see the bibliography for details.

[158]Fügiyün 1780a, 6:96b: *šoošī*; *šooboo*; *šoofu*.

[159]*Dà-Qīng quánshū*, *Mǎn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū*, *Qīngwén bèikǎo*, *Qīngwén huìshū*, pretended that the double *-šš-* was a regular *-š-* and treated it accordingly; *Dà-Qīng quánshū*, *Qīngwén bèikǎo*, and *Qīngwén huìshū* elevated *niong-* to a second-level heading in the first-level section *ni-*, whereas *Sānhé biànlǎn* and the "Index" of the 1771 edition of the imperial *Mirror* did not; etc.

[160]Yí-xīng (1786b) 1802, *fánlì*:5b: 舊…俱雜入各類，殊於查檢稍亂. Moreover, Western writers also complained about the poor arrangement of *Qīngwén huìshū*: Meadows 1849, 28: "The 'Collection of the Manchu' has one defect which it is necessary those who use it should bear in mind: a number of words are generally found at the end of each section, which according to the order of the Manchu alphabet, ought to have been inserted at different places in the body of it."

ters such as *sye*, *cye*, etc."[161] The prefatory material in the *Mirror* made no mention of the institution of this category,[162] and it had remained without comment during the lexicographically productive decades of the eighteenth century. Judging from the section's title, we would assume that it contained words whose first syllable began with one of the special Manchu characters (*sye*, *cye*, etc.) devised specifically to transcribe foreign words. In reality, the section included more than that. Listed alongside transcriptions from Chinese were Manchu words that included no special characters, but whose syllabic structure was difficult to parse as subdividing into two *akṣara* found in the syllabary's inner and outer sequences without sacrificing the unity of the syllable (as was the case with the word *ainci*, studied in detail above).

As the words included among the 'outer characters' had as only commonality their resistance to graphological arrangement as understood Manchu and Chinese lexicographers, they had been assembled together in a section without any order whatsoever. In order to verify the presence of a word in the section, the reader had to scan it from beginning to end. Yí-xīng made no attempt to define new principles for the ordering of these words, but retained the relative order of the 'outer characters' listed in the expanded bilingual edition of the *Mirror*, while interspersing additional words. Readers of his dictionary at least knew which section to consult when looking for an 'outer character,' which had not been the case with many of his predecessors.

We find a final response to the state of Manchu graphological arrangement as left by the lexicographers of the mid-Qīng period in an annotated tattered copy of Sayišangγ-a's manuscript Manchu-Chinese-Mongol dictionary from 1851, found in the library of Minzu University. In its present state, the annotated manuscript can be described as a second edition of Sayišangγ-a's dictionary at the draft stage: the Chinese-language marginalia show that it was annotated with the purpose of recopying it in revised form.

The original compiler, Sayišangγ-a, made little mention of graphological arrangement, writing simply that he "arranged and wrote out the heads of the characters according to *Qīngwén huìshū*, collecting and compiling" them.[163] Arranging the Mongol vocabulary in this manner following the order of Lǐ Yánjī's dictionary was made possible by first transcribing it using the Manchu script.[164]

Many of the changes made to the dictionary in the form of marginalia involve its graphological arrangement. On the cover of one volume, a note says that the "columns have all been properly arranged" (*háng jù pái tuǒ* 行俱排妥) and that the volume in question is ready to be

[161] *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn, Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū* edition (1771–1773) 1983, "Index" (*uheri hešen*), 8:64a: *sye cye-i jergi tulergi hergen*.

[162] This is true for both editions. The Kāngxī emperor's preface, which was included in offprints of the "Index," did not mention the *tulergi hergen*. This is true also of the prefaces to the bilingual edition from 1771. The reprinted manuscript version of this edition (*Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn, Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū* edition [1771–1773] 1983) does not include the prefaces, but they are found in the original printed version (*Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn,* original printed edition 1771–1773).

[163] Sayišangγ-a 1851a, vol. 1 (no pagination): Ma. *hergen-i uju be faidame arafi, manju hergen-i isabuha bithe songkoi, … isamjame banjibuha*; Mo. *üsüg-ün toloγai-yi jiγsaγan bičiged, manǰu üsüg-ün quriyaγsan bičig-un yosoγar, … quriyan ǰokiyabai,*; Ch. 排列字頭，依《清文彙書》格式編成.

[164] The dictionary listed Mongol words in Manchu script; the same words in native Mongol orthography; their translation into Chinese; and their translation into Manchu, in that order.

transcribed. An earlier, crossed out note on the same volume reminded the lexicographer that "the columns of this volume that contain the character head *fa* were originally not arranged properly."[165]

Whoever wrote these notes had considered the original graphological arrangement to have been insufficient, and had added notes throughout the volumes rearranging the lemmata. These notes, consisting of numbers added beneath the Mongol words, are very interesting as they are more specific than most other comments on graphological arrangement that we see in Qīng-period sources. Unlike the marginalia in the Harvard-Yenching copy of *Sānhé biànlǎn* or Yí-xīng's comments in the introduction to *Qīngwén bǔhuì*, the numbers added here to the Mongol lemmata concerned lexical arrangement also according to the third *akṣara* of words. As we saw (figure 6.6), it was on that third level that the differences in the graphological arrangement between dictionaries became prominent. Rearranging the words in *Měnggǔ wénhuì* according to the numbers added by the anonymous annotator would have regularized the arrangement substantially.[166]

Had the lemmata of the dictionaries by Shěn Qǐliàng and his successors been reorganized similarly to those in the Minzu University manuscript of Sayišangγ-a's dictionary, the differences in arrangement between them might have been very considerably reduced. However, the late-Qīng attempts at reviving Manchu lexicography did not develop in that direction. Whereas Sayišangγ-a's Mongol dictionary had been a creative work based on several Manchu-Mongol dictionaries, the order of which was in the Minzu University copy further rearranged by a later hand, the major Manchu graphological dictionary of the late Qīng, *Qīngwén zǒnghuì*, was little more than the sum of Lǐ Yánjī's and Yí-xīng's dictionaries from the eighteenth century, as discussed above. The graphological arrangement in *Qīngwén zǒnghuì* thus suffered from the very problems that we saw already in Shěn Qǐliàng's dictionary from 1683: the structural principles of the arrangement were not clarified and it was not applied consistently beyond the third *akṣara* of words.[167] *Qīngwén zǒnghuì* still enjoyed considerable popularity, related perhaps to the increased scarcity of Manchu reference works as the great age of Manchu lexicography sunk deeper into the past.

Manchu Order and Chinese Dictionaries

As we saw, Manchu lexicography proper saw few new titles in the nineteenth century, but the Manchu script as an organizing device flourished. The application of the Manchu script to first transcribe and then arrange Mongol words made important strides with the dictionaries by Sayišangγ-a and his successors, eventually finding its way to print in the 1890s. Yet the application of Manchu graphological arrangement in Mongol dictionaries was not the century's

[165] Sayišangγ-a 1851a, vol. 14: 此本內 *fa* 字頭原排之行不妥. The outside cover of all of the volumes carry variants of the note "original copy, corrected and ready to be transcribed" 已妥待繕正本.

[166] For instance, following the numbers, we rearrange the words originally found in the following sequence (Mongol in Manchu transcription first, followed by conventional transcription in parentheses, if different): *anurat* (*anurad*), *ahan, agasilamui* (*aγasilamui*), *ahalamui, agami* (*aγami*), *agalik* (*aγalig*) *alim* into the following sequence: *anurat, agasilamui, agami, agalik alim, ahan, ahalamui.*

[167] Leading to sequences like *anan-i silagasi; anambi; anagan*. Sometimes, was applied to the fourth *akṣara*: *anakû sejen; anakûi da; anakû fa* (Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1897a, 1:1a).

most important development. After all, Manchu characters were based on the Mongol script, which itself had a history of reform.

The application of Manchu graphological arrangement to organize Chinese dictionaries was a much more radical development. We saw above that several Chinese-Manchu dictionaries with graphological arrangement circulated in manuscript in the nineteenth century. Their very existence is a testament to the fact that lexicographers in the Qīng period perceived clear advantages in the use of Manchu graphological arrangement and were willing to adopt it for the sake of improved Chinese information management.

The application of Manchu graphological arrangement on Chinese words did not really take off until the nineteenth century, but the influence of Manchu arrangement on Chinese dictionaries can be discerned already in the second century of Qīng rule. The most obvious example is presented by *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* 欽定音韻闡微 (Imperially authorized elucidation of the subtleties of phonology; 1728), Lǐ Guāngdì's rhyme book sponsored by the Kāngxī emperor and greatly inspired by Manchu language studies. This landmark work in the history of Qīng phonology is most remarkable for its innovations in phonetic transcription, and I will have reason to discuss it further in that regard in a chapter 7. The Manchu influence on *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* included also the order of its 'small rhymes,' however. We saw in chapter 2 that the arbitrary order of the 'small rhymes' was one of the most obvious structural problems of Chinese rhyme books from the point of view of word-retrieval. The compilers of *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, similarly to Hán Dàozhāo in the early thirteenth century, tried to reduce the arbitrariness by including a chart, functioning as an index, that ordered the 'small rhymes' according to the thirty-six initials of Middle Chinese grouped by place of articulation.[168] The result is superficially similar to Manchu graphological arrangement, in which the syllabary's inner sequence also led to sounds with similar articulations appearing grouped together. The influence of Manchu graphological arrangement on Chinese lexicography can thus be discerned also where no Manchu characters are found.

Direct application of Manchu graphological arrangement on Chinese lemmata necessitated their transcription into Manchu. As such, it has antecedents in the early days of Manchu publishing. The original purpose of transcriptions was not to arrange Chinese words that could then be consulted in search of a definition or a translation, but to establish how Chinese sounds should be rendered in Manchu spelling. Called 'corresponding sounds' (*duìyīn* 對音) when the Manchu syllables could be found within the syllabary in twelve section, or 'spelled sounds' (*qièyīn* 切音) when necessitating combinations not found in the Manchu syllabary, the transcription characters were understood in a framework based on the Chinese discipline of phonology.[169] Standardization of transcriptions was also the main aim of *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* 欽定清漢對音字式 (Imperially authorized Manchu and Chinese characters presented in corresponding sounds) from 1772,[170] which was repeatedly reprinted in the nineteenth century and exerted some influence on lexicographers. The book was divided into two parts, the first including a syllabary in twelve sections; "Simple transcription characters" (*Qièyīn dānzì* 切音單字), corresponding to one Chinese character; and "Double transcription characters" (*Qièyīn shuāngzì* 切音雙字), corresponding to two. The syllable sequence formed

[168]Lǐ Xīnkuí 1983, 238–239.

[169]The terms are from Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699a.

[170]*Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (1773) 1836.

by the sections in the book's first part would form the backbone of the arrangement in Chinese dictionaries arranged according to the Manchu script. I will study this book further in chapter 8.

The mid-Qīng work on Manchu-Chinese transcription formed the background to the Chinese dictionaries arranged according to the Manchu script that emerged in the nineteenth century. As mentioned, of those dictionaries only Quán-xǐ's "Fān Qīng yuèmù biànlǎn" contains a preface. The compiler there pointed out that the reference works available to translators of official documents were "inconvenient to search." He had therefore compiled a dictionary which made "word-retrieval convenient." He "arranged single Chinese words according to Manchu [transcriptions] of single Chinese characters, in order to save time when looking for words to translate from Chinese to Manchu."[171]

In the seventy-eight slim and small volumes that constituted the dictionary, Quán-xǐ arranged Chinese characters according to the place of their Manchu transcriptions in an order derived from the syllabary in twelve sections. Following *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì*, Quán-xǐ listed first Chinese characters that could be transcribed using regular Manchu syllables, and then those necessitating the use of the 'outer characters.' In addition to the 'outer characters' used in the imperial transcription manual, Quán-xǐ added a few more. The 'outer characters' followed an order which could be generally anticipated from knowledge of Shěn Qǐliàng's system,[172] but some regular features of Quán-xǐ's order were contrary both to the arrangement of graphological Manchu dictionaries and *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì*.

The imperial transcription manual had treated the Manchu 'double transcription characters' as consisting of two syllables, which they did graphically, if not phonetically when pronounced. The compilers of the manual consequently applied Shěn Qǐliàng's braided arrangement on both syllables of the 'double characters,' effectively treating them as bisyllabic Manchu words.

Quán-xǐ modified the Manchu spelling of some 'double characters' without moving them,[173] resulting in a slightly different arrangement. Quán-xǐ did not explain this choice, but the arrangement he thereby created could still be explained as conforming to a principle that graphically simpler syllables should precede those that were graphically more complex.[174] He also merged syllables that were distinguished by the imperial manual but that he considered "homonymous" (*tóngyīn* 同音), to the greatest extent opting for a reduction of transcription characters "in order to make word-retrieval more to the point."[175]

We see in other graphologically arranged Chinese dictionaries that the order used by Quán-xǐ was generally followed. Yet as a genre, the usability of dictionaries reliant on Manchu transcriptions as a tool to manage information written in Chinese suffered from the weakly enforced and unclearly defined standard of spoken Chinese of the Qīng period; as I discussed

[171]Quán-xǐ 1865, vol. 1, preface (no pagination): 查閱不易…查字了然…按漢字有單話者，則歸入滿洲漢單字，以備漢文繙清查對時，可以省目耳.

[172]E.g., *ni-* preceded *kû-* which preceded *bi-* etc.

[173]E.g., replacing the imperial manual's *nia* with *nie*.

[174]Quán-xǐ let 'outer characters' ending in *-e* precede those ending *-an*. From the point of view of the structure, the choice seems motivated by the fact that the syllables in *-e* lacked a consonantal coda and thus had a simpler structure. However, according to the Manchu graphological arrangement represented in Shěn Qǐliàng's dictionary, *-a* (and *-an*) should precede *-e* (Quán-xǐ 1865, vol. 63).

[175]Quán-xǐ 1865, vol. 63: 以備查字爽神 (no pagination).

“Fān Qīng yuèmù biànlǎn”	390[a]	syllables
“Jiǎngyīn quánzhù”	397[b]	”
“Lèiyīn zìhuì”	413[c]	”
“Tóngyīn zìhuì”	434[d]	”
“Pèiyīn yùpǔ”	477[e]	”

Figure 6.7 – Number of Organizing Syllables Marked in the Lemmata Lists of Five Chinese Dictionaries Arranged According to the Manchu Script

[a]Including 3 duplicate syllables (occurring twice at different places in the sequence).
[b]Including 2 duplicate syllables.
[c]Including 7 duplicate syllables.
[d]Including 2 duplicate syllables.
[e]Including 6 duplicate syllables.

in chapter 2 and will study further in chapter 8, the Chinese koinē of the Qīng period was contested and changing. This situation lead to slightly different sound systems being represented in the dictionaries' transcriptions, reflected in the variation in the number of syllables recognized in their arrangement (figure 6.7).

Yet if we disregard variance stemming from differences in pronunciation, we find that the graphological arrangement across dictionaries is more similar than it is different. If we compare Quán-xǐ's dictionary to the other four Chinese dictionaries with Manchu graphological arrangement, we see that three of them agree with the arrangement in “Fān Qīng yuèmù biànlǎn” (figure 6.8).

The arrangement of Lǐ Dānnián's 李丹年 (n.d.) “Pèiyīn yùpǔ” 珮音玉圃 (Jade garden of strung sounds), however, differed radically from the rest. *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* and the graphologically arranged Chinese dictionaries based used an arrangement that essentially consisted of the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections treated as a linear sequence going from the beginning of the first section to the end of the twelfth, similarly to the “Indexes” to the imperial Manchu *Mirrors*, and then continuing with ‘outer characters’ arranged according to Shěn Qǐliàng's braided system. Although organizing lexical material in Chinese, these dictionaries thus still remained within a paradigm ultimately based on the Manchu syllabary. Lǐ broke with this paradigm almost entirely.

We have seen that lexicographers and pedagogues generally understood written Manchu syllables as consisting of a type-1 *akṣara*, corresponding to the syllable's onset and nucleus, and a type-2 *akṣara*, corresponding to its coda. By contrast, we saw in chapter 2 that the Chinese syllable was generally understood as consisting of an ‘initial,’ corresponding to the onset, and a ‘rhyme,’ corresponding to the nucleus and coda. The two conceptual models, while both dividing syllables into two parts, were incommensurable.

Lǐ, working with Chinese lexical material, did not primarily organize the syllables according to their first *akṣara*, as Shěn Qǐliàng had done with his Manchu words, but according to their ‘rhymes’ as defined in the Chinese phonological tradition. On the basis of the rhymes, he

	“Jiǎngyīn quánzhù”	“Lèiyīn zìhuì”	“Tóngyīn zìhuì”	“Pèiyīn yùpǔ”
“Fān Qīng yuèmù biànlǎn”	3.01%[a]	11.03%[b]	11.49%[c]	72.16%[d]
“Jiǎngyīn quánzhù”		12.76%[e]	11.62%[f]	71.70%[g]
“Lèiyīn zìhuì”			21.23%[h]	76.40%[i]
“Tóngyīn zìhuì”				71.00%[j]

Figure 6.8 – Degree of Difference in the Arrangement of Chinese Dictionaries Organized According to the Manchu Script

[a] After duplicates have been removed, 10 differences in a common sequence of 332 syllables.
[b] After duplicates have been removed, 31 differences in a common sequence of 281 syllables.
[c] After duplicates have been removed, 33 differences in a common sequence of 287 syllables.
[d] After duplicates have been removed, 223 differences in a common sequence of 309 syllables.
[e] After duplicates have been removed, 36 differences in a common sequence of 282 syllables.
[f] After duplicates have been removed, 33 differences in a common sequence of 284 syllables.
[g] After duplicates have been removed, 223 differences in a common sequence of 311 syllables.
[h] After duplicates have been removed, 76 differences in a common sequence of 358 syllables.
[i] After duplicates have been removed, 272 differences in a common sequence of 356 syllables.
[j] After duplicates have been removed, 284 differences in a common sequence of 400 syllables.

divided the lemmata list into six sections. Five of the sections had names that sounded generally inspired by Chinese phonology: “Masculine rhymes” (*yángyùn* 陽韻), in which the core vowel was *a*; “Feminine rhymes” (*yīnyùn* 陰韻), in which it was *e*; “Old masculine” (*lǎoyáng* 老陽), where it was *o*; “Young feminine” (*shàoyīn* 少陰), containing *u* and *û*; and “Neutral rhymes” (*píngyùn* 平韻), grouping syllables with the core vowel *i*. The sixth section contained transcription characters (*qièyīn* 切音). The division of the first five sections is interesting, as the distinction of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ vowels was used in Chinese phonology.[176] However, the association of *a* with the male and *e* with the female also seems to have been part of Manchu epilinguistic consciousness from the very early days of the language.[177] The distinction of the ‘neutral’ (*píng*) vowel *i* at first glance seems inspired by the recognition of an ‘even’ (*píng*) tone in Chinese phonology, yet it might just as well suggest that Lǐ had some familiarity with Mongol, whose strict rules of vowel harmony allowed this vowel to exist in both masculine and feminine words. Within each section, the syllables were arranged in general

[176] Lǐ Xīnkuí 1983, 23; Gěng Zhènshēng 1992, 72.
[177] As evident from the words used to illustrate the writing of these vowels by Nurhaci: *Dà-Qīng Mǎnzhōu shílù* (1636–1739) 1969, 108–110.

accord with the outer sequence of the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections.[178] This was the case also in the section containing transcription characters, which were arranged according to the principles manifest in *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì*. In sum, the arrangement "Pèiyīn yùpǔ" seemed to appeal both to Chinese and Inner Asian traditions.

Some aspects of Lǐ's system might have made sense to a reader well-versed in Chinese phonological literature, but would have been counterintuitive to individuals trained using the syllabary in twelve sections. Yet as knowledge of the syllabary would still have been necessary to understand the arrangement within the sections, Lǐ's system in the end appears to place an excessive burden on the reader. Even so, his dictionary was copied at least once, indicating some degree of circulation.[179]

With four out of five dictionaries featuring an arrangement in general agreement, it appears that compilers of Chinese dictionaries organized according to the Manchu script were aware that they were working in the same tradition. However, some writers clearly felt there to be room for innovation. The ability of Manchu graphological arrangement to organize material for quick retrieval seems to have been the system's main attraction to these lexicographers, as the Quán-xǐ's statements quoted above suggest. Yet the differences in order manifest across dictionaries show that a completely standardized arrangement did not to materialize in the organization of Chinese corpora any more than it had in Manchu dictionaries of the eighteenth century. The medium of manuscript, furthermore, in itself indicates that Manchu graphological arrangement for Chinese information management never reached the greater audience offered by print.

Manchu Graphological Arrangement and the Mechanics of Word-Retrieval

More than two centuries of Manchu lexicography did not radically alter a genre which from the beginning was characterized by a flexibly applied graphological arrangement based on the syllabary in twelve sections. Generations of scholars willing to invest many years on the task of compiling Manchu dictionaries, while also holding other responsibilities, essentially retained the arrangement of *Dà-Qīng quánshū* from the late seventeenth century. It was not because they were unaware of the benefits of graphological arrangement. On the contrary, Lǐ Yánjī rearranged the words from the imperial *Mirror* according to graphological arrangement precisely because it made them convenient to search, and the indexes to the imperial thesauri apparently circulated as independent, graphologically arranged dictionaries complemented with manuscript translations. Marginalia in surviving prints and manuscripts also show that readers were concerned with the order of words. Yet the nature and extent of their concern also shows that pushing the arrangement as far as structurally possible was rarely a priority; most often, organization down through the second—or even first—syllable seemed sufficient to readers and compilers. How can we explain this manifest but restricted concern for improved arrangement?

[178] An exception was the fifth section's syllables in *-oi*, which were arranged as if their final were *-i*.

[179] Chūnhuā 2008c, 357–360 describes a copy at the National Library of China, which was unavailable to me, in addition to the copy in Dàlián.

The answer is perhaps to be found in the materiality of the dictionary and the mechanics of word-retrieval, measured against the needed work to compile or revise a dictionary. I will discuss the nature of word-retrieval here, saving the investigation of the work needed to make a dictionary for the conclusion of this chapter.

A closer look at the nature of the differences observed in arrangement of Manchu dictionaries provides the first clue. We saw that a reader used to the arrangement of one dictionary would often not find a word in its expected place when shifting to a different dictionary (figure 6.6). Treating difference in arrangement in that way is to treat it as a binary: if a desired word Y is not found in its expected place between X and Z, the arrangement is considered different. However, when using a dictionary, a reader will not jump straight to the spot between X and Z when looking for Y. The nature of the medium, the codex-style book, precludes such an operation. In real life, the mechanics of dictionary consulting generally involves homing in on a word by flipping the pages back and forth in the general area where a word is expected to be found.

By looking closer at both the nature of the differences and the makeup of Manchu dictionaries we can gauge the impact on the user. For although it is true that the order of entries indeed differed between Manchu dictionaries, more or less consistent application of graphological arrangement in the first syllable of words meant that the reader could still be confident of which section to consult when looking for a word. In the following paragraphs, I will show how we can assess the degree to which a user could predict where a word in a graphologically arranged Manchu dictionary could be found.

The Impact of Differing Arrangement on Using the Dictionary: Another Methodological Digression

To explain the method I have used to gauge the impact of arrangement on information management, I will return to the comparison of *Qīngwén bèikǎo* (1722) and *Qīngwén huìshū* (1750) that was discussed above. We take the two series of equal length and contents, but different arrangement, that we obtained in the previous example. We can calculate the average distance between two lemmata whose position differs between the two series, by first assigning every lemma a number, so that the first lemma in the sequence is no. 1, and the last no. 538. Lemmata whose ordering differs between the two dictionaries would thereby receive different numbers. By calculating the average difference between the differing numbers of a pair of lemmata, we can estimate how far from the expected position in the dictionary a user would have to search for the desired word. In the case of *Qīngwén bèikǎo* and *Qīngwén huìshū*, the average distance is 3.9 positions. If we consider that the sequence contains 538 positions, meaning that the lemmata could theoretically have a difference of several hundred, lemmata of differing positions seem to appear relatively close to their expected positions in the two Manchu dictionaries examined here.

Yet even this number cannot satisfactorily account for the impact that differing arrangements would have on the experience of using the dictionaries. Up until now, all our calculations have concerned the relative positions of words in the dictionaries, since we removed all the lemmata that were not common to both *Qīngwén bèikǎo* and *Qīngwén huìshū*. However, in reality, a user would always deal with a concrete dictionary, not abstracted sequences of words such as the ones operated with here.

In order to assess the impact on an actual user, we thus need to reintroduce the removed words to the sequence. From *Qīngwén bèikǎo*, we had removed 218 out of an original sequence of 756 lemmata, corresponding to 28.84%. If we assume that the removed words were spread out relatively evenly in the original sequence, we can take the average distance between differing lemmata, 3.9 positions in this case, and increase it by 28.84% to calculate by how many actual entries in *Qīngwén bèikǎo* a word was susceptible to be off for a user coming to the dictionary with a knowledge of *Qīngwén huìshū*: 5 entries. In *Qīngwén huìshū*, we had removed 298 lemmata of a total of 836, corresponding to 35.65%. If we increase the average distance (3.9 positions, we remember) by that percentage, while still assuming that the 298 lemmata were spread out relatively evenly in the original sequence of *Qīngwén huìshū*, we see that for a user coming to that dictionary with a knowledge of *Qīngwén bèikǎo*, a word would be susceptible to be off by 5.3 entries.

A reader familiar with one of these dictionaries and desirous to look up a word in the other would thus have to adopt the habit of always looking approximately 5 entries backwards or forwards from where a word was expected to be found, before he would be likely to either find it, or conclude its absence from the dictionary altogether.

A comparison of any given pair of dictionaries shows that even though the order of entries is not identical, the headwords still tend to be found close to where they would be expected.[180] Considering the number of words that Manchu dictionaries tended to group on one page,[181] and that a reader will always face two pages of the dictionary as it lies open on the table, we find that in the case in which a word is not to be found in its expected place, there is still a fair chance that it will be found either somewhere on the open pair of pages, or on one of the neighboring pages. From the point of view of the user, who would have to browse a few pages even in the case of an arrangement in perfect agreement with expectations, the differences observed between Manchu dictionaries might not have been as harshly felt as the original numbers suggested.

Manchu Order and Information Management

Considering its proliferation, it seems that Manchu graphological arrangement did a decent job as an information management tool in mono-, bi-, or trilingual dictionaries. At the end of the day, only the practicality of graphological arrangement can explain its proliferation in linguistic reference works like those reviewed in this chapter. However, the practical consequences of a partially applied and inherently ambiguous form of arrangement on kinds of corpora other than dictionaries might have been very different, but we have little possibility to investigate these by force of a lack of relevant sources.

The main reason that the braided syllabic form of graphological arrangement seen in Manchu dictionaries from 1683 onwards was never perfected might have been the sheer amount of work needed. Qīng lexicographers often remarked that they had spent years on compiling

[180]The headwords of the dictionaries examined in figure 6.6 tend to be found 1.57 to 6.95 positions apart, with an average of c. 4 positions apart across all the dictionaries.

[181]In the dictionaries examined in figure 6.6, the number of entries ranged from 8 to 20 per page, with an average of c. 14 headwords per page.

their dictionaries.[182] If the impact on the user experience was considered negligible, lexicographers might have felt that the extra work needed to advance the graphological arrangement of a dictionary, that had already taken many years to put together, was inordinately prohibitive. Perfection of graphological arrangement might have been perceived as governed by a law of diminishing returns. If readers would be able to find a word with relative ease anyway, why put in the extra work?

Yet a precise and consistent arrangement might have been essential for the export of Manchu graphological arrangement to other areas of application, such as the organization of archives. Conversely, a deficient arrangement would have discouraged further adoption of the Manchu order in areas other than dictionaries. For just as graphological arrangement played a prominent role in the organization of European archives since the Renaissance, so was Manchu graphological arrangement used in the archives of the Qīng imperial government. When Mark Elliott inspected the holdings of Manchu documents in the First Historical Archives of China, he noted a collection of more than twenty thousand Manchu memorials placed according to Manchu graphological arrangement.[183] However, as far as I am aware, any traces of pre-existing graphological arrangement that might have existed have been erased in the collections of facsimiles of archival documents published in China today. As long as we lack access to the relevant Qīng archives in their original state, we will remain unable to evaluate the success of Manchu graphological arrangement as an information management tool.

We can only surmise that the effects of an inconsistent arrangement would be quite notable in the case of a corpus composed of very voluminous batches of documents. A degree of difference that in a pair of dictionaries merely forced the reader to browse a few extra pages in either direction might have had more strenuous consequences in a big archive; instead of flipping a few extra pages, the extra work entailed by an inconsistent order might involve much going back and forth between archival shelves or boxes, equivalent to as much time wasted. It cannot be excluded that the inconsistencies of Manchu graphological arrangement as realized in the dictionaries might therefore have limited its application in government administration.

[182]Lǐ Yánjī (1724–1751) 2001, *xù*:2b; Quán-xǐ 1865, *xù*:2a; Sayišangγ-a 1851a, vol. 1 (no pagination).

[183]Elliott 2001b, 39.

Part IV

The Manchu Script and Chinese Phonology

Chapter 7

The Reform of Syllabic Spelling (1581–1780)

This chapter will deal with the Manchu influence on the reform of *fǎnqiè* spelling, introduced in chapter 2. I will argue that Chinese writers' encounter with the Manchu language and script reinforced a trend in late imperial phonology that predated the Qīng conquest: the dual movement toward making *fǎnqiè* (1) more accurate and (2) easier to use. Making *fǎnqiè* more accurate meant making it accord with pronunciations current in the late imperial period. Making it easier to use meant transforming it into a linear operation that could be carried out simply by reading the characters in succession as they appeared on the page.

The chapter will argue that after the Manchu language started to be studied in China following the conquest in 1644, several attempts were made to improve the phonetic transcription of Chinese using spelling systems influenced by Manchu. This development peaked in 1726, when a monolingual Chinese rhyme book appeared on imperial command. The book, explicitly referring to the principles of Manchu orthography, proposed to spell Chinese characters using a regular and minimalist system allowing the reader to simply read the spellers in succession off of the page to produce the intended syllable. This ambition was not fully realized.

On the one hand, the spellers were not consistently treated as representing subsyllabic sounds, but were considered to still carry both initial and final when first deciphered by the reader. It was thus specified that they should accord with the spelled syllable in more aspects than strictly necessary if the first syllable was treated as the initial and the second syllable as the rhyme. On the other hand, the editors insisted on maintaining distinctions made in Middle Chinese in addition to those made in the koinē.[1] The result was that very few characters were available to act as spellers for any given syllable. Thus restricted, the system could only be realized in a minority of cases.

Later in the eighteenth century, this syllabic spelling system was used to spell Manchu words instead of Chinese, different from what had originally been intended. In this new capacity, Manchu syllables were spelled using three instead of two Chinese syllables, with every speller representing only either the onset (initial), nucleus, or coda (rhyme). The spellings were set off as a writing system apart from Chinese characters by innovations in page layout. The improved, tripartite system was not used to spell Chinese. The problem of spelling the Chinese koinē using a minimalist, simple, and linear phonetic transcription derived from syllabic spellings (*fǎnqiè*) was not solved in the eighteenth century.

7.1 Syllabic Spelling Reform Before the Advent of Manchu

Accuracy in Two Writers from the North

Two late Míng developments in *fǎnqiè* spelling were important for the Manchu-influenced spelling systems in the Qīng period. One development concerned the phonological accuracy of the spellings, whereas the other was an attempt to make *fǎnqiè* notation simple to use by minimizing the number of spellers employed across the system. The former task attracted a greater number of Míng phonologists, who modified earlier *fǎnqiè* but did not always theorize

[1] See page 44 for this term.

their contributions.[2] I will first present some major attempts at increasing the accuracy of syllabic spelling, then give a brief account of the work carried out to simplify it.

Sāng Shàoliáng's *Qīngjiāo zázhù* (1581)

An early work of late imperial spelling reform was Sāng Shàoliáng's 桑紹良 (fl. 1543–1581) hybrid rhyme table and rhyme book *Qīngjiāo zázhù* 青郊雜著 (Miscellaneous writings from the Green Fields), which was printed in the last decade of the sixteenth century.[3] Sāng worked on his book for decades, hoping to provide a new standard for rhyming that would reunite divergent practices in the genres associated with north and south respectively. In the end, he did perhaps less than that; his book appears to have survived only in a handful of copies.[4] Some scholars understand his book as the point of origin of a series of phonological publications reaching into the nineteenth century,[5] yet he does not appear to have been explicitly cited beyond his native late-Míng Hénán.

Sāng's knowledge of historical phonology reflected the times in which he lived, and he seems to have thought that by outlining a sound system that came close to the elevated reading pronunciation of his own province, he was in fact approaching the pronunciation used in Chinese antiquity.[6] Sāng was very ambitious, acknowledging that the key concepts used in his book "are all of my personal opinion and often different from earlier books."[7] Although Sāng's idiosyncratic terminology would not be taken up by later writers, some of the analytic divisions he observed in his book would remain characteristic of rhyme table studies throughout the Míng-Qīng period.[8] He made important contributions to spelling reform in that he codified the principles behind his *fǎnqiè*; gave a relatively detailed description of the syllable; and insisted that the Northern Vernacular tone system had to be accurately represented in the

[2]Níng Jìfú 2009, 252 presents one example.

[3]Sāng's life and the circumstances of his book's printing are examined in Gěng Zhènshēng 1987.

[4]Gěng Zhènshēng 1991, 375 was only aware of one copy. Níng Jìfú 2009, 197 mentions four. Zhào Yīntáng 1957, 226 wrote that he had not been able to see a copy despite searching for many years (he had learned of the book's existence from an eighteenth-century bibliography). In 1940 he heard that a bookstore in Běijīng had a copy, but when he went there it had already been sold. It is unclear whether this was the copy that is now held at Peking University Library.

[5]Cho Kijŏng 1991, 17.

[6]Sāng made great use of a method of "harmonizing sounds" (*xíeshēng* 諧聲) which with reference to the radicals used in characters argued for the modification of character readings to make ancient rhymed texts appear as such also in the current language. Practitioners of this art seem to have thought that they were thereby also adopting ancient pronunciations. In line with this view, Sāng was very critical of the "overly detailed and complicated" (*tài suǒxiè* 太瑣屑) divisions of medieval rhyme books, as well as the pronunciations of "barbarians and townspeople" (*shìjǐng yídī* 市井夷狄) that he saw in the later Northern Vernacular tradition of rhyming (Sāng Shàoliáng [1593–1599] 2001, 11a–b [479]). He favored the *xiéshēng* method, but distances himself from the "vulgar" (*sú* 俗) practice of calling homophonous characters "harmonizing" without reference to their radicals (Sāng Shàoliáng [1593–1599] 2001, 13a–b [480]).

[7]Sāng Shàoliáng (1593–1599) 2001, 25a (486): 皆出獨見與舊書多不同.

[8]Such would be the case of the *hū* 呼 or "calls," which Sāng called *kē* 科, "classes," that grouped syllables according to the quality of their main vowels and medials: Gěng Zhènshēng 1991, 376–377.

spellings. Yet his understanding of *fǎnqiè* remained in the paradigm of the rhyme tables; producing a syllable from two spellers was for him an analytical operation that could not simply be achieved by reading the spellers off the page.

The main body of Sāng's work was a hybrid rhyme table and rhyme book. It presented the lemmata laid out in grid form, just like a rhyme table, but included several characters in one slot, making it a repository of character readings, just like a rhyme book. The pronunciation of characters was generally indicated through the tabular form itself (the *x* axis giving the initial and related aspects and the *y* axis giving the rhyme and related aspects), but Sāng also made some use of *fǎnqiè*. The syllabic spellings were used to specify pronunciations that were possible, but unattested in the lexicon as defined by Sāng's book.

Sāng spent several paragraphs of the introduction explaining the rules behind his *fǎnqiè*. The fact that Sāng explained how the principles governing the spellings functioned already set his work apart from the medieval rhyme books, whose spellings were ad hoc and untheorized creations that had accumulated over several generations. Yet it is not clear that he had originally planned to provide such ample instructions; in fact, he wrote the explanations after having shown the rhyme table to others,[9] who had difficulties understanding his idiosyncratic terminology.

A prerequisite for accurate spelling was an accurate representation of the sound system according to which the characters were to be pronounced. Sāng's solution to this problem was to redefine the sets of initials and rhymes used in earlier books, which allowed him to more accurately reflect the learned northern reading pronunciation described by his book.[10] Sāng explained the "new method for spelling characters" (*qièzì xīnfǎ* 切字新法) in the book's introduction. The basic principles remained the same (the first speller specified the initial, the second speller the rhyme), but Sāng placed further restrictions on what characters could be used as spellers. First, in addition to having the same initial as the spelled character, the first speller should ideally also be from the same rhyme group and have the same or similar nucleus. This was strictly speaking not necessary, since only the initial would be retained from the first speller, but would probably in Sāng's mind help the reader to intuit the intended sound.[11]

Second, the tone of the first speller also had to conform to certain standards. Sāng distinguished six tones. Of the four familiar medieval tones (Even, Rising, Departing, and En-

[9] Níng Jìfú 2009, 197.

[10] Sāng Shàoliáng (1593–1599) 2001, 11a–b (on the rhymes), 20b–21a (on the initials).

[11] In Sāng's hierarchy of rules, this is actually secondary to the rule governing the tone of the first speller. The fact that the first speller should come from the same rhyme group is a consequence of it having to come from among the characters in the same column in the rhyme chart as the spelled character. Sāng explained that if a character fulfilling the criteria with regards to tone cannot be found in the same column, it will have to be looked for in a rhyme group that was kept separate in the book, but considered related by Sāng and were probably pronounced very similarly in his native dialect. In his own technical vocabulary, a first speller should be chosen that could be "harmonized" (*xié*) with the spelled character in current practice of reading classical literature and that were in the same "class" (*kē* 科; i.e. had the same medial [in cases where the medial was zero, this coincided with having the same core vowel as the spelled syllable]). Even in the cases the first speller had to be sought in a separate rhyme group, it would thus have had a rhyme with a nucleus similar to the that of the spelled character, as long as the reader adopted the pronunciations suggested by Sāng: Sāng Shàoliáng (1593–1599) 2001, 22b–23a.

tering), the Rising and Departing stayed the same, whereas the Even and the Entering each split into an upper and a lower register. Although Sāng was probably not aware of it, the two registers were conditioned by the voicing of the syllable's initial in medieval times. In the case of the Even tone, the two registers survive in modern Mandarin, where they have been reinterpreted as two separate tones (first and second). The Entering tone has disappeared completely in modern Mandarin, and there is reason to believe it had disappeared for Sāng as well.[12] Whenever the distinction existed, Sāng used first spellers with a low-register tone to spell a character also having a low-register tone. Like his choice to spell the initial using a character from the same rhyme group as the spelled character, the pairing of tones in the same register also served to keep pronunciation close to the spelled character, presumably to facilitate the identification of the intended sound.[13]

Sāng made another specification with regards the first speller that we see also in later proposals to reform *fǎnqiè*. Although formulated in terms of tone, the specification really concerned the coda of the first speller. Whenever the spelled syllable was in the Even, Rising, or Departing, Sāng explained, the first speller should have the Entering tone.[14] Conversely, when the spelled syllable was of Entering-tone type, the initial was to be preferably spelled with a character having the Even tone, or failing that, either Rising or Departing tone. Choosing the first speller from among characters having a different tone was presumably a way to ensure that character would not spell themselves,[15] while still remaining in the same rhyme group and thus close to the spelled syllable in overall pronunciation. The pairing of the Entering tone with primarily the Even tone and secondarily the Rising and Departing tones might have fulfilled a secondary purpose; it might have helped the reader to associate the Entering-tone characters with the rhyme groups, generally identified by an Even-tone character, into which they had been sorted. The Entering-tone syllables, which in Sāng's time had already started to lose their distinctive characteristics, had originally had a very different structure from syllables in the other three tones. Their organization within the same rhyme group was thus not entirely obvious from the point of view of their pronunciation either in medieval or late imperial times.[16] Examination of the spelling method as actually applied by Sāng in the

[12] According to Níng Jìfú 2009, 222–223, a later work produced in the same area and sharing certain editorial practices with Sāng's book probably associated the even and the entering tones because they were in reality homophonous, being kept apart only since it was necessary when writing regularized verse. They might have been homophonous also for Sāng.

[13] Sāng Shàoliáng (1593–1599) 2001, 22b–23a.

[14] Níng Jìfú 2009, 201 discovered that in the work itself, the pairing is even more detailed: when spelled, the Rising and Departing tones are generally paired with separate registers of the Entering tone in the first speller. However Níng (203) also found it unlikely that two registers of the entering tone existed at all in Sāng's speech. It is possible that Sāng distinguished two registers of the entering tone for the sake of symmetry with the bifurcated Even tone, or even that the entering tone had merged completely with the Even tone, being distributed among its two registers.

[15] Although Sāng did not specify, in a near-contemporaneous work, a similar practice was explicitly said to ensure that there was enough characters to go around without any character having to spell itself, as discussed in Zhào Yīntáng 1957, 133.

[16] Sāng Shàoliáng (1593–1599) 2001, 22b. Their placement together was, however, justified from the point of view of the current practice of "harmonizing" (*xié*) rhymes in ancient literature: Gěng Zhènshēng 1991, 379.

main body of his book has shown that he was willing to sacrifice similarity in the nucleus between the first speller and the spelled syllable rather than giving up the pairing of entering tones with even, rising, and departing tones and vice versa.[17]

Sāng also placed restrictions on the choice of characters used as the second speller of a *fǎnqiè* pair. Not only did the second speller have to come from the same rhyme group, which were defined very broadly in Sāng's book, but also contain a similar diphthong or monophthong nucleus (in Sāng's terms, "be of the same class" [*tóngkē* 同科]). Furthermore, he specified that the second spellers used should should have an initial with a manner of articulation different from that of the spelled syllable's initial. Sāng classified the manner of articulation of the initials "ranks" (*pǐn* 品), which had a defined order. The second speller should ideally have an initial of the rank immediately following that of the spelled syllable's initial in the order.[18] Presumably, this was another way to ensure that homophonous syllables did not spell each other, which would make it difficult to understand the spellings provided by the rhyme table as a system.

Some of Sāng's specifications for the functioning of his spelling system, such as the rules regarding the initial of the second speller, implied that in most cases, the initial had to be abstracted from that character in order to successfully produce the spelled syllable. If the initial of the second speller was not removed by the reader, he would not produce one syllable but two, divided in half by the initial of the second speller. Sāng's specifications did not serve to make the decoding of the *fǎnqiè* spelling pair more intuitive, but only to ensure its accuracy.

These circumstances allow us to conclude that Sāng did not primarily think of the Chinese syllable as subdividing into more than two units that would be organized linearly in time. Consonant with the general understanding of syllabic characters in the late imperial period, possibly inspired by the theory of *akṣara*, he recognized two parts to the syllable, each represented by a *fǎnqiè* speller, that were organized linearly. Yet the medials that sometimes came between the initial and the main vowel of the nucleus were not presented as coming prior to the main vowel in time; it was not analyzed as a segment between the onset and the rhyme, but as an aspect of the rhyme indicated by its 'class.'

We see this in the structure of Sāng's table, which showed a character's 'class' on the *y* axis as a specification of the rhyme on a more detailed level of analysis than the rhyme group. In Sāng's spelling system, the syllable remained subdivided into only two parts. His achievement lay in clarifying the principles governing the choice of *fǎnqiè* spellers and the relatively strict demands placed on them to ensure that the tonal register and medial of the spelled syllable were more clearly indicated than had previously often been the case. His spelling scheme remained firmly anchored in the rhyme table paradigm. Approximation of the spelled syllable by a simple sequential reading of the spellers had in his time not yet become the ideal of the *fǎnqiè* system.

Likewise, Sāng does not seem to have envisioned the syllabic spellers as a distinct notational system, a subset of the aggregate of Chinese characters that the reader would come to recognize as representing only sound, not meaning. Quite the opposite, as research has found that the number of different spellers used in Sāng's book is extraordinary large, making it

[17] Wáng Sōngmù 2009, 218.

[18] Sāng Shàoliáng (1593–1599) 2001, 23a.

difficult for a reader to familiarize himself with the spellers and their sound values.[19] If Sāng's *fǎnqiè* constituted a syllabary, it was an inordinately large one.

Lǔ Kūn's *Jiāotài yùn* (1603)

In the first years of the seventeenth century Lǔ Kūn 呂坤 (1536–1618), another native of the Hénán area, also proposed a radical reform of rhyme book lexicography and syllabic spelling in the book *Jiāotài yùn* 交泰韻 (Interconnected rhymes). Lǔ, a presented scholar, served in local government in the provinces but also visited Běijīng, where he discussed phonology with the Buddhist community. He worked on his book for close to three decades until 1603,[20] but never finished it.[21]

Being close in time and space, Lǔ's and Sāng's books were based on similar pronunciations and proposed similar solutions to the problem of syllabic spelling. Lǔ's motivation for writing a rhyme book, of which we only possess the skeletal outline, was to abolish the need for the ad hoc operations that had developed since the medieval period to give contemporary appropriate readings to old *fǎnqiè*;[22] simply taking the initial from the first speller and the rhyme from the second speller should be enough to produce the current pronunciation of a spelled character. Like Sāng, Lǔ seems to have been largely ignorant of sound change, which enabled him to depart radically from established tradition while probably still believing that he was merely correcting the errors of latecomers while getting closer to the ancient and universal language. Lǔ wanted to create a rhyme book that presented a system of phonological relationships capable of including the pronunciations used by "women, children, farmers, servants, and the barbarians of the north and south."[23] The ambition to be all-encompassing, even universal, was matched by the title of the book, which alluded to ancient cosmology.[24]

Aspiring to be all-encompassing also meant that Lǔ had to account for the language of regularized verse, which was based on a pronunciation far from the speech of the Hénán farmhands of his day. Lǔ's Hénán topolect seems to have already lost the Entering tone, which had merged with the Even tone.[25] In regularized verse, however, the meter treated entering-tone characters as oblique characters, which had to alternate with even-tone characters in certain patterns. A person speaking Lǔ's dialect would therefore have been prone to mistake entering-tone characters for even-tone ones, thereby failing to appreciate or correctly produce regularized verse.

Since Lǔ does not appear to have any conception of sound change, the idea that the entering tone did not *exist* in his dialect would probably have been inconceivable to him. It was

[19]The great number of spellers was in part caused by the demand that successive *fǎnqiè* circulate among the four 'ranks': Níng Jìfú 2009, 202. The large number of spellers is also pointed out in Gěng Zhènshēng 1992, 79–80.

[20]Mochizuki Masumi 1989, 77.

[21]Luó Chángpéi (1943) 2008, 434.

[22]Zhào Yīntáng 1957, 131.

[23]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:1a (4): …婦人孺子田夫僕僮南蠻北夷.

[24]Níng Jìfú 2009, 219.

[25]In modern Standard Mandarin, the relationship between the former Entering tone and the other tones is more complicated, and many former Entering-tone characters are found also in tones other than the first and second tones, which would correspond to Lǔ's Even tone.

there, hiding among the even-tone characters, and although he tried to describe its pronunciation, his explanation was hard to understand and probably gleaned from books.[26] Distinguishing the Even and the Entering tones was the key problem tackled in Lǔ's book.[27]

The fact that the entering tone to Lǔ's ear was probably indistinguishable from the Even tone, from which it nevertheless had to be kept separate, help us understand his reform of syllabic spelling. In many respects, including time and space, dialect basis, and assumptions about language and the phonological tradition, Lǔ resembled Sāng. Their *fǎnqiè* systems were also similar. Yet Lǔ, who would remain influential into the Qīng period, had ideas of how to make syllabic spelling more intuitive that appear very forward-looking in light of later developments. He claimed that in order to use his system, "not a single instruction is necessary, not a single moment's reflection; if ten people decode a spelling, the sound will come as from one mouth. Without a difference, ten voices will sound the same."[28]

First, Lǔ insisted, like Sāng, that the tone should be taken into consideration also when choosing the first speller, which defined the initial of the spelled syllable. In an ideal world, Lǔ would have wanted to see tonal harmony between the first and second spellers of any pair: if the spelled syllable was in the Even tone, then both spellers should be in the Even tone; if it was in the Rising tone, then both spellers should also be of Rising tone. "This way the spellings would be precise and accurate, producing correct sounds that do not differ in the slightest" from the intended syllable.[29] Unfortunately, this plan was impossible to carry out, "because the characters are not distributed completely" across the four tones.[30] In order to find a first speller with the right initial, one would often have to go outside the tone group of the spelled syllable, rendering Lǔ's plan impossible. He therefore modified it.

Even tone characters had always been the most numerous, especially since they in Lǔ's system regrouped the two registers of high and low, which in the speech of his day were two separate tones. Entering tone characters, by contrast, were relatively few in number, and could not be counted on to spell their own kind without forcing characters to spell themselves, thereby making the spelling system useless. Thus he spelled "the Even tone using Entering tone syllables as first spellers" and vice versa.[31] By "conversely using the Even and Entering tones," Lǔ believed to have successfully "created an interconnected system" of spellings.[32]

As Níng Jìfú has pointed out, Lǔ's description of the complementary structure of even and entering tone syllables makes little sense from the point of view of their pronunciation as attested in actual varieties of Chinese. Most probably, Lǔ's assertion that "the Even tone begins hurried and ends drawn out … and the Entering tone begins drawn out and ends hurried"[33] was the result of taking the traditional and accurate description of Entering tone syllables as being

[26]On the basis of Lǔ's classification of certain characters, Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 239 concluded that he did not have a good grasp of how the Entering tone was pronounced.

[27]Níng Jìfú 2009, 220–223.

[28]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì:*1a (4): 不須一言指教，不須一瞬尋思；十人齊切，一口齊呼，不後不先，十呼俱同.

[29]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:2a–b: 此精切妥，當毫髮不爽之正聲也.

[30]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:2b: 緣字不全備.

[31]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:3a: 平聲以入子切…入聲以平子切.

[32]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:3a: 蓋余明互平入二字以成交泰一體.

[33]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:3a: 平聲先急促而後悠長…入聲先悠長而後急促.

short in pronunciation, by force of having a stop coda, and creating an inverse description for the Even tone that is very hard to map onto the Even tone as actually pronounced in Chinese. The most plausible explanation is that the two were pronounced identically by Lǔ,[34] who needed an ontological justification for letting them spell each other in his *fǎnqiè* system.

If Níng is right in believing that the Even and Entering tones were identical for Lǔ, the choice of letting the two tones alternate as each other's first speller takes on a new meaning. Entering tone characters would in Lǔ's speech have already changed into open syllables, meaning that simply reading the first and second spellers of a *fǎnqiè* pair would give an approximation of the sound of the spelled syllable, even before the reader had gone through the intellectual exercise of abstracting the initial from the first speller, the rhyme from the second speller, and then pairing the two. Yet Lǔ does not seem to have pushed the logic of his system further, as he allowed, for instance, closed syllables to act as first spellers for Entering tone syllables, which would have prevented the approximation of the spelled sound by a rapid sequential reading of the spellers.

For example, Lǔ spelled 'foot' (*chǐ*), the unit of measurement, in the following way:[35]

ch*ēng* 稱 + ***yì*** 益 = ***chǐ*** 尺

Syllables classed as taking the Entering tone could thus not be intuited by a successive reading of the spellers; the initial of the first speller had to be abstracted from its coda (in this example: by removing *ch-* from *ēng*) before it could be paired with the rhyme of the second. Despite exhibiting some of the difficulties found in traditional *fǎnqiè*, Lǔ insisted on maintaining the Entering tone as a category apart from the Even tone, choosing spellings that prioritized clarifying the medieval tone categories rather than representing contemporary pronunciations in an intuitive way. The purpose of such spellings was probably to facilitate the writing of poetry, since the Entering tone could "only be used [as the Even tone] in speech, not when putting pen to paper to write rhymes,"[36] in which case the Entering tone had to be treated differently from the Even tone. In case of the Entering and Even tones, Lǔ's spelling reform did not seem intended to make the decoding of *fǎnqiè* more intuitive, but to transform it into a tool for writing regularized verse.

Since Lǔ's readership in late Míng Hénán would not have had any major difficulties distinguishing the Rising and Departing tones, which were still distributed as in the medieval period, he could devise the spellings of these tones solely in order to make them as intuitive as possible. He thus tried to use only open syllables as first spellers in these tones, and only syllables with zero initials as second spellers.[37] This spelling practice enabled the reader to just

[34]Níng Jìfú 2009, 220.

[35]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *zǒngmù*:16b. Unlike the Standard Mandarin represented here in *pīnyīn*, Lǔ would have read the syllables *yì* and *chǐ* in the Even tone, not in the Departing and Rising tones as transcribed here, in accordance with the principle manifested in his book that Entering-tone words were read in the Even tone. There is not a complete correspondence between Lǔ's vernacular and ours.

[36]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:4b: 但可借口調聲，不可落筆作韻.

[37]Níng Jìfú 2009, 209–210. That is, second syllables whose initials belonged to classes such as *yǐng*

read the two spellers in quick succession to create an approximation of the intended syllable. In some cases, it might be enough to enable him to intuit the intended spelling, absolving him from going through the analytic operation of abstracting the initial from the first speller and the rhyme from the second. For example, Lǔ spelled the word for 'dream' (*mèng*), which was in the Departing tone, in the following manner:

mù 暮 + ***wèng*** 瓮 = ***mèng*** 夢[38]

Simply reading the two spellers quickly would produce a good approximation of the intended syllable. From having relied on a process of phonological analysis, *fǎnqiè* had in Lǔ's work begun to look more like a reasoned version of the transcriptions of foreign words that the Chinese had used at least since the introduction of Buddhism.

Lǔ anchored his spelling practice in an understanding of the sound chain constituting human speech. The traditional *fǎnqiè* method relied on an artificial abstraction of the initial, which as a consonant (or zero) could not be pronounced in isolation. Lǔ pointed this out, probably thinking of the fact that certain initials appeared only together with certain nuclei (medials and vowels). If the rhyme chosen did not occur naturally together with a certain initial, it would be impossible or very unnatural to realize that initial in the syllable that resulted from the combination of the two spellers. In Lǔ's terms:

> The *rhyme* is the sound that lingers when an initial and its attendant vocalization is almost complete. If the rhyme is correct, then the vocalized initial will also be correct, but if the rhyme is turned [and realized differently], then the initial will also be vocalized differently.[39]

Lǔ then proceeded to illustrate the interdependence of initial and rhyme "using clear spoken language":[40]

> Consider the two sounds [lit. 'characters'] *xù* and *lì*, which are basically the four sounds *xú yù lì yī* pronounced in one drawn-out articulation. [Likewise,] if we pronounced the sounds *xù lì yè* in a singing voice, they become *xù liè*. Here *yè* is the turned rhyme of [the initial] *lì*; with one turn they produce the sound *liè*.[41]

By appealing to the rapid oral realization of the characters, Lǔ attempted to show that Chinese syllables, coterminous with 'characters,' could be understood as consisting of a sequence of at least two subsyllabic sounds. In his first example *xù lì*, those sounds were the

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影, *yù* 喻, *yí* 疑 etc. of the thirty-six initials of the medieval period. As the *pīnyīn* used here indicates, these three classes became homophonous in the Northern Vernacular.

[39]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:10a: 韻者音聲將盡之餘響；韻正則聲音俱正；韻轉則聲音俱轉 (the first character is circled in the original text, I have represented that by making it bigger here).

[40]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:10a: 以眼前口頭語明之.

[41]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:10a–b: 如「序」、「立」二字。本是「徐預力一」四字而長聲呼之。若唱「序立業」，則爲「序列」。是「業」者，「立」之轉韻；一轉遂成「列」字矣.

initial ***xú*** and the rhyme *y**ù*** for ***xù***, and the initial ***lì*** and the rhyme *y**ī*** for ***lì***.[42] In his second example, the syllable ***liè*** was shown to consist of the initial ***lì***, the rhyme ***yè***, which contained a medial -***y***-. In this example and in the *fǎnqiè* spellings used by Lǔ to indicate the sounds of characters in the rising and departing tones, Lǔ effectively replaced the two-dimensional paradigm of the rhyme table tradition with one that was entirely linear. The stress on linearity would become more pronounced in later reforms.

Lǔ introduced another innovation that would also remain important in subsequent *fǎnqiè* reforms: he used symbols superimposed on characters to indicate certain phonological features, effectively inventing a system of diacritics. He was certainly not the first to use graphical marks other than Chinese characters to make distinctions in phonological works, but his was an early example of using diacritics in a reasoned effort at improving syllabic spelling. Lǔ needed diacritics to properly indicate the tone of certain characters, for which there were no good second spellers. Some syllable types existed only in the high register of the first tone, whereas others existed only in the low. Yet in some cases, Lǔ relied on such syllables to act as the second speller of a character in the opposite tonal register.

To indicate to the reader that the second speller should be read in the opposite register, Lǔ added one of two diacritics. In case the character was in the lower register, but needed to be read in the higher for the sake of spelling, Lǔ added a horseshoe-shaped hook (⌊⌋) underneath it. In the opposite case, in which a high register Even-tone character was used to spell a low register one, Lǔ placed the inverse mark (⌈⌉) on top of the speller.[43] The modification of spellers using diacritics, positioning, or relative size became more important in later reforms of *fǎnqiè*.

Simplicity in Chén Jìnmóu's *Yuányīn tǒngyùn* (Posthumously Published)

Sāng Shàoliáng and Lǔ Kūn tried to reform *fǎnqiè* by making it express the pronunciation of a character more accurately. Although Lǔ during the course of his phonological work occasionally expressed the idea that syllabic spelling was a linear operation—a conceptualization that had the potential of making the system more intuitive for laymen—that was not his main focus, which remained the accurate phonological representation of the spelled character. Yet increased simplicity of *fǎnqiè* spelling was on other people's minds in the late Míng.

Chén Jìnmóu's 陳蓋謀 (1598–1679) book *Yuányīn tǒngyùn* 元音統韻 (The primordial sounds in control of the rhymes) was not printed until well into the Qīng period,[44] and does not seem to have had much influence on later phonological scholarship. However, his ideas regarding syllabic spelling, although ultimately impractical, were symptomatic of the development of phonetic transcription more broadly in the late imperial period.

[42]Lǔ's tones do not accord with the transcription used here. See footnote 35 on page 351.

[43]Lǔ Kūn (1603–1620) 2001, *fánlì*:14a–b.

[44]First printed in 1708 and then reprinted in 1714. Chén's dates are inferred: Níng Jìfú 2009, 387–388. A shorter (and less useful) introduction to the book is found in Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 489–490.

Chén stressed that traditional *fǎnqiè* was too intricate and difficult. During the course of his own studies, he had "begun to understand it only after three years."[45] Because of the sheer number of different characters and their spellings, "memorizing them would be exhausting even for a genius."[46]

Chén thus simplified his spellings to the maximum. The sound system represented in his book recognized 36 initials and 142 rhymes. In other words, from the point of view of his system, the pronunciation of all characters listed in the book could be described as a combination of one of the initials with one of the finals.[47]

As initials and rhymes were represented each by one character, the characters constituting the phonological notation also occurred listed as lemmata in the main body of the book. Those characters thus spelled themselves, leading to tautological and in themselves unhelpful spellings akin to '*x* is pronounced *x*.' Chén's spelling system defied the method of 'interconnections' (*xìlián*) later practiced in attempts to interpret the sound system represented in medieval rhyme books by reconstruct series of spellers used in complementary distribution, and then propose sound values for those with the help of other kinds of linguistic data (e.g., modern vernaculars or Chinese loans in other languages). Although Chén Jìnmóu's minimalist system made such interpretation very difficult, as it would have to hinge on a very small number of characters, he can hardly be blamed for not conforming to the ideals of scholars of historical linguistics using a method first formulated by Chén Lǐ 陳禮 (1810–1882) almost two centuries after his death.[48] Jìnmóu's goal was not historical reconstruction or even maximum phonetic accuracy, but simplicity. Yet this did not protect him from the criticism of posterity. Níng Jìfú thought that Chén's spellings were "just as good as none at all" (*yǒu děng yú wú* 有等于无).[49]

Chén himself had a different conception of *fǎnqiè* and its purpose. For him, it was not a notation alternative to the two-dimensional grid model of the rhyme tables. Rather, it was the transformation of the two-dimensional grid into a linear notation. At the beginning of his book, Chén included a "Chart of the four tones on two axes" (*Sì shēng jīngwěi tú* 四聲經緯圖), the result of his earlier phonological investigations. The chart listed the initials on the horizontal axis and the rhymes on the vertical axis, the cells of the grid displaying—if available—a character pronounced with the initial and rhyme corresponding to its position.[50]

As Chén explained, the expression of a character's pronunciation by means of its placement in the grid was analogous to its expression using two syllabic spellers: the two spellers, coterminous with one character each from the two axes of the grid, was a shorthand for the spelled character's place in the "Chart." In Chén's system, the reader "only needs to remember to which initial" the first speller corresponds, "not what character [out of many] it is that is used as the first speller"—that is, as in traditional systems with large numbers or spellers.

[45]Chén Jìnmóu (1714) 2001, 1:19b (20): 亦三年而始解.

[46]Chén Jìnmóu (1714) 2001, 1:14b (18): 雖有賢智，記憶疲勞.

[47]This is not to say that a combination of Chén's initials and finals would necessarily have captured all phonetic aspects of any dialect or register that might be deemed necessary by a scholar in the twenty-first century, but merely a description of the functioning of his notation. Furthermore, not all combinations were attested in the actual Chinese lexicon (some were impossible according to Chinese phonotactics).

[48]Chén Lǐ (1837–1880) 2004, ch. 1, 3–5.

[49]Níng Jìfú 2009, 360, 392, 467.

[50]Chén Jìnmóu (1714) 2001, 1:15a–18a (18–20).

Likewise, the reader only had to go to the position of the relevant rhyme and tone on the vertical axis,

> and glance horizontally out from [the position of] this rhyme, until reaching the column of the initial memorized previously, and then stop. The spelled character will be found right there, in the space where the horizontal and vertical lines intersect.[51]

The grid was the basis for the *fǎnqiè*, but Chén did not expect the readers to rely on it all the time. "This business of looking up characters by using the chart is only intended to serve slow learners," he wrote.[52] He also explained techniques and mnemonics enabling the reader to "arrive at the solution by running through the pronunciations orally."[53]

Chén intended for his *fǎnqiè* to be a closed system, whose spellings could be readily understood by the reader upon encountering them. The conceptualization of syllabic spellings as a *system* was an important innovation, as it represented one step on the way towards the creation of a phonetic notation entirely separate from the aggregate of Chinese characters as a writing system. Chén did not go that far, and the characters used in his *fǎnqiè* are all actual Chinese characters. This meant that only the placement of a character as part of a *fǎnqiè* pair indicated that it was to be read not as used in running text, with its full sound value, but as representing either an initial or a rhyme only. Chén's notation was thus a far cry from, say, Japanese *kana*, which are graphically distinct from Chinese characters although ultimately derived from them.

Yet Chén does not seem to have been entirely unaware of the advantages of clearly separating the phonetic notation from the Chinese writing system by making it graphically distinct. He used abbreviated forms for some characters commonly used as part of the technical vocabulary of phonology (e.g., 屮 for *zhǐ* 徵 and 宀 for *gōng* 宮—two of the notes in the ancient musical scale).[54] However, the abbreviations involved only the terms used to describe and categorize pronunciations, not the spellers themselves, which were still written using full-form characters. Further steps towards a phonetic notation graphically distinct from Chinese characters were taken later, in the Qīng period.

The Buddhist Influence: Zhào Huànguāng's *Xītán jīngzhuàn* (1611)

In 1611, the southern literatus Zhào Huànguāng 趙宧光 (1559–1625) published *Xītán jīngzhuàn* 悉曇經傳 (The Siddhaṃ treatise and its commentary). The book was a treatise on Indian phonology in the Siddhaṃ tradition, which I discussed in chapter 2 as an 'alphasyllabary' once used to write Sanskrit and much studied in Buddhist circles in East Asia. Zhào had studied Siddhaṃ with a Buddhist master who in turn had learned it from Tibetans using also the Tibetan script.[55]

[51]Chén Jìnmóu (1714) 2001, 1:24a (23): 但記定第幾母，不必仍記上一字爲何字…次審下一字在何聲圖內，及何韻之中，即從此韻橫看至所記第幾母一行而止；則一橫一直交接處，恰得所切之字.

[52]Chén Jìnmóu (1714) 2001, 1:24b–25a (23): 此按圖索驥之事，特爲愚者而設.

[53]Chén Jìnmóu (1714) 2001, 1:25a (23): 口中翻調得法.

[54]Níng Jìfú 2009, 391.

[55]Tán Shìbǎo 2009, 265–266.

Zhào's book is a very learned treatise, discussing Siddhaṃ within the framework of Chinese rhyme table studies, themselves, as we saw, largely derived from the Indian tradition. Zhào's presentation of the Siddhaṃ script took the form of a rhyme table, constituting a two-dimensional grid in which the vertical axis listed the twelve vowels and consonants. The latter were paired in the squares of the grid with the thirty-four sounds of the horizontal axis. The grid stretched over several printed pages.

In addition to the presentation of the Siddhaṃ syllabary proper, Zhào also discussed Siddhaṃ and Chinese phonology more generally. He was naturally well aware of the structural difference between the Chinese and Indic scripts. Referring to both the units of the script and of phonology as a discipline, Zhào wrote that

> the initials (*zìmǔ*) of this land [of China] are not like the Indian characters (*Fànzì*) all created from thirty-four genera (*mǔ*); rather, from among the many characters [of Chinese] one character is taken to represent every category [of sounds].[56]

Zhào was, then, clearly aware of the possibility of representing the sounds of Chinese using a smaller sign inventory than the whole body of Chinese characters. Yet he also remarked that "in the phonology of this land [that is China], there are no characters to match [spellings] of more than two joint [elements] (*èrhé*)."[57] He seems to have doubted that the Chinese syllable could be segmented into three parts, probably out of an adherence to a more orthodox theoretical model that recognized only the two parts of initial and rhyme as constituents of the Chinese syllable.

Zhào's book was primarily a treatise on Siddhaṃ, not Chinese phonology. Yet as we shall see, *Xītán jīngzhuàn* helped propagate ideas drawn from Buddhist language studies among Chinese phonologists.

The Jesuit Influence: *Xī-Rú ěrmù zī* (1626) and Its Successors

A few decades before the Manchu language and script started to become known and studied in China, the Jesuit mission introduced the Roman alphabet to the Míng domain in a work dealing largely with phonetic transcription. The European influence was in the coming two centuries eclipsed by the Qīng's turn to Inner Asia and non-classicist traditions like Buddhism, but it never disappeared entirely before its revival in the wake of renewed Western contact after the Opium War. As an example of a script at least as different from Chinese characters as Manchu, the Roman alphabet also influenced Chinese phonology in a direction similar to that taken under Manchu influence in the next century.

[56]Zhào Huànguāng (1611) 1999, *fánlì*:13b (30): 此方字母不比梵字皆从卅四母所生；不過于衆字之中，每類取一字領之而已. The quite colloquial tone of the passage from which I am quoting this is peculiar. Perhaps Zhào is quoting his Buddhist master verbatim?

[57]Zhào Huànguāng (1611) 1999, *fánlì*:1b–2a (6–7): 但此方等韻，二合以上者，無字當之.

The Jesuit engagement with Chinese phonology,[58] prompted initially by conversations that Nicolas Trigault (Jīn Nígé 金尼閣; 1577–1629)[59] had with a Chinese scholar in Shānxī,[60] led to the collaborative publication *Xī-Rú ěrmù zī* 西儒耳目資 (The Western classicists' resources for the ears and eyes; 1626).[61] The book had a considerable influence on phonologists in the generations following its initial publication, but by the late eighteenth century it had become rare, being available only in part to scholars working in the imperial library.[62]

Xī-Rú ěrmù zī presented spellings of Chinese characters using the Roman alphabet. Those spellings were accompanied by *fǎnqiè*. A biproduct of Trigault's explanation of the alphabet was a reformed *fǎnqiè* system. The terminology used in *Xī-Rú ěrmù zī* is different from what we see in other works, but the principles behind Trigault's *fǎnqiè* reform were similar to those of other phonology reformers in the late Míng.

Trigault divided the syllable into "initials" (*zìfù* 字父, lit. 'character fathers') and "rhymes" (*zìmǔ* 字母, lit. 'character mothers'), who together "generated" (*shēng* 生) the spelled character, which he called the "character offspring" (*zìzǐ* 字子). The use of 'generate' to refer to the spelling operation seems to have been intended to stress its difference from traditional *fǎnqiè*; in Trigault's system, the analytic operation of *fǎnqiè* was ideally superfluous, the spelled character being produced by itself by simply reading the spellers quickly off the page.[63] To achieve this goal he to the greatest extent possible used characters that in his version of Northern Vernacular Chinese represented open syllables as first spellers and characters with zero initial as second spellers. The principles behind the method were similar to what we saw in Lǔ Kūn's work.

Trigault phrased the pairing of initial and rhyme that was effectuated in the *fǎnqiè* as a pairing of "consonants" (*tóngmíng* 同鳴), represented in the initial and thus the first speller, with "vowels" (*zìmíng* 自鳴, lit. sounds that 'resonate on their own,' the exact opposite of 'consonant'), represented in the rhyme and thus the second speller. Trigault understood the functioning of the Roman alphabet as a pairing of these subsyllabic units. He then transferred the same idea unto Chinese syllabic spelling. He explained:

> Now what about the spelled character (*zìzǐ*)? It is simply the result of the pairing of initial and rhyme. The initial forms its beginning, the rhyme forms its end. The beginning constitutes the initial incomplete sound (*chūbàn shēng*). All the remaining sound, regardless if they are one, several, or vowels, constitute the end. From the first speller you take the beginning, and from the second speller you take the end. Once you have both initial and rhyme, you pair (*qiè*) them to form the spelled character.[64]

[58]Luó Chángpéi (1929b) 2008, (1951) 2008.

[59]Pfister (1891) 1932, 111–120 (entry 32); Dehergne 1973, 274–275 (entry 850).

[60]Tán Huìyǐng 2008, 23.

[61]On the book's authorship: Máo Ruìfāng 2011. Some information on its phonological system is found in Luo 1993.

[62]*Huángcháo tōngzhì,* 1955 ed. (1787) 1955, 6815a.

[63]Tán Huìyǐng 2008, 45.

[64]Trigault (1626) 1995, 58b: 字子者何？父母之相會所成，是已。以父爲首，以母爲末。初半聲，首也。餘全聲，或一，或多，或同鳴；末也。其上舉首，其下成末。有父有母，切成字子矣.

Trigault then explained an ideal case of how his system functioned:

> Imagine that we were to spell the character 學. That is our spelled character. Its initial is called *hēi* 黑, or *h* … Its rhyme is called *yào* 藥, or *iŏ*. … The initial and rhyme fit together: 黑 and 藥 spell 學. There is no need to remove either beginning or end [from any of the spellers], they naturally form the character 學. This becomes even clearer if we look at the Western figures: *h* 黑 and *iŏ* 藥 generate *hiŏ* 學.[65]

The notorious problem faced by this approach, experienced by Trigault as well as by many scholars after him, was that the restrictions placed on the spellers to represent open syllables when used for the initial and syllables without a consonantal onset when used for the rhyme meant that there were often not enough characters to go around. The characters with zero initial did not contain syllables with all the vowel, tone, and final combinations needed to spell the entirety of the Northern Chinese syllable inventory. Trigault thus devised a set of rules sidestepping the strict restrictions he had placed on the spellers. In the process he made the system more unwieldy, albeit more accurate.

Trigault's use of the Roman alphabet to spell Chinese syllables in a sense provided a solution to such problems. Trigault's alphabetic spellings had the distinct advantage of being able to pair any initial with any rhyme, even though it was based on the same phonological analysis into initial, tone, and rhyme.

Indeed, one of the apparent purposes of Trigault's book was to explain the functioning of European alphabetic writing and its utility as a tool for transcribing Chinese. Yet despite this ambition, the Roman alphabet was not presented as unequivocally linear in *Xī-Rú ěrmù zī*.

Trigault presented the Roman script in a series of circular diagrams. The origin of the diagrams lay largely in Europe, where similar drawings were used to represent the heavens, but circular charts were also used in China to illustrate cosmological models. Trigault and his collaborators might have drawn on both these traditions.[66]

The charts in *Xī Rú ěrmù zī* were remarkable in that they were not just intended to be appreciated by the eye, but could also serve as drawings for the building of a simple mechanical device. The device was a board, which would consist of movable concentric circles, each carrying Roman letters in the position of initial, medial, nuclear vowel, final and so on. With reference to the lists and explanations in the book, the operator of the board could find the appropriate Roman letters to spell a given syllable, noting them by turning the circles of the board one by one until he had filled all the necessary slots. The board could thereby serve as a kind of short-term memory before the written syllable was transferred to paper. Trigault included drawings for several boards, of which one was the "Universal phonology board" (*Wànguó yīnyùn huótú* 萬國音韻活圖) seen in figures 7.1 and 7.2.

The 'universal' board included all the letters of Trigault's Roman notation, and thus could be used to spell "not just the sounds of one country, but the myriad sounds."[67] Trigault com-

[65]Trigault (1626) 1995, 58b–59a: 假如欲切「學」字。「學」字子也。其父曰「黑」, *h* … 其母曰「藥」… 父母相合, 「黑」、「藥」切「學」。不必減首減末, 自成「學」字。見西號易明：「黑」, *h*、「藥」, *iŏ* 生「學」, *hiŏ* 矣.

[66]Tán Huìyǐng 2008, 69–70.

[67]Trigault (1626) 1995, *huótú*:4b: 萬音而不止一國之音.

plemented it with a "Phonology board of the central plain" (*Zhōngyuán yīnyùn huótú* 中原音韻活圖), which can be seen in figure 7.4. Unlike the universal board, the latter contained only the initials, rhymes, and tones that Trigault recognized in the Chinese Northern Vernacular of his day. It was intended to be operated in the same way as the universal chart.

Without going into details regarding the phonological categories used by Trigault to express the pronunciation of Chinese syllables, it is clear that his board was in accord with the current Míng understanding of the Chinese syllable. The board contained letters, but it did not demand that the letters be read as a linear sequence of single vowels and consonants. On the contrary, the board prioritized units such as rhymes (found in the second outermost circle) over letters. The rhymes were spelled using one to four letters, presented as single units. The spellings of the rhymes certainly conformed to the usual functioning of the Roman alphabet (they were read from left to right and together formed a single syllable on their own), but it was not necessary for the board's operator to understand them in that way. To operate the board, the letter combinations writing a single rhyme could be taken as a unit on a par with a Chinese character. The analytic operation effectuated by the board hinged on the division of the Chinese syllable into categories including initial, rhyme, and tone, which were well established in Chinese phonology.

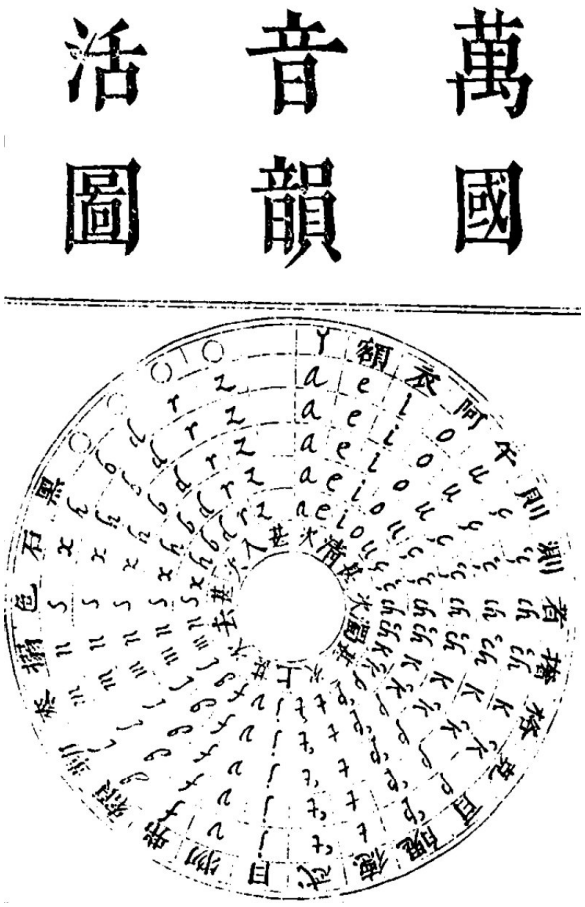
Xī-Rú ěrmù zī introduced a new script to students of Chinese phonology and explained it in a way that made sense by using familiar categories. The universal board instructed the reader to construct syllable spellings letter by letter, as in the Roman alphabet as used in Europe. Yet the operation of the board was not a linear inscription of the syllable letter by letter. The specifically Chinese board representing the sounds of the central plain was even further removed from the linear operation of the alphabet. The presentation of the European script in *Xī-Rú ěrmù zī* could strengthen or inspire a conceptualization of syllabic spelling as a linear operation, but it did not demand it.

Trigault's phonological treatise had an immediate impact on Chinese phonology. One of the first scholars to draw on it in his studies was Fāng Yǐzhì 方以智 (1611–1671).[68] Fāng referred to both Trigault's Roman alphabet and Sanskrit learning using the Siddhaṃ script. He was clearly aware of the existence and potential utility of alternative scripts as phonetic notation. He seems to have attempted to define a phonetic notation that was based on Chinese characters, but still kept separate from the set of characters used as the writing system for the Chinese language. For example, he wrote that the Chinese words "*yī* 一, 'one' and *èr* 二, 'two' are [the sounds] *yī* 咿 and *èr* 唲."[69] In that example, the addition of the 'mouth' radical (口) to common characters signaled that they were used uniquely to indicate the sound of other words, not as full characters in their own right having both sound and meaning.

Another scholar influenced by Trigault was Yáng Xuǎnqǐ 楊選杞 (1610–1660). Yáng belonged to the group of scholars who reached maturity in the late Míng and chose to never enter Qīng government service after the Manchu conquest. We know almost nothing about him except that he wrote a phonological treatise, that seems to have been left unfinished, titled "Shēngyùn tóngrán jí" 聲韻同然集 (Collection harmonizing initials and rhymes; 1659). The only first-hand account of the work is by Luó Chángpéi, who appears to have had access to a

[68]His phonological work is described in e.g. Zhào Yīntáng 1957, 223–226.

[69]Fāng Yǐzhì (1666) 1990, 50:30a (614): 「一二」即「咿唲」.



Reproduced from Trigault (1626) 1995, 440 (pagination of the reprint, original pagination illegible; not to scale).

Figure 7.1 – Trigault's "Universal phonology board" (1626)

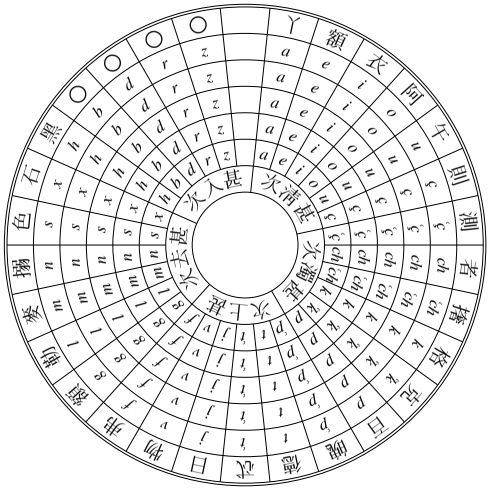
manuscript before or in 1929.[70] What later happened to it is unclear. It should be considered lost.

Yáng's incomplete draft did not include the Roman letters found in Trigault's book, but it used 'boards' (*pán* 盤) as Trigault had done. Yáng likewise wanted to make *fǎnqiè* into a simple, linear operation, thus placing restrictions on the rhyme of the first speller and the initial of the second speller. Doing so, he also ran into the same problems as had Trigault: with the characters he could use limited to only those having certain initials or rhymes, he was forced to introduce exceptional or irregular spellings for many characters. He seems to have been frustrated by the inability of his syllabic spelling system to account for the pronunciation of the entire vocabulary without recourse to such ad hoc measures. He wanted to "change it to translations using Manchu characters or the universal (*yuán*) characters of the Western classicists," but had been unable to do so.[71]

[70]Luó Chángpéi (1929a) 2008.

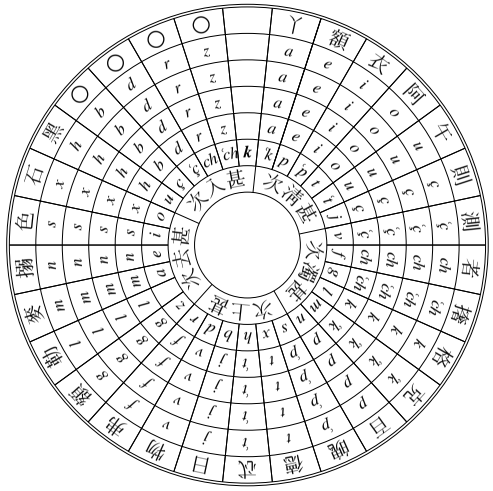
[71]Quoted in Luó Chángpéi (1929a) 2008, 111: 更译以清字及西儒元音字.

1.



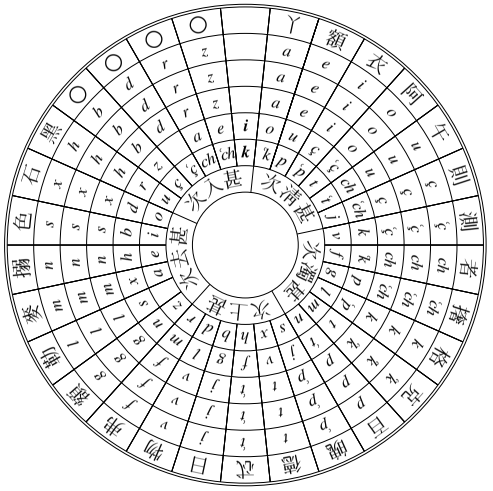
All cells are empty; board spells nothing.

2.



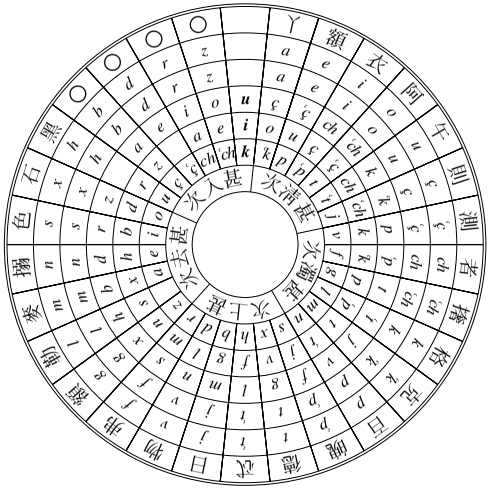
One cell is filled; board spells ***k***.

3.



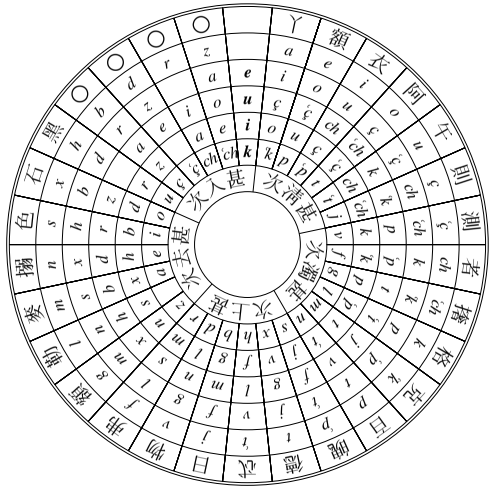
The board spells ***ki***.

4.



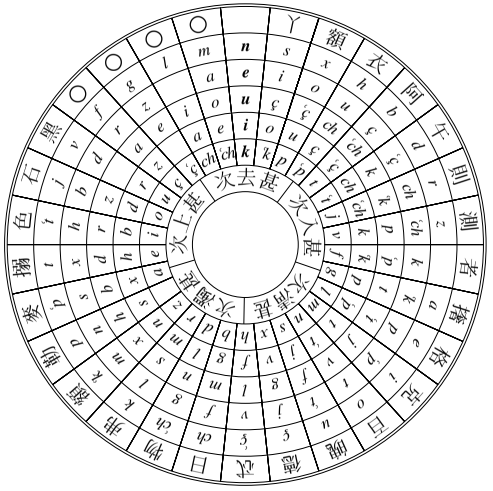
The board spells ***kiu***.

5.



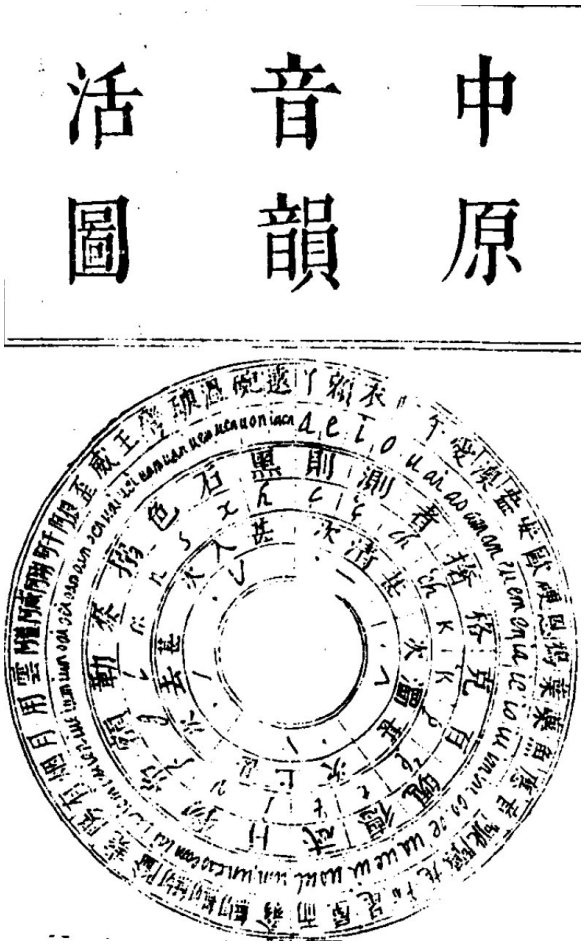
The board spells ***kiue***.

6.



The board spells ***kiuen***, marked as “departing” (*qù* 去) tone.

Figure 7.2 – Trigault’s “Universal phonology board” Used to Spell *kiuén* 倦 (= *juàn*)



Reproduced from Trigault (1626) 1995, 441 (pagination of the reprint, original pagination illegible; not to scale).

Figure 7.3 – Trigault's "Phonology board of the central plain" (1626)

Facing the problems of the *fǎnqiè* system, Yáng believed that a solution could be found in either the Roman alphabet or the Manchu script. The juxtaposition of the two scripts is noteworthy: Yáng appears to have seen a structural similarity in them that set them both apart from Chinese characters.

Spelling Reform and the Composition of Songs: *Dùqǔ xūzhī* (1639)

Buddhist learning had been intimately connected to phonology ever since the study of the Sanskrit language and Indic script inspired analyses of Chinese sounds in the medieval period. The Buddhist tradition was by no means dead in the late Míng; Fāng Yǐzhì's reference to Indian learning was already mentioned in passing above. In this period several other works were also published that showed a clear influence from Buddhist scholarship. After the introduction of Manchu learning, the Buddhist tradition would if anything gain in importance as

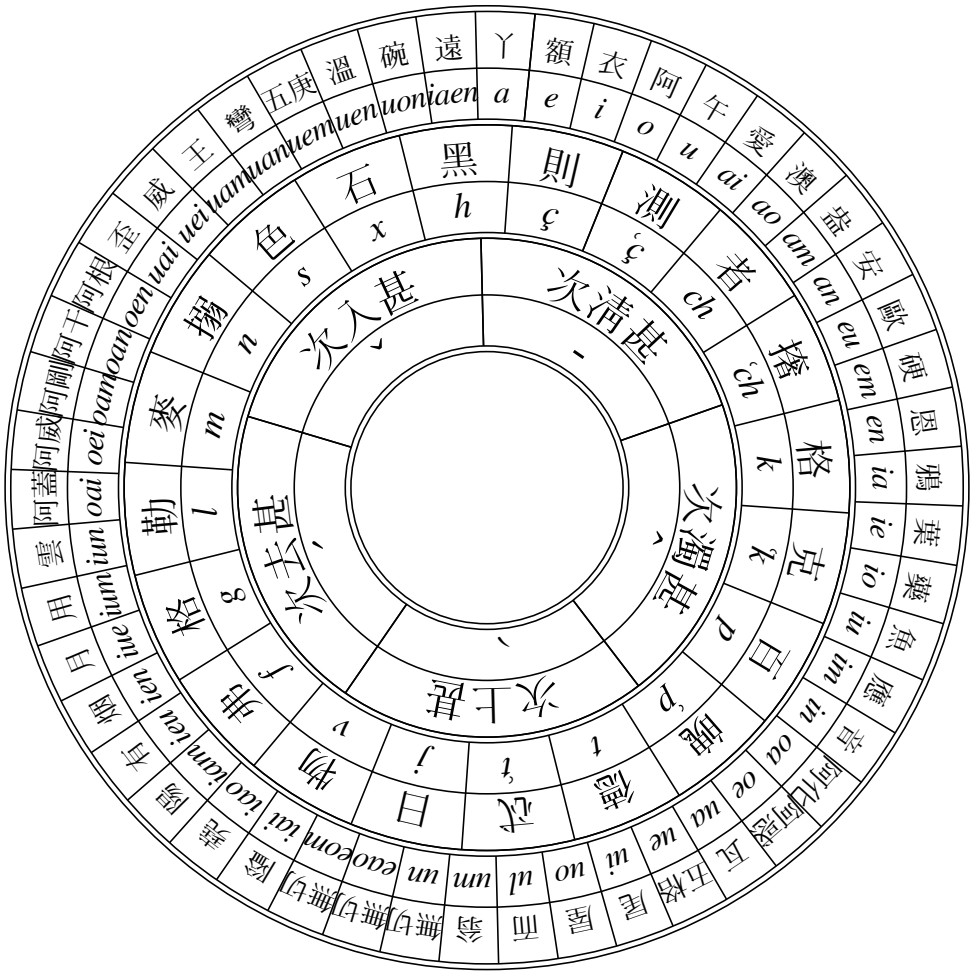


Figure 7.4 – Trigault's "Phonology Board of the Central Plain" (Reconstructed)

certain key terms originally used in reference to Indic scripts came to be used in reference to Manchu.

The Buddhist influence was manifest in the reappearance of the term *sānhé* 三合, 'tripartite' spellings,[72] which we saw used in reference to Chinese medieval transcriptions of Sanskrit in chapter 2. (It is worth noting that although Buddhist in origin, the analysis of the syllable into three parts is radically different from an analysis into *akṣara*, which was also transmitted through Buddhist learning.) A term very similar to the one of 'tripartite' spellings made its appearance in late Míng phonological literature, when Shěn Chǒngsuí's 沈寵綏 (n.d.) *Dùqǔ xūzhī* 度曲須知 (Essential knowledge for composing tunes; 1639) introduced the phrase "syllabic spelling with three characters" (*sānzì qièfǎ* 三字切法).[73] As the title of the work indicates, it was intended for composers of tunes for the stage. Its author thus came to phonology with goals different from many of his contemporaries. The point in *Dùqǔ xūzhī* was not the study

[72]On the late imperial history of *sānhé* spelling: Gěng Zhènshēng 1992, 83–85.

[73]The book was reprinted in 1649. Comparing the contents of the edition I used with the description in Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 560–561, I conclude that what I have used is the 1649 reprint.

of human language in general so much as the practical application of phonological knowledge in artistic craftsmanship. His words make it appear that he considered his work to belong to a tradition separate from both "the syllabic spelling of the classicists and the rhyme tables of the Buddhists."[74]

Shěn operated with a very sophisticated analysis of the Chinese syllable into three linear segments: initial (lit. 'head,' *tóu* 頭), center (lit. 'belly,' *fù* 腹), and final (lit. 'tail,' *wěi* 尾). He explained:

> When I examined characters with regards to their initial, central, and final sounds, I suddenly realized that it was in accord with the principles of syllabic spelling. Thus the method spelling would also be the method of singing. How should I explain it? In syllabic spelling, two characters are paired close together to spell the sound of one character. Yet among those two characters, the first can be used for the initial of the character, and the second for its center and final.
>
> For example, the initial of the character *dōng* 東 is the sound of *duō* 多 and its center is the sound of *wēng* 翁. Now, are not the two characters *duō* and *wēng* the spelling of *dōng*?[75]

Singing provided the key to making the sounds of the two or three spellers into the sound of the one spelled syllable. Shěn explained the spelling of the character *jiē* 皆:

> Furthermore, if we recite the three characters *jǐ* 幾, *āi* 哀, and *yì* 噫 in an uninterrupted articulation, then the listener will only hear the slow reverberation of the one character *jiē* 皆; at first he will not realize that it consists of the uninterrupted articulation of three sounds.[76]

Syllabic spelling, the manipulation of the sounds of characters, was here presented as similar to singing, in which syllables were also modulated to fit the melody. In this understanding of *fǎnqiè*, the spelling operation was not analytic at all. The reader did not need to abstract any qualities from either of the spellers, but could simply recite them in one breath and an approximation of the spelled character would result.

7.2 Syllabic Spelling in the Manchu Period

A Borderline Case: Zhào Shàojī's "Zhuōān yùnwù" (1674)

One of the first scholars to be influenced by Shěn Chǒngsuí was the "Běijīng man" (*Yānrén* 燕人) Zhào Shàojī 趙紹箕 (n.d.),[77] whose "Zhuōān yùnwù" 拙菴韻悟 (The phonological

[74]Shěn Chǒngsuí (1639) 1649, *shàngjuàn*:32b: 儒家翻切、釋家等韻.

[75]Shěn Chǒngsuí (1639) 1649, *shàngjuàn*:32a–33b: 予嘗考字於頭、腹、尾音，乃恍然知與切字之理相通也。蓋切法即唱法也。曷言之？切者，以兩字貼切一字之音，而此兩字中，上邊一字，即可以字頭爲之，下邊一字，即可以字腹、字尾爲之。如「東」字之頭爲「多」音，腹爲「翁」音，而「多」、「翁」兩字，非即「東」字之切乎?

[76]Shěn Chǒngsuí (1639) 1649, *shàngjuàn*:33b: 又以「幾」、「哀」、「噫」三字連誦口中，則聽者但聞徐吟一「皆」字；初不覺其有三音之連誦也.

[77]Zhào Shàojī (1674) 1995, *Zìxù*: no pagination, third page (641 in the reprint).

realizations from the clumsy man's hut) was written in 1674, but never appears to have been printed.

Zhào referred to the terms 'initial,' 'center,' and 'final' (or, literally, 'head,' 'belly,' and 'tail') as old terms that he replaced with his own. Zhào, however, kept the analytic distinction of the Chinese syllable as composed of three linear segments. On the basis of that distinction, he appears to have tried to construct a Chinese syllabary of sorts. The syllabary, emerging from Zhào's rhyme tables, shows some signs of being influenced by Manchu, but we cannot know for sure.

Zhào tried to isolate all the sounds occurring in his variety of the Northern Vernacular. Zhào's system involved the identification of six "odd rhymes" (*jīyùn* 奇韻), which appear to have been coterminous with a set of "isolated rhymes" (*dúyùn* 獨韻) that Zhào also identified. These rhymes were each represented by a Chinese character representing an open syllable with a consonantal onset. Zhào's focus was not on the consonant, but on the quality of the vowels that by necessity followed certain consonants. Each of the vowels were different and clearly perceived by Zhào as constituting one of the basic categories of Northern Vernacular phonology. The Manchu syllabary's inner sequence opened with six vowel sounds. As we will see, Chinese writers often singled out this vowel sequence as somehow structurally significant; is it possible that Zhào had also been inspired to identify six vocalic articulations used in Chinese syllables from having seen the Manchu syllabary?[78]

Regardless of whether Zhào was influenced by Manchu, Zhào's syllabic grids are noteworthy for their tendency toward linearity and simplicity. In three "outlines" (*tígāng* 提綱), Zhào presented the initials (which he called *hū* 呼, "the exhale"), centers or medials (*yīng* 應, "the response"), and finals (*xī* 吸, "the inhale"), seemingly following Shěn Chǒngsuí's analysis. The combination of the subsyllabic components spelled syllables, using ideally only characters with the same tone as the intended character:

> The method works by taking the initial, medial, and final and consecutively matching them vertically [on the basis of the grid], then reading each of the sounds. For example, if we take the *guī* 規 rhyme, we would, according to the method, read *gūwēiyī* 姑威衣 [representing initial, medial, and final], which forms the character *guī* … The three genera (*mǔ*) [used to spell the character] should be changed according to the four tones.[79]

Zhào's analysis, informed by those of his Míng predecessors, clearly saw syllabic spelling as based on a linear segmentation that should be as simple as possible.

[78]I have relied heavily on the analysis in Zhào Yīntáng 1932, a work which does not mention any potential Manchu influence.

[79]Zhào Shàojī (1674) 1995, no pagination (650 in the reprint): 用法將呼、應、吸繼橫對準，讀取各聲。如取「規」韻，照法，讀「姑威衣」，則成「規」字 … 三母俱隨四聲改易; also quoted in Zhào Yīntáng 1932, 10.

Early Manchu Influence

Liú Xiàntíng's *Guǎngyáng zájì* (1690)

In 1933, Qián Xuántóng wrote to Lí Jǐnxī 黎錦熙 (1890–1978) and Luó Chángpéi about the early Qīng scholar Liú Xiàntíng 劉獻廷 (fl. 1690; courtesy name Jìzhuāng 繼莊). A dedicated language reformer, Qián signed his name "Dwoshiann-shuyantorng" in Roman letters. The topic was the foundation for a 'national language' (*guóyǔ*) in China. For Qián, the foundation had three pillars: "unifying national language; researching topolects; creating phonetic characters." These three pillars, he continued, "were all realized already by Liú Jìzhuāng. So when we speak about the national language [movement], we should say that it started already with him."[80]

In the early twentieth century, Liú Xiàntíng appeared as a national language champion *avant la lettre*; an anachronism to be sure. Yet Liú was undoubtedly an original thinker in terms of phonology. Despite his ambivalence toward Manchu power, Liú also appeared to have been influenced by the Manchu language in some form. That would make him one of the earliest Chinese phonologists to have drawn inspiration from the language of the conquest elite.

In *Guǎngyáng zájì* 廣陽雜記 (The Guǎngyáng miscellany; written after 1690), Liú wrote extensively on phonology. Although he "as a child had not seen the rhyme books of the various traditions,"[81] he had evidently gathered much knowledge from a wide range of sources by the time he wrote the miscellany. Liú wrote a phonological treatise that has not survived; all we have are mentions of it in *Guǎngyáng zájì*.

"In phonology, one must inquire assiduously":[82] Liú learned Sanskrit phonology (*Fànyīn* 梵音) from Buddhist scholars, studying with several masters. He also seems to have had access to books written in a script from the Ryūkyū (*Liúqiú* 琉球) islands and by the "red [haired] barbarians" (*Hóngyí* 紅夷). Given the similar name used for the Dutch in Japan, one might assume Liú was talking about Dutch books. However, he wrote that in writing the script of these people, "one must use the Latin language and match it to their local pronunciations, the result being that it [the pronunciation?; the language?] varies slightly."[83] The term for 'Latin' here was *Làdǐnuò*, which looks like a Romance transcription more than a Germanic one.

Liú wrote that his phonological treatise also took into consideration "Latin and the other languages of the Far West"; "the twelve characters of Sanskrit phonology," meaning Siddhaṃ; and the "dynastic script of the Jurchen" (*Nǚzhí guóshū* 女直国書).[84] Liú's term for the Manchu script is curious and in all likelihood disparaging if not seditious; 'Manchu' was a name that the Qīng had adopted as part of the state-building that preceded the conquest of China, but Liú referred to them using the name their ancestors had been called as Míng vassals. Yet he appears to have studied the Manchu syllabary, identifying "six sounds" (*liù yīn* 六音) in the

[80]Qián Xuántóng (1933) 1957, 25: 統一国語，研究方言，制造音字 … 刘繼庄均已見到，故言及国語，当託始于刘繼庄也.

[81]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 32: 予幼未見諸家韵書.

[82]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 33: 于等韵必殷殷訪問者….

[83]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 35: 必用腊底诺语以合其土音，必稍有異同.

[84]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 37: 太西腊等話 … 梵音十二字.

Manchu script, of which "the sixth in reality is [the same as] the fifth."[85] Liú was referring to the six vowels at the beginning of the syllabary's inner sequence. Like other scholars of his day, he did not accord the last vowel *û* the status of an independent sound.

It is hard to see whether the exposure to Manchu in particular enriched Liú's phonological analysis. He used the term *sānhé* and *èrhé* 二合, identifying the latter as Buddhist in contrast with *fānqiè* 翻切. The spellings he proposed on the basis of these two traditions certainly appeared similar to Trigault's both in terminology and content: Liú likened the first and second spellers with "a father and a mother" (*fùmǔ*), and some of the spellings could be successfully read off the page linearly.[86]

Liú also proposed that just as the sound of two characters could be joined (*hé*) to form the sound of one third character, so could the shape of two character be joined to form the shape of a new one. At first glance, this looks like a statement of alphabetic principles: "Combine the sound of two characters and make it the sound" of a third character, Liú wrote, "that is [just like] taking the shape of two characters and making it [the shape of a third] character."[87] Yet when we look at the examples Liú offered, it appears that he was talking about something different from linear, subsyllabic notation of sound akin to an alphabet: "An example … is the formation of [丁可] from *dīng* 丁 and *kě* 可."[88] It is difficult to take the pairing of *dīng* 丁 and *kě* as the spelling, using subsyllabic sounds, of one syllable. Perhaps this suggestion was what Qián Xuántóng was thinking of when he said Liú started the national language movement, but it appears that characterization was unwarranted.

Děngqiè yuánshēng (1709)

The work of Xióng Shìbó, whom we met before, also presents an early example of Manchu influence on Chinese phonology. As with several of his contemporaries, Xióng's interest was not with Manchu in particular, but with a wide range of scripts and linguistic traditions. Like Liú Xiàntíng before him, he drew on Buddhist Siddhaṃ studies; Jesuit phonology; and the Manchu syllabary. From reading Zhào Huànguāng, he was well acquainted with the Buddhist tradition of phonology. He also said, following Zhào, that no Chinese syllable consisted of more than two linear elements.[89]

Yet Xióng took the discussion on the role of tripartite spellings (*sānhé*) in Chinese phonology a step further. He acknowledged that Chinese syllables could, for analytical purposes, be segmented into three parts, and said that that was also the case with Manchu. He held, however, that a segmentation of any syllable into more than three parts was an impossibility. Rather, scripts that did connect more than three elements together (Xióng allowed for the possibility of as many as six elements) did not thereby merge them all into one syllable. He explained:

> In my opinion, the method of syllabic spelling is like bipartite [spelling] (*èrhé*). Whenever a direct gloss [i.e. a gloss consisting of only one syllable] is available,

[85]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 37: 而第六者实即第五字也.
[86]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 39.
[87]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 39: 合二字之声以为声，即合二字之形以为字也.
[88]Liú Xiàntíng 1957, 39: 如 … 「丁」、「可」爲 [丁可]，是也.
[89]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 8:3b.

> there is no need for the bipartite spellers of the *Avataṃsaka* [*sūtra*; i.e. the Buddhist scripture in which this transcription method is presented]. When a direct gloss is not possible, the syllable (*yīn*) is obtained using bipartite spelling. When tripartite spelling is used, the tongue has to be stretched [to the limit]; it is [only] when the syllable is very hard to replicate (*xiào*) that it is obtained using tripartite spelling. The syllable, when spelled from three parts, reaches its apex. Spellings that are quadripartite, quinquepartite, and all the way to sexpartite, are the combination of several syllables to [refer to] one thing or one matter [forming polysyllabic words?]. The Qīng writing of our day [i.e. the Manchu script] is also like that; it most definitely does not combine six syllables and make one syllable out of them.[90]

Xióng appears to explain the notion of the 'word' in scripts like Manchu. Several sound-bearing elements could be connected in writing without them for that reason forming one syllable; rather, they thus formed words. Xióng had a good grasp of the principles behind Manchu orthography and how it related to the sound system and spelling of Chinese.

Xióng, who appear to have studied Siddhaṃ, the Latin alphabet, and Manchu relatively closely, had clearly grasped the principle of a subsyllabic, linear notation of sound. In one telling example of his mastery, he used Trigault's Roman notation to analyze the rhymes used in Táng poetry.[91] He also compared the functioning of the Roman alphabet with the Manchu script:

> The spelling method of the Western script is roughly similar to that in the first character-head of the Qīng writing. … In the bipartite characters [of the West], a simple *yā* 丫 and *yī* 衣 form *ài*; *wǔ* 午 and *yī* form *wēi*, which accords with Qīng writing.[92]

Xióng stressed the importance of page layout for successfully conveying information. In the "Statement of Editorial Principles" to the essay on Manchu, he remarked that the syllabary previously had not clearly separated structurally similar syllables on the page. When he further into the essay referred to spellings used by either Trigault or in Manchu, he employed a transcription based on Chinese characters. The transcription consisted in spelling the initial and rhyme of a syllable using two Chinese characters crammed into the space normally allotted to one character.

We saw that Liú Xiàntíng envisioned the combination of two independent characters as the graphical constituents of a third character as analogous to the pairing of sounds into one syllable. Xióng similarly translated the realization that two subsyllabic sounds could be paired to form one syllable, coterminous with a Chinese character, into the guiding principle of a phonetic notation.

[90]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 8:*Yuē 'Ěr mù zī*':13b–14a: 竊謂，切韻法如二合。有直音者，原不用『華嚴』二合字母。自以無直音，而二合取之。三合當是彈舌，音尤難肖而三合取之。音至三合而極矣。若四合、五合以至六合，自是合數音而爲一物、一事。今清書亦然。斷非合六音而爲一音也。.

[91]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 8:*Yuē 'Ěr mù zī*':12b–13a.

[92]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 8:*Yuē 'Ěr mù zī*':13b: 西文合字法與清書第一字頭畧同。… 二合字，惟「丫」、「衣」爲「愛」，「午」、「衣」爲「微」，與清書合。.

When discussing Trigault's alphabet-based phonology concurrently with Manchu phonology, Xióng seems not to have wanted to burden the reader with too many foreign characters. Instead of using the two Roman letters *h* and *i* to spell *hi*, he used Trigault's transcription of the same letters, *hēi* 黑 and *yī* 衣. He combined the two into the space allotted one character on the page, placing the first element on top, thus indicating that it was to be read as the syllable's initial: $\frac{\text{hēi}\,黑}{\text{yī}\,衣}$.[93]

In the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century works studied in the preceding sections, we see that the confluence of the study of Siddhaṃ, the Roman alphabet, as well as a surge in the interest in general phonology, had led scholars to the idea that a linear and typographically distinct notation of subsyllabic sounds could be used to clarify the pronunciation of Chinese characters. Manchu-inspired phonological studies, likewise preoccupied with such concerns, developed from the confluence of these originally disparate strands. Xióng Shìbó's work shows this development clearly.

Imperial Phonology: *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* (1726)

The most prominent example of Manchu influence on Chinese phonology and *fǎnqiè* in particular is the rhyme book *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* 欽定音韻闡微 (Imperially authorized elucidation of the subtleties of phonology; 1726). This work represents the most thorough attempt to reform Chinese syllabic spelling by making it similar to the functioning of the Manchu script. In the end, as we shall see, the attempt was not altogether successful in providing a simple, intuitive, and consistent method of phonetic transcription. Yet in its ambition to define and spell the Chinese koinē, *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* was not surpassed in the eighteenth century.

The dictionary was commissioned by the Kāngxī emperor and the bulk of the work carried out by the southern Chinese official Lǐ Guāngdì and the scholar Wáng Lánshēng 王蘭生 (1680–1737).[94] Lǐ died before the work was completed. Just how the workload was distributed between Lǐ and Wáng has been the subject of some debate.[95] What is clear is that some of the Manchu influence was mediated by Lǐ, who knew the language and discussed it in letters exchanged with the emperor. Indeed, Kāngxī himself seems to have contributed a great deal in the planning stage of the dictionary. Thanks to the direct imperial involvement, the gestation process of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* is one of the best documented of any Qīng-period dictionary.

The historical importance of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* stems in part from its imperial sponsorship and endorsment and in part from its explicit reference to the Manchu language and script to improve the phonetic transcription in a monolingual Chinese rhyme book in the *Guǎngyùn* tradition. Yet despite being an imperial publication, the original edition of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* is relatively rare. I have only seen it in one copy at the National Palace Museum in Táiběi. However, the book was subsequently included in the Qiánlóng emperor's enormous manuscript collection *Sìkù quánshū* and reprinted in 1881.[96] It was often cited by writers in the mid to late Qīng.

[93]Xióng Shìbó 1709, 8:*Yuē 'Qīngshū zìtóu'*:5b.
[94]Luó Chángpéi (1947) 2008.
[95]Cf. Luó Chángpéi (1943) 2008; Lín Qìngxūn 1988, 2–19.
[96]Viz. Lǐ Guāngdì and Wáng Lánshēng (1726a) 1881.

Yīnyùn chǎnwēi as we have it is a hybrid work in terms of phonology. Using a term that David Prager Branner employed in reference to twentieth-century linguistic studies, we can perhaps say that the dictionary represents a "diasystem," that is "an artificial composite, created by a linguist through comparison of different dialects, which it serves to reconcile (wholly or partially) within a single phonological framework."[97] *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* did not try to reconcile dialects, but two diachronic stages in the development of Chinese: on the one hand, an artificial system derived from Middle Chinese and used in regularized verse and, on the other hand, the then-current koinē pronunciation based on Northern Vernacular Chinese. The attempt to accommodate the distinctons made in the two systems put great demands on the syllabic spellings. Lǐ, Wáng, and Kāngxī thought much about how to create a simple, easy, and accurate system of syllabic spelling. In the end, however, the need to observe many phonetic distinctions meant that the system as actually used could only function according to the theory in a minority of cases.

Lǐ wrote several essays dealing with phonology and rhyme books. Some of them appear to have been written in preparation for an early draft of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, then still being compiled as a private project under Lǐ's own name.[98] In the essays, Lǐ at times discussed Manchu phonology as represented in the syllabary in twelve sections. He explained it using terms drawn from Chinese phonology. He explained the structure of Manchu syllables, albet without using the Manchu script. The explanation was achieved by using the Middle Chinese rhyme groups and initials (*zìmǔ*), but reading them in their early modern koinē pronunciations:

> Our dynasty's writing in twelve character heads use only the five characters at the beginning of the [inner] sequence and spells them together with the [sounds of] the throat, tongue, teeth, and lips. The sounds of the myriad countries are thus complete therein.[99]

Lǐ then characterized the open syllables of Manchu by identifying the Manchu vowels with rhyme groups familiar from the Chinese phonological tradition, so that Manchu *a* was identified with the rhyme group *má* 麻 etc. Next, he explained that the Manchu syllabary began with the pure vowels, which were syllables that from the point of view of Chinese phonological theory had a zero initial. In Lǐ's words, the initials of the Manchu vowels were *yǐng* 影 and *yù* 喻. These two characters were taken from the list of thirty-six initials identified in Middle Chinese sources, but in the topolects of Northern Vernacular Chinese, including the koinē, the initials of the characters had both become zero, as the transcription I use also shows.

We see that Lǐ did not understand the Manchu inner sequence as a pairing of a series of non-zero type-1 *akṣara* with a zero type-2 *akṣara*; on the contrary, he saw them as syllables consisting of an initial and a rhyme. Chinese phonological theory did not recognize zero rhymes: the Manchu vowels (*a, e, i, o, u, û*) in that framework therefore became construed as syllables with zero initials and rhymes consisting of pure vowels. By matching the Manchu vowels to the initials *yǐng* and *yù*, which were used to describe the sounds of Chinese, Lǐ introduced the sounds of Manchu into the theoretical framework of Chinese phonology, thereby

[97] Branner 2006c, 209.

[98] Zhāng Mínquán 2002, vol. 2, 191.

[99] Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 20:17a: 惟國朝十二字頭之書，但以篇首五字，使喉舌齒唇，展轉相切，而萬國聲音備焉.

making the sounds of the two languages commensurable for the purposes of phonological analysis. The fact that the framework thus constructed only made sense if the Chinese initials were given the sound value they had in the Qīng-period koinē, not Middle Chinese, further demonstrates that Lǐ's phonological framework at this point was not historical but concerned with the contemporary language.

In a very interesting turn of phrase, Lǐ referred to the koinē pronunciation he used as "the current standard (*tóngwén*) reading of the script."[100] The Manchu syllabary, which as we saw in Lǐ's view grew from the most basic vocalic sounds free from consonants, "uniquely attains the [representation of] the primordial sounds of nature."[101] The Chinese phonological notation of the thirty-six initials could be made to match up to the sounds of Manchu; likewise, the sounds of Manchu, expressed through the language's phonographic script, could express the basic sounds (including the pure vowels) also present in the Chinese koinē. Lǐ's description ultimately placed value on both the Manchu language and the Chinese koinē.

Lǐ then turned to the subject of syllabic spelling. He compared Manchu phonology to phonology in the musical tradition, probably referring to the book *Dùqǔ xūzhī*, which I mentioned above. Lǐ wrote that "the composers of tunes have only realized how to select the second spellers,"[102] specifying that they "only use [characters with] the *yǐng* [i.e. zero] initial" for that purpose.[103] The composers had, in Lǐ's opinion, intuited a principle that was also manifest in the Manchu syllabary.[104]

In general, Lǐ favored a "spelling method based on the pairing of sounds,"[105] a statement in which we should probably read 'sound' as meaning subsyllabic sounds. The example Lǐ gave, spelling *dōng* 東 as *dūwēng* 都翁, suggests as much. In any case, Lǐ was well acquainted with the Manchu syllabary and the possibility of a simple, linear syllabic spelling using second spellers with zero onsets (initials).

The documents that remain from the planning of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* show that Manchu language studies generated experimentation in several areas. One was the area of *fǎnqiè* spelling. Lǐ was very clear that the new, Manchu-inspired spellings functioned according to radically different principles from the old *fǎnqiè*. The problem was that a late imperial reader who wanted to decipher old *fǎnqiè* had to resort to rhyme tables to establish just what initials and rhymes the spellers represented. Having read Wáng's proposal for the rhyme book, Lǐ wrote to Kāngxī:

> Syllabic spelling methods have generally used the first characters to indicate the genus [i.e. the initial] and the second character to obtain the [syllabic] sound. By investigating both characters concurrently one obtains the true pronunciation. However, in order to interpret them one needs to know the genera used in the rhyme tables. This is more than beginners and young students can do. Only in the method of connecting characters of our dynasty are two characters matched

[100]Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 20:17a: 今日同文之音.
[101]Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 20:17a: 獨得天地之元聲.
[102]Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 20:17a: 而度曲者，只悟收聲.
[103]Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 20:17a: 皆歸影母者….
[104]Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 20:17a: 國朝字頭亦合焉.
[105]Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 20:18a: 合聲為切法.

> together to obtain the true pronunciation; one can interpret them without first knowing the genera of the tables.
>
> The first character is generally a genus [here meaning a pure vowel (*a, e, i, o, u, û*)] from the first head [i.e. the Manchu syllabary's inner sequence] … using which the other rhyme groups can be generated. The initials from the first head form the root of the other rhymes. That is why they can spell the other rhyme groups seamlessly.[106]

Lǐ explained it even more unambiguously:

> The character books of our dynasty [i.e. graphologically arranged Manchu dictionaries] are based on the pronunciation of the five characters *ā, è, yī, wō,* and *wū*, which are made in the throat [i.e. are vocalic]. We can assume that all sounds originate in the throat and are then transferred to area of the nose, tongue, teeth and lips, thus creating resonances in these places. Since no syllable (*yīn*) has been observed that does not have a nucleus (*shōu shēng*) in the throat [i.e. that does not have a vocalic nucleus], we ought now to use second spellers representing open syllables with the initials *yǐng* or *yù* [i.e. with zero initials] to approximate the sound [of the spelled syllable]. Then the two syllables [represented by the two spellers] will be combined to form a single syllable.[107]

These statements make it clear that Lǐ grasped that the Manchu script represented syllables by attaching subsyllabic consonantal sounds to vowels. In part this realization appears to have come from his handling of Manchu dictionaries of the type studied in chapter 6. Lǐ thought that if syllabic spelling for Chinese was carried out along principles similar to those seen at work in the phonographic Manchu script, the process would be both simple and somehow in accord with the nature of human speech production.

Yet Lǐ does not seem to have been entirely comfortable with having the new rhyme book so radically depart from the well-established precedents of the genre. He asked Kāngxī: "Ought we now to also retain the syllabic spellings by previous authors and then correct them using the sound-combining (*héshēng*) method?"[108] The answer to that question appears to have been in the affirmative. Indeed, the finished dictionary did not turn out as radical as the preparatory discussions made it seem. The old *fǎnqiè*, representing an artificial variety of Middle Chinese, remained alongside the new spellings. The need to represent Middle Chinese phonological distinctions put much strain on Lǐ, Wáng, and Kāngxī's new spelling system. The ideal of a simple, accurate, and intuitive spelling system was never really realized.

[106] Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 29:22a–b: 歷代反切之法，蓋用上一字定母，下一字取音。兩字相求而真聲得矣。然此必知等母者，乃能辨之。初學童孺不能也，惟本朝連字之法，兩字相合，即得真聲，不待知等母者然後能辨也。蓋其上一字，乃第一頭之母 … 以其能生諸部而爲之根柢。是以能切諸部而無不諧協也.

[107] Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 29:23a: 本朝字書第一頭以「阿」、「厄」、「衣」、「窩」、「烏」五字喉聲爲主。蓋凡聲皆出於喉，然後傳於鼻、舌、齒、脣之間，即乎鼻、舌、齒、脣之響。既然又未有不收聲於喉者，今下一字取音，應用「影」、「喻」喉聲叶之。然後兩音合成一音.

[108] Lǐ Guāngdì (1736) 2009, 29:22b: 今應否兼存古人反切，其後則以合聲正之?

The new spelling method was the first thing the compilers pointed out in the finished dictionary's "Statement of Editorial Principles." The old *fǎnqiè* was "complicated to use and obtaining the sound from them was difficult." Now, the compilers instead relied on "the combined-sound spelling method of the character books of our dynasty, which one uses and obtains the sound from easily. For example, the character *gōng* 公 used to be spelled as *gǔhóng*; now that syllable is spelled instead as *gūwēng*," i.e., with no *h-* in the middle to prevent reading the two characters together.[109] The new system functioned as follows:

> If read slowly, the [spellers] will form two characters, but if read rapidly they will form one syllable. The inspiration for this method comes from the twelve character heads of our dynastic writing; it encompasses the origin of phonology and grasps the essential sublimity of syllabic spelling. It is simple, clear, and easy to learn, completely unprecedented in history.[110]

The "Statement" continued to outline the fine points of the transcription, which to the greatest extent possible was to use spellers that had the same phonological properties as the spelled characters. For example, traditionally only the second speller needed to accord with the spelled syllable in tone. Now, however, both the first and the second spellers should ideally agree with the spelled syllable in tone, so as to make it easier to approximate the right sound by simply reading the two spellers quickly in succession, as if they represented not syllables but the subsyllabic sounds of a phonographic script like Manchu (or the Roman alphabet). Also similar to the latter kind of scripts, the new spellings should ideally use only one character to spell one sound. So if two characters, say *gōng* 公 and *guī* 歸, had the same initial (*g-*), they should both be spelled using the same first speller *gū* 姑.[111]

The insistence that the first speller should accord with the spelled syllable in tone and vowel, which was not demanded by traditional *fǎnqiè*, resulted in overdetermination, as the tone and vowel of the first syllable would in any case not carry over to the spelled character, whose tone and vowel were determined by the second speller. The system in *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* appears to have one foot in traditional *fǎnqiè*, which did not recognize the possibility of directly noting subsyllabic sounds, and phonographic scripts like Manchu, where all sounds but the vowels were by definition subsyllabic. If the editors of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* had decided to isolate a number of characters that when used in spelling pairs only represented an onset, and thus not a full syllable, such overdetermination would not have been needed. The reader could have been trusted to disregard, say, the tone of the first speller without having it influence his understanding of the tone of the spelled syllable. More syllables would thereby have become available to act as spellers. Such a treatment of the spellers as representing subsyllabic sounds was not carried out in Lǐ and Wáng's rhyme book. It was, however, as we will see carried out later in the eighteenth century, when a spelling system based on *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* was used to transcribe the sounds of Inner Asian languages like Manchu in a series of imperially sponsored multilingual publications.

[109]Lǐ Guāngdì and Wáng Lánshēng (1726b) 1782, *fánlì*:1a: …其用法繁而取音難。今依本朝字書合聲切法，則用法簡而取音易。如「公」字舊用「古」、「紅」切；今擬「姑」、「翁」切.

[110]Lǐ Guāngdì and Wáng Lánshēng (1726b) 1782, *fánlì*:1b: 緩讀之爲二字，急讀之即成一音。此法啓自國書十二字頭。括音韻之源流，握翻切之竅妙：簡明易曉，乃前古所未有也.

[111]Lǐ Guāngdì and Wáng Lánshēng (1726b) 1782, *fánlì*:1b.

In *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, the compilers felt that they needed to find characters that did not just, in the case of the first speller, share the initial and, in the case of the second speller, share the rhyme and tone with the spelled syllable; they also wanted first spellers that were open syllables and second spellers that had zero initials. The result was that there were not that many characters available to act as spellers. In addition to the demands placed on the spellers, outlined above, both spellers had to accord in tone. The problem was aggravated by the fact that the sound system represented in the dictionary retained distinctions that from the point of view of the contemporary koinē were archaic and superfluous.

For example, the rhyme book distinguished the full set of Middle Chinese Entering tone rhymes, which as we remember from chapter 2 ended in one of the consonants *-p, -t,* or *-k*. The compilers specified the sound value of the Entering tone rhymes by associating them with the corresponding sections in the Manchu syllabary that ended in those consonants.[112] If the Entering tone was still recognized in the koinē of the early eighteenth century, however, it would have been in the form of only a common glottal stop final, not three separate consonant finals.

By contrast, the system also distinguished sounds that had not existed in Middle Chinese, such as the distinction between bilabial stop initials (*b-* or *p-*) and labiovelar stop initials (*f-*).[113] Making the sound system represent distinctions that strictly speaking did not belong to the same language further reduced the number of characters available as spellers for a given syllable.

The many restrictions placed on the spellings, which had to represent both the sound system of Middle Chinese and of the eighteenth-century koinē, led to a failure to realize the compilers' ideal of unambiguous and simple linear spellings, in all but a minority (11.6%)[114] of cases. In the other cases, the compilers were forced to sacrifice complete accord by both spellers with all the properties attributed to the spelled syllable, since not enough characters existed that had those properties while still fulfilling the basic criteria of having either a zero onset or zero coda, etc. In such cases, the editors, in reality Wáng Lánshēng,[115] specified what properties they had been unable to represent, for instance by adding a note saying that they were treating the spellers only with regards to their pronunciation in the koinē, disregarding their pronunciation in Middle Chinese.

Lǐ and Wáng's dictionary stirred up some feelings among twentieth-century linguists. Luó Chángpéi, writing in 1943 at a time when Romanization of Chinese still seemed like a possibility and a goal for many intellectuals, thought that Lǐ's and Wáng's efforts in the end had been wasted: "This is definitely not to say that the two of them were lacking in intelligence or ability; in the final analysis, it was simply because Chinese characters are not suited to function as a phonetic spelling tool."[116] Lín Qìngxūn, by contrast, in 1988 linked the dictionary directly to the language reform movement of the early twentieth century: "It would not be

[112]Lǐ Guāngdì and Wáng Lánshēng (1726b) 1782, *fánlì*:7b.

[113]Some other examples are given in Lín Qìngxūn 1988, 24. For the development of *f-* in Chinese (no reference to the dictionary): Pulleyblank 1986.

[114]Lín Qìngxūn 1988, 56.

[115]Lín Qìngxūn 1988, 53.

[116]Luó Chángpéi (1943) 2008, 463: 这并不是他们两人的聪明才智不够，归根结蒂只是汉字不适于做拼音工具罢了.

wrong to say that only because Mr. Wáng [Lánshēng] and his collaborators spent so much energy executing the improvement of more than four thousand *fǎnqiè* spellings, could the 'National Pronunciation Characters' [i.e. the Bopomofo transcription system] emerge, under its influence, two centuries later."[117] (We will see in chapter 8 that Lǐ and Wáng's book was used as a reference work by the language reformers of the early Chinese Republic.) Common to both writers was to read the language reform movement of the twentieth century into achievements or failures of an eighteenth-century rhyme book.

Syllabic Spelling and Inner Asian Languages: From *Qīndìng tóngwén yùntǒng* (1750) to *Sānhé qièyīn Qīngwén jiàn* (1780)

Chinese phonological studies continued to be inspired by Manchu later in the eighteenth century. Dū-sì-dé 都四德 (n.d.), for example, compared the functioning of the Manchu script with *fǎnqiè* in *Huángzhōng tōngyùn* 黃鐘通韻 (Rhymes to be used with the yellow bell tonic; 1753). He wrote that:

> The method of spelling indicates the initial with the first character and the syllable [final] with the second … It works the same way in Qīng writing: the head of the character is the initial and the tail of the character is the final. For example, the character *gū* 姑 can spell *guō* 鍋 when used with the syllable *wō* 窩.[118]

Yet such comparison did little to advance syllabic spelling beyond what had already been achieved in *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi*. New developments of *fǎnqiè* spelling would not appear from within Chinese phonology proper until the late nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the tradition of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* was primarily taken up and adapted in phonetic transcriptions that used Chinese characters to spell words in Manchu, Mongol, Tibetan and other Inner Asian languages in imperial thesauri and transcription manuals.

The basis of the spelling system was no longer an analysis of the syllable into two parts, but into three. We saw in the preceding sections that analyses of that kind had been practiced in Buddhist phonology for a long time, being taken up by several Chinese scholars in the late Míng and early Qīng periods. Now, such an analysis was applied to spellings of non-Chinese sounds. The system was kept user-friendly by graphically distinguishing the spellers as part of a transcription system where the usual rule of one Chinese character corresponding to one full syllable did no longer apply.

In 1750, *Qīndìng tóngwén yùntǒng* 欽定同文韻統 (Imperially authorized rhyme systems in standardized writing) appeared on imperial order. The book included tables and charts of transcriptions between languages and scripts of political significance to the Qīng court. The editors explained that they "followed the phonological model of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi*."[119] They outlined the application of a Manchu-inspired syllabic spelling method:

[117]Lín Qìngxūn 1988, 61: 我們可以說，因爲王氏等人苦心經營改良這四千多個反切，所以二百年之後「國音字母」才能受其啓發而產生.

[118]Dū-sì-dé (1753) 2001, *juàn xià*:24a (755): 上用字，下用音 … 猶如清文：字首是母，字尾是音。如「姑」字，用「窩」音即切「鍋」.

[119]QDTWYT (1750) 2001, *zòuyì*:2a: 遵『音韻闡微』等韻法.

> The *fǎnqiè* has been added underneath [every lemma]. In cases where several characters are cumulatively written together [to spell one syllable], the character representing the final (*shōushēng*) [of a syllable] is written in large script. The several characters preceding it [and representing the initial and medial of the syllable] are written in small script.[120]

The method, which used three Chinese characters to spell one syllable, was later used also in imperial thesauri. As mentioned in chapter 6, the original imperial Manchu thesaurus *Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* had appeared in 1708. This book contained no Chinese text let alone transcriptions of the Manchu lemmata. In 1771 the Qiánlóng emperor's revision of that book appeared as a bilingual publication titled *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn* (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language, expanded and emended).[121] The Manchu lemmata were transcribed using Chinese characters and translated into Chinese.[122] A decade later, it was followed by a trilingual thesaurus that in addition to Manchu and Chinese included also Mongol.[123]

The spelling method used in these thesauri moved beyond traditional *fǎnqiè* also in name. In Chinese, it was called *sānhé qièyīn* 三合切音, literally 'to spell syllables using three combinations.' In Manchu, the term was *ilan hacin-i mudan acambi*, 'to combine using three kinds of sounds.' In Mongol, finally, it was *γurban jüil-ün ayalγu neilekü*, a term which translates like its Manchu equivalent. Such spellings were added throughout the Manchu-Chinese-Mongol thesaurus's lemmata list to transcribe both Manchu and Mongol using Chinese characters.

In form, the new spellings followed many earlier attempts at *fǎnqiè* reform in that they used a fixed and small number of spellers, ideally using only one Chinese character to spell a given sound across the vocabulary. They were also innovative, picking up the idea of combining several characters in the space normally allotted to one character on the printed page to indicate to the reader that the characters did not represent full syllables, but subsyllabic sounds. We saw similar attempts at making the phonetic notation graphically distinct in Xióng Shìbó's treatise, for example.

In the bilingual thesaurus from 1771, a Manchu syllabary preceded the main body of the thesaurus, giving tripartite transcriptions for all the syllables in the syllabary in twelve section. The Manchu syllable *mat*, for example, was transcribed in the following way.[124] The Chinese characters are to be read from right to left, top to bottom. I have colored the different parts for clarity:

[120] QDTWYT (1750) 2001, zòuyì:4a: 將反切註於其下。其數字疊書者將收聲末一字大書，其上數字皆細書.

[121] *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn,* original printed edition 1771–1773.

[122] Studied in Ochiai Morikazu 1985.

[123] *Yùzhì Mǎnzhū … Qīngwén jiàn* 1780.

[124] *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn,* original printed edition 1771–1773, *juwan juwe uju:at et it* (no pagination).

In such spellings, three Chinese characters were squeezed into the space normally allotted to one. Since one Chinese character normally corresponded to one syllable, the reader was to infer that the three parts of the composite spelling character, occupying less space than one regular Chinese character, were not to be read as whole syllables in their own right, but only as parts of a syllable. The fact that the system recognized three parts, and not just two, showed that it had definitely moved beyond the phonological analysis underlying both traditional *fǎnqiè* and the *akṣara* analysis. As we saw, syllabic spelling had originally been based on a segmentation of the syllable into two parts, initial and rhyme. Here, in contrast, it was segmented into three parts, each corresponding respectively to the onset, nucleus, and coda.

In the tripartite spelling system, Chinese characters were used essentially as an alphabet. Their appearance set them off from surrounding Chinese text and made it clear to the reader that what he was looking at was not in fact Chinese characters at all, but a set of phonographic signs derived from them. Joseph Edkins (1823–1905), a Western grammarian of the Chinese koinē, wrote about the tripartite system that it used "Chinese characters … to express sound representing single letters instead of syllables. Thus the symbols 阿 *a* 尼 *n* 伊 *i* 鴉 *y* 阿 *a*, stand for *aniya*, the Manchu word for *year*." Edkins had no doubts about how to characterize such a system: "This," he wrote, "is alphabetic spelling."[125]

The tripartite spelling system represents the final form that *fǎnqiè*-derived phonetic transcription took in the eighteenth century. A century later, a new generation of scholars would return to the problem of how to spell the Chinese koinē using a finite set of spellers in a system that was both precise and intuitive. In the meantime, Chinese phonology continued to use the Manchu script to solve problems faced by translators and language pedagogues of the day. Unlike in transcription systems in the *fǎnqiè*, this new brand of Manchu-inspired phonology used the Manchu script directly to represent Chinese sounds. A discussion of that kind of phonology will be the starting point of the next and final chapter.

[125]Edkins 1864, part 1, 79.

Chapter 8

The Manchu Script and Mandarin Chinese in the Late Qīng (1728–1911)

In 1837, a certain William Huttman (d. 1845),[1] who appears to have worked as a teacher of Chinese in London,[2] wrote to the editor of an Asian-studies journal about the system of tripartite spellings used in Chinese publications to indicate the pronunciation of Manchu words (described in chapter 7). Huttman called the system a "syllabarium," listing the sounds it represented in Roman transcription. "I take the liberty of sending you the Chinese system of expressing Manchu letters and words," he told the editor, "and will, on a future occasion —should such an article be acceptable—send the Manchu system of expressing the sounds of Chinese characters."[3]

It does not seem like the article on the Manchu transcription of Chinese ever appeared. Huttman had announced on what he would base such an article, however: *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* 欽定清漢對音字式 (Imperially authorized Manchu and Chinese characters presented in corresponding sounds; 1773),[4] an official transcription manual often reproduced and intended to guide officials and clerks in the rendering of Manchu names in Chinese script. In so doing, the manual also represented an important step in the use of the Manchu script to transcribe the Chinese koinē (see chapter 2 for this term[5]).

Huttman's selling point for an article on the Manchu script was its application in the Qīng as a phonetic transcription system for Chinese. We see that in the early nineteenth century, the Manchu script could be used as a gateway to the authoritative pronunciation of the Chinese language.

This chapter will outline the history of writing Chinese using the Manchu script, with the intention to show that the Manchu script thus applied enabled Qīng scholars to clarify and maintain phonetic distinctions in Chinese that were not easily expressed using Chinese characters alone. Manchu transcriptions of the Chinese koinē were used in the nineteenth century to promulgate it in the south, where the Northern Vernacular was not natively spoken. Through such transcriptions, the Manchu script ultimately contributed to the codification and promulgation of a prestige pronunciation of Chinese that around the turn of the twentieth century was later made part of the newly conceptualized national Chinese language.

The focus of this chapter, like the preceding, is not the sounds of either Manchu or Chinese so much as (1) the study of those sounds by phonologists in the Qīng period and (2) the importance of those studies for the promulgation of the koinē in the nineteenth century. The development of a Chinese national language in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has already been expertly studied by Elisabeth Kaske;[6] I do not seek to contradict but to complement her work.

The chapter will present an argument in five parts. First, I will argue that the Chinese koinē, which as we saw in chapter 2 was based on Northern Vernacular Chinese,[7] became increasingly associated with the language of bannermen in the eighteenth century. As the Manchu language declined as a medium for oral communication among the bannermen in

[1] Huttman appears to have died in relative poverty: "Deaths, Arranged in Counties" 1845, 212.
[2] "Advertisements Connected With Literature and the Arts" 1835.
[3] Huttman 1837, 197.
[4] *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (1773) 1836.
[5] Page 44.
[6] Kaske 2004, 2008.
[7] See page 2.2 for this term.

China proper as part of the 'eighteenth-century crisis' mentioned in chapter 4, a variant of the Northern Vernacular took its place. The new language of the bannermen then became elevated to a position of officially endorsed koinē by the actions of the imperial government from 1728 onward.

By mandating the use of a northern-based koinē in government offices, the court seems to have strengthened the identification of the koinē with the language of Běijīng and of its residents, the bannermen. Increasingly speaking Chinese rather than Manchu, many bannermen were found in high positions in the state bureaucracy and thus appeared as an object of emulation in terms of language for Chinese southerners who aspired to an official career. The Northern Vernacular, furthermore, was a language represented in the south to perhaps primarily by bannermen, who manned the garrisons that the Manchu government maintained in strategic locations along the coast and the key waterways. When the imperial government in the second quarter of the eighteenth century instituted schools for 'correct pronunciation' (*zhèngyīn*) in Guǎngdōng and Fújiàn, the bannermen resident in those provinces quickly became the teachers of the newly endorsed official language.

The Manchu script does not appear to have played a role in language pedagogy during the first decades of koinē-promulgation in the south, but the decades before 1800 witnessed an increased identification of the speech of bannermen as the national standard. We see that the identification of the language of bannermen with the Chinese koinē was not the result of conscious policy alone. The standardization of language use in the bureaucracy might have been a common concern for high-level officials, but the presence of Northern Vernacular-speaking bannermen in the south probably played a role in making their language coterminous with 'correct pronunciation.'

Second, I will argue that the scholarly tradition of Manchu language studies contributed to the description and to some extent the definition of the Chinese koinē, initially in phonological treatises that used the Manchu script and subsequently in Manchu-Chinese transcription manuals published by the imperial government.

As bannermen, now mostly speaking Northern Vernacular Chinese, in the eighteenth century were exposed to both written Manchu and Literary Chinese in schools and in the burgeoning genres of language pedagogy (studied in chapters 5 and 6), scholars of language developed new ways of using the Manchu script. From having been used to record the Manchu language, the Manchu script became increasingly used to note and define phonological features of the Chinese koinē.

As an example of a phonological feature that could easily be expressed using the Manchu script, but only indirectly using Chinese characters, I will focus on the separation of velar-laryngeal and sibilant series of initials, which I suggest was a defining characteristic of the eighteenth-century Chinese koinē. I will argue that despite merging in colloquial Běijīng speech perhaps as early as the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the distinction between the two series of initials was still expected in various contexts, including bilingual (Manchu-Chinese) documents, formal speech, and northern opera. Over time, the colloquial Běijīng pronunciation rose in prestige and became more acceptable in spheres where it would previously have been considered inappropriate.

Third, I will show how the tradition of Manchu-influenced phonological studies intersected with the official endorsement of a certain form of Northern Chinese as the 'correct pronunciation' in the late eighteenth century. The imperial government's use of Manchu language

studies to regulate Chinese language-use is seen in manuals that guided the empire's multilingual bureaucracy in the way to transcribe words across the Manchu and Chinese scripts. By publishing transcription manuals, the imperial government in the late eighteenth century drew on an emerging scholarly tradition that used the Manchu script to study Chinese phonology to define its official language policy. Previously left largely unregulated, officials and clerks transcribing names of places and people across the Chinese and Manchu languages had been prone to introduce multiple transcriptions for the same Manchurian locality or Mongolian officer. One important factor contributing to variance in transcription practices was the undefined sound-value of Chinese characters. As long as the exact reading of a Chinese character was left for the transcribing clerks to decide, a Manchu name could be rendered with as many different Chinese characters and syllables as there were variant pronunciations in use among the clerks. By explicitly matching a given Manchu syllable with a given Chinese character, the imperial government through transcription manuals defined the correct pronunciation of that Chinese character. In this way the emerging tradition of employing the Manchu script to record Chinese sounds became a tool to officially define what counted as proper Chinese pronunciation.

Fourth, I will discuss the late-Qīng situation that emerged from the aforementioned eighteenth-century developments. What happened in the late Qīng period appears linked to changes both in the language spoken by bannermen, especially in Běijīng, as well as to changes and continuities in the court's language policy. In terms of language itself, the merger of the velar-laryngeal and sibilant series of initials in Běijīng Chinese appears to have spread from the colloquial register to affect also learned or literary pronunciation. At the same time, the imperial government continued to mandate that the distinction of the two series be maintained in Manchu-Chinese transcription. The officially endorsed koinē thus still contained the distinction, even though it was no longer easy for Běijīng bannermen to observe it correctly without special training.

The scholarly tradition that used the Manchu script to record Chinese sounds, which had emerged in the eighteenth century, found a stronger reason for being in the nineteenth, as scholars in Běijīng responded to the widening language gap by publishing books that clarified the distinction between the two series of initials. These books were written by bannermen presumably for a bannerman audience. Individuals serving in the bureaucracy, especially in the banners, needed to be able to separate the series of velar-laryngeal and sibilant initials in order to be fully fluent in the koinē in its biscriptal (Manchu-Chinese) form down to the end of the Qīng period. Manchu-influenced phonological studies contributed to the maintenance of the distinction of the two series.

As Manchu-inspired Chinese language studies developed for a bannerman audience in Běijīng, it also took hold in the south. Surprisingly, government initiative does not appear to have played an important role in this process. The court, while maintaining the eighteenth-century policy on Manchu-Chinese transcription, in the nineteenth century appears to have retreated somewhat from its previous demands that Southern Chinese officials learn the koinē. The change was perhaps a reflection of an overall weakening of the Qīng state in this period. The schools that had been founded in Guǎngdōng and Fújiàn in the 1720s and '30s seem to have closed or become reappropriated for other purposes. Yet even as the reach of the imperial government was reduced in the nineteenth century, southerners clearly still wanted to learn the 'proper pronunciation' of Chinese. The result was that the scholarly tradition of applying

the Manchu script in the study of Chinese phonology spread to the south, where it served to instruct aspiring officials in the Chinese koinē.

The socio-political language situation changed again at the very end of the Qīng period, which is the subject of the fifth part of my argument. Under increased pressure from foreign powers, including several European countries and Japan, who used the standardization of language through script reform and compulsory education as tools for nation-building, Chinese intellectuals became dissatisfied with the development of their own society. Like many of their contemporaries elsewhere, they turned to language studies as a means of social change. The resulting movement of language and script reform, which I discussed somewhat in chapter 1, extended beyond the fall of the Manchu empire long into the twentieth century. I will only deal here with the early stages of this movement. I will show that around the turn of the twentieth century, the Manchu script and Manchu-inspired phonology were still relevant resources for language reformers, forming the bases of some proposals to quickly introduce mass literacy in preparation for promulgation of the koinē using the full resources of the imperial state. In that way, I argue, the influence of Manchu on language studies is also relevant for our understanding of the emergence of a national language in modern China.

8.1 Imperially Mandated 'Correct Pronunciation' and the Rise of Bannerman Mandarin

The discussion of the nature and character of the Chinese koinē in chapter 2 highlighted some of the complexities of the socio-linguistic situation of late imperial China. It is clear that a koinē, or successive koinēs, based on the Northern Vernacular existed in the Míng and Qīng periods. It most probably included several registers appropriate for different activities, such as oral communication or recitation. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the koinē became increasingly identified with the language of Běijīng, its neighboring provinces, and bannermen. These three categories were in fact not entirely overlapping. There is ample evidence that the language of areas outside but close to Běijīng was different from that of the city proper, and it stands to reason to assume that the language of bannermen residing in the south was different from that of their counterparts in the capital. Furthermore, as already noted, changes in the speech habits of capital residents seem to have brought their everyday language out of sync with the officially mandated koinē for a time in the nineteenth century, before the late-Qīng attempts at language standardization once more tended toward closing the gap between the capital dialect and the national ideal by identifying the koinē with current Běijīng speech, which had previously been considered too colloquial. Despite these complexities and apparent contradictions, we are right to identify an elevation of the status of Běijīng and bannermen speech in the last two centuries of Manchu rule.

In an article from 1987, based on linguistic data gathered over several decades, we find a map of a Běijīng isogloss (*tóngyán xiàn* 同言线), defined as the tonal system of the city's speech (see chapter 2 for pitch tone in Chinese). The map shows the Běijīng isogloss extending beyond the city limits into Héběi province in an approximately circular fashion, and protruding northeast in a wedge-shaped swath that widens to the edge of the map, where the reader is

to infer that it will continue to grow to encompass most of the vast northeast.[8] Superpose on this map one, adjusted to scale,[9] of the Manchu invasion of China proper in 1644 and the wedge will largely coincide with the path of Dorgon's banner armies as they swept down on the Míng capital from the Great Wall. It is tempting to similarly associate the extension of the Běijīng isogloss to the towns outside the city proper with the Military Cordon (*jīfǔ zhùfáng* 畿輔駐防) of banner garrisons at twenty-five locations in the Metropolitan District that protected the capital in Qīng times.[10] Indeed, the movement of people that the banner armies' thrust southward represented had also been a movement of languages, and this map seems to confirm it.

As was mentioned in chapter 4, the banners brought with them to Běijīng the variety of Northern Vernacular Chinese spoken in the Liáodōng area of southern Manchuria. From the early eighteenth century, this Chinese language increasingly became the bannermen's medium of choice for oral communication. In light of those developments, it is clear that the distribution of Chinese vernaculars in the north today is hard to explain without reference to the Manchu conquest and occupation. Yet in a curious elision of history, the 1987 article made no mention of either the Manchus, the banners, or the Qīng conquest.[11]

To be sure, the shift from Manchu to Chinese as the dominant spoken language was an outdrawn and complicated process. We know that the Manchus continued to study their ancestral language down to the very end of the imperial period. The narrative and performed literary genres cultivated by the Běijīng bannermen were characterized by shifts from Manchu to Chinese within the same piece, and the Chinese speech of bannermen was peppered with Manchu-derived vocabulary, distinguishing their language from that of newly arrived or non-city residents.[12] When we speak of a rise in prestige of Běijīng or bannerman Mandarin, we are talking primarily about the pronunciation (phonology) of their variety of Chinese, secondarily about that language's grammar, and not at all about its Manchu localisms.

The everyday language of bannermen both in the capital and in the southern provinces was, then, by the second quarter of the eighteenth century a variety of Northern Vernacular Chinese. At that moment, the prestige of that language began to rise. One important factor in this development was the court's attempts to raise the knowledge of the koinē among its Southern officials. The key event in this regard was an imperial edict issued by the Yōngzhèng emperor in 1728 (Yōngzhèng 6/8/5). The edict has been repeatedly discussed in the context of the history of Mandarin and language planning in China. It read in part:

> Administering the people is the responsibility of our official personnel. Their language must be clear to everybody. Only then can they get in touch with the

[8] Lín Tāo 1987, map 1.

[9] E.g., map 7 in Rikusenshi Kenkyū Fukyūkai 1967 (adjusted for the fact that this map covers all of China proper).

[10] BH 1912, 333 (entry 743A).

[11] Another important factor in the distribution of vernaculars that should be noted is nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigration from China proper to the northeast, which presumably affected the language spoken there. However, as that immigration to my knowledge did not originate in Běijīng, it could not in itself explain the similarity between northeastern and Běijīng speech.

[12] Chiu 2007, 146–154. I should also in this context mention Bingyu Zheng's ongoing research on the cultural life of metropolitan bannermen.

> sentiments of the people and adjudicate successfully among them … Whenever I, the emperor, interview high or low officials, only those from the two provinces of Fújiàn and Guǎngdōng continue to speak in their local pronunciation (*xiāngyīn*) when reciting their résumés. I cannot understand them. Now, these are people who have been selected to become officials. After going through the ceremonies at their respective Boards and presenting their report in front of me, they still say things that are incomprehensible. How, then, when they are sent to serve outside their own province, will they be able to announce my imperial instructions, rule in law suits, and each time clearly make all of the common people understand? If the language is unintelligible between the official above and the people below, then the clerks must step in from between and convey the message in the stead of the official. They will then change the phrasing and otherwise embellish the message, resulting in a hundred errors at once and leading to numerous problems in the management of affairs.
>
> Thus far I have spoken about the impossibility of understanding the language of individuals from these two provinces. Yet it is not only a question of these individuals appreciating the sentiments of the people below them when they go serve in other provinces; when they themselves go back to civilian life, they will not comprehend the intention of the officials in charge there. Contradictions and lack of contact between the sentiments of those above and those below is something that leads to very serious difficulties.
>
> However, language, acquired by practice from childhood, is difficult to change quickly. Only by slowly adding instructions and guidance over a long period of time can one learn it more or less. We should order the Governors and Governors-general of Guǎngdōng and Fújiàn to transmit a directive to the prefectural and county authorities and educational officials under their jurisdiction to make universally known that various educational measures shall be taken with the purpose of making language clear so that people can understand; no longer shall what they practice be their local pronunciation. Thus when these individuals in the future appear before the throne to memorialize, I will be able to understand them clearly. Likewise, when they leave for service in other areas, they will easily get in touch with the sentiments of the people.[13]

The assumptions behind this edict certainly deserve closer scrutiny than they have hitherto been given in the literature. For example, the Yōngzhèng emperor seems to assume that if

[13] *Shìzōng shílù* (1735) 1985, vol. 7, 1074 (ch. 72; original pagination illegible in the reprint): 官員有涖民之責。其語言必使人人共曉。然後可以通達民情，而辦理無誤 … 朕每引見大小臣工，凡陳奏履歷之時，惟有福建廣東兩省之人仍係鄉音；不可通曉。夫伊等以見登仕籍之人，經赴部演禮之後，其敷奏對揚，尚有不可通曉之語。則赴任他省，又安能於宣讀訓諭，審斷詞訟，皆歷歷清楚使小民共知而共解乎？官民上下，語言不通，必致吏胥從中代為傳述。於是添飾假借，百弊叢生，而事理之貽誤者多矣。且此兩省之人，其語言既皆不可通曉。不但伊等歷任他省，不能深悉下民之情，即伊等身為編氓，亦必不能明白官長之意。是上下之情扞格不通，其為不便實甚。但語言自幼習成，驟難改易。必徐加訓導，庶幾歷久可通。應令福建廣東兩省督撫轉飭所屬各府州縣有司及教官，遍為傳示，多方教導，務期語言明白，使人通曉。不得仍前習為鄉音。則伊等將來引見殿陛奏對，可得詳明。而出仕他方，民情亦易於通達矣.

officials from Guǎngdōng and Fújiàn give up their 'local pronunciations,' they will be able to communicate directly with the people in the rest of China proper. Does that mean that the koinē, which he does not in fact mention directly, was universally understood outside these two provinces on the southern and southeastern coasts? And what about officials with native proficiency in some variety of the Northern Vernacular, or training in the koinē, who take up posts in those provinces? Would they be expected to learn the 'local pronunciation' in use there? I suspect not, since a knowledge of the koinē is presented as beneficial to the Southern officials also after they retire to their home regions and have to deal with officials there as civilians. Unfortunately such questions, although essential for a better understanding of the linguistic habits and policies of Qīng officialdom, cannot be answered satisfactorily here.

What matters most for our purposes is that the 1728 edict led to the founding of schools to teach 'correct pronunciation' (*zhèngyīn*) to lower-level degree candidates in the areas mentioned.[14] According to Yú Zhèngxiè 俞正燮 (1775–1840), who was from Ānhuī in the mid-Yángzǐ region and worked as secretary of local officials throughout much of the country, court officials thereafter proposed that no low-level candidates from the two provinces would be "allowed to proceed to [high-level] examinations unless they know Mandarin."[15] We see in such pronouncements and proposals an increased pressure on Southern elite men to learn the koinē.

Hirata Shōji has drawn attention to a contemporaneous effort by the court to regulate the Chinese language used at the Court of State Ceremonial (Hónglú Sì 鴻臚寺), which was in charge of receptions for foreign dignitaries. The new regulations lend support to the inference that there was increased pressure on officials to learn Mandarin in this period. From 1728 onward, the functionaries officiating at the ceremonies were to be drawn only from the Metropolitan District (Zhílì) and several northern provinces of varying distance from the capital; presumably, southern accents had been deemed inappropriate at high-profile state functions by this time. Yet what was considered proper language was soon restricted even further. In 1752 the order came down that individuals from regions other than Zhílì, corresponding to the area immediately surrounding Běijīng, had too strong of an accent to carry out the ceremonies. The functionaries from that point on had to be even more carefully selected with regards to their accent.[16]

How did the elite in the south react to the court's promulgation of the koinē within officialdom? Pronunciation seems to have been a mark of identity in late imperial China, serving to display an individual's belonging to a certain group. For example, even in the second half of the nineteenth century some distinctive pronunciations were retained in the capital by descendants of southerners several generations removed.[17] Yet the fact that Southern elite individuals distanced themselves from the language of the capital while favoring their native or ancestral speech did not necessarily mean that they never used koinē pronunciation. Rather, a stated preference for some regional pronunciation or other might have coexisted, in the same person, with a much more pragmatic attitude in actual social intercourse.

[14]Paderni 1988.

[15]Yú Zhèngxiè (1833) 2003, 269: 不谙官话者不准送试; discussed in Lǐ Xīnkuí 1980, 51.

[16]Hirata Shōji 2000.

[17]Edkins 1864, appendix 3, 279.

We know from the history of the development of a prestige form of French in the late Renaissance that peripherally situated writers on matters of language continued to promote regional varieties at a time when politically less invested foreign grammarians had already acknowledged that the Parisian dialect was what in reality counted as proper French in their day.[18] Likewise, Southern literati long despised the Běijīng vernacular for its foreign (including Manchu) elements and for its advanced state of phonological development in relation to Middle Chinese. Southern writers complained about the popularity of Northern pronunciations, especially among the young elite,[19] thereby actually attesting to their prestige or perceived utility. It appears that Southern men with ambitions on the national scale were keen to learn and speak Mandarin, even though some of their countrymen might have frowned upon them.

Bannermen were involved in the promulgation of the koinē already before Yōngzhèng's edict, as evidenced by the rhyme book *Wǔfāng yuányīn* that I discussed in chapter 2.[20] The book had originally been compiled by Fán Téngfèng 樊騰鳳 (1601–1664), apparently a civilian, sometime after 1654 and subsequently edited and published by Nián Xīyáo 年希堯 (n.d.), who was a bannerman of the Hànjūn,[21] in different editions that appeared in 1710 and 1727.[22] The book did not claim to represent the Běijīng vernacular but rather reflected a perhaps conservative reading pronunciation current in the north, with a basis on the central plain.[23] The popularity of this conservative and literary koinē is suggested by the fact that Nián's version of the book underwent several printings even in the nineteenth century.[24]

Fán and Nián's book soon became used in Manchu-inspired language studies. Kok Hyoun has described a manuscript copy recently found in Korea that includes pronunciation glosses in the Manchu and Korean scripts. The manuscript was probably written in the mid-eighteenth century by a Korean interpreter skilled in both Northern Vernacular Chinese and Manchu,[25] who we can assume had learned of the book either in person in Běijīng or from someone who had visited the Qīng capital. The use of the Manchu script to clarify the pronunciation of *Wǔfāng yuányīn*'s language represents an early instance of it being used explicitly as an auxiliary for learning the Chinese koinē.

Further evidence of *Wǔfāng yuányīn*'s, and thereby the eighteenth-century koinē's, association with Manchu language studies is found in a tattered and fragmentary manuscript titled *Qīngwén yuányīn zìdiǎn* 清文元音字典 (Prescribed characters with primordial sounds in Qīng script). Now found in the northeastern city of Dàlián, it was written in 1873 by one Zǐ-rán 子然 (style name Shuāngtài 雙泰; n.d.).[26] The book retained the arrangement of *Wǔfāng yuányīn* but added sound glosses to the lemmata using the Manchu script. The glosses unambiguously

[18]Trudeau 1992, 41.

[19]Zhāng Wèidōng 2007, 209; Hirata Shōji 2000, 540–541.

[20]Page 75.

[21]Ēn-huá (1936) 2006, 10.

[22]Zhào Yīntáng 1937, 87–88; Gěng Zhènshēng 1992, 180–181; Kaske 2008, 50–51.

[23]Yè Bǎokuí 2001, 183.

[24]E.g., Fán Téngfèng (1727b) 1873, (1727a) 1884.

[25]Kok Hyoun 2009.

[26]Zǐ-rán 1873. Described in *"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 5, 641–642; Yáng Fēngmǒu and Zhāng Běnyì 2004, 26.

recorded a Northern Vernacular (koinē?) pronunciation.

Takata Tokio has in a brilliant article shown that as knowledge of the koinē became more important for prospective officials in the south, they turned to local bannermen for instruction. Two of the three classified vocabularies of 'correct pronunciation' or 'Mandarin' (*guānyǔ*; *guānhuà*) that appeared in the eighteenth century appear to have emerged from a milieu closely associated with the banner establishment. In 1729, the year after Yōngzhèng issued the edict on pronunciation, Yuán Yīzhōu 袁一州 (n.d.) published *Guānyǔ xiángbiān* 官語詳編 (Detailed compilation of the language of officials).[27] A preface for Yuán's collection was written by Cài Kǎi 蔡鎧 (n.d.), a banner adjutant in Guǎngdōng apparently charged with judicial duties.[28] Yuán had been a tutor in Cài's household and now worked as a secretary for the local authorities while studying Manchu on the side. Yuán himself was probably not a bannerman, but he moved in banner circles. The fact that he was studying Manchu suggests that his employer might have been a Manchu official. Perhaps his authority on Mandarin stemmed in part from his association with bannermen and Manchu officials. Yuán's book consisted of koinē words and phrases grouped by topic and glossed with Cantonese equivalents. The pronunciation of the koinē words was indicated using Chinese characters that were to be read for their sound value in Cantonese, the topolect with which familiarity was expected from the book's readers.[29]

In 1785, another book appeared in Guǎngdōng under the title *Bié sú-, zhèngyīn huìbiān dàquán* 別俗正音彙編大全 (Comprehensive collection for distinguishing vernacular and correct pronunciation), compiled by Zhāng Yùchéng 張玉成 (n.d.). It was reissued several times thereafter.[30] Again, there is no evidence that Zhāng was a bannerman, but a banner connection is evident also in his case: the book carried a preface by one Hóng-tú 鴻圖 (n.d.), whom Takata noted most probably was a bannerman, as his name does not look Chinese. Zhāng's book was influenced by *Guānyǔ xiángbiān* and featured a similar topical organization of koinē lemmata glossed in Cantonese.[31]

The examples just discussed suggest that the linguistic demands that the Yōngzhèng emperor put on Southern civil examination candidates at least in Guǎngdōng led to the publication of classified vocabularies for the study of the koinē. As the only two such collections from the

[27]The book is very rare and I have not yet seen it. Liú Yún 2013, 171 lists it but does not appear to have seen it. Uchida Keiichi 2014, 5 described a copy at the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. I know of no other.

[28]Takata Tokio 1997, 776 and note 11 (page 783) wrote that Cài gave his title as *shěnshì zhāngjīng* 審事章京 in Chinese and "*dailan beilen janggin*" in Manchu. We might translate *dailan* as "military undertaking," but *beilen* is incomprehensible in this context. It appears to be a typographical error for *beiden*, "examination, trial" (Norman 2013, 32), which translates the Chinese *shěn*. *janggin* usually translates as "Adjutant" in a banner context (BH 1912, 326 [entry 724]). I do not find *shěnshì*, "[in charge of] the investigation of affairs" as a term in the Qīng official nomenclature, but I infer that it refers to the judiciary. Could we perhaps translate Cài's title as "Court-Martial Adjutant"?

[29]Takata Tokio 1997, 776. Before Takata, Ōta Tatsuo 太田辰夫 (1916–1999) had brought attention to many important sources for the Qīng koinē, including several with a bannerman connection (in addition to bilingual Manchu-Chinese material he listed, e.g., the mention of a bannerman in relation to a literary source in Ōta Tatsuo 1951, 17).

[30]Ishizaki Hiroshi 2014, 22. I have not yet seen it.

[31]Takata Tokio 1997, 777.

eighteenth century that we know of at present were compiled by individuals close to the banner establishment, a connection between the 'correct pronunciation' of the Chinese language and the Manchus might have formed at that time. However, the Manchu script was not used in these books. Instead, Chinese characters, used as simple glosses rather than in a system of syllabic spelling, were the sole indicators of how the koinē words were to be vocalized. I suspect that a Cantonese reader would have been hard-pressed to produce passable koinē readings on the basis of such glosses. We will see that this situation changed in the nineteenth century. The change was brought about by the development of a Manchu-inspired brand of Chinese phonological studies and the regulation of Manchu-Chinese phonetic transcriptions by the imperial government.

8.2 The Use of Manchu to Define the Koinē

In this section I will describe how the Manchu script came to be used to define the Chinese koinē from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. I will discuss the books that used the Manchu script to discuss Chinese pronunciation in the order they appeared, while focusing on one of the phonetic features that motivated their writing.

Problem: Palatalization of the Velar-Laryngeal Initials

Manchu transcriptions of Chinese are attested already in the pre-conquest period. As we saw in chapter 3, part of the reform of the Manchu script in the 1620s and '30s involved the creation of graphs used exclusively to spell foreign sounds, notably those in Chinese words.

In the eighteenth century, the Manchu script started to be used explicitly to analyze the sound system of Northern Vernacular Chinese. The key problem that occupied scholars working in this branch of phonology involved the pronunciation of a series of Chinese consonantal initials as either velar-laryngeal stops (e.g., *k-*) or alveolo-palatal affricates (e.g., the initial commonly transcribed *q-*, IPA t͡ɕ) before front vowels (e.g., *-i*). At the same time, a series of sibilant initials (e.g., *s-*) had, perhaps earlier, become similarly palatalized and thus also merged with their alveolo-palatal counterparts (in this case, the initial commonly transcribed *x-*, IPA ɕ). Middle Chinese contained one series of sibilant initials: e.g, *s-*, the initial of the character now pronounced *xīn* 心, and *ts-*, the initial of the character now pronounced *jīng* 精. It further contained one series of velar-laryngeal initials: e.g., *x-*, the initial of the character now pronounced *xiǎo* 曉, and *k-*, the initial of the character now pronounced *jīng* 經.[32] As is apparent from these examples, the two series of initials have merged in modern Standard Chinese. The distinction can still be gauged, however, in older English loans from Chinese, including 'Peking' (from a velar-laryngeal initial; modern Standard Chinese 'Běijīng') and Tientsin (from a sibilant initial; modern Standard Chinese 'Tiānjīn').

The sociolinguistic circumstances of the merger are complex, more so than has hitherto been acknowledged. At some point in the Qīng period these two series merged in the casual register of the Běijīng dialect. At some later point, the casual pronunciation, with the two

[32]Transcriptions from Pulleyblank 1970, 210; "Sibilant" and "velar-laryngeal" from Branner 2006c, 220.

series merged, became treated as normative, as it is today. Between these two points in time, speakers of Běijīng Chinese probably maintained the distinction, which was then considered more refined or proper, in certain formal or otherwise elevated situations, but disregarded it in casual speech. This latter period is critical for my purposes here, as speakers under those circumstances needed phonological works to help them use the sibilant and velar-laryngeal series appropriately when pronouncing or transcribing certain words.

Unfortunately, our understanding of when the palatalization of velar-laryngeal sounds and their merger with a previous series of sibilants occurred, and how it spread among speakers, to a large extent depend on the interpretation of the phonological treatises from the eighteenth and nineteenth century that discussed the issue. There is little independent evidence on which we can rely as we analyze the treatises; rather, we have to use the treatises as both evidence of the linguistic phenomenon itself and its interpretation.

Another difficulty involves an uncertainty in the sound value of the Manchu graphs used to transcribe the Chinese sounds. We assume that the Manchu graphs commonly transcribed as *k-* and *g-* were velar-laryngeals, as are the Roman letters used, but this was not necessarily the case. W. South Coblin cites evidence that the Manchu graphs might, under the influence of Chinese, have been pronounced as palatals before front vowels by many speakers. In that case, their distinction in writing might not have represented a distinction in speech.[33] By the early twentieth century, to be sure, Manchu pronunciation had become heavily influenced by the sound system of Běijīng Chinese.[34] These uncertainties notwithstanding, it seems clear that for some Běijīng speakers at least, both the velar-laryngeal and the sibilant series had become palatalized and thus merged by the second quarter of the eighteenth century,[35] if not earlier.

Jiānyīn and *tuányīn*

Chinese linguists today use two terms to distinguish alveo-palatal initials according to their historical origin as either sibilants or velar-laryngeals. The alveo-palatals that are descendant from sibilants, e.g., the *jīn* in Tiānjīn (previously transcribed Tientsin), are called *jiānyīn* 尖音, literally 'sharp sounds.' The alveo-palatals descendant from velar-laryngeals, e.g. the *jīng* in Běijīng (previously transcribed Peking), are called *tuányīn* 團音, 'rounded sounds.' These terms are not new, but were used in the late imperial period. Their history and usage will be the topic of the following paragraphs.

Many modern scholars associate the terms 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds with the discourse of Peking Opera.[36] Peking Opera emerged as a distinct category of performance in the late eighteenth century, when four famous opera companies moved to the capital. The pronunciation used in its performances was based on the Northern Vernacular of the central plain south of Běijīng. The pronunciation was somewhat archaic and shared traits with the vernaculars spoken in Ānhuī and the mid-Yángzǐ.[37]

[33] Coblin 2003a, 203–209.
[34] Shirokogoroff 1934.
[35] Yáng Yìmíng and Wáng Wèimín 2003, 133.
[36] Yáng Zhènqí 1991, 35; Yáng Jiànqiáo 1999; Branner 2006c, 220.
[37] Yáng Zhènqí 1991, 28.

In the Qīng period, the terms 'rounded' and 'sharp' also often appeared in texts treating the principles of translation between Chinese and Manchu. Fēng-kuān, a scholar trained before the fall of the empire, summarized the *jiān-tuán* problematic in a text dating from the Republican period. Fēng-kuān's account associated the term both with opera and Manchu studies. He also gave an explanation of the origin of the terms 'sharp' and 'rounded' that involved the articulatory phonetics of the sounds to which they referred:

> What is called 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds are all articulated at the front and back teeth. When the tongue stretches out to meet the front teeth at the moment of articulation, the sound is 'sharp.' When the tongue is rolled back toward the back teeth at the moment of articulation, they are called 'rounded.' … The distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' not of great concern for Chinese studies (*Hànxué*). They only have to be clearly separated when analyzing Manchu-Chinese transcriptions. Actors and composers of operatic tunes also emphasize it greatly. Scholars (*shìrén*) understand the reasons behind [this phenomenon], but are unable to realize it out appropriately in practice. Actors know how to appropriately realize it, but remain ignorant of the reasons behind it.[38]

Scholars in the late twentieth century picked up on the association between the *jiān-tuán* distinction and Manchu, some arguing that the terms originated in reference to the shapes of the Manchu script. Féng Zhēng, for example, asserted citing "common scholarly opinion" that the term *jiān-tuán* appears for the first time in a work written in 1743.[39] As this work uses Manchu script, the terms have also been explained in reference to two groups of Manchu graphs. This explanation was at odds with Fēng-kuān's, who as we saw explained it by the shape of the tongue inside the mouth at the moment the respective sounds were pronounced.

Féng Zhēng's different identification of the terms with Manchu letters was a two-step process. First, he argued that the term *tuán* 團 was a corruption of a hypothesized original term *yuán* 圓, a more common word for 'round.' Second, Féng Zhēng, as had others before him,[40] explained the terms 'sharp' and 'rounded' by the fact that the Manchu characters used to transcribe the sibilant 'sharp' sounds, i.e. *c-* ᠴ , *j-* ᠵ , and *s-* ᠰ all have a 'sharp' shape. Conversely, the Manchu characters used to write the velar-laryngeal 'rounded' sounds, i.e. *k-* ᠬ , *g-* ᠭ , and *h-* ᠬ all have a 'round' shape. The two Chinese terms would thus describe the Manchu letters used to transcribe these sounds.[41]

The proposed dual origin of the terms 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds in both the operatic tradition and Manchu language studies, as well as the contradictory understandings of just what the terms originally designated, will suffice to show some of the confusion surrounding this issue in Qīng phonology.

[38] *"Xùxiū 'Sìkù quánshū'" zǒngmù tíyào (gǎoběn)* 1996, vol. 6, 48: 所謂尖團音者，其音發於齒牙。口之前部爲齒。發音時，舌伸抵齒；其音尖。後部爲牙。發音時，舌縮抵牙；其音團。… 尖團二音，在漢學呤詠不甚講求。獨於清漢對音之辨，必須分明。伶人度曲，亦甚重之。士人知其所以然，而不知行其所當然。伶人行其所當然，又未必知其所以然.

[39] Féng Zhēng (1984) 2006, 468: 學術界一般都認爲….

[40] Tōdō Akiyasu 1960, 1.

[41] Féng Zhēng (1984) 2006, 468.

Jiānyīn and *tuányīn*: The Origin? *Yùnbiǎo* (1605)

The earliest instance of the terms 'sharp' and 'rounded' in relation to Chinese speech sounds that I have been able to find occur in Yè Bǐngjìng 葉秉敬 (1562–1627) *Yùnbiǎo* 韻表 (Rhyme charts), a book extant in two editions. One edition is dated 1605 and the other can be inferred to have been printed during the Wànlì reign period (1572–1620),[42] obviously (given its author's dates) in its latter years. In any case, the book was published before any Míng scholar had learned of the Manchu script. Among the phonological distinctions made in Yè's book is a four-way distinction of the rhymes found in Chinese syllables. The terms used to categorize the types of rhymes include 'sharp' (*jiān*) and 'rounded' (*yuán*). Yè presented the distinction in question as concerning the 'rhyme' (*yùn*) part of the syllable, as opposed to the initial, but it was not the final part of the rhyme that was important. Rather, it was the 'sound' or 'tone' (*shēng*), a term that often, as in this case, referred to elements of the syllable occurring before the final. I have added David Prager Branner's "neutral transcriptions"[43] of Middle Chinese and modern Standard Chinese transcriptions to Yè explanations. Neither transcription reflect the language Yè spoke or the language he was trying to represent in his book, but they will allow us to perceive some of the differences that the terms he used were intended to express:

> [The various] rhymes are either rough and full (*cū ěr mǎn*); fine and sharp (*xì ěr jiān*); rounded and full (*yuán ěr mǎn*); or rounded and sharp (*yuán ěr jiān*).
>
> Rough and full rhymes include *gēng* (*keing-2a*) and *gān* (*kan-1*); the fine and sharp include *jīng* (*keing-4*) and *jiān* (*kan-4*); the rounded and full include *gōng* (*kweing-2a*) and *guān* (*kwan-1*); the rounded and sharp include *jiōng* (*kweing-4*) and *juān* (*kwan-4*).
>
> Try to pronounce … [a rhyme like] *gōng* (*kweing-2a*) or *guān* (*kwan-1*); the flow of air expands and envelops the lips. That is how we know that [the sound of these rhymes] is rounded and full. Try to pronounce … [a rhyme like] *jiōng* (*kweing-4*) or *juān* (*kwan-4*); the final is produced by pinching the lips tight. That is how we know that [the sound of these rhymes] is rounded and sharp. Try to pronounce … [a rhyme like] *gēng* (*keing-2a*) or *gān* (*kan-1*); they are wide and complete. That is how we know [the sound of these rhymes] is rough and full. Try to pronounce … [a rhyme like] *jīng* (*keing-4*) or *jiān* (*kan-4*); they are pointed, sharp like a thread. That is how we know [the sound of these rhymes] is fine and sharp. These four items (*xiàng*) we find among the rhymes.[44]

As often with descriptions of speech sounds, Yè's metaphors are hard to translate into actual articulations. The four-way opposition he presents is nevertheless clear in one regard:

[42]Zhāng Yùlái 2011, 106.

[43]Branner 1999.

[44]Yè Bǐngjìng (1605) 1995, *fánlì*:8a–b (336): 而開合、內外、居中 …之韻，各有聲之麤而滿者；有聲之細而尖者；有聲之圓而滿者；有聲之圓而尖者。麤而滿則爲「庚」、「干」；細而尖則爲「經」、「堅」；圓而滿則爲「觥」、「官」；圓而尖則爲「扃」、「涓」。試呼 … 「觥」、「官」，則灌氣寬大，而包脣；其爲圓而滿可知也。試呼 … 「扃」、「涓」，則收聲緊狹而撮脣；其爲圓而尖可知也。試呼 … 「庚」、「干」，則開豁而齊截；其爲麤而滿可知也。試呼 … 「經」、「堅」，則針鋒而線縷；其爲細而尖可知也。韻中既有此四項之音….

'rounded' and 'sharp' are not opposites in Yè's system. The rhymes that are either 'rounded' or 'sharp,' or both, are *jīng* (*keing-4*) and *jiān* (*kan-4*); *gōng* (*kweing-2a*) and *guān* (*kwan-1*); and *jiōng* (*kweing-4*) and *juān* (*kwan-4*). All of them have consonant initials of the velar-laryngeal series. The sibilant series, which as we saw in later forms of the Northern Vernacular became, as alveo-palatals, homophonous with the velar-laryngeal series, is not represented here. The syllables are also distinguished by all ending in a nasal: *-n* or *-ng*. The final does not seem important for the classification, however, as rhymes with both *-n* and *-ng* are grouped in the same category. Rather, the differences represented appear to concern the main vowels on the one hand and the medials on the other. As we see from Branner's "neutral transcriptions" given in parenthesis, the 'full' (*mǎn*) rhymes all have the numbers 1 or 2 affixed to them, whereas the 'sharp' all have the number 4. These numbers refer to the 'grade' (*děng*) of these characters in Middle Chinese rhyme charts, a category whose phonological reality is still very much under debate. It is possible that it is related to where the vowels were articulated in the mouth, and that seems to be what Yè wants to express too.

The first group of rhymes, *gēng* (*keing-2a*) and *gān* (*kan-1*), are, we can infer, 'full' by virtue of being in grades 1 and 2. They are also 'rough,' a category not seen in the other groups. It appears that 'rough' refers to their lack of a medial (the "neutral transcription" of *gēng* notwithstanding). Since none of the other groups include 'rough' members, we might assume that all of them have medials, but that does not seem to be the case. The last two groups all have medials both in modern Standard Chinese and in Middle Chinese, as evident from the transcriptions, but this is not the case with the second group. *Jiān* has a medial only in modern Standard Chinese, not in Middle Chinese, and *jīng* does not have a medial either in Middle Chinese or in modern Standard Chinese. Rather, these syllables have a front vowel or front medial *-i-* in modern Standard Chinese, and belonged to grade 4, associated with front vowels, in Middle Chinese. That aspect appears to be what make them 'fine,' as opposed to the 'rounded' rhymes in the last two groups. Their front vowels, correlated with them belonging to grade 4, would consequently be what distinguishes them as 'sharp,' as opposed to 'rough' like the syllables in the first category. We can thus conclude that 'sharp' means having a front vowel or belong to a high 'grade.'

The two last groups of syllables have medials and are thus both 'rounded.' Again, the last group has front medials in the modern language, and 'grade' 4 in Middle Chinese, and are thus 'sharp.' The penultimate group, finally, have back vowels in the modern language, and 'grades' 1 or 2 in Middle Chinese. They are thus 'full.'

Much remains unclear in Yè's classification. Some scholars categorize it as a restatement of a four-way distinction that was already well established in phonological literature at the time Yè was writing, although not by that name.[45] I find it likely that part of the confusion stems from Yè's desire to reconcile distinctions (the 'grades') that he had seen in rhyme charts from the Middle Chinese period with distinctions observed in his day (medials and vowel height). Yet as the two sets of transcriptions given here show, those distinctions might have been somewhat asymmetrical and not easily expressed using the same set of terms. It is nevertheless clear that Yè's use of the words 'rounded' and 'sharp' is similar to the terms as now used, outlined above, in that they refer to syllables with velar-laryngeal consonant initials and vowels or medials of different height. Yè's usage differ from later usage in two important respects. On the one

[45]Lǐ Xīnkuí 1983, 87.

hand, 'rounded' and 'sharp' are in his usage not opposites, but qualities that can coexist in the same syllable. On the other hand, the terms do not seem to refer at all to syllables with initials from the sibilant series.

In addition to the terms 'rounded' and 'sharp,' Yè's *Yùnbiǎo* also featured a distinction that later reoccurred in phonological works dealing with the *jiān-tuán* problematic. In the charts of Yè's book, some cells were filled not with Chinese characters but with circles or triangles. In case Yè thought that the value of the cell represented a sound that existed in human speech but was not represented by any Chinese character, he added a triangle. In case the value of the cell did not correspond to any sound at all in human speech, he added a circle.[46] Coincidentally, circles are round and triangles sharp. It remains unclear whether that circumstance had any influence on the later understanding of these terms.

Jiānyīn and *tuányīn*: An Association to Manchu

The terms 'sharp' and 'rounded' appear in their now current sense in the early eighteenth century. At the same time, the terms become associated with Manchu studies. Scholars have on that basis inferred that the palatalization and thus merger of the sibilant and velar-laryngeal series of initials might have been in evidence by this time.

In 1746, the terms 'sharp sounds' and 'rounded sounds' were used by Juntu in the Manchu primer *Yī xué sān guàn Qīngwén jiàn*. Juntu added the term 'rounded sounds' to the three syllables *kioi, gioi,* and *hioi*, generally used to transcribe the Chinese syllables *qu, ju,* and *xu*. The Manchu syllables *cioi, jioi,* and *sioi*, which have the same Chinese transcriptions, were specified as "sharp sounds."[47] Juntu used the two terms without further explanation. It would appear that he assumed they were known to the reader of his primer. Yet perhaps they were not even known to Juntu. For strangely, the Chinese characters he added as glosses were the same for both the 'rounded' and the 'sharp' series. It appears that the terms for him somehow concerned only the Manchu, even though he employed it in reference to Manchu syllables used uniquely to transcribe Chinese. Juntu might have copied the terms from another syllabary, leaving out some information of misunderstanding the terms. It might also be that the velar-laryngeal and sibilant series had completely merged as alveo-palatals already in the Běijīng vernacular of his time. Whatever the case, we can conclude that the usage of the terms 'rounded' and 'sharp' in reference to Manchu was established well enough in 1746 for them to be included in a language primer that otherwise had little to say on matters of phonology.

Manchu Used to Write Chinese: *Qīngyīn biān* (*1737, 1837)

The earliest phonological text to use the distinction 'rounded' and 'sharp' in reference to Manchu, although not naming them as such, is found at Fu Ssu-Nien Library of Academia Sinica, Táiběi, with the title *Qīngyīn biān* 清音辨 (Distinguishing clear sounds). It is listed in the local library catalog, but it has not made it into any of the major catalogs of Manchu books. The

[46] Zhāng Yùlái 2011, 108.
[47] Juntu (1746) 2001, *shíèr zìtóu*:3b.

copy in Táiběi seems to be the only one extant.[48] As I was writing this chapter, the first study mentioning the book appeared.[49]

The small booklet has a preface signed by Líntīng Shí-jīn 林汀石津 (n.d.) in January, 1737 (Qiánlóng 1/12). At the beginning of the main body of the work, the author's name is given as Shí Líntīng 石霖汀, which appears to be a one-character abbreviation of the Manchu name and the style name Líntīng. Shí-jīn specified his ancestral home as Chángbái 長白, referring to the mountain on the Manchurian-Korean border (Mt. Paektu 白頭), from which we can infer that he identified as Manchu. The title page of the print has been lost and replaced at an unknown date with a manuscript page seemingly in imitation of the original. The title page says that the book was printed in 1837 (Dàoguāng *dīngyǒu*). The publisher's name is not given, but it is written that "the blocks are kept in this office" (*běn yá cáng bǎn* 本衙藏版).[50]

The booklet contains an an undated afterword (*hòuxù*) by Fǎ-shì-shā-kuí Tài-guāng 法式沙奎泰光, probably written for the 1837 printing. Tài-guāng identified his ancestral home as Jiāngníng 江寧, corresponding to today's Nánjīng. The afterword says that:

> In the Jiāngníng Garrison, language (*yǔyán*) [meaning Manchu?] and phonology have long been studied according to the local customs. … The great Commander Yúnxī 筠溪, Presented Scholar in [Manchu-Chinese] translation, having served both in the capital and the provinces, received the imperial order to lead the garrison here in this region. In his free time, my lord brought out old master Shí Líntīng's *Distinguishing clear sounds* (*Qīngyīn biān*) and showed me, Tài-guāng, and the others, who had the honor to read it several times.[51]

It appears from this statement that Tài-guāng was a clerk in the Jiāngníng Garrison (Zhùfáng 駐防) at Nánjīng. The 'office' identified on the title page would thus refer to that garrison. Since the manuscript had been brought there by a high official who had served elsewhere, we can assume that Shí-jīn had written the booklet in Běijīng or some other garrison town.

The book includes the author's preface; a "Statement of Editorial Principles" explaining the reason for the book's compilation and the system of annotation used in it; the main body, consisting of a list of Chinese syllables in Manchu transcription, each followed by one or several Chinese characters; and the previously quoted afterword.

Shí-jīn explained why he had written the book in the preface. The reason was not to explain the distinction between 'rounded' and 'sharp,' but between 'clear' (*qīng* 清) and 'turbid' (*zhuó* 濁). As explained in chapter 2, the latter pair of terms had appeared in the medieval period to characterize two series of either voiced or unvoiced initials in Middle Chinese. In the late imperial period, the terms had been reinterpreted to refer to the rhyme of syllables according the Middle Chinese tonal category from which they originated. For an eighteenth-century speaker of the Běijīng variety of the Northern Vernacular, the distinction between 'clear' and 'turbid' was purely academic and had to be learned. Shí-jīn explained:

[48] I checked Walravens 1986; Katō Naoto 1997; Pang and Volkova 2001; Stary 2005.

[49] Wáng Wéimín 2014.

[50] Shí-jīn (1737) 1837.

[51] Shí-jīn (1737) 1837, *hòuxù*:10a–b: 江寧駐防年久語言、音韻習於土俗 … 統憲筠溪大人由繙譯進士歷仕中外，今夏奉命來鎮是邦。公暇出石霖汀先生『清音辨』一卷，示泰光等，拜讀三復.

> The learner translating books will have no problem providing single character transcriptions (*duìyīn*) or syllabic spellings (*qièyīn*); only the clear (*qīng*) will he not distinguish from the turbid (*zhuó*), frequently mixing them up instead. If he while studying them does not learn the method [i.e. the underlying principles], he will have to memorize [the distinction] by rote for every character, which is very complicated and difficult. I spent some time pondering it and found a unified method, which is very easy. I made this small booklet, which can be conveniently brought with you when you go out, calling it *Distinguishing clear sounds*. The book would be an insult to a great master, but it can offer something of use to the student.[52]

Next followed the "Statement of Editorial Principles." Shí-jīn explained that would he list both 'clear' and 'turbid' characters, his list would be too long. He thus listed only the 'clear' ones, letting the reader infer that the others were 'turbid.' He also explained the 'method' that he had hinted at in the preface: a character tended to be 'clear' if others with the same phonetic component (e.g., *jiǎn* 翦 and *jiàn* 箭, which both contained the graphic element *qián* 前 that gave an indication of their pronunciation) were also 'clear.' Listing only one member of such a series enabled Shí-jīn to keep the book slim. In order to indicate to the reader that one listed character was representing a whole series of characters all containing the same phonetic, Shí-jīn "added a circle" (*jiā quān* 加圈) next to it.[53]

Shí-jīn did not have a term for 'rounded' or 'sharp.' The word *jiān* occurred in the "Statement," but not in opposition to 'rounded.' Rather, Shí-jīn used it to characterize a second kind of mark he added to some characters, different from the circles. He wrote that "the characters in the collection that contain the elements 咠, 㝵, 嗇, 倉, 責, 疌, 肅, 夋, 凡 etc. can all be inferred to represent 'clear' syllables." The reader would thus not have to worry about if a character containing those components were 'clear' or 'turbid.' To signal to the reader that a given character represented such an all-'clear' series, Shí-jīng added a triangle next to them: "Thus they are distinguished using a sharp circle (*jiān quān*)."[54] Despite appearances, the word *jiān* had nothing to do with the *jiān-tuán* distinction. Whether Shí-jīn's use of circles and triangles had anything to do with the similarly shaped marks in Yè Bǐngjìng's book is not obvious.

Shí-jīn did not express it, but the Manchu transcriptions of Chinese syllables that constituted the lemmata list of his booklet marked the distinction between 'rounded' and 'sharp.' The 'sharp' initials were all indicated using the Manchu sibilant consonants, which would be expected both in case they were pronounced with sibilants or as alveo-palatals. In an indication that Shí-jīng considered the distinction between 'clear' and 'turbid' to concern the rhyme and not the initial, the Manchu consonants *c-* and *j-* were used to indicate aspiration or its absence, not voicing.

[52]Shí-jīn (1737) 1837, *xù*:1a–b: 學者繙繹書籍，於人物、地名未有不能對音及切音者，但清濁之音不辨，往往混淆。若學之不得其法，逐字強記亦甚繁難。朝夕思索，得一法，甚簡易。裝成小本，出入便於攜帶，名之曰『清音辨』。此雖有愧於大方，然於學者不無小補云耳.

[53]Shí-jīn (1737) 1837, *fánlì*:2a–3a.

[54]Shí-jīn (1737) 1837, *fánlì*:3b: 一、集內字傍從「咠」、「㝵」、「嗇」、「倉」、「責」、「疌」、「肅」、「夋」、「凡」等字，俱可類推凡從此等字傍者皆爲清音，故以尖圈別之.

Curiously, the booklet listed only 'sharp' sounds, even though the distinction between 'clear' and 'turbid' also existed among syllables with 'rounded' initials (e.g., the 'clear' and 'rounded' *jīng* 經, "transparent transcription": *keing-4*; and the 'turbid' and 'rounded' *qú* 渠, "transparent transcription": *guo-3b*).

The reason Shí-jīn listed only 'sharp' characters eludes me. Perhaps the original manuscript had been longer than the version we know possess, including also syllables with 'rounded' initials. It might also be that whatever phonetic reality the 'clear' and 'turbid' had for the writer and readers of *Qīngyīn biān*, confusion regarding the category to which a given word should be assigned might only have occurred in syllables with 'sharp' initials. Such an interpretation would imply that 'sharp' and 'rounded' syllables were easily distinguished by the writer and his imagined readership. Indeed, the fact that Tài-guāng, as he was editing the booklet for printing, did not mention its side-effect of distinguishing 'sharp' and 'rounded' indicates that neither he nor his colleagues had any need for a book intended to clarify that distinction.

Rather than highlighting a separation of 'sharp' and 'rounded' syllables, *Qīngyīn biān* is noteworthy for representing an early attempt to use the Manchu script explicitly to clarify matters of Chinese phonology. Unlike other early works using the Manchu script, Shí-jīn's book was not intended to teach the Manchu language or facilitate its use. On the contrary, its purpose was to teach a literary register of Chinese.[55] The Manchu transcriptions of Chinese syllables in Shí-jīn's booklet unambiguously showed that that literary register was based on the Northern Vernacular.

Manchu and the Koinē: Original Purpose of *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* (*1743)

The terms *jiān* and *tuán* were for the first time discussed in their current acceptations with reference to Manchu in *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* 圓音正考 (Rectification and examination of rounded sounds). The textual transmission of this book is complicated, as is the historical importance we ought to assign to it. The earliest edition of the book that can be positively dated is a blockprint from 1830. This version had passed through the editorial hand of Wén-tōng 文通 (n.d.), a Manchu official serving as Assistant Proof Reader in the Commission of Historiography,[56] who also wrote a preface and afterword for it. The original preface of the book was written by someone referred to by the style name Cúnzhī Táng 存之堂 (n.d.), but the author's real name is unknown. Wén-tōng's preface described how he had come into contact with the book:

> In the spring of 1830, Mr. Gōng Yígǔ 龔宜古 [n.d.; in all likelihood a style name] of the Sānhuái Táng publishing house came carrying a volume titled *Rectification and examination of rounded sounds* (*Yuányīn zhèng kǎo*), saying he

[55]Chiu 2007, 273–277 writes that *qīngyīn* was also a term used in reference to a kind of Manchu literary text. Scholars seem to disagree to the exact meaning of the term in that context. It is unclear whether there is any connection to the term as used in Shí-jīn (1737) 1837.

[56]Wén-tōng's full title was "Senior Bodyguard of the Second Rank (4a), annexed of inherited rank (5) for one generation to Commandant of Flee-as-clouds Cavalry, serving as Assistant Proof Reader in the Commission of Historiography" 二等侍衛兼世襲雲騎尉充實錄館協修官: Cúnzhī Táng (1743) 1830, *xù*:8a. Translated according to BH 1912, 26–27, 492; Hucker 1985, 598–599.

> wanted to commit it to the catalpa boards [for printing]. He asked me to write a preface for it while proofreading it for errors. We do not know who compiled this book, but it ought to have been someone who was very well-versed in the study of phonology. It is preceded by a preface by Cúnzhī Táng. There have so far been no xylographed editions, only manuscript copies.[57]

It appears from Wén-tōng's statement that the work circulated in manuscript, several of which might have been known to the editors of a typeset edition that appeared in 1929.[58] A manuscript representing a version further from the original than the printed edition was owned by Zhào Yīntáng. It does not contain the Manchu-script transcriptions, but carries an afterword by Gài-xiān 蓋暹 (fl. 1900; style name Zhúqiáo 竹樵), who copied it.[59] A separate manuscript work of unknown date, furthermore, refers to a *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* 元音正考 (Rectification and examination of primordial sounds), an homophonous title that merely differs from that of the book as we now have it by one character.[60] The reference might be a misspelled citation of the printed book from 1830, or it might refer to a manuscript recension of it now lost. If the latter is the case, we would be dealing with a third rendering of the opposite of 'sharp' as *yuán* 元, 'primordial,' but that seems improbable. Féng Zhēng has collated the main text of the work based on several copies, but it does not appear that he had access to the copy previously owned by Zhào.[61]

The book contains the preface by Wén-tōng; the "Original preface" (*yuánxù* 原序) by Cúnzhī Táng; a "Statement of Editorial Principles"; the main body, consisting of list of Chinese syllables written in Manchu transcription and Chinese characters; and an afterword (*hòuxù* 後序) by Wén-tōng.

Cúnzhī Táng's "Original preface" noted that the 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds had not been discussed in medieval phonological works (which would not surprise us since the distinction had not posed a problem for speakers of Middle Chinese). In his time, "often widely read, refined and self-satisfied literati [would] make mistakes," by mixing up the 'sharp' and the 'rounded,' "as soon as they open their mouth or grab the writing brush." Cúnzhī Táng was unforgiving with that kind of behavior: "Such mistakes are no different from misreading 麞 for [the similar character] 璋 or pronouncing *lín* 林 as *zhàng* 杖."[62] It appears from Cúnzhī Táng's description that the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' had to be made at least when reading out loud, but perhaps also when speaking in polite company.

He then explained how to ascertain whether a character should be read 'sharp' or 'rounded' by deriving them from different genera in the Middle Chinese list of thirty-six initials (discussed in chapter 2). That operation was at the basis of his book, which contained "a total of

[57]Cúnzhī Táng (1743) 1830, *xù*:5a–b: 庚寅春三槐堂書坊龔氏宜古持『圓音正考』一冊，欲付諸梓。請序於余，兼謂校正其譌。斯『圓音正考』一書不知集自何人，蓋深通韻學者之所作也。前有存之堂一序。向無刻本，都係手抄.

[58]As much is noted in Féng Zhēng (1984) 2006.

[59]Cúnzhī Táng (1830) 1900.

[60]"Chūxué biānshí Qīngzì xūzhī" n.d.

[61]Féng Zhēng (2000) 2006.

[62]Cúnzhī Táng (1743) 1830, *yuánxù*:1a–b: 往往有博雅自詡之士一矢口肆筆而紕繆，立形視書「璋」為「麞」，呼「林」作「杖」者，其直鈞也.

48 syllables comprising 1,600 odd characters. Every syllable is marked first using a character from the dynastic script [i.e. Manchu]; rounded syllables are placed first, sharp syllables thereafter."[63] As Cúnzhī Táng explained, the main body of the work consisted of Manchu transcriptions of Chinese, each followed by a list of Chinese characters corresponding to that syllable. The system of transcription did not mark Chinese tone.

The "Statement of Editorial Principles" declared that the shape of Chinese characters followed the imperial standard; that the characters included constituted around 80-90% of those found in the Classics, but not rare characters not attested in this corpus; that characters were listed twice if they had two readings with different meaning; that characters containing the same radical were listed together for easy reference; and, finally, that since Chinese characters, unlike the Manchu script, could not express all possible sounds, some of the syllables listed did not correspond to any Chinese characters. Those entries were consequently empty.

The "Statement" did not mention it, but at the head of every lemma was a note in Chinese indicating whether the syllable in question was 'sharp' (*jiānyīn*) or 'rounded' (*tuányīn*). Strictly speaking, those notes were superfluous, as the reader could infer from the Manchu transcription alone whether the syllable was 'sharp' or 'rounded.' In Manchu transcription, 'sharp' syllables all began with *c-, j-,* or *s-*, whereas 'rounded' syllables began with *k-, g-,* or *h-*. The double notation enabled readers who could not read the Manchu script to benefit from the book, a further indication, if we needed one, that the book had nothing to do with Manchu phonology and everything to do with Chinese. *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* was written to clarify the Chinese koinē.

8.3 The Regulation of Manchu-Chinese Transcriptions

Manchu transcriptions of Chinese appear to have been little regulated in the early Qīng period. For example, in 1661 (Kāngxī 1) the name for Ryūkyū was written in Manchu as *lio cio gurun*, "the Ryūkyū state" on the seal awarded that country's king by the Qīng government.[64] *Lio cio* was a Manchu transcription of the Chinese Liúqiú 琉球. As a glance at the now-current Japanese name Ryūkyū makes clear, the character *qiú* 球 in Middle Chinese had an initial from the velar-laryngeal series and was thus 'rounded.' Yet on the Qīng seal, the name was transcribed with a 'sharp' Manchu sibilant initial (*c-*), which we can further assume was read in a palatalized pronunciation similar to the Chinese original. Whoever was responsible for the Manchu name on the seal apparently did not distinguish 'rounded' and 'sharp' in Chinese, and appears to have pronounced both the formerly 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds as alveo-palatals.[65] The Qiánlóng emperor, who ascended the throne in 1735, was displeased with this transcription practice.

[63]Cúnzhī Táng (1743) 1830, *yuánxù*:2a: 斯編凡四十八音為字一千六百有奇。每音各標國書一字於首，團音居前，尖音在後.

[64]The seal is introduced and reproduced in Xú Bǎoguāng (1721) 1972, vol. 1, 59.

[65]I was guided to this example by Nagashima Eiichirō 1941b, 73.

Using Manchu to Define the Koinē: *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (1773)

In 1773, the imperial print shop at Wǔyīng Diàn printed one hundred copies of *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (mentioned earlier in this chapter and in chapter 6), a list, modeled on the syllabary in twelve sections, of Manchu syllables and Chinese characters transcribing them. The book also included Manchu place names from non-Chinese parts of the empire and their sanctioned Chinese transcriptions. Copies of the book was sent to relevant government bureaus in the capital and the provinces, where it was further reprinted. It was reprinted again on imperial order in 1836. Commercial publishers also reproduced it at the time of its initial publication as well as in 1890 and 1909, two years before the Republican revolution.[66]

The Qiánlóng emperor on May 1, 1772 (Qiánlóng 37/3/29) issued an edict saying that:

> Up until now, whenever the various offices in the capital and the provinces memorialize on an issue and encounter the names of Manchu or Mongol places or people, and thus have to transcribe them using Chinese characters, they often arbitrarily write characters that do not match the original sound of the Qīng [i.e. Manchu] or Mongol text. For that reason erroneous or non-standard characters abound; they even try to force value judgments [on to the transcriptions] by choosing Chinese characters according to their positive or negative connotations. It is all really laughable![67]

To remedy this situation, Qiánlóng now ordered

> the Grand Councilors to deliberate and establish transcriptions on the basis of the twelve character heads of the dynastic script, noting both the Qīng and Chinese characters, then have it printed and made into a simple and clear list to be distributed to offices at various levels in the capital and provinces. Transcriptions can then be based on consultation [of that book], and everyone will know what standard to follow when encountering the names of Manchu and Mongol places or people.[68]

More than a year and a half later (Qiánlóng 38/12/9), Qiánlóng issued another edict stressing that Manchu transcriptions of Chinese needed to maintain the important phonetic distinctions made in the original.[69]

The booklet produced following Qiánlóng's order began as a syllabary in twelve sections presented linearly. Beneath every Manchu syllable were listed a series of Chinese characters

[66]Chūnhuā 2008b, 56–57.

[67]*Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (1773) 1836, *shàngyù*:1a: 向來，內外各衙門題奏資行事件，凡遇滿洲蒙古人名地名，應譯對漢字者，往往任意書寫並不合清文蒙古文本音。因而舛誤鄙俚之字不一而足；甚至以字義之優劣強爲分別軒輊，尤屬可笑!

[68]*Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (1773) 1836, *shàngyù*:1b: 軍機大臣依國書十二字頭酌定對音兼寫清漢字樣即行刊成簡明篇目頒行中外大小衙門嗣後遇有滿洲蒙古人地名對音俱查照譯寫俾各知所遵守.

[69]Qìng-guī (1807) 1994, 902–903.

considered to be appropriate transcriptions for that syllable. The editors also occasionally specified the tone in which the Chinese characters should be read. Sometimes they also offered specifications regarding the pronunciation of the Manchu. Following the syllabary proper were listed "Single syllabic spelling characters" (*qièyīn dānzì* 切音單字), which were combinations of two written Manchu syllables realized in speech as one. They appear to have originally been transcriptions of Chinese (e.g., *niyan* for *nián* 年, *bie* for *bié* 別), but they were now being transcribed back into Chinese. Following the 'single characters' were "Double syllabic spelling characters" (*qièyīn shuāngzì*). They included bisyllabic Manchu words, presumably words that officials were likely to encounter in a context where they ought to be transcribed rather than translated. The Chinese transcriptions all contained two characters each. In both the lists of 'single' and 'double' characters, the Manchu syllables and the Chinese transcriptions distinguished between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds. The booklet ended with a list of place names in Manchuria and Qīng Inner Asia.

The reason for commissioning *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* was clearly to standardize transcriptions between Chinese and Manchu. As Pär Cassel has noted, the Qīng court established a Manchu transcription system for Chinese as a step in their construction of a multilingual empire.[70] A range of Qīng official documents drafted in one of the two languages had to be translated into the other in Qīng administrative practice. Making sure that it was possible to go from one version to the other without the message being distorted by idiosyncratic renderings of names was essential to ensure the smooth functioning of government.[71] As such, the booklet would have been indispensable to officials and certainly the clerks charged with translating much of their writings.

Standardizing correspondences between Manchu and Chinese also had the effect of standardizing what counted as proper Chinese pronunciation. In the list of transcriptions, the pronunciation of the Manchu syllables make it abundantly clear that the Chinese characters were to be read in a form of the Northern Vernacular. Given the elated status awarded that linguistic variety by its endorsement in publications such as *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì*, we can infer that it represented the Chinese koinē in the eyes of the court. By ordering the manual printed throughout the empire and used in administration, the government also took a step toward defining and promulgating a standard pronunciation of the Chinese language. As of 1773, that standard included the distinction between 'rounded' and 'sharp' sounds.

From Koinē to Manchu-Chinese Translation: The Publication of *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* (1830)

In 1836, as mentioned, the Dàoguāng emperor reissued the Qiánlóng emperor's Manchu-Chinese transcription manual.[72] By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, it seems, the imperial government felt the need to reaffirm its commitment to standard transcriptions

[70]Cassel 2014.

[71]Matthew Mosca has shown that different transcriptions of the word for 'England' based on several languages not used in the Qīng empire worked against the Manchu court getting a sense of just what was happening on its frontiers: Mosca 2014.

[72]The Dàoguāng emperor's edict is found in *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* (1773) 1836, *shàngyù*: 2a–b.

using a standardized reading of the Chinese characters. Also in the 1830s, both *Qīngyīn biān* and *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* were printed for the first time after having circulated in manuscript for almost a century. We saw that *Qīngyīn biān* did not mention the *jiān-tuán* distinction either in its original or later prefaces, but had the characteristic of only listing the *jiān* or 'sharp' syllables, thereby in a sense distinguishing them from their 'rounded' counterparts. That book was printed in Nánjīng, where the local language spoken was a variety of the Northern Vernacular sharing some traits with topolects of the Central Group spoken in neighboring areas. The editor Tài-guāng, who appears to have been born in the city, would consequently have had no problems distinguishing 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds and did not mention them.

Yuányīn zhèng kǎo, by contrast, was published by Sānhuái Táng, a prominent publisher of Manchu literature in Běijīng. It is very likely that the merger of the sibilant and velar-laryngeal series into a single series of alveo-palatal initials had proceeded very far in colloquial speech of Běijīng in this period. Keeping 'rounded' and 'sharp' apart, which as we saw was needed in certain contexts, would not have been entirely straightforward to Běijīng natives at that time. The preface that the editor Wén-tōng wrote for *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* in 1830 reflects this situation.

Wén-tōng's preface on the surface stayed close to Cúnzhī Táng's original, but in reality presented a substantially different view of the *jiān-tuán* problematic. Like Cúnzhī Táng, Wén-tōng opened his preface by anchoring the discipline of phonology in remote history. He then introduced some phonological concepts, albeit not the ones mentioned by Cúnzhī Táng (the thirty-six initials) and more relevant to the problem of 'rounded' and 'sharp' sounds.

He then continued to describe the advantages of the Manchu script in its ability to record all sounds imaginable. As expected in the Qīng metalinguistic paradigm, Wén-tōng described the Manchu script as syllables subdividing into initials and rhymes in the manner of Chinese syllabic spelling. As examples of the Manchu script used to write other languages, he cited the multilingual publications of the Qiánlóng reign, which had not yet appeared when Cúnzhī Táng compiled his book.

Wén-tōng's lengthy description of the functioning of the Manchu script contrasts markedly with Cúnzhī Táng's preface, which as we saw above was concerned only with Chinese phonology. Wén-tōng wrote that whenever he came to think about the phonographical properties of the Manchu script, he wanted to "demonstrate its functioning by writing a chart for the benefit of future students." Unfortunately, his professional duties sent him moving constantly, and he had not found the time to compile the book.[73] It was at that juncture that the proprietor of the Sānhuái Táng publishing house had approached him with Cúnzhī Táng's manuscript. The reader of the preface feels compelled to infer that Cúnzhī Táng's book achieved what Wén-tōng had planned to do in his planned but never realized "chart."

Next, Wén-tōng entered into a discussion of the *jiān-tuán* problematic on the basis of Cúnzhī Táng's book. He did not mention the Qiánlóng emperor's *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* by name, but he lifted formulations straight out of the imperial edict, quoted above, which served as the preface for the Manchu-Chinese transcription manual. Wén-tōng thereby inscribed Cúnzhī Táng's book in a tradition of Manchu-Chinese transcription that was not apparent in the original preface, but had in fact only become an imperial priority in the decades after it was written. Wén-tōng wrote:

[73]Cúnzhī Táng (1743) 1830, *xù*:5a: 每思細演其式，著為一譜，以贈後學。奈差務奔走，未暇編集.

> Now, sharp and rounded syllables have no use in Chinese writing (*Hànwén*). Thus those who hold the wooden writing boards [i.e. writers] most often put [that subject] aside without discussion. Although widely read and refined classicists and erudite masters of the literary scene often mispronounce [the rounded and the sharp] as soon as they open their mouth [as Cúnzhī Táng also wrote in his preface], it is only the composers of [northern] tunes (*qǔ*) [i.e. opera] who are versed in discussing them. It is a pity that the many books on the rhymes of tunes only distinguish southern from northern [usage] as well as high and low [registers] (*yīn yáng*), and never specifically address the sharp and the rounded clearly.
>
> However, sharp and rounded syllables can definitely not be ignored by translators. Since there are sharp and rounded characters in Qīng writing [i.e. written Manchu], whenever you encounter the names of states, places, or people you must render the sound back [into Chinese]; [rounded and sharp] must be clearly distinguished. It is apparent that Cúnzhī Táng must have compiled this volume for the benefit of translators, not for the sake of phonological studies. Whenever you doubt how to render back a sound [into Chinese], just open this book and you will get the right answer; there is no need to consult a rhyme book. That aspect will be of great benefit for the beginner. … Although this [book] does not encompass all of the study of phonology, it will be of considerable use for translators and also for the composers of [northern] tunes.[74]

I agree with Tōdō Akiyasu's 藤堂明保 (1915–1985) description of *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo*'s two prefaces as representing two very different intentions:[75] Cúnzhī Táng's preface made no mention of translation or even of the Manchu language (as opposed to the Manchu script), whereas Wén-tōng claimed that his book was for written for the benefit of translators.

Cúnzhī Táng somewhat contemptuously referred to boastful scholars who were unable to make the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds when they opened their mouth; one assumes they would do so in order to speak or recite something. Cúnzhī Táng's reference implied that the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds should be made in Chinese speech on at least some occasions. Wén-tōng echoed Cúnzhī Táng's words only to contradict them a few sentences later. For Wén-tōng, the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' existed only in Manchu, which from his preface appears to have been mainly a written medium. Indeed, as we saw, the Manchu language and script did distinguish sibilants and velar-laryngeals (or alveo-palatals), but these sounds had been identified as 'sharp' and 'rounded' only when the script was applied to record the sounds of a Northern Chinese topolect or the koinē based on it.

Why did Wén-tōng present the distinction of 'sharp' and 'rounded' as existing only in Manchu? Most probably, the merger of the sibilant and velar-laryngeal series had proceeded

[74]Cúnzhī Táng (1743) 1830, *xù*:6a–8a: 夫尖團之音，漢文無所用。故操觚家多置而不講。雖博雅名儒、詞林碩士往往一出口而失其音，惟度曲者尚講之。惜曲韻諸書只別南北、陰陽，亦未專晰尖團。而尖團之音，繙譯家絕不可廢。蓋清文中，既有尖團二字，凡遇國名、地名、人名，當還音處必須詳辨。存之堂集此一冊，蓋為繙譯而作，非為韻學而作也明矣。每遇還音疑似之間，一展卷而即得其真；不必檢查韻書。是大有裨益於初學也。… 雖非韻學之全，於繙譯家不無小補，即於度曲家亦不無小補.

[75]Tōdō Akiyasu 1960, 2. I conversely disagree with some of the more recent scholarship that seems to ignore that distinction, notably Yáng Yìmíng and Wáng Wèimín 2003, 131.

further in his time than when Cúnzhī Táng was writing. Yet the merger must have been in evidence already in the 1730s, since Cúnzhī Táng felt compelled to write a book intended to help people distinguish them in speech. It appears, then, that the merger had already taken place in casual Běijīng speech in the 1730s, but that speakers at that time were still expected to maintain the distinction in certain contexts, such as formal speech or the recitation of literary works. Wén-tōng, by contrast, does not appear to have expected that the distinction be maintained even in formal speech.

Yet we should not on the basis of Wén-tōng's statements conclude that, by 1830, Běijīng natives no longer had a conception of what 'sharp' and 'rounded' meant in the context of the Chinese language. For on the one hand, Wén-tōng wrote that a distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' had no relevance for Chinese writing (*Hànwén*). On the other hand, he wrote that the distinction had to be maintained when transcribing Manchu syllables into Chinese. If the purportedly Manchu distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' can be maintained in Chinese character transcriptions, the Chinese characters used must also make that distinction. Wén-tōng indeed knew that some Chinese characters were associated with a series of Middle Chinese initials identified as 'sharp,' and that others were associated with a series of initials identified as 'rounded.' He also asserted repeatedly that the distinction was considered important by writers of *qǔ*, 'tunes,' which in this context should be taken to mean Chinese opera, including the Peking variety mentioned previously. His preface implied that the koinē-based Chinese character transcriptions used to represent Manchu words in official documents could separate the 'sharp' from the 'rounded.' It likewise implied that some spoken registers of the Northern Vernacular, such as that used in Peking opera, maintained the distinction.

Wén-tōng might not have maintained the distinction in his own speech, and it is reasonable to assume that fewer people would have been inclined to do so in 1830 than in 1730, given the long-term development of the Chinese koinē. Yet the distinction was still important. As we saw, in 1835 the court reiterated its commitment to maintain the distinction in the koinē pronunciation used when transcribing Manchu. In the decades following the publication of *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo*, the distinction was reaffirmed in several phonological works that drew on the phonographic resources of the Manchu script.

8.4 Promulgation of the Koinē

In the nineteenth century, the Chinese koinē became studied in the south using books that featured Manchu transcriptions. At the same time, Běijīng bannermen appear to have used similar publications to maintain a proper Mandarin pronunciation to some extent distinct from the local vernacular. This section will study the books that used Manchu transcriptions in the north and in the south in order to demonstrate the role played by Manchu language studies in the promulgation and maintenance of the 'correct pronunciation' of the period.

Works written in the nineteenth century continued to make the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds. Anonymous works of Manchu language pedagogy mentioned the distinction in relation to the Manchu graphs used to mark it, but did not specify what role the distinction played in Chinese.[76] Other works were more explicit. In the first half of the nine-

[76] "Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá" n.d.; "Chūxué biānshí Qīngzì xūzhī" n.d.

teenth century, several works appeared that sought to teach the koinē in southern China, where no variety of the Northern Vernacular was natively spoken. These books, surveyed in the following sections, showed a varying degree of influence from Manchu language studies.

The court in the early nineteenth century continued to make occasional pronouncements that discouraged the use of southern accents. For example, in 1806 (Jiāqìng 11) an order was issued that declared it inappropriate to use Cantonese pronunciation (*Yuèdōng kǒuyīn* 粵东口音) when reciting documents in the imperial study (Shàngshū Fáng 上書房).[77] We see in this order the expectation that officials speak the koinē or at least vocalize texts in some register of the Northern Vernacular when serving in the palace in Běijīng.

Paradoxically, local authorities in the southern provinces at the same time seem to have come to the conclusion that there was little need to make any great efforts to carry out the court's earlier directives regarding language use among prospective officials in their jurisdictions.[78] The schools for 'correct pronunciation' that had been founded following the Yōngzhèng emperor's edict of 1728 appear to have closed by the mid-nineteenth century, or been remade to serve other purposes. The fact that books were still written and published in order to allow members of the southern elite to learn the koinē indicates that there was an interest to learn Mandarin Chinese despite the weak official backing. If anything, the link between the koinē and bannermen appeared even stronger in this period: unlike in the eighteenth century, some southerners now studied the koinē not just with the help of bannermen, but directly with the help of the Manchu script.

An Early Textbook in the South: *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* (*1810, 1867)

An early book intended to promulgate the Chinese koinē in the south is *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* 正音撮要 (Collected essentials of correct pronunciation). The first edition is supposed to have appeared in 1810, but it has been lost.[79] Both the transmission history of extant editions and the author's identity are controversial. The book is a collection of material of different kinds, including very colloquial anecdotes and dialogues and relatively crude expositions of phonology. Extant editions of the book contain no Manchu transcriptions, but as we will see, there are signs that those might once have existed.

The book's author wrote his name as "Jìngtíng of the Gāo family" 靜亭高氏.[80] It appears that Jìngtíng was a style name, but we cannot be sure. The most convincing account of his origins presents him as a native of what is now Xīqiáo township 西樵鎮 in the southwestern suburbs of Guǎngzhōu,[81] the capital of Guǎngdōng province and a city with a garrison of Manchu and Hànjūn bannermen.[82]

[77] Yú Zhèngxiè (1833) 2003, 269.

[78] Shī Hóngbǎo (1845–1856) 1985, 41–42 (ch. 3).

[79] Cf. Ōta Tatsuo 1951, 26, where no mention is made of an 1810 edition.

[80] Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, vol. 2, title page.

[81] Wáng Wèimín 2006.

[82] Between 1755 and '66, 1,500 of the originally 3,000 Chinese bannermen were replaced by Manchu soldiers from Běijīng by an emperor distrustful of the loyalty of the Hànjūn: Im 1981, 19. Dependents of the soldiers are not included in these numbers.

Gāo's book, a koinē manual for southerners, seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity: it is extant in eight editions, none of which represents the original from 1810. The earliest dates from 1837 and the last from 1907.[83] Among the extant editions is a partial English translation of Gāo's dialogues, published in Níngbō on the southeastern coast in 1846 by the Presbytarian mission. The book advertised itself as *The Chinese Speaker, Or Extracts From Works Written in the Mandarin Language, as Spoken at Peking.*[84] Its compiler was Robert Thom (1807–1846), then serving as British consul in the city, who penned the preface while weakened by an illness that soon thereafter took his life. The publication is interesting for representing an early instance in which a textbook of the Chinese koinē aimed at southerners was translated and adapted for teaching foreigners.

Yet for our purposes, it is most remarkable for its second title page. On the front page, the title was given in English as quoted above. The second page had the layout of a Chinese blockprint and carried the title not only in Chinese, as *Zhèngyīn cuōyào*, but also in Manchu as *Jeng yen tso yao bithe*. The page is seen in figure 8.1.

Why did Thom's English translation carry the original title in Manchu? His preface made no mention of Manchu or of the appearance of the original publication. One possibility is that he or the press added the Manchu title. However, Thom had a few years earlier made statements that suggest the awareness that the social standing of Běijīng Mandarin was linked to its association with bannermen, whose language was reportedly described in *Zhèngyīn cuōyào*. If Thom knew that there was a Manchu connection to the koinē, it is not inconceivable that he had also seen a Mandarin textbook that included Manchu-script glosses.

In 1840 Thom had published, in Guǎngzhōu and under pseudonym, a English-Chinese collection of Esop's fables purportedly translated by an associate introduced as Mun Mooy Sheen-Shang. In the introduction to the collection, Thom remarked on the gradations of the koinē in his time, writing that it included

> the 北官話 *pïh Kwan-hwa* [i.e. *běi guānhuà*, 'northern koinē'], otherwise called the 京話 *King-hwa* [*jīnghuà*], or the 京腔 *King-keang* [*jīngqiāng*], being in short the language of Peking City. This idiom abounds with low slang,—and when the court was formerly held at Nanking [in the early Míng period]—was considered as much a vulgar *patois*, as the Language of Canton City [i.e. Guǎngzhōu] is at this present day. But the Emperors of the present Dynasty having always resided at Peking, and they all speaking with the northern accent—the young men who wish to get themselves forward—now-a-days endeavour to speak as much à la Peking as possible;—for say they—"it is thus that the Imperial mouth itself speaks; and is it possible that the Holy Emperor can be wrong?" (this is an argument that no Chinese will be found hardy enough to controvert). Moreover, as the Peking people seldom engage in Trade—but chiefly follow the Mandarins over the whole Empire, they are to be found every-where;—so also in all the Public Offices nothing but their language is spoken,—and when the common people hear the sound of it—they immediately make way,—judging

[83] Huáng Wēi 2013.
[84] Thom (1810) 1846.

Reproduced from Thom (1810) 1846 (not to scale).

Figure 8.1 – Second Title Page of Robert Thom's Edition of *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* (1846)

> that the speaker must be some government employé or other,—persons of whom they stand in great awe.[85]

We can of course doubt how much Thom at this time actually knew about the social and linguistic situation of China outside Guǎngzhōu (he had been in the city five years), especially the background of ranking and non-ranking Qīng administrative personnel and the career paths favored by Běijīng natives, but it does appear that the 'Peking people' he is talking about here are in fact bannermen, of which there in Guǎngzhōu might have been a total population of about 30,000 by the mid-nineteenth century.[86] Thom's statement contains several clues that such is the case: 'Peking City,' if referring to Běijīng within the city walls, was in principle inhabited only by bannermen; bannermen certainly displayed a preference for government service, the only career path legally open to them; they spoke like the emperor, who was a Manchu; and not the least, their presence was reason for caution among civilians, as they were not under the jurisdiction of the local civil authorities. Important for our discussion, immediately following this quote Thom identified the language of these Peking men as that described in *Zhèngyīn cuōyào*, the manual he later translated. We remember that the author of that book was a native of Guǎngdōng; the original edition of his book might very well still have circulated in the area in the 1830s.

Thom's association of *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* with Běijīng Mandarin, and quite possibly with bannerman Mandarin, suggests that the edition of that book that he had at hand, possibly the now-lost 1810 edition, might have made that connection explicit as well. Perhaps the Manchu title, that we saw figuring on cover of the translation that he published four years later, also figured on the copy that was its basis. At the very least, the presence of the bilingual Manchu-Chinese title indicates that some individual, be it Gāo Jìngtíng, his publisher, or someone working at the Presbytarian Press in Níngbō, thought that a primer of the Chinese koinē ought to advertise its title also in Manchu. Indeed, Pär Cassel has demonstrated that Thomas Wade (1818–1895) relied on his knowledge of the Manchu script when devising his romanization of northern Chinese, so the connection was clearly not far-fetched to Westerners at the time.[87]

The preceding digression on Thom's translation of Gāo's manual has been intended to show the potential link that the book had to Manchu language studies. I turn now to the book itself for the purpose of understanding how the koinē was perceived in early-nineteenth century Guǎngzhōu and why Gāo thought it ought to be studied.

In the preface to collection, Gāo explained that he had not learned the koinē as a child, but had the opportunity to study in Běijīng as a teenager:

> I … did not learn the correct pronunciation when I was a child. In my thirteenth year, I followed my father as he went to serve in the Northern Capital District [of Běijīng]. I studied with Master Zhū Shíyún of Dàxīng [a county that was part of the Běijīng metropolitan area and a common geographical identifier for civilians from that city]. For many years he explained the classics and [four]

[85] [Thom] 1840, vii.
[86] Elliott 2001a, 121 (Table 2.3).
[87] Cassel 2014.

> books and instructed me on phonology. Thus I also learned the rudiments of the northern language.[88]

To understand what this 'northern language' was, it is important to note how Gāo learned it. By his own account, he did not learn it running around the dusty streets of Běijīng. On the contrary, he learned it from a tutor in a classroom setting in which the language used was probably both formal and bookish, if not outright literary in the sense of consisting of recitations of the Classics. The instructions in phonology that Gāo received probably also involved guiding him through rhyme books and charts. It would make perfect sense, then, that what he learned was the koinē, not the local vernacular. Gāo probably also learned some of the colloquial language too, while out and about in the city. Yet that is not what he wants to convey in his preface, nor is it the pronunciation of the street that he proposes to introduce in his book. *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* contained anecdotes and dialogues that were very vernacular both in their language and their setting (several taking place in the tea house). Gāo can hardly have received these texts from his tutor. The tutor's influence should be sought in the exposition of koinē phonology, which is the part scholars have studied for clues regarding the pronunciation current in the early nineteenth century.

The point that Gāo learned his northern pronunciation in a classroom setting is important to keep in mind, since much of the discussion of the sound system represented in Gāo's book has been guided by the assumption that he was trying to represent the dialect of Běijīng. Yet Gāo was interested in the 'correct pronunciation' (*zhèngyīn*) and 'official-speech' (*guānhuà*), one of the terms used to refer to the Chinese koinē. The 'correct sounds,' we might infer, here meant the pronunciation of that language, but it is not certain that the two terms were entirely symmetrical. Presumably several registers of pronunciation could pass as Mandarin, but only the learned and refined pronunciation would pass as 'correct pronunciation.'

Gāo did not always identify the 'correct pronunciation' with the pronunciation of a definite place. For example, he wrote that:

> When you begin to study Mandarin, you should first correct your pronunciation (*zhèng kǒuyīn*), then list the sounds and rhymes. If one is studying southern speech, then [one's speech] has to conform to the southern accent (*nánqiāng*). If one is studying northern speech, then [one's speech] has to conform to the northern accent. The same spoken statement cannot contain one sentence in the southern manner and one in the northern. It is even more unacceptable if one sentence includes both southern and northern characters (*zì*) [or words], which instantly makes it sound forced and unpleasant to the ear. The sounds and rhymes must harmonize with each other.[89]

In this description, 'northern' and 'southern' varieties of Chinese are opposed to each other, but not to Mandarin. The koinē appears to exist on a level separate from both. The method

[88]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, vol. 1, *xù*:3b: 僕 … 少不習正音。年十三隨家君赴任北直，因在都中受業於大興石雲朱夫子，數年講解經書，指示音韻，故得略通北語.

[89]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, 1:19a: 初學官話，先要正口音，後譜聲韻。學南話，則歸南腔；學北話，則歸北腔。不可一段話之中一句南一句北。更不可一句話之中有南字，又有北字，便覺生硬難聽。必要聲韻相叶.

Gāo proposes for learning koinē pronunciation seems to imply that it was closely tied to the written word.

In Gāo's presentation, correcting one's pronunciation appears different from learning the Mandarin readings of individual characters. Presumably he meant that one should first learn to articulate the sounds that figure in the koinē, then use them appropriately in the reading of individual characters. It is noteworthy that Gāo assumed that the reader will learn from a book, reinterpreting characters he already knew using a new pronunciation. That method would certainly have made it easier to learn a literary pronunciation which maintained distinctions not made in any colloquial register.

It seems that 'correct pronunciation' in Gāo's opinion should be drawn primarily from books. 'Official-speech,' on the other hand, was a spoken language. At one point, Gāo categorically wrote that "correct pronunciation is what is customarily called official-speech," or Mandarin.[90] Yet the word 'official-speech' seems to have referred to more than just an accent. Tellingly, Gāo wrote that "the student of correct pronunciation" (*xué zhèngyīn zhě* 學正音者) should begin by learning the basic distinctions recognized in the discipline of phonology and then apply them "character by character" (*zìzì* 字字).[91] At a later stage,

> when you can produce the sounds of the language (*yǔyīn*), you must also familiarize yourself with how to call all the various things when speaking it … If you do not get rid of vulgar [words], then you will ultimately be unable to express yourself properly even though you have a fine pronunciation of the characters.[92]

Clearly, pronunciation and language were to some extent separate things for Gāo. The key to learning both was lay in the Běijīng vernacular: "The speech of the capital," he wrote, "is where you will come to understand Mandarin."[93] As a language, 'official-speech' was mutually intelligible with the Běijīng colloquial dialect in Gāo's mind. In a passage composed in Written Early Modern Chinese and presumably intended to be vocalized using the 'correct pronunciation' presented in his book, Gāo described the use of 'official-speech' or Mandarin:

> Every prefecture, every commandery in the empire has its village speech and local language. The people of one prefecture and county don't know what the people from the other prefecture and county are saying. I have traveled through Jiāngnán, through Zhèjiāng, Hénán, and both Húběi and Húnán; in every place I went the topolects and local languages were different. Even the people of neighboring prefectures and counties didn't understand each other. The people who could speak Mandarin were only the journeying households and the merchants, who had traveled by water and land and passed through the great ports. However, as soon as one of them turned and spoke to someone on the streets and squares of his hometown, we again understood nothing of what they said.

[90]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, *xù*:1a: 正音者，俗所謂官話也.

[91]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, *xù*:2a.

[92]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, *xù*:2b: 語音既成，又要於立言上講究各處物件稱謂 … 若不撇俗，則字音雖佳，立言終不合式.

[93]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, *xù*:3a: 京話爲官話之到岸.

> Things became even stranger when I later went to live in the capital. There were just so many people in the street! Walking in groups, they all went chattering away in the speech of their village. I couldn't understand what they were saying. Then I saw them enter the shops to buy stuff, and once again their mouths were all Mandarin! Some of them spoke northern dialects, some spoke southern. When I asked them about it, they told me that people in the villages and commanderies of the provinces who want to go out into the world in search for fame or fortune will all study Mandarin without exception.[94]

Gāo described individuals of different linguistic backgrounds learning Mandarin or 'official-speech' and using it to communicate with travelers passing through their localities, or with the shop owners in the capital when they were themselves traveling there on business. What language the shop owners in Běijīng were speaking is not the focus of the narrative. Either they spoke Běijīng vernacular, which the customers could understand, or they also adapted their speech to communicate with their patrons.

Scholars have occasionally been bewildered by the fact that Gāo's book seems to represent phonological distinctions, including between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds, that linguists assume did not exist in the colloquial speech early nineteenth-century Běijīng. Yet as Gāo's statements show, he was describing the koinē, 'official-speech,' not the Běijīng vernacular per se.[95] There is thus nothing surprising in the fact that the distinctions made in *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* included the separation of 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds.

As mentioned, we do not know whether the lost early version of *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* included Manchu script transcriptions. As we now find it, the text includes only Chinese characters. For that reason, perhaps, scholars have so far failed to agree on what sound system is represented in the book. It is clear that it separates 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds at least in some syllable types.[96]

Gāo used the term 'sharp sounds' (*jiānyīn*), but not exactly in the sense of Cúnzhī Táng and Wén-tōng. Among a series of lists of similarly pronounced characters intended to help the learner "adjust [his] pronunciation" (*tiáo kǒuyīn* 調口音), Gāo included "sharp sounds" (*jiānyīn*), but no list of 'rounded' ones. Instead, he listed "rough sounds" (*juèyīn* 倔音). Characters belonging to the sibilant and velar-laryngeal series of initials were included in the respective categories, but so were characters with initials not commonly classified as either 'sharp' or 'rounded.'[97] The fact that Gāo's teacher was a Běijīng civilian might be relevant in

[94]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, 1:2a–3b: 天下州郡各有鄉談、土語。這府縣的人就不曉得那府縣的人說話。… 余嘗經過江南、浙江、河南、兩湖地方；一處處方言、土語不同。就是他們鄰府鄰縣的人也不通曉。惟有經過水陸大馬頭那些行戶、買賣人，都會說官話。但他望他的街坊的人說上話，我們又一句都董不得了。後來進京住着更奇怪了。街上逛的人多着呢！三五成羣啷啷呱呱打鄉談，不知他說什麼。及至看他到店裡買東西，他又滿嘴官話！北話也有，南話也有。問起他們來，據說各省鄉郡的人，要想出門求名求利，沒有一个不學官話的.

[95]The best scholarship in the field pointed that out some time ago: Iwata Noriyuki 1994, 406.

[96]Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 391; Mài Yún 2000.

[97]Gāo Jìngtíng (1810) 1867, 1:7a–b.

this regard; it cannot be excluded that the distinction of 'sharp' and 'rounded' in this period differed between the civilians of the outer city and the bannermen of the inner city.[98]

It appears that Gāo Jìngtíng, a Chinese southerner, was not well-acquainted with Manchu language studies, and did not offer a phonological description of the koinē as clear as what we see in that tradition. Yet we see in his book a conceptualization of the 'correct pronunciation' as associated both with the Běijīng vernacular and with a certain phonological literature. It is also possible that an early edition of his book made the connection between the koinē and Manchu explicit by including Manchu script at least on its cover, but I cannot prove it. Regardless, his book reveals the interest in learning the Běijīng-based koinē that existed in southern China in the early nineteenth century.

Maintaining Proper Pronunciation in Běijīng

We saw that eighteenth-century books on Chinese phonology and Manchu-Chinese transcription defined proper Chinese pronunciation as featuring a distinction between sibilant ('sharp') and velar-laryngeal ('rounded') initials. Wén-tōng, whom we encountered above preparing *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* for publication in 1830, associated the maintenance of this distinction with the demands of Manchu-Chinese transcription as regulated by the Qiánlóng emperor and his successors. Soon after the publication of *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo*, another book appeared that presented the distinction as part of the proper pronunciation of Běijīng Chinese. With this new work, which I will discuss presently, we see Manchu-script notation used to clarify 'proper pronunciation' distinguishing 'sharp' and 'rounded' to a Běijīng audience, probably consisting largely of bannermen, while maintaining that the pronuncation clarified is precisely that of Běijīng.

In the late nineteenth century the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' initials became understood as a southern feature not found in Běijīng speech. As mentioned previously, there is good evidence to suggest that in the colloquial register of the Běijīng vernacular at least, the distinction had begun to disappear already by the early eighteenth century. How can we explain that Běijīng bannermen, proud of the pronunciation of their city, considered the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' to be part of the koinē while still maintaining that koinē pronunciation equaled Běijīng pronunciation, which we have inferred lacked that distinction in its colloquial register?

I will briefly explore this problematic before entering into a description of the relevant sources. The discussion of the sociolinguistic situation of late imperial China in chapter 2 concluded that the hierarchy of standard languages and dialects familiar from twentieth-century and contemporary societies, including the People's Republic of China today, did not exist in the Míng and Qīng periods. In a situation where reading pronunciation as a rule diverged from everyday speech, as was the case in late imperial China, the use under certain circumstances of a phonetically more conservative pronunciation by educated residents of the capital might have equaled neither a non-acceptance of Běijīng dialect in polite company, nor a low opinion by educated Běijīng residents of their own dialect. Rather, code switching between slightly different pronunciations might have been considered normal in any topolect, and might not

[98]Cf. Iwata Noriyuki 1994, 394, where it is suggested that the inconsistent treatment of sibilant initials in Gāo's book was due to its author's Cantonese linguistic background.

necessarily have been understood either by speaker or listener as a rejection of the capital variety in favor of southern accents. What we today tend to understand as a competition between two regional accents (one that distinguishes 'sharp' and 'rounded' and one that does not) for prestige could in the Qīng period have been perceived as going back and forth between different registers of the same capital language as the social situation demanded.

Congruently with this view, W. South Coblin has speculated that speakers of Northern Vernacular Chinese with traits of Běijīng dialect adopted a different pronunciation when reading out loud.[99] Furthermore, Christoph Harbsmeier and Furuya Akihiro have shown separately that Chinese intellectuals of the past millennium often spoke in an idiom that was full of bookish expressions and only partially vernacular, as mentioned in chapter 2.[100] Some pronunciations that today are considered southern might simply have been associated with the written word in the Qīng, regardless of place, forming an integral part also of the speech habits of literate Běijīng natives. Indeed, as late as 1920 the Republican Ministry of Education noted that "there are also a certain number of localisms in Běijīng pronunciation, which are not only in disaccord with the common pronunciation (*pǔtōng yīn*), but also with the correct pronunciation adopted by Běijīng people when reading aloud from books."[101]

Early modern French, a contemporaneous language spoken in a society in some ways similar to late imperial China, appears to have developed in a similar way: some French pronunciations changed first in casual speech, and entered polite or formal conversation only much later. For example, the classical scholar and lexicographer Henri Estienne (1531–1598) reportedly could not stomach the pronunciation of *françois*, 'French' as *français*, as the word had begun to sound in his day and is both pronounced and written today. The demotic pronunciation appears to have been kept out of formal speech for some time. When Christina (1626–1689), queen regnant of Sweden, visited Paris and the Académie Française in the early seventeenth century, the much honored French scholars made sure to pronounce the name of their institution as the Académie Franç*oise*: the new pronunciation was fine "in casual conversation and in the alleys" (*en discours familier et dans les ruelles*), one of them asserted, but not "when speaking in public" (*en parlant en public*).[102] I conjecture that a similar gradation of standard pronunciation existed in Qīng China, and that it was associated not with geographic origin but with social standing and occasion.

What in the late nineteenth century came to be construed as an increasingly prestigious Běijīng pronunciation competing with certain southern vernaculars for status as koinē might thus be alternatively construed as a situation in which the literary pronunciation of the imperial capital had been prestigious for some time, and continued to be so even as the gap between elevated (distinguishing 'sharp' and 'rounded') and vernacular (merging 'sharp' and 'rounded') pronunciations in the Běijīng topolect had begun to converge in the direction of the vernacular.[103] At least, that might have been how the situation was perceived by Běijīng natives at the

[99]Coblin 2003a, 204–205.

[100]Page 51.

[101]*Jìndài Zhōngguó jiàoyù shǐliào* 1928, 52: 惟北京亦有若干土音，不特與普通音不合，且與北京人讀書之正音不合.

[102]Brunot and Bruneau 1933, 97. I was led to this passage by Demiéville 1950, 49.

[103]This model of koinē development is somewhat similar to what Coblin 2000b, 332 proposed for the development of Nánjīng-based Mandarin in the Míng period. Coblin suggested that the Míng koinē

time. This explanation can account for the retention of certain conservative pronunciations in phonological treatises of the mid to late Qīng, which were written by people who nevertheless strongly identified with the capital and its culture and did not take a disparaging view of its language.

Yīnyùn féngyuán (1840)

Yù-ēn's 裕恩 (d. 1846) book *Yīnyùn féngyuán* 音韻逢源 (Reaching the source of phonology), published in 1840, was a book intended for a Běijīng bannerman audience that maintained the distinction of the 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds in the koinē. Yù-ēn was a member of the imperial clan and held military appointments.[104] A preface to the book was written by the author's older brother, Xǐ-ēn 禧恩 (d. 1852), who had a military and civilian career of some note and served as Principal Examiner for the local Manchu-Chinese translation examination in 1820.[105]

Xǐ-ēn described the book as a study of general phonology, in which "the primordial sounds of the world are complete."[106] As often, however, the analytical framework dressed to describe phonology in general corresponded to the phonology of Chinese. When Xǐ-ēn asked his younger brother why he in a work of such ambitions did not include the Middle Chinese Entering tone as a phonological category, Yù-ēn responded that although the sounds of the five directions are all different, "we must consider [the pronunciation of] the capital as correct."[107] The dialect of the capital, Běijīng, did not have an Entering tone, so there was in Yù-ēn's opinion no reason to include one in a book like *Yīnyùn féngyuán*.

The main body of *Yīnyùn féngyuán* consisted of tables, in which the onset, nucleus, and coda of the syllables were defined on the horizontal axis using Manchu-script transcription. The vertical axis defined phonological properties not easily expressed using the Manchu script. The preface did not mention it specifically, but one of the distinctions made in the Manchu-script transcriptions was between the 'sharp' and 'rounded' initials. Here was a work finished in 1840 claiming to take the pronunciation of Běijīng as the standard, while maintaining a distinction between the sibilant and velar-laryngeal initials. Iwata Noriyuki, upon close examination of the book's sound system, concluded that what it described was not the colloquial pronunciation of the capital, but indeed the koinē spoken there.[108]

The book made no claim that its main purpose would have been to facilitate translation between Manchu and Chinese;[109] rather, it aspired to present an outline of general phonology in which variations in pronunciation were related to the koinē. As of 1840, that koinē included

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over time adopted more features of the local Nánjīng dialect, reflecting the central position of the city in Míng cultural life. However, if I am reading him correctly, Coblin holds that the Nánjīng variety remained dominant for longer than what I have assumed in this study.

[104] QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 3236–3238.

[105] QSLZ (1644–1911) 1987, 3227–3236.

[106] Yù-ēn (1840) 1995, *xù*:3a: 天地之元聲於是乎備矣.

[107] Yù-ēn (1840) 1995, *xù*:3b: 然問之，則曰：「五方之音，清濁高下各有不同，當以京師為正」.

[108] Iwata Noriyuki 1989, 117–118. This article is part of a series with a uniform title. See the bibliography for the other parts.

[109] Cf. Yáng Yìmíng and Wáng Wèimín 2004, where it is argued that the book was written to facilitate translation.

a distinction of 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds. The Manchu script aided the reader in grasping that distinction.

Teaching the Koinē in the Manchu Script: *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng* (1860)

In 1860, a work was published that relied on Manchu-influenced phonology to promote the Běijīng-based koinē in the south. Titled *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng* 正音切韻指掌 (Correct pronunciation and spelled rhymes made easy) and written by Idzun of the Sogi clan (Chinese name Suō Yízūn 莎彝尊, style names Chéntán Xuān 塵談軒 and Jǔxiāng 矩薌 [or -香]; fl. 1837–1881),[110] a Manchu, the book was published in Guǎngzhōu.

Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng represented a step in Idzun's larger project of producing koinē textbooks. He had earlier published *Zhèngyīn jǔhuá* 正音咀華 (Tasting splendor in correct pronunciation), another book on the koinē, which did not include any text written in Manchu script. Idzun might have published a first version under a different title in 1837, but it does not seem to be extant.[111] In any case, it was also printed in 1853,[112] and again in 1858 and 1910,[113] when its author can be assumed to have already passed away. Most of the scholarship I have consulted refers to the 1853 edition,[114] but I have so far only seen copies from the two later printings.[115] From descriptions of the book, it appears that it was printed by Idzun himself, as Chéntán Xuān.[116] The 1858 edition also carried this name beneath every page's number, but also specified on the outside cover that it was "sold by Five-clouds Pavilion" (*Wǔyún Lóu fāduì* 五雲樓發兌), which was probably a commercial bookseller.

In what amounted to an advertisement for the book, Idzun explained:

> This book has been made for practicing correct pronunciation (*zhèngyīn*), which I have been teaching my peers for more than twenty years. Whenever I had a moment free from discussion, I gathered and verified the variations in the readings of individual characters and the names of things, as well as the ways to greet and interact with people using language. I wrote this book to give students something with which to study those matters. Seeing the great effort my peers spent on copying my book, I made up my mind to hand it over for carving [onto

[110]The first style name figures on the cover of Idzun 1860a. The reprint (Idzun [1860b] 1995), which is of the same edition, does not include the outside cover. The second style name figures on the inside cover of Idzun (1853a) 1858, vol. 1. The third figures in Idzun (1860b) 1995, *yóuxù*:1a. The Manchu name follows Pang 1998, 77 (item 136) with *z* emended to *dz*. I have chosen the reading *suō* rather than *shā* for 莎, as it appears to be an abbreviation of the Chinese name for the Sogi clan.

[111]Takata Tokio 1997, 779 (including in the notes); cf. Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 392.

[112]Hóu Jīngyī 1962, 22; Ishizaki Hiroshi 1998, 58.

[113]Viz. Idzun (1853b) 1910.

[114]In addition to the articles cited elsewhere in this section, that also includes Yáng Hǎiqīng, Chǔ Pèiyú, and Lán Xiùyīng 2002, 341.

[115]Yè Bǎokuí 2001, 230 cites the 1860 reprint.

[116]E.g. Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 392.

> the woodblocks for printing]. Perhaps [you] future students might purchase it and gain something.[117]

The bulk of the book contained dialogues in Written Early Modern Chinese and a thematically arranged vocabulary, which listed Northern Vernacular words and either glossed their meaning using Literary Chinese or indicated their pronunciation using *fǎnqiè*.

Idzun also included some explanations regarding the language his book was intended to teach. In a list of "Ten questions" (*shí wèn* 十問), Idzun wrote that "correct pronunciation" refers to the character readings given in the imperial Chinese dictionaries from the early eighteenth century, including *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* (studied in chapter 7).[118] Correct pronunciation, we see, was to be gained primarily from normative books. It seems that Idzun did not consider it identical to the language of any one place. He wrote that "northern pronunciation" (*běiyīn* 北音) was "the speech of the inner city of Běijīng, since in our day the capital is located there at [the site of] the northern [ancient state of] Yān."[119] Idzun further distinguished this 'northern pronunciation' from the correct one by including a list of "Differences between correct and northern pronunciation" (*Zhèng-, běiyīn yì* 正、北音異).

With two printings within one decade, at least one of which was sold commercially, *Zhèngyīn jǔhuá* seems to have been a successful publication. When Idzun published its successor *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng* in 1860, he appears to have handled the entire business in-house, if I am right to assume that the new bookseller he mentioned was his own enterprise. A note on the outside cover of the book read:

> This book costs 10 silver taels and 3.6 strings of copper cash per set. The original blocks are kept at Mr. Suō's family school at Watermelon Garden (Xīguā Yuán), inside Guīdé Gate. It is sold by Correct Pronunciation Book Bureau (Zhèngyīn shūjú). The neighborhood harbors people who, looking for some quick profit, are willing to carelessly print pirated copies of the book and deceive readers. Honorable potential customers, please transport your precious selves behind the small window to purchase [the real edition]. You are unlikely to miss it.[120]

Again, Idzun declared that his work, which as mentioned included Manchu-script transcriptions, "respectfully follow[ed]" (*qīn zūn* 欽遵) the imperial models from the early eighteenth century.[121] It carried several prefaces by prominent individuals. One of them noted that the "achievement of this book" was to enable the reader to "instantly clarify the reading of difficult characters encountered in the classics and commentaries, as soon as he opens the book."[122] Rather than being a textbook like its predecessor, Idzun's new book was a refer-

[117]Idzun (1853a) 1858, vol. 1, inner cover: 是書爲習正音者設也。予自友教以來廿餘年矣。口談之暇，搜訂各字音韻與及事物稱謂之殊，言語應酬之法，撰爲此書，使學者由是而習焉。因覩各友鈔謄之苦心得已而付諸剞劂。庶幾後之學者可購而得云爾.

[118]Idzun (1853a) 1858, vol. 1, 1:*shíwèn*:1a.

[119]Idzun (1853a) 1858, vol. 1, 1:*shíwèn*:1a: 今在北燕建都，即以北京城話爲北音.

[120]Idzun 1860a, outside cover: 此書每套實銀叁錢六分。原板在歸德門內西瓜園莎氏家塾。正音書局發兌。近有漁利之徒，欲糊亂翻刻誤人者；諸君光顧，請移玉至小軒內買。庶不有悞.

[121]Idzun (1860b) 1995, title page (649).

[122]Idzun (1860b) 1995, *yóuxù*:3a–b: 庶經傳中所有疑難字音，一開卷而觸目了然，則是書之成.

ence work. "Written specifically for those who want to practice the correct pronunciation,"[123] it sought to distinguish the suggested, literary pronunciation from "the pronunciation of the vernacular language that has formed in Běi[jīng]," which the book also recorded.[124]

The book itself consisted of rhyme charts in which each homophonous group of Chinese characters was provided with a transcription in the Manchu script and a *fǎnqiè* spelling pair. The sound system represented in *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng* unsurprisingly included the distinction between the 'sharp' and the 'rounded' series of initials.[125]

Idzun does not appear to have published any books featuring Manchu script after *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng*. In 1867 he published *Zhèngyìn zàihuá bàngzhù* 正音再華傍註 (More splendor in correct pronunciation, with accompanying annotations), beautifully printed in red and black ink. In red, Idzun provided the "correct pronunciation" (*zhèng yīn*) using two kinds of glosses. In the cases where a single syllable gloss was enough, that character represented a syllable in "Cantonese" (*Yuè yīn* 粵音). In the cases where a *fǎnqiè* was needed, however, the spellers were to be read in "Mandarin pronunciation" (*guānhuà yīn* 官話音) to achieve the correct sound. Such an arrangement, relying in part on Mandarin glosses, would imply that the reader was familiar with the koinē sound system.[126]

The dialogues included in the book contained a scene of a local magistrate holding court. In a very fascinating illustration of how the koinē would have been used in Qīng society, the magistrate (*guān* 官) interviews a villager who has come to report the theft of some fish from his pond. A clerk (*lì* 吏) is transmitting the villager's words to the magistrate. Presumably the villager cannot speak the koinē, and the magistrate cannot speak the topolect; the clerk, conversant in both languages, bridges the linguistic divide.[127] The scene reads almost as an enactment of the undesired situation hypothesized by the Yōngzhèng emperor in his 1728 edict. Perhaps the readers of Idzun's books were preparing for a career in local administration in a different province, and did not want to go against the imperial will by relying on the clerks to communicate with the people.

In 1868, finally, Idzun published *"Hónglóu mèng" zhāi huá* 紅樓夢摘華 (Excerpted splendors from the *Dream of the red chamber*), containing selections from the famous masterpiece of literature in Written Early Modern Chinese. The book was reprinted in 1881, still with the blocks kept at Idzun's studio.[128] We might infer he was still alive at that time.

Beside Idzun's publications, other books appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century that sought to teach the koinē to southerners without making use of the Manchu script. Absence of Manchu script did not necessarily mean that a book had no connection to the banner establishment. Pān Féngxǐ's 潘逢禧 (n.d.) *Zhèngyīn tōngsú biǎo* 正音通俗表 (Chart of vernacular and correct pronunciation) from 1870 was intended to teach the koinē to people from Fújiàn. Pān was himself a southerner, and he distinguished northern pronunciation from that of the koinē.[129] We might infer that this distinction reflected the view of the koinē as an

[123]Idzun (1860b) 1995, *fánlì*:1a: 是書特爲習正音者作也.
[124]Idzun (1860b) 1995, *fánlì*:1a: 北燕相沿成俗之語音.
[125]Féng Zhēng (1990) 1997; Ishizaki Hiroshi 1998, 62.
[126]Idzun 1867, *xìngshì*:1a.
[127]Idzun 1867, *shěnpàn*:2b.
[128]Idzun (1868) 1881.
[129]Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 394–395. I have not yet seen it.

elevated register of the Běijīng vernacular, which we previously saw represented in Manchu-inspired books. Equally congruent with the koinē as described in the Manchu phonological tradition, the sound system represented in Pān's book retained the separation of 'sharp' and 'rounded' initials. Interestingly, although Pān himself was a civilian from Fújiàn and did not use the Manchu script in his book, it appears that bannermen helped him compile it: Takata Tokio noted that three of the individuals whom Pān listed as having contributed to the production of the book had the ancestral affiliation *sān Hán*, 'the Three Hán,' suggesting that they were bannermen probably of the Hànjūn. Takata conjectured that the three bannermen were Pān's "informants" (*infōmanto*) with regards to 'correct pronunciation.'[130]

By 1884, Japanese students sent to Běijīng by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan used fiction written in an idiom close to the Chinese vernacular spoken by the capital's Manchus as textbooks for learning the language, which was of increasing importance for foreign diplomats.[131] A copy of a Mandarin textbook from 1909, that had come into the possession of Kosaka Junichi 香坂順一 (1915–2003), had an ink note on its first page saying that its erstwhile (Japanese?) owner "studied this [book] beginning on the 1st day of the 5th month of the *xīnhài* year [May 28, 1911, the year the empire fell] with the bannerman Fǔ-lì-shān in Yānjīng [i.e. Běijīng]."[132] Furthermore, Kaske has shown how Western students of Chinese, long wedded to southern varieties of the Northern Vernacular, came to embrace Běijīng Mandarin in the late nineteenth century.[133]

Duìyīn jízì (1890)

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the brand of Chinese phonology in the tradition of *Qīngyīn biān*, *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo*, *Yīnyùn fēngyuán*, and *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng* seem to have ceased to be a productive tradition of scholarship. To be sure, Manchu language studies continued to develop, and even seem to have flourished in the century's last decades as many works appeared for the first time or as reprints. However, those works seemed geared specifically toward Manchu-Chinese translation and transcription, not the study or promulgation of the Chinese koinē itself.

Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān's *Duìyīn jízì* 對音輯字 (Collection of characters for transcription; 1890) was a case in point (on the authors, see chapter 4). The book was written and published in the Jīngzhōu Garrison in the middle-Yángzǐ region, where the local language differed substantially from the Běijīng dialect, albeit not as radically as did the language in Guǎngzhōu. *Duìyīn jízì* consisted of a list of Manchu syllables followed by Chinese transcriptions. The authors declared to have assembled characters from the imperial thesauri and *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì*, to which it can be considered a sequel. Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān, like their predecessors, distinguished 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds, explicitly following *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* in this regard. They specified that "in rendering the [Manchu] sounds [into Chinese char-

[130]Takata Tokio 1997, 780–781.

[131]Osaki Minoru 1965, 1.

[132]Kosaka Junichi 1964, 6: 自辛亥五月初一日起，就旗人輔立山而念之於燕京.

[133]Kaske 2008, 66–74. I am indebted to Kaske's work also for pointing me to some of the Japanese scholarship cited in these pages.

acters], the rhymes of the capital should be taken as the standard,"[134] but the focus of their book was not to produce correct Chinese. Nevertheless, Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān seem to have anticipated that the book's readers would be susceptible to enter non-standard pronunciations of Chinese characters when transcribing them into Manchu, consequently explaining with emphasis the need to transcribe correctly. Having taught in the garrison school for more than a decade,[135] Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān would have had a good understanding of local Manchu students facility with the Chinese koinē. By stressing the need to adhere to a fixed standard of Chinese-character readings when transcribing between the empire's languages, their book incidentally served also to specify for the Jīngzhōu Manchus what proper Běijīng pronunciation was like.

8.5 Manchu Studies and the Mass Literacy Movement

When Manchu language studies again appeared as an influence on the promulgation of the Chinese koinē in the last two decades of Qīng rule, it was largely independently of the tradition that we in preceding sections saw develop in manuscript from the mid-eighteenth century, and in print from the first decades of the nineteenth. The leadings scholars who at the turn of the twentieth century came up with new transcription systems to advance popular education and literacy were not bannermen. They might not have been very familiar with the Manchu script, let alone Manchu-inspired phonological studies, until they had already embarked on their linguistic projects, if ever. The initial impetus seems to have come from observations of the use of the Roman alphabet in Western education and of the Japanese syllabaries. Yet some reformers realized that the Manchu script was also a subsyllabic, phonographic notation. Their exposure to Manchu language learning was mediated by the early eighteenth-century work of Manchu-inspired Chinese phonology, the rhyme book *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* (discussed in chapter 7). In addition to its phonographic qualities, the Manchu script also had the advantage for the reformers of being politically expedient; as the 'dynastic script' (*guóshū*), it by definition enjoyed the endorsement of the court.

One development conditioned by greater knowledge of Japan and the West in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the movements toward political and institutional reform in China in view of the new ideal of mass literacy. Some intellectuals saw China's education system and linguistic order as an obstacle for progressive change in this regard. Looking to Japan and the West, they thus proposed to complement if not replace the use of Literary Chinese with Written Early Modern Chinese, as I discussed briefly in chapter 1. In some cases, the intellectuals also wanted to extend the knowledge of the spoken koinē. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the largely Japanese-inspired educational reform eventually led to the gradual replacement of Literary Chinese with a new written language.[136]

Before influencing the development of new systems of phonetic transcription, the influx of information on Japan and the West influenced Chinese phonology in ways familiar from what we saw in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in chapter 7. Again, Chinese schol-

[134]Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1890, vol. 1, *fánlì*:3a: 還音當以京韻爲正.
[135]Zhì-kuān and Péi-kuān 1890, vol. 1, *xù*:1a–2a.
[136]Kaske 2008.

ars were writing generalizing phonological treatises that sought to encompass great linguistic variety.

The Return of General Phonology (1): *Děngyùn yīdé* (1883–84)

In the winter of 1883–84, Láo Nǎixuān wrote *Děngyùn yīdé* 等韻一得 (Quick introduction to graded rhymes).[137] It was a book in two parts. The first, or "inner chapters" (*nèipiān* 內篇) presented Chinese phonology in a series of charts and tables. The second part, or "outer chapters" (*wàipiān* 外篇) was an essay on general phonology, justifying Láo's editorial choices with references to previous scholarship. At the time, Láo was staying in the northern city of Tiānjīn, where he discussed phonology with Pān Hùnán 潘笏南 (n.d.) and Hóng Shùxuān 洪述軒 (n.d.), who were members of the private secretarial staff of a high official in the city.[138] Láo showed them phonological charts that he had made over the years, and in the resulting discussion made the decision to write up his findings into the two-part treatise that we have today.[139]

Láo published the book in 1898, but continued to work on general phonology thereafter. In 1913 he published a new edition presented as "complementary chapters" (*bǔpiān* 補篇). As the latter appeared later than the new transcription schemes that are the focus of this section (indeed, it appeared after the Qīng empire had collapsed), I will save the "emended edition" for a brief discussion at the end of this chapter.

Láo, who was born in the northern province of Héběi but had his family roots in Zhèjiāng in the lower Yángzǐ, had become a Presented Scholar in 1871 and thereafter served as a local magistrate in the north. Later in his career, he played an important role in the development of Chinese higher education, serving as an administrator at the predecessor of Peking University.

Phonology was one of Láo's major preoccupations, as is evident from the preface to *Děngyùn yīdé*, written in January, 1884 (Guāngxù *guǐwèi*/12/*dīngsì*).[140] Láo saw a lacuna in the phonological literature, which he intended his book to fill. The classicists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had, in his opinion, clarified (*míng* 明) ancient rhymes. The court-sponsored works, including *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* and *Tóngwén yùntǒng* (see chapter 7), had, by contrast, clarified modern rhymes (*jīnyùn* 今韻) and those of Sanskrit. Yet earlier scholarship had not, Láo asserted, produced a good work of rhyme table studies, in the sense of a work that outlined and clarified phonological distinctions in general.[141]

Láo explained that he had taken an interest in phonology from an early age (7–8 *suì*). Later, as he moved around the empire, he made some attempts to acquire the local accents. He also learned from books, which included the Tibetan Buddhist scriptures (*Fàn jīng* 梵經) and Manchu writings (*guóshū* 國書).[142] The result of all these labors was the present compilation

[137]Láo Nǎixuān (1922) 1967, 24–25 (pagination of the reprint, original pagination illegible).

[138]These two individuals are introduced briefly in Zhāng Xuéjì 2005, 176. The official they served was Zhōu Fù 周馥 (1837–1921).

[139]Láo Nǎixuān 1898, *xù*:2a.

[140]Note that the *guǐwèi* year generally corresponds to 1883, but that the 12th month extended into 1884.

[141]Láo Nǎixuān 1898, vol. 1, *xù*:1a.

[142]Láo Nǎixuān 1898, *xù*:1b.

of rhyme charts. Láo stressed that his charts' included of the language used by "women and children" (*fùrén rúzǐ* 婦人孺子).[143] The deliberate attempt to create a phonological system that could encompass the language used also by these social groups is important, as it was a desire for mass literacy that included also those demographics that animated the later phonetic transcription schemes with which Láo became associated.

When in Tiānjīn in 1883, Láo showed his draft to Luó Fēnglù 羅豐祿 (1850–1901; courtesy name Jìchén 稷臣). Luó was from the southeastern province of Fújiàn and had studied in England.[144] Later he also showed it to other officials versed in the new branch of Western learning. These individuals urged Láo to publish his phonological studies, in which they saw great utility. In Láo's words:

> Circuit Intendant[145] Luó examined it and said that if one is well versed in Chinese phonology, one can learn foreign languages and scripts with only half the effort. He said that the book was useful for Western learning and urged me to hand it over for carving [and printing]. I never had the confidence to hope that my studies would advance to the point that I would carve a definite edition and publish it.
>
> More than ten years passed in a flash. The seedlings of my learning withered before I had time to finish the project. This year, after I had finished my term as magistrate of Qīngyuàn [in Héběi], the Hánlín academician Shěn Zēngtóng 沈曾桐 [1853–1921; courtesy name Zǐfēng 子封][146] came to organize the lectures at the new schools of the capital region (*jīfǔ xuétáng*). Shěn at that time focused on Western learning, and also shared Mr. Luó's opinion, forcefully urging me to quickly print and disseminate my book. Right at that time I was able to return to serve in Wúqiáo [also in Héběi]. There was little to do in this small county, so during free days I went over the things learned long ago, revised [the work] anew, and handed it over to the block cutters.
>
> Now, my eyes cannot understand Western writing, and my mouth cannot speak Western language. This compilation takes the sounds of the Chinese koinē (*Zhōngguó tóngwén zhī yīn*) as its measure and does not deal with Western learning. Although the two gentlemen said it would be of use in Western learning, I really do not dare to believe it must be so. Yet … the principles of sounds and rhymes are valid everywhere in the four seas and five continents. The two gentlemen were both very skilled in the principles of phonology, and Mr. Luó had an especially good command of Western learning. They cannot have said those things in order to fool me, can they?
>
> Regardless, I only know to illuminate our Chinese learning with this compilation. Its possible relevance for Western learning is more than a superficial writer like myself can determine.[147]

[143]Láo Nǎixuān 1898, vol. 1, *xù*:2a.
[144]Liú Chuánbiāo 1999.
[145]Láo is using the courteous title *guānchá* 觀察 for Luó, the meaning of which is somewhat vague.
[146]Chén Xùlù, Fāng Shīmíng, and Wèi Jiànyóu 1982, 370–371.
[147]Láo Nǎixuān 1898, vol. 1, *xù*:2b–3a: 羅稷臣觀察見之，謂通於中國音韻，於習學外國語言、文

Láo repeatedly asserted that his book was essentially one of Chinese phonology, which he specified as that of the country's koinē. Yet the reason he published the book at all was that it as a work of general phonology could also help students of foreign languages. Both the sound system and syllabic spellings used in the work drew heavily on *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, which Láo knew was a work influenced by Manchu language studies. I count fifteen references to the Manchu script in the "outer chapters" of Láo's book, some of which occur inside quotes from earlier phonological literature.[148]

Láo's ignorance of the Manchu tradition of koinē phonology, that we saw develop in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, is indicated by the absence of the terms 'sharp' (*jiān*) and 'rounded' (*tuán*; *yuán*) to refer to the relevant series of initials. To be sure, he operated with a distinction between sibilant and velar-laryngeal stop initials, as can be expected from a writer conversant with the Middle Chinese phonological tradition of rhyme table studies. He referred to these initials using their Middle Chinese names (i.e. as members of the set of 'thirty-six initials'). Furthermore, he described the series to which they belonged using terms drawn from rhyme table studies, which likewise originated in the medieval period. What earlier Manchu writers would have called 'rounded sounds' Láo called, confusingly but following earlier precedent, 'nasal sounds' (*bíyīn* 鼻音).[149] The 'sharp sounds,' conversely, were called 'light front-teeth sounds' (*qīngchǐ yīn* 輕齒音), alternatively 'front-teeth-top sounds' (*chǐtóu yīn* 齒頭音).

The Return of General Phonology (2): *Gǔ-jīn, Zhōng-wài yīnyùn tōnglì* (1886)

Hú Yuán 胡垣 (fl. 1846–1888), author of *Gǔ-jīn, Zhōng-wài yīnyùn tōnglì* 古今中外音韻通例 (General principles of the phonology of past and present, China and abroad), was from Jiāngsū in the lower Yángzǐ region. Hú's preface was dated 1886, but the book did not go to print until 1888.[150] It appears that it was self-published.[151]

Hú explained why and how he had written the book:

> This compilation was originally titled *Wèigēn Xuān yùnxué* 味根軒韻學 (The phonological studies from under Savoring-the-Roots Window). 'Savoring-the-Roots Window' was the name my late grandfather wrote over the door of my

字，事半功倍。以此作為有益於西學，勸付剞劂。乃宣未敢自信覬所學稍進，勒為定本，然後出而問世。忽忽十餘年，學殖荒落，迄未能有所成。就今歲權宰清苑受代後，沈子封太史來主畿輔學堂講席。以時方講求西學，亦持羅君之論，力促梓行。會返任吳橋。下邑事簡，因以暇日尋繹舊聞，重加審訂，授諸手民。夫乃宣目不能識西文，口不能道西語。是編所論專以中國同文之音為斷，與西學無涉也。而兩君子皆謂有益於西學，誠不敢信其必然。然 … 韻聲之條理，四海、五洲莫能外也。兩君子皆神明於音韻之理者，而羅君於西學尤精。所言其不余欺乎？雖然，乃宣於是編第知明吾中學而已。其於西學之離合，遠近果何如，則非乃宣之譾陋所能知也.

[148]Láo Nǎixuān 1898, vol. 2, *passim*.

[149]Láo Nǎixuān 1898, vol. 2, *wàipiān*:3a.

[150]Lǐ Xīnkuí and Mài Yún 1993, 537 write that it was published in 1886, but the copy I have looked at (Taiwan Normal University Library) was clearly published in 1888. Likewise, Yáng Hǎiqīng, Chǔ Pèiyú, and Lán Xiùyīng 2002, 342 also only list copies of the 1888 edition.

[151]It contains no publication data except for the date: Hú Yuán 1888.

> study. The meaning comes [from the sayings] 'chew the vegetable roots [and accept a life of hardships] and you can achieve all that you want' and 'if you want to savor books you need to get to the root of them.'
>
> Furthermore, *wèi* 未 [which is a homophone and structural component of the character *wèi* 味, 'to savor'] represents the lands of the south and west [in ancient cosmography], and *gèn* 艮 [which is a (near) homophone and structural component of the character *gēn* 根, 'root'] represents the lands of the north and east. My name Yuán 垣 contains the graphic component *tǔ* 土, 'land,' so the implication is that my passion is with the four corners of the world. The character *wèi* 味, 'to savor' contains the graphic component *kǒu* 口, 'mouth,' and *gēn* 根, 'root' contains *mù* 木, 'wood.' The combination of *kǒu* 口 and *mù* 木 is *dāi* 呆, 'inert,' whose actual reading should be *bǎo* 保, 'to preserve.' (Only by force of custom has the character come to represent the word *chīdāi* 癡呆, 'dull-witted.') The implication is that I am passionate.[152]

We see that Hú wanted to stress that the name his grandfather gave him implied that he was interested in seeking knowledge from "the four corners of the world," probably a reference to his interest in things like Manchu and European languages. Hú continued to outline his grandfather's exhortations for him to study, and the discoveries he made regarding the importance of linguistic matters in his reading of the classical texts. He then continued:

> For forty years I have worked uniquely on the exposition of the principles of phonology. Whenever I think back on the rules of my grandfather and our household, my tears drop like rain. I had written the *General principles* hoping that they would be useful for elementary instruction, making them by necessity unrefined. The conventions I adopted are not suitable for a book specifically aimed at examining antiquity, so I did not dare to write it up and publish it as one. When I was teaching in Revering-Culture School of Classical Studies, I sought advice from Professor Zhào Jìméi [fl. 1878–1888] in my spare time. Having read it over, he told me:
>
> "Those who deliberate on the past while following the present and those who live in the center [i.e. China] while roaming abroad will all find something of use in this compilation. Current officials all over the empire who are eager to be of use in today's world must, whenever they happen upon a useful book, apply what they can from it for the common weal. This compilation should be written up and published, it should not be kept as your secret and private possession."
>
> Having received the corrected old draft [from Zhào], I gave it to the school's students in sections for them to copy out in a bound manuscript. I changed the title to *General principles of the phonology of past and present, China and abroad*.[153]

[152]Hú Yuán 1888, vol. 4, *zìshù*:5a–b: 是編本名『味根軒韻學』。『味根軒』者，先大父爲垣書舍題額命名也。義取「齩得菜根百事可做」，「欲得書味必尋本根」。又「未」爲西、南之土，「艮」爲東、北之土。垣名从「土」，隱論以志在四方也。「味」从「口」，「根」从「木」。「口」、「木」合爲「呆」字。「呆」實音「保」，而俗則以爲「癡呆」；隱論垣讀書勵志.

[153]Hú Yuán 1888, vol. 4, *zìshù*:5b: 四十年來，僅述得韻學條例，回憶祖訓、庭訓，泫然流涕者屢

The book Hú wrote contained essays on key phonological topics and concepts. In its structure and ambition it was similar to Xióng Shìbó's book, discussed elsewhere in these pages, which was published almost two centuries earlier. Xióng had related Chinese phonology to that of Manchu, Sanskrit (in the form of Siddhaṃ), and the Roman alphabet, which he had read about in Jesuit publications. Hú's book similarly discussed Manchu phonology and script, Sanskrit, and the Roman alphabet. Yet the great changes that had taken place in the Qīng empire from the turn of the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth were also reflected in the differences between the two books.

In addition to the languages and scripts covered by Xióng, Hú also discussed what to this reader appears to be the Perso-Arabic script and the Japanese *katakana* syllabary. These scripts were gathered in the essay on "Translation" (*fānyì* 翻譯). Hú's knowledge of the former seems to have come from Chinese books on Islam.[154] His knowledge of the Japanese script, by contrast, had come from the recently intensified contact with that country mediated by "international traders and diplomatic envoys" (*tōngshāng, gōngshǐ* 通商、公使).[155]

Hú's knowledge of the Roman alphabet also had a different source than Xióng's. Hú was aware of several Western languages, but seems to have had the greatest familiarity with English. The information he provided extended beyond the European script to include also words in English. He was also aware of Western attempts to transcribe Chinese words and names and with Western (English?) dictionaries of Chinese, which he called "Western character books for translation."[156] He might very well have discussed linguistic matters with Westerners living in China. Hú explained why information on such languages and scripts should feature in a work on general phonology: "Today, Muslim civilians live in the various regions of China, and the foreigners (*Yángrén*) trade with China. Their scripts are also commonly seen in China. Why should I not analyze their sounds so that I can understand their scripts?"[157]

Hú's treatment of the Manchu script was different. Instead of discussing it in the context of 'translation,' as he had with Sanskrit and the contemporary foreign scripts, Hú discussed Manchu in the context of "Syllabic spelling by combining sounds" (*héshēng fānqiè* 合聲翻切). His point of reference in that essay was *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, the early eighteenth century court-sponsored rhyme book that we saw was reprinted in 1881.[158] Hú knew from the prefatory material in this book that its method of syllabic spelling was inspired by the Manchu script. Yet the dictionary itself was not the only source for his knowledge of Manchu. Hú's essay contained an exposition of the Manchu script, in which he also reproduced the characters in syllabic form. He could not have gained that knowledge from *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, which did not actually contain any text in Manchu script. It appears that Hú had studied the syllabary in

次。『條例』期於訓蒙適用，不必俚俗。視專於考古之書，體例不合，未敢錄出。適館崇文經塾，暇時得就正於趙季梅師。師閱一過，謂垣曰：「酌古準今，居中馭外，於是編皆有可採。今天下有志效時之官，一遇有益之書，必將取以公諸同好。是編正當錄出就正，不當祕爲己有也。」受檢舊稿，由經塾生徒分鈔一帙。而易其名曰：『古今中外音韻通例』.

[154]Hú Yuán 1888, vol. 4, *fānyì*:4a.

[155]Hú Yuán 1888, vol. 4, *fānyì*:4b.

[156]Hú Yuán 1888, vol. 4, *fānyì*:9a: 西洋翻譯字書.

[157]Hú Yuán 1888, vol. 4, *fānyì*:11a: 今回民與中國雜處，洋人與中國通商。其字形亦爲中國所常見。何可不辨其音，以究其形乎?

[158]Lǐ Guāngdì and Wáng Lánshēng (1726a) 1881.

twelve sections, which he referred to by name.[159] We see in Hú's work intersection of general phonology with Western and Manchu studies.

From the author's description and from the contents of its essays, we see that *Gǔ-jīn, Zhōng-wài yīnyùn tōnglì* had been written to introduce students in general phonology. The book included descriptions of foreign scripts with which they were likely to come into contact and which had influenced Chinese phonology. Hú manifestly had a very inclusive idea of what phonology was and how it should be researched.

In this late nineteenth-century context of concurrent study of Chinese and other scripts, some scholars went from general phonology to its application in education and introduced new forms of phonetic transcription.

Manchu Influence on Chinese Script Reform: *Guānhuà héshēng zìmǔ* (*1900, 1903)

The language reform movement of the late Qīng produced dozens of proposals at script reform, both in China and abroad.[160] One well-known early proposal was put forth by Lú Zhuàngzhāng 盧戇章 (1854–1928), of Fújiàn, who learned his English in Singapore. In 1892, Lú proposed a phonetic transcription system for Chinese using the Roman alphabet. Lú's proposal was clearly inspired mainly by the European tradition, but he noted that the European alphabet was similar in its phonographic properties to the Manchu script.[161]

More substantial Manchu influence is evident in later phonetic transcription schemes. In 1900 (*gēngzǐ*) Wáng Zhào 王照 (1859–1933) wrote the first draft of *Guānhuà héshēng zìmǔ* 官話合聲字母 (Mandarin initials and finals in combined sounds), a phonographic notation that he hoped would help raise literacy and promote knowledge of the Chinese koinē. The following year (*xīnchǒu*) he published a version of it in Japan.[162] Wáng was not a bannerman. In his youth, he had wanted to study European languages, plans that his father opposed. Instead, he was trained for the civil service examinations and eventually obtained the rank of Presented Scholar. He supported a reformist group at court and was forced to flee to Japan when a more conservative faction regained control of the government. That way he came into contact with the Japanese syllabaries and the developing public education system of the Meiji state.

After regaining entry to China (under a false identity) he courted official support for the *zìmǔ*. The official and educational reformer Yán Xiū 嚴修 (1860–1920)[163] saw his proposed notation, and remarked that it Wáng would benefit from consulting the court-sponsored rhyme book *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi*. Wáng did so, and the published *zìmǔ* include repeated references to that book, which is presented as having provided the principles for its method of phonetic transcription. Some scholars have interpreted Wáng's appeal to *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* as an attempt to prevent criticism and rejection of his proposed notation; as a disgraced former

[159]Hú Yuán 1888, vol. 1, *fǎnqiè*:1b.

[160]Tsu 2014, 124.

[161]Zhāng Jīnfā 2013, 75, 77.

[162]Mentioned in Wáng Zhào 1903, inner title page. Arita Kazuo 1967, 14 writes that the first version was published in Tiānjīn in 1900 (Guāngxù 26) and the second in Tōkyō in 1901 (Guāngxù 27). The project is also discussed in Kaske 2008, 132–143; DeFrancis 1950, 40–54.

[163]Guìyáng Shì 2011, 67.

official, Wáng would have needed to be very clear that he was not opposing the dynasty.[164] The Japanese scholar Kuraishi Takeshirō 倉石武四郎 (1897–1975), however, who knew Wáng in Běijīng in the 1930s, argued that the influence of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* is manifest in Wáng's notation.[165] Rather than being mainly a political move, Wáng's references to the early eighteenth-century rhyme book reflected the eye-opening character of Wáng's encounter with the book. Having returned from Japan, Wáng realized that he did not need to seek abroad to find a phonographic notation suitable to the Chinese language. The fact that Wáng does not seem to have been aware of *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi* and the scholarly tradition it represented also suggests that he was originally also unfamiliar with Manchu language studies.

In 1903, Wáng published a second edition of his transcription scheme in the northern Chinese city of Tiānjīn. He wrote that he had the idea of "creating initials and finals (*zìmǔ*) for Mandarin for the convenience of the humble people of the villages (*xiāngyú*)" and "the illiterate people of our northern regions."[166] Wáng wrote that:

> I shut myself up indoors, closed the books and carefully examined how I pronounced each character that I drew with my hand. After several weeks my examinations led me to the realization that all the sounds of the characters and their transformations are lodged in the throat [i.e. contain vowels].[167]

The realization that syllables were structured around vowels made him construct a phonetic transcription system. After Sūn showed him *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* he realized that what he had intuited accorded with the 'combined sounds' method of that book.[168] Wáng quoted the passages from the dictionary in which the method of transcription was associated to the functioning of the Manchu script.

The reason Wáng wanted to enable illiterate northerners to read and write using his simplified notation, "modeled on the dynastic script" (*fǎng yú guóshū* 仿於國書), was the alleged need to unify the vernacular based on "the speech of the capital" (*Jīnghuà* 京話).[169] In Wáng's understanding, the Běijīng vernacular did not include a distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds.

The notation he introduced was similar, and in all likelihood inspired by, the Japanese syllabaries in that the characters were abbreviations of Chinese characters. It was, furthermore, similar to the Manchu-inspired *fǎnqiè* in that every syllable was written using two elements, the first representing the initial and the second the rhyme. To form one syllable, two of the notation's graphs were paired in the space normally allotted one Chinese character. The graph to the left spelled the initial and that to the right the final. Wáng thereby continued the tradition of syllabic spelling systems discussed in chapter 7. He took the final step of completely separating the spellers from the Chinese writing system by using only graphs explicitly developed for this purpose.

[164] Shǐ Lìhuá 2002, 310–311.
[165] Aoki Masaru et al. 2012, 91. Lí Jǐnxī (1934) 2011, 101 also seems to say as much.
[166] Wáng Zhào 1903, 2b: …欲創製官話字母以便鄉愚; 4a: 吾北方不識字之人.
[167] Wáng Zhào 1903, 2b: 閉戶，揜卷遂字，審聽口呼手畫。數十日考得一切字音轉變皆在喉中.
[168] Wáng Zhào 1903, 3a.
[169] Wáng Zhào 1903, 5a–b.

Wáng was also influenced by Manchu language studies in a more immediate way. Not just the structural principles behind Wáng's phonographic notation were related to Manchu-inspired phonology, but so was its pedagogical presentation. Wáng suggested a given order for the initials of his notation, identifying it as the work of Tíng-jùn 廷俊 (n.d.; courtesy name Hánqīng 翰卿), a bannerman and Platoon Commander (rank 5a)[170] at the imperial mausoleum at Xīlíng. Tíng-jùn had "taught the initials and finals tirelessly for a whole year." The order he proposed "was modeled on Manchu writing and easy to memorize and recite."[171] As can be seen in figures 8.2 and 8.3, which I infer should be read from right to left, Tíng-jùn's order was inspired by the syllabary in twelve sections. The first four columns from the right list the initials. Both their division into groups of three according to their place of articulation and their arrangement within the groups according to manner of articulation followed the inner sequence of the Manchu syllabary. Columns five and six from the right list the finals. Again, the order follows syllabary in twelve sections: the first four finals are exactly coterminous with the first four sections of the Manchu syllabary.

The Manchu influence on Wáng's phonetic transcription clearly extended beyond the indirect influence represented by the impression left by its creator's reading of *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi*. The presentation of the signs in the order ascribed to Tíng-jùn could not have been derived from that eighteenth-century dictionary, but only from the syllabary itself. Wáng wrote that Tíng-jùn had taught the signs in the order in which it was presented in the book. Tíng-jùn might have been a Manchu instructor in the Xīlíng garrison; having taught the Manchu language and script using the twelve-section paradigm, he would have then applied it to the structurally similar notation that Wáng had developed.

The students who learned to use the *héshēng zìmǔ* through Tíng-jùn's method would thus have been learning a script structurally similar to Manchu, as it was understood in the Qīng period, that was also presented in a similar way. In case the students had already studied some Manchu, they would have been used to the operation of pairing elements from the inner sequence with elements from the outer sequence to form syllables. In Tíng-jùn's presentation of Wáng's notation, they would similarly take elements from columns one to five and pair them with the codas in columns five and six. The nucleus would be construed by the learner as a merger of the vocalic elements inherent in the two parts brought together to form the syllable.

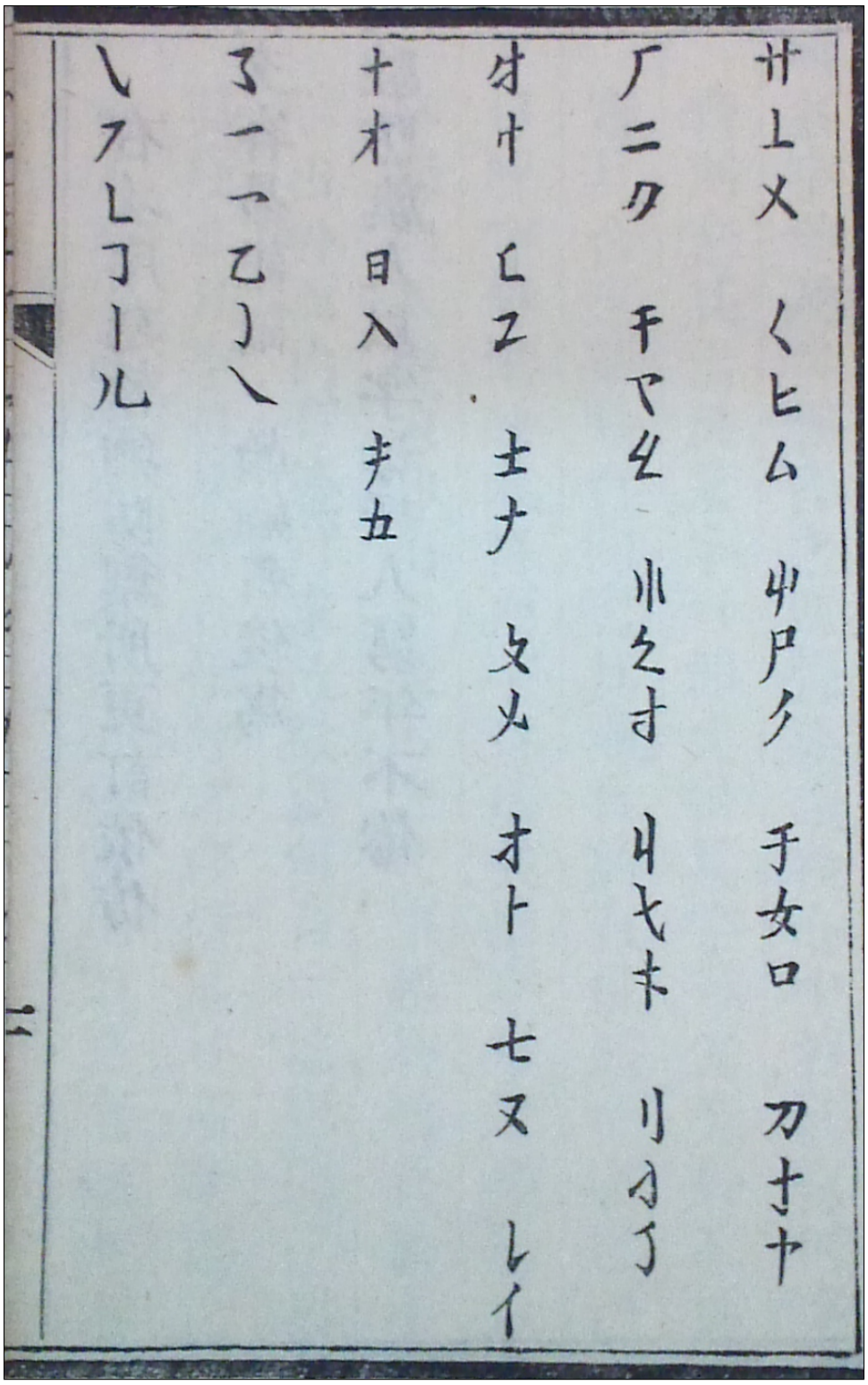
Wáng Zhào's notation was treated as derived from the Manchu script by its advocates and students. We find an example in the statements that Wáng Zhào's disciplie Wáng Pǔ 王璞 (n.d.), who after 1903 was operating a school in Běijīng that taught the notation, made in conversation with C. W. Kastler (n.d.). The latter, an interpreter for the German legation in Běijīng,[172] reported in 1909:

> People have repeatedly inquired regarding the origins of this new system and have—certainly with good reason—pointed to the old Chinese method of 切音, ts'ieh yin [*qièyìn*], spelling as similar in its spelling principle, while [suggesting that] the simplified graphs [of Wáng's notation] have been made following a Ja-

[170] Hucker 1985, 209.

[171] Wáng Zhào 1903, 11b: 廷翰卿防禦更訂依仿滿文，容易記誦。韓卿，名「俊」，爲西陵駐防旗人，以字母授人窮年不倦.

[172] Kaske 2008, 136–137 (in the notes).



Reproduced from Wáng Zhào 1903, 11a (not to scale).

Figure 8.2 – Tíng-jùn's Manchu-Inspired Presentation of Wáng Zhào's Phonetic Notation (Photograph).

6.	5.	4.	3.	2.	1.[a]
[e]	*a*	*mi*	*te*	*cu*	*qi*[b]
ei	*ai*	*mu*	*de*	*zu*	*ji*
en	*an*			*su*	*xi*
eng	*ang*	*ri*	*ti*		
er	*ao*	*ru*	*di*	*ci*	*yi*
	ê			*zi*	*ni*
		fu	*tu*	*si*	*li*
		[v]u	*du*		
				chi	*qu*
			pi	*zhi*	*ju*
			bi	*shi*	*xu*
			pu	*ke*	*yu*
			bu	*ge*	*nü*
				he	*lü*
			lu		
			nu	*ku*	*chu*
				gu	*zhu*
			le	*hu*	*shu*
			n[e]		

[a]The transcriptions used in this table generally follow Zhāng Jīnfā 2013, 114, with a few exceptions.
[b]Note that there is only one series of alveo-palatal initials (*q-*, *j-*, *x-*) and therefore no distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds.

Figure 8.3 – Tíng-jùn's Manchu-Inspired Presentation of Wáng Zhào's Phonetic Notation (Reconstructed and Transcribed).

> panese model. The latter can hardly be denied. The Japanese script is an abbreviation of Chinese graphs, just as this system is. The spelling method, however, is Manchurian, just as are almost all the advocates of this new system. The inventor of this script, Wang [Pŭ], told me personally how he had arrived at the idea of this spelling principle. Since he is himself a Manchu and has command of this language and script, he had the Manchu alphabet with its 12 cardinal roots [i.e. the twelve finals of the Manchu syllabary's outer sequence] in mind [when developing these spelling rules]. And in his writings, he has made no secret of the fact that the 12 vowel types of his system correspond to the 12 cardinal roots of the Manchu language.[173]

[173]Kastler 1909, 207: *Es wurde wiederholt gefragt, welches der Ursprung dieses neuen Systems ist und wurde beim Buchstabierungsgesetz gewiß mit vollem Recht auf das alte chinesische Verfahren des* 切音, *ts'ieh yin, Buchstabierens, hingewiesen, während die vereinfachten Zeichen nach japanischem Muster hergestellt worden seien. Letzteres ist wohl kaum zu leugnen. Die japanische Schrift ist genau wie dieses*

Kastler's presentation of Wáng Pǔ as the inventor of the notation might reflect a misunderstanding on his part, but it is more likely that Wáng Pǔ claimed to have invented the notation as his mentor Wáng Zhào was still officially a persona non grata in Běijīng.[174] Kastler's testimony is extremely interesting in that it not only asserts that the Manchu origin of the principles behind *guānhuà héshēng zìmǔ* were those of the Manchu syllabary, but also that the students of the notation emphasized the affinity.

Láo Nǎixuān's Implementation of Wáng's System (1906–07)

Láo Nǎixuān, whom we saw participating in the renewal of general phonology in the 1880s, learned of Wáng Zhào's phonetic transcription scheme. In a series of publications during 1906 and 1907, he adapted Wáng's system first to the Nánjīng variety of the Northern Vernacular and then to the Sūzhōu variety of Wú Chinese (of the Central Group of topolects), which was very different from both Běijīng and Nánjīng speech.

Late in 1907, when he was in Nánjīng, Láo received a imperial order by telegram that he should render himself to the capital for an imperial audience. The following year, he had an imperial interview at the new summer palace in Běijīng. Láo explained the phonetic notation to the emperor or his entourage (Lí Jǐnxī says it was the empress dowager) and presented them with a copy of one of the recent books. Láo hoped for "imperial authorization and promulgation throughout the realm and uniform implementation in teaching."[175] The emperor (or people acting on his behalf) referred the matter to the newly established Ministry of Education (Xuébù 學部), where it seems to have stayed.[176] The imperial government fell before it had time and willingness to adopt Láo's system, but it gave it serious attention.

We saw that Wáng had been interested in promulgating the use of his notation among illiterate people in north China. Láo, by contrast, concentrated his efforts in the lower and middle Yángzǐ region, where the notation became taught in several schools under his guidance. Teaching the notation in the mid- and lower-Yángzǐ regions forced Láo to confront the problem that his illiterate students could not speak the koinē. To learn Wáng's notation they not only needed to learn the principles of reading, but they also had to learn a new variety of Chinese. In order to make the process easier on the students, Láo decided to first teach them to read and write in their own variety of Chinese before using the notation to learn Běijīng pronunciation. At a later stage, they would use their newly acquired literacy to learn the koinē too.[177]

System eine Abkürzung der chinesischen Zeichen. Die Buchstabiermethode jedoch ist mandschurischen Charakters, wie auch fast sämtliche Vertreter dieses neuen Systems Mandschu sind. Der Erfinder dieser Schrift, Wang, teilte mir persönlich mit, wie er auf den Gedanken dieses Buchstabiergesetzes gekommen sei. Da er selbst ein Mandschu ist und diese Sprache und Schrift beherrscht, so schwebte ihm dabei das Mandschualphabet mit seinen 12 Kardinalwurzeln vor. Und er hat in seinen Schriften kein Hehl daraus gemacht, daß die 12 Vokalarten seines Systems mit den 12 Kardinalwurzeln der Mandschusprache übereinstimmen.

[174] Shǐ Lìhuá 2002, 311. I assume that Kastler's conversation was with Wáng Pǔ and not Wáng Zhào, as DeFrancis 1950, 43 presupposed, since Wáng Zhào was definitely not a Manchu.

[175] Láo Nǎixuān (1922) 1967, 44: 呈候欽定頒行天下一體傳習.

[176] Lí Jǐnxī (1934) 2011, 105. BH 1912, 131 explains the establishment of the Ministry of Education.

[177] Láo Nǎixuān (1906a) 1957, *lìyán*:3a.

Láo thus introduced new signs to represent phonological distinctions made in central China but not in Běijīng. The new signs were progressively introduced in the iterations of the transcription system that he published in 1906 and 1907. Reflecting the new character of the notation as transcribing not only Northern Vernacular Chinese, Láo changed the name to *héshēng jiǎnzì* 合聲簡字, 'simplified characters that combine sounds.'

Láo associated the *héshēng jiǎnzì* to Japanese *kana* and his own educational incentives to the expansion of public education in contemporary Japan. He simultaneously reaffirmed the link between Wáng's notation and Manchu-inspired phonology by highlighting their character of 'combining sounds,' a term he pointed out was used in *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi*.[178]

One of the leading phonologists of his day, Láo did not merely intuit the sounds of the Nánjīng and Sūzhōu varieties of Chinese; he also created a phonological framework where he could display the differences in the sounds of the two cities by the Yángzǐ in relation to the capital. He explicitly associated those efforts to his earlier work on general phonology in *Děngyùn yīdé*.[179] The overarching framework in which the varieties could be related was the sound system of Middle Chinese, from which they could all be said to derive. We see in the chart Láo made to contrast Middle Chinese with "the sounds of the capital" (*jīngyīn*) that he partially reintroduced the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds where Wáng had considered it gone. Perhaps Láo, better acquainted with the phonological literature than Wáng, was also more conservative in what he considered proper koinē.[180]

In fact, it is not altogether clear how Láo conceptualized the relationship between the Běijīng dialect and the koinē. At times, he talked about the "regional pronunciation of the capital" (*jīngshī fāngyīn* 京師方音), indicating that he did not consider it the national standard.[181] He also wrote less unambiguously, using a turn of phrase we first encountered in the writings of Lǐ Guāngdì in the early eighteenth century, that "the pronunciation of the Chinese standardized script is more than can be encompassed by the regional pronunciation of any one place."[182]

On a different occasion, he wrote that "the pronunciation of the inner city of the capital is also slightly different from that of the outer city."[183] This very interesting statement suggests that the residents of inner-city Běijīng, the majority of whom were bannermen, had a slightly different accent from the Chinese civilians in the outer districts. It is possible that the differing treatment of the 'sharp' and 'rounded' in works all claiming to describe the pronunciation of the capital is related to the gradation of the Běijīng vernacular between civilians and bannermen. Yet Láo also wrote explicitly that "the pronunciation of the capital does not distinguish sharp and rounded [sounds]; in Bǎodìng [just south of Běijīng] and other places they are distinguished,"[184] a statement that represents the only instance in all of his texts on Wáng's phonetic notation where Láo used these Manchu-inspired terms.

[178]Láo Nǎixuān (1906c) 1957, *lìyán*:3b–4a.
[179]Láo Nǎixuān (1906c) 1957, 28b.
[180]Láo Nǎixuān (1906b) 1957, 5a–6a.
[181]Láo Nǎixuān (1906b) 1957, 7b.
[182]Láo Nǎixuān (1906b) 1957, 16a: 中國同文之音非一處方音所能備也.
[183]Láo Nǎixuān (1906b) 1957, 33a: 京師內城、外城語音亦稍殊也.
[184]Láo Nǎixuān (1907a) 1957, *lì*:1b: 京音不分尖團，保定等處即分之.

Láo's turn to a general phonological framework for the notation, which accompanied its broadening to include topolects other than the Běijīng variety, also led him to present the signs in a new order. He noted that in Wáng's original, the order had "relied on the character-heads of the dynastic script [i.e. Manchu]." He abandoned that arrangement, adopting instead "the principles of the rhyme tables."[185]

The Last Affirmation of Manchu-Inspired Transcriptions: The Postal Romanization (1906)

We saw at the beginning of this chapter an example of European scholars taking an interest in Manchu-Chinese phonology for the purposes of transcription between languages. Pär Cassel, studying the example of Thomas Wade (1818–1895), has shown that the Manchu government's earlier efforts at language regulation as empire building influenced the transcription from Chinese to English as it developed in the nineteenth century.[186]

Lane J. Harris has studied another example of transcription of Chinese using the Roman alphabet in the late Qīng period: the "Postal Romanization of Place Names" from 1906. The introduction of the romanization followed the establishment of Imperial Post Office in 1896, which handled all mail addressed to China from abroad and had Westerners on its staff. Initially, the Imperial Post had to process addresses written using a wide variety of transcriptions influenced both by the European national languages and the Chinese topolects spoken in the region to where the mail was addressed. To ensure the smooth functioning of the postal system, a standardized transcription system was developed.

Between 1906 and 1920 the basis of the transcription, Lane writes, was "southern Mandarin pronunciation," although well-established spellings of place names outside the Northern Vernacular area were retained.[187] A notable feature of this 'southern Mandarin,' referring to the Nánjīng dialect, was the distinction between 'sharp' and 'rounded' sounds.

By the late Qīng, the distinction of these sounds had become interpreted as a distinctly southern trait. Yet for generations following the promulgation of 1770s normative transcriptions of the Chinese koinē using the Manchu script, a version of Mandarin featuring that distinction had been endorsed by the imperial government in the north without any hint that it was perceived as a southern characteristic. Scholars in the banner community had in a series of phonological treatises affirmed the distinction as integral to 'correct pronunciation.' For reasons yet obscure, the *jiān-tuán* distinction appears to have disappeared as an ideal in educated Běijīng speech sometime in the nineteenth century at the same time as the terms themselves became reinterpreted as part only of Manchu studies.

[185]Láo Nǎixuān (1907b) 1957, 6a: 依國書字頭 … 今按等韻之理. Láo wrote that this order was by a certain "Mr. Wén 文." I do not know to whom that referred.

[186]Cassel 2014.

[187]Lane 2008, 101–103.

Elision of Manchu in the "Complementary Chapters" to *Děngyùn yīdé* (1913)

The Manchu empire collapsed in 1911. Two years later, Láo Nǎixuān published a few "complementary chapters" (*bǔpiān*) of his treatise on Chinese phonology, *Děngyùn yīdé*.[188] The new edition, which was published in Shànghǎi,[189] had the same structure as the original, being divided into 'inner' chapters of rhyme charts and 'outer' chapters of explanatory material. Láo prefaced the new work:

> The 'inner' and 'outer chapters' of *Quick introduction to graded rhymes* were written in 1883 and printed in 1898. I kept the drafts hoping to provide a final version. I had already read it over many times, making changes and deletions before writing it up, but I never dared to hope that I would remain entirely happy with it. More than ten years later, my knowledge has accumulated and my thinking deepened; discussions with friends have bred new realizations, and at times new ideas have sprouted. When I now look back at my previous work I see that it was not entirely accurate. Recent writers always change and correct their writings when they reprint them; this is in real accord with the spirit of 'advancing along with the age.' Yet recarving the printing blocks is not convenient in the case of my book, which is why I have written these chapters to complement it. However, with the aspiration to one day finalize the work, I will still not discard the previous printing.[190]

To revise the book to "advance along with the age" were words heavy with meaning in the young Republic. For Láo, advancing with the age evidently did not mean to abandon the analytic categories or modes of presentation of the discipline of phonology. On the contrary, the structure of the new book closely mirrored the original. Conspicuously absent from the new book, however, were any references to the Manchu language. The original had been replete with references to the 'dynastic script.' Now not only that term was gone, but the Manchu script was not mentioned by any other name either. Láo did not even use the term *héshēng*, 'combining sounds' that he had previously used both in his theoretical writings and the practically oriented revisions of Wáng Zhào's phonographic notation. Figuring so prominently in Qīng imperial publications on phonology, Láo might have felt the Manchu associations of that term to have been too strong. Two years after the collapse of the Manchu empire its influence on Chinese thought was already being elided.

[188]Láo Nǎixuān (1922) 1967, 49.

[189]Lí Jǐnxī (1934) 2011, 115.

[190]Láo Nǎixuān 1913, *xù*:1a: 『等韻一得』「內、外篇」作於癸未，刊於戊戌。自屬稿以逮殺青。固已再三改削而後定，然未敢自信其必無憾也。十餘年來，見聞之所積，思索之所濬，友朋討論之所啟發，時時有新意之萌。回視前作未盡愜當。近人著述每於再印時，必有所更正，深有合於「與時俱進」之義。而吾書乃刊板重刻不易，因述此篇以補之。而前刻仍不廢，以待日久之論定.

Coda: Lingering Manchu Influence on the "Commission for the Standardization of Reading Pronunciation" (1913)

Manchu-inspired linguistic studies continued to influence language planning in China at least through 1913. In that year, a "Commission for the Standardization of Reading Pronunciation" (*dúyīn tǒngyī huì* 讀音統一會) was convened in Běijīng by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China.[191] Láo Nǎixuān, who never served the Republic, did not participate,[192] but sent a letter to the committee stating his opinions.[193]

The most enduring result of the 1913 conference was the adoption of a phonetic notation not dissimilar to Wáng Zhào's scheme. The symbols were new, but the sound system they were intended to represent was not. To establish the pronunciation of Chinese characters, the commission worked on the basis of Lǐ Guāngdì's and Wáng Lánshēng's rhyme book *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, which we saw in chapter 7 was influenced by its compilers' studies of Manchu. In Qián Xuántóng's words, the commission took the rhyme book, "selected more than 6,500 characters from it, and verified and fixed their pronunciation."[194]

I do not cite this circumstance to suggest that the sound values or language policy adopted by the commission were influenced or inspired by Manchu language studies. I doubt that the Manchu language was even mentioned when the commission convened under the auspices of a new, anti-imperial government.[195] The fact remains, however, that the resources available to the Republican commission were not only newly imported or invented linguistic ideas or tools. Lǐ's and Wáng's rhyme book, with its sophisticated method of indicating the pronunciation of Chinese characters, was at the center of the commission's work. The relevance of Lǐ and Wáng's rhyme book to the work of the commissioners suggests that language reformers in twentieth-century China could draw on the products of centuries of phonological scholarship, much of which, like *Yīnyùn chǎnwēi*, had sprung from an engagement with Manchu language and learning.

[191] Kaske 2008, 407–416.

[192] Láo's name is not among those listed as participants in Lí Jǐnxī (1934) 2011, 122–123.

[193] The letter is summarized in Qián Xuántóng (1920) 1999, 114–117.

[194] Qián Xuántóng (1920) 1999, 77: …于其中选取六千五百余字，审定他 [sic] 的读音….

[195] *Pace* Lí Jǐnxī (1934) 2011, 116's assertion that Liú Shìēn (1909) 1957 was inspired by the Manchu-Mongol script (I do not see the similarity). Furthermore, I have so far been unable to locate the later schemes that he (Lí Jǐnxī [1934] 2011, 131–132) argued were inspired by Mongol or Tibetan.

Appendix: The Manchu Script and Western Grammatology

Language, Speech, and Script

Language and Speech

The purpose of this appendix is to understand the development of Western ideas about the Manchu script, distinguished by its function to record the Manchu language. In order to untangle Western ideas about the script, I will first deal with the question of scripts in general. And in order to do that, I will first discuss the concept of 'language.'

What is language? The question is straightforward, but the answer is not. The fact that in English, the word 'language' is of Romance origin is perhaps significant; the basic activities associated with language, such as writing, reading, speaking, or hearing and listening, are all Germanic words, but the abstract term 'language' is not. In other Germanic languages the corresponding term is, by contrast, Germanic, be it from different roots. German and Swedish have *Sprache* and *språk*, terms related to Proto-Germanic **sprekan*, 'to speak.'[1] In Dutch, the corresponding term is *taal*, from Proto-Germanic (and ultimately Proto-Indo-European) **talō(n)*-, 'speech, recount,'[2] a root that we also recognize in English 'tale.' English 'language' has a similar origin. It is related to French *langage*, which in the modern language refers to an individual's usage of language. The world *langue*, which has the meaning of English 'language,' also means 'tongue,' as does the Latin *lingua* from which it stems. The term 'linguistics' is derived from the same Latin word. All these European terms privilege speaking as the defining linguistic act.

If language is speech, then language is an act. Like any other act, the act of speaking has an effect, which might be to communicate a message or to express (or dissipate) an emotional state (not necessarily with an interlocutor in mind).

Also in East Asia are the words for 'language' derived from 'speech.' In Chinese, the the term 'language' corresponds to *yǔyán* 語言, a compound of two terms appearing independently in early texts. *Yán* seems to have been more the common in early discourses on language,[3] but both terms mean 'words' or 'speech.' Indeed, they appear to be derived from the same Old Chinese root.[4] In the modern colloquial language, the word is a literary equivalent of *huà* 話, 'speech.' In Japanese and Korean, the Chinese compound word with the characters reversed (Ja. *gengo*; Ko. *ŏnŏ* 言語) also means 'language.' In both languages it coexists with native terms (Ja. *kotoba* 言葉; Ko. *mal* 말) meaning both 'language' and 'speech; words.' In East Asia, the learned word *yǔyán*/*gengo*/*ŏnŏ* is used in *yǔyánxué* 語言學/*gengogaku*/*ŏnŏhak* 言語學, 'the study of language; linguistics,' which only became prominent after the development of this discipline in the West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The origin of the Japanese and Korean terms for 'language' is problematic, since the history of these languages is still disputed. Sergei A. Starostin (1953–2005) et al. held that they belonged to the presumed Altaic family of languages. Japanese *kotoba* would thus be a reflex of a Proto-Altaic word meaning 'word; name; witness.'[5] Mongol *kele*, the current word for 'language; message; sound,' would also derive from the same root, which in Proto-Mongol

[1] "sprekan-" 2014.

[2] "talō(n)-" 2014.

[3] *Yán* but not *yǔ* is discussed as a metalinguistic term in Harbsmeier 1998, *passim* (*yǔ* 語 is not in the index).

[4] Schuessler 2007, 588.

[5] Starostin, Dybo, and Mudrak 2003, 541.

would have had the meaning 'witness; agreement.'[6] Curiously, Starostin et al. also derive Korean *kŭl*, 'writing' (as in *han'gŭl*, 'the Korean script') from the same root.[7] Starostin and his team did not propose any Altaic etymology for Manchu *gisun*, 'language,' but the term is related to the verb *gisurembi*, 'to talk; to tell; to discuss.'[8] In both Europe and East Asia, then, speaking is taken as defining for language, and the term language itself is abstract and slightly more learned than the words meaning 'speech.'

That speech should appear a more defining linguistic act than listening is understandable, as an utterance needs to have been first produced in order to be heard. Furthermore, we hear and listen to other things beside language, but as soon as we speak we are by definition making use of language. Reading is exclusively tied to language, but writing must have taken place before reading can begin.

Yet among the two productive linguistic activities of speaking and reading, speaking has been given prominence in the words for 'language.' The link between 'speech' and 'language' was strengthened by twentieth-century linguistics. The pioneering American linguist Leonard Bloomfield (1887–1949), for example, wrote that "writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language."[9] Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) traced a privileging of speech and wariness toward writing in Western culture to ancient Greece.[10] Yet unlike everyday terms that need only to be understood but not defined, 'language' as a technical term of linguistics becomes very hard to delineate. It is a fact that an act of speech, an utterance, is a communicative act embedded in a context that comprises more than language; in fact, the context of a speech-act always includes non-verbal elements. For example, a person's voice can will carry information on the gender or age of the speaker. Likewise, the meaning of a statement can be made entirely different if accompanied by certain facial expressions or other gestures, showing that the linguistic aspects of speech might not always be the most important for the purposes of communication.

Separating speech/language as an activity in all instances possible to distinguish from communication (or even expression) in general is very difficult, if not futile. For Ferdinand de Saussure,[11] language (*langue*) was a system of signs that express ideas comparable, among other things, to writing (*écriture*).[12] In Saussure's definition, we see language clearly distinguished from writing, but also from speech. As a system, language was for Saussure something that is not immediately obvious. Speech, as utterances, belongs to what Saussure calls *parole* to distinguish it from language proper. Manifest in utterances, language has according to Saussure to be reconstructed by the linguist and is thus both the object and in a sense the product of linguistic research.

Clearly, such a definition is very far from the casual references to language-as-speech that we see reflected in both European and East Asian everyday vocabulary, which emerged before academic linguistics. It is thus also without much relevance for this study, which has dealt with

[6]MKT 1999, 611.
[7]Starostin, Dybo, and Mudrak 2003, 542.
[8]Hauer (1952) 2007, 191.
[9]Bloomfield (1935) 1973, 21.
[10]Derrida 1967.
[11]See page 19.
[12]Saussure (1916) 1967, 33.

the study of language in China in a period before linguistics, as Saussure imagined it, was even invented. I have thus operated casually with the word 'language' as an umbrella term for the phenomena animating the subject of this study.

Writing

We saw that writing was generally not involved in the European or Asian words for 'language,' which refer primarily to speech. Yet none of us would deny that there is a connection between language/speech and writing. The association between writing and speech might not always have been as strong as it is now. Roy Harris, an iconoclastic linguist who has done much to integrate writing into the definition of language, believes that societies may be seen as going through several stages, beginning "from the point at which writing is recognized as something different from drawing pictures and other ways of marking surfaces." In a first stage, "everything surrounding writing is still regarded as a form of magic or secret knowledge," Harris argued. To this stage belongs myths about the origin and invention of writing by humans or animals. The second stage, which Harris identifies with our present societies, "begins when writing is no longer regarded with mystical awe, but as a practical tool or technique for doing what would otherwise have to be done by means of speech, or left undone." Bloomfield's idea of writing as a means to record speech, quoted above, fits within this view of writing, which according to Harris would dominate our present world.[13] From Harris's schema of the historical conceptualization of writing we retain (1) writing's link to drawing pictures and (2) its role as a practical tool to relieve and go beyond speech.

In English, the word 'writing' is derived from a verb ('to write'), indicating that we are dealing with an activity rather than a thing: the making of marks rather than the marks themselves. As activity, 'writing' is thus analogous to speech as the activity of producing (spoken) language. It can have the same effects as speech (communication and/or expression), but it also has the distinct capability of storing a message. A written message, unlike a spoken one, can outlast its originator by millennia.

The nature of the message recorded in the act of writing has been subject to some debate. Not all marks made by humans on surfaces are considered writing. The drawing of pictures has already been mentioned as one activity related to writing, but distinct from it. Closer to writing as usually understood we have mnemonic marks helping the writer, or another individual, to conjure certain thoughts. Yet such marks are not necessarily considered writing either. Some scholars distinguish writing in the sense of the activity that produced this printed page as "glottic"[14] or "glottographic"[15] writing, meaning that is language-based. These terms are

[13] At a hypothesized third stage, which Harris believes is not yet realized, writing would become seen "as a particular mode of operation of the human mind and the key to a new concept of language" (Harris [2000] 2005, x–xi). I am partial to Harris's view of language, writing, and linguistics, and one of the goals of this study is to show the inseparability of writing from the larger cluster of communicative practices, grouped under the rubric of language in anticipation of Harris's third stage as described above.

[14] Harris (2000) 2005, viii.

[15] Boltz 2006.

defined in opposition to 'pictographic' (the drawing of a thing that it represents) and 'ideographic' writing (the drawing of an idea that it represents).

William G. Boltz has argued convincingly against the idea that pictographic writing ever existed, suggesting instead that pre-glottographic writing assigned meaning to drawings by placing them in a system, not by the drawings immediately evoking the thought of an object by resembling it.[16] Ideography, by contrast, has often been discussed in relation to some old writing systems, including Chinese characters. The prevailing opinion seems to be that Chinese characters in any of the forms we can observe them today are not ideographic, but glottographic. As I will describe the Chinese writing system in further detail below, I will not discuss the question of ideography here. If we follow Harris as quoted above, societies at the second stage in the history of the conceptualization of writing perceive it as an auxiliary to speech. Such societies, including our own, thus assume that writing is glottographic.

Practicing the act of writing using anything from the Graeco-Roman alphabet to cuneiform script and Chinese characters are thus considered to engage in the recording of language. The view of writing as essentially dependent on language, which it records, has consequences for how it is conceptualized when taken as an artifact and not an activity. As an artifact, writing is that which is created by the act of writing: incisions on bone, stone, marks on a page. It is a truism that there is an order to those marks; all glottographic writing consists of certain recurring shapes. The sum of these shapes are referred to as a 'script,' ultimately from the Latin verb *scribere*, 'to write'[17] (whence also German *Schrift*, Swedish *skrift*, etc.), or a 'writing system.' This last term is revealing. In our societies, where the definition of language, by necessity part of the reasoned discourse on language today organized as linguistics, generally holds that language is a system more than a sum of utterances, so is writing considered more than the sum of graphical marks. Like language, which it represents, a script is considered to constitute a system. The systematicity of glottographic writing is thus contingent on writing's link to language-as-system, or perhaps some other systematic social activity.[18] Systematic social activities other than language proper that have been used to derive a systematicity for writing include the pedagogical presentation of the script, as I hope this study has demonstrated.

We can also postulate the inverse relationship between a script and social activities: it is very difficult to assert a systematicity to glottographic writing that does *not* rely on the underlying and assumed systematicity of speech or other social practices. Yet the dependence on the systematicity of language for the definition of the systematicity of writing has too rarely been stated as such in research on writing systems. We have seen in this study that the necessary reliance on practices external to the script proper (that is, the script as marks on the page) for its characterization as system has the consequence that with variation in the practices (of speech, of pedagogy, etc.), on which the analysis of the script's systematicity relies, leads to differences in how the systematicity of the script in question is eventually understood and used

[16]Boltz 2006.

[17]In Latin lexicography, the dictionary form of the verb is *scribo*, 'I write.' By analogy to English practice I have instead given the (indicative) infinitive.

[18]It seems to me that this statement is true despite the fact that similarities and differences can be observed in a collection of graphical marks (a script without a language), as is demonstrated in Barber 1973.

in textbooks, dictionaries, and the like. This assertion is a reformulation in the most general terms of the observations that were made in chapters 5 and 6. I will substantiate it further in the second part of this appendix.

The reliance on the systematicity of language for the definition of the systematicity of a script has been questioned, but only recently and certainly so far incompletely. I will review that criticism presently, but first I will review the understanding of the systematicity of glottographic writing as it developed in the West before it came under criticism in accord with what I maintain here.

Logographies, Syllabaries, and Alphabets

The study of writing systems in general, including the comparison between different scripts, has been called 'grammatology.' This term was introduced by Ignace Gelb (1907–85) in the mid-twentieth century, decades before the term 'grammatology' (*grammatologie*) was taken up by Derrida in quite a different sense,[19] which has since been well known in comp. lit. departments everywhere. We will not be interested in grammatology according to Derrida. Gelb proposed to "lay a foundation for a new science of writing," which would "establish general principles governing the use and evolution of writing on a comparative-typological basis."[20] Gelb's comparative-typological method meant distinguishing types of scripts on the basis of their distinguishing features when compared with one another. Gelb asserted that "fully developed writing" was a "device for expressing linguistic elements by visible marks." The linguistic elements thus expressed could include "phrases, words, syllables, single sounds, and prosodic features." Gelb noted that written signs standing for phrases were rarely used other than in stenography, and that prosody was largely indicated by punctuation and spacing. He focused his typology instead on the other linguistic elements: words, syllables, and single sounds. The writing of these he named "logograms," "syllabograms," and "alphabetic signs," the systems of writing using these signs being respectively logographies, syllabaries, and alphabets.[21] The idea that glottographic writing systems could be divided into these three categories did not originate with Gelb, but had its origins in the European encounter with non-Western cultures in the early modern period. In the late nineteenth century, Isaac Taylor (1829–1901) had already introduced[22] the tripartite division of "Verbal signs," "Syllabic signs," and "Alphabetic signs."[23] We see that the typology of writing system offered by Gelb ascribed a structure to scripts analogous to the structure of speech. According to Gelb and the whole Graeco-Roman grammatical tradition, language consisted of parts of speech which in turn consisted of sounds. Now scholars like Taylor and Gelb characterized various scripts according to which of the presumed units of language they chose to represent by means of marks on the page.

Yet Gelb's proposed grammatology was not just a synchronic typology; he also situated the three types of writing in historical time. In Gelb's view, the evolution of glottographic writing

[19]Derrida 1967.
[20]Gelb 1963, v.
[21]Gelb 1963, 13–14.
[22]Daniels 1996b, 6.
[23]Taylor 1883, vol. 1, 6.

involved the unilinear development of alphabetic writing out of syllabic writing. Writing "must pass through the stages of logography, syllabography, and alphabetography in this, and no other, order," he wrote.[24] He recognized, however, that the chronology of writing systems does not always support this claim, so he added the caveat that since "*habit is always dearer to men than progress*" (Gelb's emphasis), there had been cases of "retrograde evolution of individual writings," creating "degenerated writing."[25]

The final stage in the development of writing allegedly took place only once in history: namely, in the Greek alphabet's development out of syllabic Near Eastern forerunners. Even if we refrain from concluding that the later appearance of the Greek (and subsequently Roman) alphabet meant that it was somehow superior to other kinds of writing, Gelb's typology implies that it is structurally more sophisticated. Gelb asserted that the "phonetization" of the written marks, that is their transformation into glottographic script, was of "revolutionary importance."[26] The "point-by-point equivalence in which one speech unit is expressed by one sign, and one sound expresses only one speech unit" was the "ideal state," never attained but approximated by the alphabet, "the most developed form of writing."[27] To understand Gelb's typology, we will review what he meant by logographies, syllabaries, and alphabets. In the following sections, I will occasionally draw on more recent scholarship, which often disagrees with Gelb in the overall arguments, to explain the various scripts under discussion. The theory that I will present, however, is still Gelb's; I will review his critics in a later section.

Logographies

"Full systems of writing originated for the first time in the Orient—that vast mass of land extending from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea to the western Pacific," Gelb wrote.[28] As the eastern part of Gelb's 'Orient' has been dealt with elsewhere in these pages, I will only summarize Gelb's view of logographic writing with reference to the Near East here. The earliest writing systems known appeared there in the form of the cuneiform or wedge-shaped script of ancient Mesopotamia in around 3200–3000 BCE.[29] According to Gelb, cuneiform writing was originally a logography: the earliest signs were "clearly word signs limited to the expression of numerals, objects, and personal names."[30] Generalizing from the Mesopotamian writing and similar systems attested later in history, he wrote that:

> In the most primitive phases of logography it is easy to express concrete words, such as a sheep by a picture of a sheep, or the sun by a picture of the sun, but soon a method must be evolved whereby pictures can express not only the objects they originally depict but also words with which they can be secondarily associated. Thus, a picture of the sun can stand secondarily for the words

[24]Gelb 1963, 201.
[25]Gelb 1963, 202.
[26]Gelb 1963, 12.
[27]Gelb 1963, 15.
[28]Gelb 1963, 60.
[29]Michalowski 1996, 33; Gelb 1963, 195 ("3100 BCE").
[30]Gelb 1963, 65.

> 'bright, white,' later also 'day'; similarly, a picture of a woman and a mountain can stand for 'slave girl'—a combination derived from the fact that slave girls were normally brought to Babylonia from the surrounding mountains.[31]

This kind of logography did not directly represent the sound of words. The need to write personal names, however, led to a "phonetization," the principle of which "consists in associating words which are difficult to express in writing with signs which resemble these words in sound and are easy to draw." As an example, Gelb mentioned the drawing of knees to represent the name Neil, as it is pronounced like 'kneel' in English.

Phonetization, once introduced, spread rapidly, leading to the establishment of a full system of writing. As it became used by a large community of people, the shapes of the graphic marks were standardized so at to be easily replicable and recognizable by everybody. Since the medium of Mesopotamian writing was clay incised with a stylus, the marks took the shape of wedges, which later inspired scholars' to call the writing system cuneiform. As the system was simplified and standardized, the number of signs were kept small. The principle by which every word was written using a sign that represented its pronunciation thus gave way to a system in which each sign represented the sign of one syllable. To write a word like Neil, which was monosyllabic, a sign derived from the drawing of knees was thus still enough, but to write 'Neilson,' one would now need two signs, one having originated as the drawing of knees, and one as the drawing of the sun ('Kneel-sun'). Such a system was no longer completely a logography, but a system that could write both whole words and the syllables of words.[32]

Mesopotamian writing, once it reached this "word-syllabic" form, recorded combinations of consonants and vowels by combinations of wedge-shaped marks on soft clay: "The normal Mesopotamian syllabic writing contains signs of the type *da, du, dam, dum* etc., each of which indicates exactly the required vowel," but the principle of economy led to many consonants being indicated with some imprecision, as syllables containing similar-sounding but distinct consonants could be written using the same sign.[33]

The Egyptian hieroglyphs, from a Greek word meaning 'sacred carvings,' was another example of a word-syllabic system according to Gelb. An early version of Egyptian writing, which was developed shortly before c. 3100 BCE,[34] indicated words by signs that contained no direct indication of their sound; the signs were semantic but not phonetic. A syllabary developed, however, that was used in everyday life in conjunction with the semantic signs. The syllabary consisted of "about twenty-four signs, each with an initial consonant plus any vowel."[35] Gelb's strong assertion that Egyptian writing was a syllabary was partially motivated by his belief that the development of glottographic had a fixed directionality to it. He wrote:

> *The Egyptian phonetic, non-semantic writing cannot be consonantal, because the development from a logographic to a consonantal writing, as generally accepted by the Egyptologists, is unknown and unthinkable in the history of writing, and*

[31]Gelb 1963, 65–66.
[32]Gelb 1963, 67–69.
[33]Gelb 1963, 71.
[34]Rittner 1996, 73.
[35]Gelb 1963, 75.

> *because the only development known and attested in dozens of various systems is that from a logographic to a syllabic writing.* [Gelb's emphasis.][36]

Syllabaries

Gelb traced several syllabic writing systems, or syllabaries, as having developed from previously used word-syllabic systems. In the Near East, syllabaries developed either out of the composite Mesopotamian system, or out of Egyptian hieroglyphic. The systems descendant from the hieroglyphs were invented in the period 2000–1525 BCE and came into broad usage in the period 1525–1200 BCE.[37] Among them Gelb included Phoenician, the syllabary from which the Greeks later developed their alphabet. Another script in this group was Aramaic, from which Manchu is ultimately derived.[38] From Chinese writing Gelb derived the Japanese *kana* syllabaries.[39]

In the Near East, the scripts that were developed to write West Semitic languages in the Levant were very numerous, but structurally similar. Like Egyptian writing, they used between twenty and thirty signs to spell words. Gelb argued that West Semitic spelled words syllable by syllable. In the words of another authority, "the genius of the West Semitic writings resides in the exceedingly small number of signs in their repertory, 22–30 as compared to the 700 Egyptian signs (100 phonograms and 600 logograms), or the 50,000 logographic signs in modern Chinese writing."[40]

When Gelb was writing and later, many scholars held and hold that the West Semitic scripts were alphabets that contained only consonants, no vowels. Scholars who hold this view transcribe West Semitic signs as consonants in the Roman alphabet, implying that the Semitic readers would have inferred the vowels occurring between the consonants when they read the text. Gelb disagreed with this view. He argued that since the Mesopotamian scripts, which contained roughly the same number of signs, were treated and transcribed as syllabaries, so should the West Semitic scripts. One of Gelb's arguments was that since as the West Semitic peoples later, under Greek influence, added diacritic signs to their script to indicate the vowels, they also invented a new mark, which "when attached to a sign, characterizes it as a consonant alone or as a consonant plus a very short vowel … If the Semitic signs were originally consonantal—as is generally claimed—then there would simply be no use for" this mark. "The fact that the Semites felt the necessity of creating a mark showing lack of a vowel means that to them every sign originally stood for a full syllable, that is, a consonant plus a vowel."[41]

Two things appear from Gelb's argument: (1) the problem of the characterization of West Semitic scripts as consonantal alphabets or syllabaries appears only at the moment when they are transcribed using the Roman alphabet by the Western researcher; (2) information regarding how the West Semites "felt" about their own script is taken to be important for our

[36]Gelb 1963, 78–79.
[37]O'Connor 1996, 90.
[38]O'Connor 1996, 96.
[39]Gelb 1963, 120.
[40]Powell 1991, 240.
[41]Gelb 1963, 149.

characterization of how their script functioned. Both of these circumstances will play a role in our discussion of the Manchu script.

To explicate Gelb's understanding of what a syllabary is it might be useful to summarize his view of the Japanese *kana* syllabaries, as they are developed in a context not too far removed either geographically or culturally from China.

The Japanese syllabary was developed in the ninth century CE by taking Chinese characters,[42] which in Chinese each represented one syllable but also carried a certain meaning, and using them only for their sound value. Thus the character 阿 pronounced something like *a* but also had a certain meaning came to be used to write the syllable *a* whenever it appeared in a word. Its original form was simplified to ア. The other signs in the syllabary had similar origins.[43] Other research has shown that the Japanese syllabary was developed also with reference to Indic writing systems, as reflected in one of the canonical orders in which the script is presented.[44]

Alphabets

"If the alphabet is defined as a system of signs expressing single sounds of speech, then the first alphabet which can justifiably be so called is the Greek alphabet," Gelb asserted, adding that anticipations of this principle are observed in older Near Eastern scripts.[45]

The Greeks themselves knew that their writing system had its origin with the Phoenicians in the Levant (where a script in use in the period 1050–850 BCE is commonly called Phoenician[46]), and "even a superficial investigation of the forms, names, and order of the Greek signs," Gelb asserted, "leads immediately to the conclusion that all these features must have been borrowed from a Semitic form of writing."[47] The names used by the Greeks to refer to the different letters of their script (*alpha, bēta, gamma, delta* etc.) would have been derived from Semitic words. The great difference between the Greek script and its Semitic forerunners was that the Greeks represented the vowels with single signs that were on a par with the consonants. Gelb summarized:

> From the inner structural point of view the main characteristic of the alphabet is the existence of special signs for both consonants and vowels. As the signs for consonants are used in approximately the same way in all the alphabets of the world, the various types of alphabets can be distinguished only by their use of the vowel signs.[48]

In a later period, the Greek habit of indicating the vowels in turn inspired some users of Semitic languages and scripts to do the same. The resulting new Near Eastern scripts then

[42]Smith 1996, 210.
[43]Gelb 1963, 159–162.
[44]Smith 1996, 212.
[45]Gelb 1963, 166.
[46]O'Connor 1996, 94.
[47]Gelb 1963, 176.
[48]Gelb 1963, 184.

spread eastward, eventually reaching East Asia. The Manchu script is a descendant of these Near Eastern scripts.

Gelb's typology of alphabets distinguished three ideal types. The first and "simplest" was represented by the Greek alphabet, from which the Roman alphabet used in English is derived. In this type, "vowels are expressed by special signs on equal footing with consonants, as in the writing of the syllable *ta* by means of the signs *t* plus *a*."

In the second type of alphabets, vowels were not indicated by separate, inserted vowel signs, but "by small strokes, dots, or circles, placed either above or below the consonant sign." This group of alphabets included East Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic. As I will discuss presently, the Manchu script is derived from Syriac, classified by Gelb as an alphabet of the second type.

In the third type of alphabets Gelb included among others the Indic scripts, whose historically most important representatives are Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. The major difference from alphabets of the second type is Indic scripts' marking of vowels using strokes attached to the written syllable.[49] Gelb derived the Indic scripts from the Near East, but also categorized several of their distinguishing features as innovations. We saw that both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī reached China and were very influential there. By way of Tibetan, Indic scripts also influenced Mongol and Manchu writing in very important ways, as we have seen in previous chapters.

Gelb did not mention either Mongol or Manchu, but it is clear from his placement of the Indian scripts in the alphabet category that he might have categorized also the former as alphabets, but it is unclear of which type. As we saw above, Gelb classified Syriac as an alphabet of the second type. We saw in chapter 3 that the Syriac script was used to write Uighur, then Mongol, and finally Manchu. The script retained essential features as it travelled eastward.

Chapter 3 showed the development of the reformed Manchu script from Mongol, noting its use of connected graphs that change shape depending on their position in a word or in isolation. Theoreticians of writing have understood these changes as representing either alternative shapes of the same, abstract character or, in some analyses, letters. Every theorization of the Manchu script will have to decide how to treat some of its particuliarities. For example, the sounds represented by a written Manchu words change according to diacritics placed alongside the central vertical axis but without touching it. In figure 3.1, for example, we saw a diacritic dot belonging to the syllable *ga*. Without the dot, the syllable would be pronounced *ka*. When writing the word with a pen or brush, the diacritics are customarily added last, after the central axis has been completed. Their placement along the axis can also vary within certain limits. The conceptualizations of the Manchu script treat the diacritics differently as either part of a graph representing a subsyllabic consonantal or vowel-like sound, of which one syllable can contain as many as four, or as part of a consonant-vowel unit constituting one half of a syllable.

Gelb did not categorize the Manchu script, but we can try to extrapolate from the logic of his argument. The Manchu script could conceivably be considered an alphabet of the first of Gelb's three types, if we interpret the diacritics not as such but as integral parts of letters. An analogy taken from the Roman alphabet as used to write, say, German or French would be to interpret the umlaut or diaeresis in *ü* as an integral part of that letter, as opposed to as a diacritic added to the letter *u*. There is good reason to treat the Manchu diacritics in this way,

[49]Gelb 1963, 184–187.

and we will see that many Western scholars have done just that. It is harder to imagine that Gelb would have considered the Manchu script an alphabet of the third type, along with the Indic scripts. Whereas basic signs in the Indic scripts represent an initial consonant and the vowel *a*, which has to be modified by diacritics to take on the sound value of other vowels, syllables written in the Manchu (and Uighur and Mongol) script always distinguish vowels to some degree. Even though, as mentioned, Uighur or Mongol syllables can be ambiguous as to whether the intended vowel is *a* or *e*, *o* or *u*, etc., the reader never has the choice of all of these four (or more) vowels at the same time. One sign is used for *o* and *u*, and a very different sign for *a* and *e*. In Manchu, even this ambiguity does not exist. Still, there does exist some ambiguity with regards to how the Manchus themselves thought of their diacritics. It is not entirely obvious that they saw them as modifying single vowels, as a categorization of their script as an alphabet of the first type would imply. In some letter combinations with diacritics added, it appears as if the Manchus and Chinese on the contrary saw the diacritics as modifying the syllable as a whole, as we saw in chapter 5.

Criticism of Gelb's Model

Gelb's typology of writing has been criticized from two points of view. We established above that glottographic writing is implicitly understood to derive its systematicity from the systematicity of language or speech. One criticism of Gelb consisted in pointing out examples of either glottographic writing that did not fit the typology of logographies, syllographies, and alphabets, or of moments in the history of writing that did not fit the schema of alphabets developing out of syllabaries that in turn developed out of logographies. This was a criticism of Gelb's typology of scripts. The other criticism of Gelb built on a revised understanding of the systematicity or structure of speech. I will review these two avenues of criticism in this section.

Criticism of Gelb's Typology

Philologists and grammatologists have argued both that the division of the world's writing systems into logographies, syllabaries, and alphabets is too simplistic to constitute a useful typology of writing. They have further argued that a narrative of the development of writing as progressing through these three types is untenable in the light of historical evidence.

Some recent scholarship defends both Gelb's theory of writing as developing in three stages and his characterization of Egyptian and West Semitic as syllabic scripts, not consonant alphabets.[50] Yet much of the debate surrounding Gelb's book concerned precisely this latter point. For some specialists, close examination of the Near Eastern scripts showed that they could not easily be classified—or, in a teleological narrative centered on the alphabet: dismissed—as syllabic. Instead, the study of these script prompted the adoption of more and new categories to describe the world's writing systems. Peter T. Daniels remarked that "the progression to an alphabet took place once only, through West Semitic to Greek, and hardly deserves to become the model for a universal law. The intellectual achievement involved … was remarkable and apparently unique." Of particular importance for the history

[50]Powell 1991, 238–245.

of the Manchu script, Daniels argued that it was not true that alphabets could never develop into syllabaries. As an example of such a development, Daniels cited the so-called "Caroline Islands script," which was used in parts of Micronesia: "Its first symbols were the letters of the roman alphabet," which the speakers of Carolinian had learned from missionaries, "but the Carolinians used the characters to represent the entire syllables that constituted the names of the letters (borrowed from Spanish)."[51] According to Daniels, examples such as this one showed that passage between alphabet and syllabary was possible in both directions.

Much of the criticism of Gelb consisted in further questioning his teleology by reclassifying scripts that Gelb had considered either consonant alphabets, sorted under the broader category of alphabets, or syllabaries. The Indic scripts were one example of writing systems that were felt not to fit neatly in either category. As those scripts, and the scholarly traditions that developed around them, influenced writing both in China and Manchuria, they are of particular interest to us here.

As with much of the criticism of Gelb, the arguments were not entirely new, but rather consisted in revisiting concepts introduced but temporarily displaced by Gelb's influential book. Already in 1948, James G. Février (1895–1976) introduced the term "neosyllabary" in reference partly to Indic scripts that by default write a consonant along with a certain vowel, which is then modified with diacritics to mark the same consonant in conjunction with other vowels.[52] As we saw, Richard G. Salomon and others call such Indic scripts, including Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, 'alphasyllabaries.' Gelb had not denied the reality of the characteristic features of Indic scripts, but he did not think they warranted classifying Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī as anything different from an alphabet, which, we remember, would have jeopardized his teleology of the development of scripts. Yet as apparent from the discussion of these scripts in chapter 2,[53] there are circumstances surrounding the Indic scripts that greatly support scholars like Salomon, who see them as 'alphasyllabaries' although they are probably derived from Aramaic or a similar Near Eastern script.

Rethinking the Systematicity of Speech: A Criticism From Within the Western Linguistic Tradition

In addition to the typological criticism of Gelb's theory of writing, summarized in the preceding section, Gelb has also been criticized from within the tradition of Western linguistics. In order to understand that criticism, we must first understand the discipline of linguistics as it appeared in the West at the beginning of the past century.

Twentieth-century linguistics was founded as a discipline stressing the study of language as speech. A focus on the sounds of language accompanied this focus. Yet the study of speech sounds as a realm separate from the study of the alphabet is relatively recent in the West. The sounds of language do not seem to have been recognized by the Greeks and Romans as its own field of study, but in the multilingual print culture of Renaissance Europe, spelling and sound became seen as important issues for authorities on language.

[51] Daniels 1990, 728.
[52] Février (1948) 1959, 333; Daniels 1990, 730.
[53] See page 84.

In the middle ages, "Latin was everywhere learned as a second language, and pronounced with 'an accent' depending on the first language of the individual and his community." This circumstance " may have been partly responsible for the lack of interest in phonetic detail," R.H. Robins asserted.[54] In the Renaissance the study of Near Eastern languages also joined that of Greek and Latin, widening the field of vision of European scholars. With the humanists' focus on retrieving classical Latin from before its alleged corruption in the middle ages came a new focus on pronunciation. Similar attention was paid to the now (sixteenth century CE) extensively written and printed vernacular languages, such as Italian, French, and English. "The pronunciation of mediaeval Latin had been relatively unimportant and varied with the first language of the speaker." "The new grammars of modern languages," by contrast:

> paid great attention to the relations between spelling, now being standardized in printing, and pronunciation. Problems of orthography and of spelling reform took on a fresh significance, and, while the confusing equation of letter and spoken sound continued, phonemic inadequacies of existing spellings were noted and resented.[55]

In the sixteenth century the letters *j* and *v* were introduced to differentiate the sounds indiscriminately written using *i* and *u*,[56] and the relatively complicated orthographies of English and French were explained to second-language learners using a spelling that attempted to more accurately catch the sound of the language represented.[57] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, work on accurately transcribing the sounds of speech continued partially prompted by increased contact with the non-European world.[58]

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the stress on accurately representing and describing the sounds of speech became more prominent in what Harris called "the first redefinition of linguistics itself," which amounted to

> a decision to restrict the concept 'language' in a particularly narrow way. In the first place, it restricted language to speech; and then it restricted speech to the production of determinate strings of phonemes, segmentable into determinate substrings, each identifiable as the manifestation of a determinate linguistic sign. … In brief, it was a linguistics which could handle the phenomena of speech only in so far as a speaker's vocalization was reducible to a set of determinate phonological forms with determinate meanings and a determinate combinatorial pattern. Any aspects of speech not reducible to this schema were simply ignored.[59]

The increased focus on speech and pronunciation that we saw from at least the sixteenth century onward did not signify a turn away from the Roman script, but rather its reimagination as the structure of language itself. The discipline of linguistics as defined in the early

[54]Robins (1967) 1976, 78.
[55]Robins (1967) 1976, 100.
[56]Robins (1967) 1976, 110.
[57]Kemp 2006, 399.
[58]Kemp 2006, 400.
[59]Harris 2003, 20–21.

twentieth century was to some extent a game rigged from the beginning to ultimately support the alphabet as the normative model for writing.

During the course of the twentieth century, however, this projection of the structure of the alphabet onto speech came under increased criticism. In laboratories, the sounds of language could be recorded and observed in much greater detail than before. At the same time, the testimony given to linguistic anthropologists by their non-Western subjects on how they perceived their own language revealed a perception of the functioning of speech very different from the model just sketched.

The criticism, which in one scholar's words might even lead to something like "the end of linguistics as we know it,"[60] also has implications for Gelb's typology of scripts. In the remainder of this section I will review that criticism, and then outline its consequences for grammatology.

Linguists questioned first the assumption that a string of speech was analogous to an alphabetically written text, then the definition and the very notion of the alphabet itself. They thus advanced the criticism of the Western tradition further than did the grammatologists. Experimental phonology showed a theoretical model that treated the speech chain as consisting of discrete units similar to letters of the alphabet could not be treated as an accurate reflection of the actual structure of the speech chain itself. Rather, it was shown that the continuum of speech cannot be divided into discrete, atomic units of sound, commonly called 'phonemes', any more than the action of a person rising from a chair can be divided into several discrete movements.[61] "From a strictly phonetic point of view," Harris wrote, "every syllable is a continuum with a certain duration, which can be divided for purposes of analysis into as many consecutive segments as may be wished."[62]

Early in the history of academic, twentieth-century linguistics, scholars questioned the idea that spoken language consists of phonemes, which in the best of worlds are represented in writing each by one alphabetical letter. Edward Sapir (1884–1939), who had great experience studying unwritten Native American languages, argued for instance that the phoneme has no concrete reality in the stream of sound, but only in the mind of the speakers.[63] In an important step towards questioning the Western tradition and its assumptions, Sapir drew attention to the difficulties Western field linguists faced when trying to interview informants from cultures with a radically different conception of language.[64]

Other scholars questioned the then-current definition of phonemes by means of positive characteristics, describing them instead as the representation of differences in the speech chain (a move very much in the spirit of structuralism, with which linguistics was almost coterminous at this time). The alphabet-derived signs that linguists wrote down as "phonemes" ought better to be called "graphemes," "transcribemes," or simply "letters," it was argued.[65] A particularly radical voice, recorded only as a one page summary of a paper read in 1937, identified a "a failure to appreciate the fictional nature of the phonemic concept and its derivatives"

[60]Port 2006, 361, where the statement is formulated as a question.
[61]Harris (2000) 2005, 131.
[62]Harris (2000) 2005, 136.
[63]Sapir 1925.
[64]Sapir 1933.
[65]Twaddell 1935, 54.

among linguists of the day.[66] The influential French linguist André Martinet (1908–1999), also taking a structuralist position, proposed that "distinctive features" (*traits pertinents*), rather than phonemes, should be at the basis of the phonological analysis.[67] As features were not linear, their elevation to categories of the first order was a step away from the implicit identification of letters and phonemes. Morris Halle's seminal article from 1954 took this reasoning further. On the basis of experimental evidence, Halle held that speech was a "continuous flow of sound, an unbroken chain of movements."[68] Differences in this chain could be understood as the presence or absence of distinctive features, clusters of which could be understood as phonemes. The latter could be presented "in the form of a matrix in which each phoneme is given with the distinctive features which are necessary for its identification."[69]

With Halle's grid, phonetical notation was no longer linear, but two-dimensional; during the decades since Saussure, phonology had left the alphabetical model for understanding speech further and further behind. Debunking the idea that speech could be understood as consisting of linear, positively existing letter-like units of sound had consequences for grammatology. In Gelb's model, the alphabet was defined as the writing system that most closely mimicked the structure of speech. Now, however, the sounds of speech could no longer be successfully described as an idealized alphabet. If that was the case, then what made alphabetic writing fundamentally different from other systems of writing? Why should the alphabet be privileged as the most advanced script? And if phonemes were but expedient fictions of the analyst, how come they had played such an important role in the definition of modern linguistics?

As it became increasingly clear that the unbroken chain of spoken language could not be satisfactorily segmented as a linear succession of phonemes, linguists questioned why this notion had arisen, coming to the conclusion that it was largely the result of cultural bias. Sometimes exposure to East Asian writing systems and pedagogical traditions contributed to this realization, prompting scholars to "recall the principles of other systems of writing to redress the balance of the West" and to recognize "other systems of thought and systems of writing outside the Western European tradition."[70] In another example, the iconoclastic linguist Roy Harris, cited earlier, has argued that the phoneme is an abstraction born out of an alphabetic culture. Defining the alphabet as a system of writing where, ideally, a single symbol is used to represent a single phoneme is to put the cart before the horse; rather, by developing the notion of a phoneme, it is Western phonological theory that has come to conform to the structure of the Graeco-Roman alphabet, not the other way around.[71] Similarly, Robert F. Port has in a series of papers (and I suspect more are forthcoming) criticized the alphabetical

[66]Butlin 1937.

[67]Martinet 1949.

[68]Halle (1954) 1972, 333.

[69]Halle (1954) 1972, 341. Yet Halle still stated that "Language consists of discrete units of short duration which meet certain physical requirements (the phonemes)."

[70]Firth 1948, 255.

[71]Harris (2000) 2005, 119–120. A similar point is made in Öhman 2002. Furthermore, studies involving Chinese-speakers unfamiliar with the Roman alphabet indicate that they do not tend to segment speech in the same way as Chinese-speakers trained to transcribe their language using that alphabet do: Read et al. 1986 (an article that does not question the notion of phoneme).

model's applicability in phonology. Drawing, like his predecessors, on results obtained in experimental phonology, Port concluded that

> one fails to find any cognitive role for abstract, segment-size units that are invariant across speakers, across speaking rates, and across variation in neighboring contexts. The strong likelihood that speech relies on some relatively rich and detailed representational scheme pushes all conventional linguistic representations based on letterlike units out of any possible role in real-time speech performance. Consonant and vowel-size units appear to be completely irrelevant to both speech production and perception.[72]

Unlike writers from the early and mid-twentieth century, contemporary scholars like Port are presented with the question of why, despite decades of ever clearer experimentally obtained data, the phoneme-based paradigm is still so strong in phonological analysis. Port's conclusion is that the paradigm's resilience stems from the powerful conditioning of an individual's perception of linguistic phenomena that is a consequence of learning how to read and write. "Why is the inference that there is no real-time psychological role for phones or phonemes so difficult to entertain?," Port asks:

> One reason that has been suggested is why would speakers ignore the availability of an efficient, low-bit-rate code like the alphabet when it seems so obvious and readily available? The answer to this is, of course, that an alphabet-like representation is not, in fact, readily available—not until literacy skills are developed.[73]

The "way of listening to and thinking about speech sounds" practiced in current phonological research, Port argued, "is not obvious at all to most 6-year-olds or to those with no alphabet training."[74] The realization that an alphabetical education during childhood is so influential even on self-aware researchers' perception of language seems to have compelled Port to consider the role of schooling in the formation of literacy, and the role of literacy in the "social institution" of language itself. Defining language as "a partially structured system of conventions created by a community of speakers and refined over generations," Port calls it a "technology developed by a community for coordination of behavior" (elsewhere he has similarly called letters "an engineering trick"[75]). The "orthographic system," which I read to mean an established alphabetic script, is another such "institutional technology."[76] In a conclusion that seems capable of accommodating also higher linguistic technologies like pedagogical syllabaries or dictionaries, Port writes that all such systems "exhibit ratchetlike accumulation of knowledge and skills over generations that facilitate survival and reproduction in the ecological niche of the community."[77]

[72]Port 2010a, 310.

[73]Port 2010a, 311.

[74]Port 2010a, 311.

[75]Port 2010c, 61.

[76]Indeed, elsewhere (Port 2010b, 43) he writes that "the alphabet is actually a technology that has imposed itself on our understanding of language."

[77]Port 2010a, 313.

Port's main interest is in phonology, not in writing systems or the social practices that support them. Beyond the displacement of the alphabet from its privileged position as the writing system closest to speech, Port does not offer us much that can help us account for the specific functioning of the Manchu script in the context of late imperial China. Yet his brief treatment of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) as a kind of "cognitive scaffolding,"[78] comparable to "the use of blueprints for architectural projects, date-book calendars and phone directories" offers a model that also seems to accommodate the books and booklets that I have discussed in this study. Cognitive scaffolding involve the use of "external objects, including marks on paper, to help with a task where our memory might fail us."[79] I do not think Port would object if we were to add syllabaries, that teach students to read and write, and dictionaries to that list. It would thus be clear from Port's research that (1) writing is a technology and the applications to sustain and use it are high-tech developments (cognitive scaffolding), and (2) that both the structure of the writing system and its acquisition in school affect what people think about language and, more importantly perhaps, what they *do* with it.

Yet as the previous survey of the development of grammatology indicated, it is not clear what differentiates various writings systems or kinds of 'cognitive scaffolding.' The linguistic research surveyed in this section has, if anything, added to the confusion by rejecting the idea that alphabetic writing is characterized by mimicking the structure of speech and thus a superior form of 'cognitive scaffolding.'

A Typology of Scripts, Not Notations

The criticism of the phoneme-based model for understanding the structure of speech undermines Gelb's typology of scripts, since without a speech chain consisting of letter-like units, a letter-based alphabet is no longer qualitatively different from logographies and syllabaries. How, then, ought we to define what the alphabet is?

Roy Harris, who, as we saw, rejected the definition of the alphabet as writing that represents the atomic structure of speech, also provided a new definition of it. The functioning of the alphabet as mimicking the functioning of speech being now defunct, he appealed instead to its genealogy. Harris redefined the alphabet as "a form of writing that uses notational units derived historically from the series traditionally known as 'alphabetic' and employed in various cultures from the second millennium BC onwards."[80]

Using Harris's new definition, we can confidently conclude that the Manchu script is not an alphabet, since it is not derived from the Greek script where the initial letters were called *alpha* and *beta*, but from one of its distant, Near Eastern relatives. Yet Harris's definition does little to help us situate Western alphabets and the Manchu script in a typology of writing, in which the scripts are positively characterized and contrasted according to their use in their respective literate communities.

[78]Port 2006, 349.

[79]Port 2006, 354. It remains somewhat unclear, however, what the difference is between cognitive scaffolding and a technology, as he on the same page also identifies alphabetic writing as cognitive scaffolding. As we saw, he later called alphabetic writing a technology.

[80]Harris (2000) 2005, 135.

Harris's definition referred to the letters of the alphabet as "notational units," reflecting a distinction that he made between "notations" and "scripts." The script, according to Harris, is linked to a language, and includes correspondences between letter sequences and speech sounds, orthographic conventions, and so on. The notation, in contrast, is "a set of graphic units with its own structure."[81] Harris elaborated: "The relationship between script and notation can be stated generally and informally as follows: the same notation may serve as a basis for more than one script (in fact, theoretically, for any number of scripts)."[82] The alphabet, for Harris, was a notation, not a script.[83]

Earl M. Herrick has argued further along these lines, asserting as I do here that a conceptualization of writing as glottographic will ultimately have to derive the systematicity of a script from the systematicity of language, whether the latter is understood using a model based on phonemes or any other concept. What Harris calls "script" Herrick calls "alphabet," and what Harris calls "notation" Herrick calls "script." Herrick said of the "alphabet" (i.e. Harris's 'script') that it is

> part of one language; an alphabet has a definite, complex internal structure; an alphabet has close relationships with other parts of its language. On the other hand, a script [Harris's 'notation'] does not necessarily belong to any one language; a script has much less internal structure than an alphabet; a script has no direct relationships with the other parts of any language.
>
> The *alphabet* [i.e. Harris's 'script'] of a language is made up of graphemes, which are abstract linguistic units of written language.[84]

Herrick identified five characteristics for every letter of an alphabet (in the sense of a script used by a given linguistic community):

> 1. A letter has a name. This means that whenever a written mark is an embodiment of a letter of a certain language, any normal literate of that language can name the letter which it embodies.
> 2. A letter has a pronunciation; i.e., it has certain correspondences with linguistic units in the spoken form of its language. The complexity of these correspondences varies from one language to another and from one letter to another within a language.
>
> …
>
> 3. A letter has a place in the alphabetical order of its language. This means that normal literates who are given a group of written words (or other strings of characters that embody letters) can arrange them according to this alphabetical order.

[81]Harris (2000) 2005, 114.
[82]Harris (2000) 2005, 91.
[83]Harris (2000) 2005, 135.
[84]Herrick 1974, 9–10.

4. A letter, and every other grapheme, has a certain role in the graphotactics of its language. Each language has graphotactic formulas which state the combinations of graphemes which may occur in that language. The graphotactic formulas of a language are peculiar to it and are sometimes highly characteristic of it; for example, Polish words may contain the letter sequence szcz, but English words do not contain that sequence unless they are unassimilated borrowings from Polish.
5. A letter is embodied by marks which have a certain basic shape or a certain few basic shapes. The basic shape of a character is itself an abstract linguistic unit; it is the group of geometrical distinctive features which a written mark must have so that a literate person will recognize it as an embodiment of a certain letter.[85]

Herrick's five criteria are potentially very useful for characterizing and distinguishing various 'alphabets' (Harris's 'scripts'). They are also remarkable for being so clearly formulated in relation to the European experience of writing: Herrick writes, notably, that every letter has a name. We saw in chapter 5 that what Western researchers recognize as the Manchu 'letters' did not have names in the writings by Manchu and Chinese scholars of the Qīng period.

Yet the names of letters have been important in drawing a dividing line between the script as used by a linguistic community (Herrick's 'alphabets') and the script as a system of its own (Harris's 'notation'). The distinction of these two categories will help us resolve some problems among typologies of writing which commonly ignore the distinction or, at least, remain unaware of its importance.

In the following discussion, I will adopt Harris's distinction of 'scripts' and 'notation' instead of Herrick's 'alphabets' and 'scripts.' Harris illustrated the coexistence and difference between notation and script using the history of metalanguage, that is, the language used to talk about language. Metalanguage does not necessarily imply the study of language as exemplified in this study, but it is its prerequisite. Harris wrote that "[i]n most European languages, letters have names but speech sounds do not; with the result that a letter-name is frequently pressed into service in order to identify a particular vowel or consonant." Examples of such usage included "'He slurred his esses'," where "ess" referred to the quite different sounds represented by the letter S in a word, and "'French people can't say tee aitch properly',"[86] where "tee aitch" similarly referred to the voiced labiodental consonant usually spelled using the two letter T and H in English orthography. According to this dichotomy, the names for the letters and their pronunciations belong to the script, which is here the English script, and not to the alphabetical notation used to write it.

We saw that Herrick distinguished a set of characteristics of what Harris calls 'notations.' They show clearly the important difference between a notation and a script. A notation "has no other internal organization or external relationships of its own. It has no tactic formulas to specify how its letters may follow one another. Its letters have no pronunciations, and they have no alphabetical order."[87] The organization of a notation is thus not systematic in the sense

[85]Herrick 1974, 10–11.
[86]Harris (2000) 2005, 99.
[87]Herrick 1974, 12.

implied by the terms logography, syllabary, or alphabet; it can perhaps best be described as a collection of graphic marks that can be said to have similarities to other such collections, but not be said to constitute a system without reference to circumstances external to the marks themselves.

W. C. Watt made a similar point in a review of work on the internal structure, or "grammar," of the Roman alphabet (work that had been carried out under the name of "iconics"). Watt wrote that "if we are trying to describe alphabets in terms of homogeneities tacitly 'known' to the alphabet's users, clearly the 'best' representation of those homogeneities is the one that most closely corresponds to the representation that those users in some sense have in their heads." He summarized that conclusion by the assertion that "there is no correct or adequate treatment of the alphabet that is typographic or epigraphic or paleographic or whatever unless that treatment takes into account what contribution our mind's apprehension of the alphabet makes to the alphabet's form; or what in some sense we 'know' about the alphabet's characteristics."[88]

If we consider Gelb's typology of writing from the point of view of the distinction between 'notations' and 'scripts,' we see that the typology is really one of scripts, communicational tools used in a particular community in a given time and place, and not notations. We saw that Gelb used, for example, the West Semitic peoples' understanding of their own writing systems, which belongs to the realm of the script, as a reason to classify them among the syllabaries. Yet it does not appear that Gelb clearly distinguished 'scripts' from 'notations.' Rather, in his typology of writing, his 'grammatology,' he appears to have wanted to isolate the structural characteristics of the notation, by abstracting it from both its metalanguage and the more varied and inclusive operations or ordering and teaching that we could call its 'metalinguistic praxis,' and compare notations as systems of graphical marks. The preceding discussion has been intended to show that a grammatology of notations is impossible: grammatology is a study of systems, and the ascription of systematicity to a notation by necessity involves an appeal to either language or metalinguistic praxis, which makes the grammatology a study of historically specific scripts.

Research on script and language in East Asia has also drawn attention to what we can call the complicated relationship between notations as collections of graphical marks and scripts systems to record written language. Notably, David Lurie has in a recent work on writing in Japan argued that practices surrounding the script, such as the "exegetical network" of reference works, "are not … extraneous to the writing system, but essential components of it."[89] I think we need to see 'writing system' as synonymous with Harris's 'script,' remembering that it is based on a 'notation' that in itself is no more than an inventory of graphical marks. In light of the discussions in chapter 5 and 6, we see that Lurie's extension of the writing system *qua* script to include reference works and exegetical practices, in addition to for example names and alphabetical order, is entirely appropriate and necessary for an understanding of the Manchu script.

[88]W. Watt 1975, 295. Somewhat similarly, Mountford 1968, 230 (where the term "graphology" is used in a sense close to Watt's 'iconics' and the "graphemics" of Gelb 1974, 299–300) asserted that a "set of symbols," meaning the 'notation' in Harris's parlance, "is inert."

[89]Lurie 2011, 341.

The preceding discussion began by describing Gelb's grammatology as a teleological account of the superiority of the Graeco-Roman alphabets as the systems of writing that most closely mimicked the structure of speech. It then challenged that grammatology by showing that Gelb's definition of the alphabet was untenable, as speech could not be said to have the structure posited by Gelb. Dispensing with Gelb's definition of the alphabet, we concluded with several scholars that the alphabet can only be defined historically.

Acknowledging that any grammatology, including Gelb's typology of writing, is a comparative study of historically specific scripts gives a new sense of urgency to the historical study of metalanguage and metalinguistic praxis. Without studying how the users of Manchu thought about their script; how they learned and taught it; and how they used it to create new types of 'cognitive scaffolding' we simply cannot say what the Manchu script was, let alone integrate it into the general framework of grammatology.

The European Invention of the Manchu Alphabet (1682–1807)

Johnson called the East Indians barbarians.

BOSWELL: “You will except the Chinese, Sir?”

JOHNSON: “No, Sir.”

BOSWELL: “Have they not arts?”

JOHNSON: “They have pottery.”

BOSWELL: “What do you say to the written characters of their language?”

JOHNSON: “Sir, they have not an alphabet. They have not been able to form what all other nations have formed.”

James Boswell (1740–1795),
recording English lexicographer Samuel Johnson (1709–1784)[1]

I have obtained a fragment of the grammar of the language of the Tartars of China. The characters in it are interesting. They do not express things like those of the Chinese, nor letters like ours, but syllables, in a very peculiar way. I hope that I will some day be able to learn more about the peculiarities of the languages of Tartary…

Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716),
in a letter to Johan G. Sparfvenfelt (1655–1727)[2]

[1]Boswell 1900, 357.

[2]Leibniz 1697, 15: *J'ay obtenu un fragment de la Grammaire des Tartares de la Chine. Les caracteres en sont plaisans. Ils n'expriment pas les choses comme ceux des chinois, ny les lettres commes les nostres, mais les syllabes d'une façon assez singulière. Je souhaitterois fort de pouvoir apprendre un jour plus de particularités des langues … de la Tartarie.…* The translation follows Aalto 1976, 2.

In the first section of this appendix we saw that the Western division of the world's scripts into alphabets, syllabaries, and logographies is problematic, but that such a division would probably classify the Manchu script as some kind of alphabet. We also noted (in chapter 5), however, that the Manchus themselves did not conceptualize their script in such a way. The purpose of this second part of the appendix is to historicize the conceptualization of the Manchu script as an alphabet.

By tracing the development of European Manchu studies from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, I will show that the idea that the Manchu script was an alphabet was not a given at the time that Western scholars first encountered it. Rather, the first Jesuits to learn Manchu from teachers in China tended to also adopt the Manchu and Chinese metalinguistic paradigm, which treated the Manchu script as a kind of syllabary. Yet soon the scholars who read and corresponded with the missionaries from their positions in European academies and universities started to re-conceptualize the Manchu script as consisting of letters. Wanting to create a method for learning Manchu intuitive to individuals schooled in the Roman alphabet and informed by the study of the Near Eastern scripts from which Manchu had developed, European scholars segmented the syllabary in twelve sections into abstract letters, each corresponding to an individual speech sound, realized as contextually dependent glyphs. My purpose here will be to show that the Manchu script allowed for several conceptual models. Neither the syllabic nor the alphabetic conceptualizations were necessary; on the contrary, both were products of certain historical circumstances. Just as the syllabic paradigm sustained one kind of Manchu language studies and lexicography in Qīng China, the alphabetical analysis of Manchu and the exact transliteration of written Manchu into Roman letters, that it encouraged, filled certain functions in European academia. It made the Manchu script commensurable with the Roman, Greek, and several Near Eastern scripts also studied there. It also suited the technology of moveable type printing then in common use in Europe.

Manchu and the European Scholar: A Thought Experiment

The following hypothetical scenario will illustrate the problem of confusing metalanguage and metalinguistic praxis in the classification of scripts-as-notations in its most general form; the subsequent history of the Manchu script's study in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe will show how that confusion actually played out.

I previously cited Sylvain Auroux assertion that, historically, metalinguistic knowledge has only developed after writing has been invented, not before.[3] Communication using written graphs can be intuited, without there first existing a discourse explicating its nature and usage. Only after the fact of writing's invention have questions about how writing and language work occurred to the inventors and users.

It is thus possible to imagine a community that successfully uses a newly invented or acquired alphabetical system of writing, without having developed a metalanguage to describe that system, and therefore also do not use names for the letters of the system. Yet the fact that letters have names have been seen as a characteristic of the alphabet. According to Barry B.

[3] Auroux 1994, 36.

Powell, the alphabet communicated to the Greeks by the Phoenicians had the characteristic that a "written sign corresponds to a spoken name."[4] Since the people of our hypothetical scenario did not use names for the letters, would that mean that their system of writing could not be called 'alphabetical'? The discussion in the first part of this appendix showed that such a question does not represent pointless sophistry, but is unavoidable as soon as we try to make sense of scripts from outside the Semitic and Graeco-Roman traditions within a general grammatology. As the following section will show, that includes the Manchu script as used in Qīng China.

The metalanguage that developed around the Manchu script in Qīng China was very different from the more familiar metalanguage of the alphabet, to which we are used in the European tradition. Notably, much unlike the European case, I have found no evidence that the Manchu letters had names (see chapter 5). Neither scholars nor pedagogues used names to refer to the Manchu letters, only to strokes that were not themselves associated with sound. Does this mean that Manchu writing cannot be called alphabetical? The clash of Qīng metalanguage and the prejudices of a culture ingrained in the Graeco-Roman alphabet, in whose image 'alphabetical writing' as a type was conceptualized in the West, also caused debates over the nature of the Manchu script in Europe.

Let us sketch the issue of the Manchu script's typological classification as it typically appeared to Western scholars in the twentieth century,[5] who were able to access the Manchu script both through Qīng treatises and established transcription systems using the Roman alphabet.

For twentieth-century Western scholars, the problem of the Manchu script appeared analogous to the following hypothetical scenario. A long time ago in a galaxy far, far away, a Chinese and English bilingual community would have left behind textbooks, word lists, and theoretical treatises that, although to a large part written in Chinese, showed how English was learned and explained the structure of the Roman alphabet, which was used, in a localized form, by this community to write English. English was in this community always written in a cursive hand, in which the letters were connected and the shapes differed according to whether a given letter was found in isolation, or in the beginning, middle, or end of a word. The twentieth-century scholar would quickly have realized, however, that he could transcribe the cursively written texts using print letters more familiar to him. He added the print letters next to the native hand in his source corpus. In the far-away bilingual community, students of English learned the written language, by first reciting all the script's characters in a fixed order, and thus committing them to memory. The students would have begun by the sequence of simple characters or syllables. The sequence coincided with the alphabet in its full length, from a to z, with one difference: the consonants were not written in isolation, but were followed, in succession, by each of the alphabet's vowels (a e i o u). The alphabet thus became a sequence of open syllables. The syllable sequence ran as follows:

a	*bi*	*ca*	*co*
ba	*bo*	*ce*	*cu*
be	*bu*	*ci*	*da*

[4]Powell 1991, 27.

[5]I was inspired in this thought experiment by Ligeti 1952.

de *di* *do* *du* *e* *fa* *fe* *fi*

fo *fu* …

wa *we* *wi* *wo* *wu*

xa *xe* *xi* *xo* *xu* *ya* *ye* *yi*

yo *yu* *za* *ze* *zi* *zo* *zu*[6]

Following this simple sequence, the students would learn complex sequences, which each consisted of the simple sequence plus an additional letter, resulting in lists of closed syllables. For example, one complex sequence ran:

an *ban* *ben* *bin* … *zen* *zin* *zon*

Another complex sequence ran *at*, *bat*, *bet* etc., and a third ran *ar*, *bar*, *ber* etc.

After reciting these sequences, the students would learn to write words by connecting them: *bo* plus *ok* spelled *book*, and *let* plus *ter* spelled *letter*. However, the English vocabulary used by this community contained words, whose spelling was not easily predictable on the basis of the sequences of simple open syllables and complex, closed syllables. *complex* was one such word, where the letter sequence *-mpl-* could not be successfully parsed into syllables found in any of the sequences of syllables. In the English textbooks used by the community, words containing such sequences would commonly be appended to the syllable sequences, to be learned as exceptions.

To facilitate the learning of the characters, the syllables were described as consisting of strokes. For example, *e* and *i* shared a stroke bending downwards and to the right, and the beginning of the characters *ba* and *da* shared a tall ellipsis so narrow, that it almost appeared as one, vertical stroke. Learning that the syllables subdivided into strokes, the originally unwieldy number of simple and complex syllables, with the additional lexical exceptions, became more manageable for the students.

This system of organizing and teaching the English script would have baffled our hypothetical twentieth-century Western scholar. Why make things so complicated? It would appear obvious to him that the English alphabet did not consist of more than a thousand written syllables, with additional exceptions, which in turn decomposed into a few basic strokes of the pen; as he had known since childhood, the English alphabet consisted of twenty-six *letters*, which in turn could spell any number of words. The syllable had no place in the structure of the script, only in the structure of speech. Our scholar would quickly discard the pedagogical regime used by this community, and instead describe their cursive English script, in a to him familiar and rational way, as an alphabet.

[6]These cursive letters were produced using Måns Grebäck's (http://www.aringtypeface.com/) font Signerica.

The correctness of the characterization of this hypothetical English cursive seems to depend entirely on the role we accord metalanguage in the typology of scripts. If metalanguage does not matter at all, it appears entirely appropriate to characterize the extraterrestrial English cursive as an alphabet. If, on the other hand, metalanguage is taken as predominant for the typology, the English cursive should more appropriately have been labeled a syllabary, since that was evidently how it was understood, organized, and taught by its users. The hypothetical scenario thus described will serve as an analogy for how the Manchu script (structurally similar to the Graeco-Roman alphabet, but with contextually dependent shapes for every letter) was analyzed and classified by certain European scholars. In the writings of these scholars, just as in this example, the undertheorization of the typology, that is the unclarity with regards to the consideration that was due native metalanguage and metalinguistic praxis, also led to similar uncertainty with regards to Manchu's place in a typology of scripts.

European Orientalism

The European invention of the Manchu alphabet was part of a broader movement in European thought and scholarship commonly called Orientalism, dating perhaps from the Renaissance. In the early Enlightenment the focus of attention was broadened from the Near East to more distant Asia. Reports and publications by overseas travelers contributed to a great interest with things Chinese in Europe from the seventeenth century. Before the mid-eighteenth century at least, most European scholars appear to have tried through their studies of Asia to integrate the cultures and histories of that region into a world-historical narrative anchored in the Old Testament.[7] Scholars also used Asian history and religion to either strengthen Christianity or support a distinctly Western but anti-Catholic Deism, by arguing for a lost monotheism underlying the current belief systems of Asia. Studies produced to that end eventually led to the recognition of Buddhism and Hinduism as organized religions. Given the origins of Buddhism in India, South Asia increasingly took the place of East Asia as the focus of European scholarship during the course of the eighteenth century.[8] The debates of the Manchu script that were carried out in European scholarship in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not involve either religion or India per se, but the desire to make Eurasian connections is evident in scholarship on Manchu that related it to Near Eastern scripts such as those of Syriac and Arabic.

The European interest in Near Eastern and Asian cultures comprised the study of languages and scripts previously largely unknown in Europe, including Mesopotamian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphs. Initially, European scholars were unable to understand or vocalize texts written in those scripts, which looked nothing like the alphabets with which they were familiar. Several of the scholars who deciphered the Near Eastern scripts were personally acquinted with the early European Manchu studies scholars. The story of the invention of the Manchu alphabet in Europe is certainly related to the contemporary study of cuneiform

[7] Dew 2009, argues that the Christian paradigm was disappearing after 1750.

[8] App 2010. At the same time, European intellectuals' view of China seem to have become less positive: Burson 2013.

and hieroglyphic writing.[9] Some of the tools used to analyze and present the Manchu script in Europe (notably, the two-dimensional grid) were also used in the decipherment of the then illegible scripts. Unfortunately, time has not allowed me to fully account for the place of Manchu studies in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European Orientalism in the research and writing of this appendix.

Early Jesuit Accounts of the Manchu Script

Jesuit missionaries settled in China from the late sixteenth century, carried to Asia on Portuguese ships trading on the southern Chinese coast.[10] The Jesuits communicated reports and studies about China to the European republic of letters. From the late seventeenth century, the French court took a greater interest in the Chinese mission, dispatching their own missionaries to China, where they arrived in 1688.[11] The Jesuit students of Manchu belonged to both the Portuguese-led and the French-led groups.

The earliest Jesuit report of the Manchu script appears to be a few sentences by Gabriel de Magalhães (1610–77), a Portuguese missionary who was in China at the time of the Manchu conquest, and was put in prison, tortured, and sentenced to death twice during that chaotic period.[12] In 1647, Magalhães wrote, in Joseph Sebes' translation, that the Manchus:

> have an alphabet but no learned persons. … The consonants are the same as ours. However, they cannot distinguish them from the vowels and constantly mix them up. They teach the children the consonants joined together in syllables, thus making twelve chapters (combinations [Sebes' note]); e.g., *pa*, *pe*, *pi*, *po*, *pu*, [*pû*.][13]

Magalhães planned to write an "Alphabet," which he was unfortunately not able to finish.[14]

Ferdinand Verbiest's Manchu Grammar (1682)

The first Manchu grammar written by a European was titled *Elementa linguæ tartaricæ* (Rudiments of the Tartar language). Its author was the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88), who

[9]Pope (1975) 1999.

[10]The Portuguese-led Jesuit mission is the subject of Brockey 2007.

[11]Dehergne 1973, 335.

[12]Pfister (1891) 1932, 251–255 (entry 88); Dehergne 1973, 161–162 (entry 506).

[13]Sebes 1981–1982, 6.

[14]The information comes from Claude Bernou, Magalhães' translator, and was brought to the attention of scholars by de Jaegher: Magalhães 1688, 33; Jaegher 1923, 190. Furthermore, Palafox y Mendoza 1670, 414 contains the mention that "the letters or characters used by the Tartares are fairly similar to those in Japan; both of them use but a few of the strokes that make up the charact[ers] of the Chinese" (*Les lettres ou caracters dont se servent les Tartares sont assez semblables à celles du Japon; Et toutes les deux ne sont que quelques traits de ceux qui forment les caractes* [sic] *Chinois*). Palafox was ordained in 1639, travelled to Mexico and from there to the Philippines before arriving in China ("Avis," no pagination). Rudolph and Walravens 2009, 363 list (item 956) an edition of Palafox's book from 1723, published in Amsterdam.

arrived in China in 1659 and is most known perhaps for his work on astronomy at the Manchu court.[15] Verbiest had written the work in Běijīng. Philippe Couplet (1623–93)[16] had brought it to Paris. Most of the short book consisted of presentations of Manchu morphology and syntax in the Latin tradition. No Manchu type was used (indeed, at this early date, none had yet been cast), but included were a Manchu script sample and a brief explanation of the script's structure.

The grammar's publisher was Melchisédech Thévenot (*c.* 1622–92), French *curieux* and notable citizen of the republic of letters.[17] Thévenot had since 1672 published four installments of a series titled *Relations de divers voyages curieux.* When he died, several pieces remained unpublished, having been intended to appear a fifth installment of the series. Some, perhaps all, of these were printed in 1696. Verbiest's grammar was included in that posthumous collection.

The editors of Thévenot's posthumous collection published the grammar without indication of its authorship, which would remain without a definitive answer until the twentieth century. Some European scholars of Manchu in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries believed the *Elementa* to have been written by Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707).[18]

It appears that Verbiest in addition to the grammar also composed a presentation of the Manchu script, which is now lost. The Chinese Catholic scholar Shěn Fúzōng 沈福宗 (Michael Xin Fò çum; *c.* 1657–91[19]/1716[20]), in an undated note appended by George Sharpe to Thomas Hyde's (1636–1703) *Syntagma dissertationum*, wrote about a "Tartar … Alphabet … edited by Ferdinand Verbiest,"[21] which Shěn thought that Thévenot had printed along with the *Elementa*.[22] Sharpe also included a note written by Hyde "on the first page of Thévenot's Tartar Grammar, found [on] a sheet of paper inserted in [his] journal."[23] The note identified the page as "from the 4th part of Thévenot's *Voyages*—this work is indeed rare and not easily obtainable, and, moreover, lacks the Tartar Alphabet."[24] These statements make it seem that Verbiest not only wrote a Manchu grammar, but also an "Alphabet" (*Alphabetum*). A description from the mid-nineteenth century of a copy of Verbiest's grammar noted that a "*Tartar Alphabet and basic letters* are added [following the grammar], written very diligently in Tartar

[15]Pfister (1891) 1932, 338–362 (entry 124); Dehergne 1973, 288–290 (entry 883), 331.

[16]Dehergne 1973, 66–67 (entry 221).

[17]For Thévenot life's and work: Dew 2009, 81–130, 205–233, *et passim.*

[18]See Pelliot 1922, 1925/1926; Jaegher 1923; Aalto 1976, and the definitive study Golvers 1996. Before Pelliot's investigations, various opinions regarding the authorship of Verbiest's grammar circulated: Lanjuinais 1808, 10–11 believed that the published grammar had been written by Gerbillon, but that another grammar by Verbiest existed in manuscript at the Collegium Romanum. Biographical notes on Gerbillon are found in Pfister (1891) 1932, 443–451 (entry 173; including the incorrect attribution of the grammar's authorship to him on 450); Dehergne 1973, 108–109 (entry 360).

[19]Date from Pān Jíxīng 1994, 67.

[20]Date from Huáng Gǔ 1992, 20.

[21]Hyde 1767, vol. 2, 520: *Alphabetum … Tatarica … composita à Ferdinando Verbiest.*

[22]Pelliot 1922, 375.

[23]Hyde 1767, vol. 2, 510: *… ad primam paginam Grammaticæ Tataricæ Thevenotii, cujus folium tantummodò unum inter adversaria reperitur.*

[24]Hyde 1767, vol. 2, 509: *Thevenotius Itinerariorum parte 4tâ.—rarius quidem est nec facile parabile scriptum illud, & insuper Alphabeto caret Tatarico.*

characters, and arranged with the corresponding explanations (to the side of each character) in Latin letters."[25]

It is not clear why the *Alphabetum* was not included with the published grammar. Noël Golvers has shown that the now extant version of the published text in reality represents a second printing. Thévenot first printed it in 1686, but withheld circulation in anticipation of eventually including it in the *Relations*. In the first printing, the grammar seems to have still been preceded by the *Alphabetum*, which was removed for the published print that appeared a decade later.[26] We know that Thévenot, Verbiest's publisher, wanted to print his Orientalist works using moveable-type fonts to represent the original non-Western scripts, but he never managed to do so.[27] Perhaps his inability to procure a set of Manchu type compelled Thévenot to eventually exclude the *Alphabetum* from the second printing that he intended for wide circulation.

As for its contents, Verbiest's "Alphabet" appears to have been an annotated version of the common Qīng syllabary (for which see chapter 5), as it was divided into twelve sections and contained 1443 syllabic characters.[28] It is possible, then, that Verbiest used the word *Alphabetum* loosely in reference to what his contemporaries would recognize as a syllabary.

Lacking Verbiest's and Magalhães' "Alphabets," we are left with the brief comments that the former made in the beginning of the *Elementa* as the earliest accessible description of the Manchu script in Europe. The comments are found in the first chapter, "On the letters and their pronunciation" (*De litteris, ac modo pronunciandi*). Verbiest described the Manchu script in terms of a syllabary in twelve sections, which indicates that he was thinking of the script in a way similar to his Manchu teachers in China:

> The letters of the Tartars, or, rather, syllables of the letters, make up 12 elements, or—in their own terms—12 heads. That is, they contain 12 classes of spoken monosyllables, with their different ways of connecting among themselves, all express the characteristic pronunciations of the language. They have, moreover, defined the number of the classes to 12 according to the different endings of their syllables, which are 12 in number. I will now quote them.[29]

Verbiest used the term "letter" (*littera*), but did not immediately specify to what graphic unit this concept corresponded in the Manchu script. Instead, he chose to first describe the

[25]Pelliot 1922, 382: *accedit* Alphabetum Tartaricum et elementa prima*, charactere tartarico diligentissime scriptum, cum (ad latus singulorum characterum) ejusdem explicatione literis latinis posita.* Pelliot was quoting the Catholic bibliographer Carlos Sommervogel (1834–1902), who in turn quoted Father Beorchia's (d. 1859) manuscript bibliography of the holdings of the Jesuit Collegium Romanum, where the manuscript copy of Verbiest's *Elementa* was once held.

[26]Golvers 1996, 586.

[27]Dew 2009, 233.

[28]Golvers 1996, 584.

[29][Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 4: *Tartari suas litteras, seu potiùs litterarum syllabas ad 12. elementa, sive (ut ipsorum idiomate utar) ad 12. capita reducunt, id est, aperiunt 12. classes vocum monosyllabarum, ex quibus inter se diverso modo conjunctis, omnes idiomatis sui proprias voces exprimunt. Determinarunt autem classium numerum illum duodenarium juxta diversas syllabarum suarum terminationes, quæ 12. tantùm sunt, quas hîc subjicio.* I have consulted the translation in Aalto 1977.

script in terms of the syllabary in twelve sections. He continued the description:

> The syllables of the first class end in one of the vowels *a, e, i, o,* and *u*, respectively; the syllables of the 2nd in one of the diphthongs *ai, ei, ii, oi,* and *ui;* those of the 3rd in the consonant *r;* the 4th in *n;* the 5th in the *m* of the Portuguese, or the *ng* of the Germans and other peoples; the 6st in [*k*]; the 7th in *s;* the 8th in *t;* the 9th in *p;* the 10th in the diphthongs *au, eu, iu, ou,* and *uu;* the 11th in *l;* the 12th in an open *m,* or the *m* of the Romans.[30]

Verbiest then discussed the script in terms of letters. He equalled the finals represented in the twelve sections (the 'monosyllables' of the 'heads') with twelve letters. Similarly, he extrapolated letters from the sequence of initials and nuclei which in each of the syllabary's sections was paired with one of the twelve finals:

> Now, these syllables are precisely the 12 final letters of the monosyllables. The initial letters are actually around 23; that is, 5 vowels and 18 consonants, which I will list here in the order they follow when they become arranged into the 12 classes of monosyllables [i.e., grouped into twelve sections]: *N, Ka, P, S, X, T, L, M, Ch', Ch, y, Ke', Ki', Cu'* [sic; Verbiest is referring to *ku], Ca', Co', R, F,* and *W*.[31]

The list of twenty-three letters was derived from the inner sequence of the syllabary. The syllabary's first section, which had a surface representation that was identical to the inner sequence, contained a list of syllables that began with the vowels and continued with *na, ne, ni, no, nû, ka, ko, kû* etc. It was from this sequence of syllables that Verbiest extrapolated the letters he listed. (His transcription varied somewhat from what I am using here.) Verbiest then noted that "moreover, to these eighteen initial Tartar letters are added the five following: *ç, ç', i, ch', sū,* evidently to express Chinese words."[32] Verbiest thus segmented the Manchu script into "letters," which, not surprisingly, appear in his account as coterminous with the sounds of Manchu.[33]

[30][Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 4–5: *Primæ classis syllabæ terminantur un unam ex singulis vocalibus* a, e, i, o, u. *2æ in unam ex singulis diphthongis* ai, ei, ii, oi, ui. *3æ in consonantem* r. *4æ in* n. *5æ in* m *Lusitanorum, sive in* ng *Germanorum & aliarum Nationum. 6æ in* c. *7æ in* s. *8æ in* t. *9æ in* p. *10æ in diphthongos* au, eu, iu, ou, uu. *11æ in* l. *12æ in* m *apertum, sive in* m *Latinorum.*

[31]Transposed to Norman's transcription, Verbiest's sequence corresponds to: *n, ka, p, s, š, t, l, m, c, j, y, ke, ki, ku, k'a, k'o, r, f,* and *w:* [Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 5: *Atque hæ quidem sunt 12. litteræ finales monosyllabarum; initiales verò sunt circiter 23. id est 5. vocales, & 18. consonantes, quas hîc refero, & quidem eodem ordine quo in 12. classium monosyllabis componendis se invicem consequuntur.* N, Ka, P, S, X, T, L, M, Ch', Ch, y, Ke', Ki', Cu', Ca', Co', R, F, W.

[32][Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 5: *…octodecim illis initialibus litteris Tartaros præterea addidisse quinque sequentes* ç, ç', i, ch', sū, *ad exprimendas scilicet voces Sinicas.…*

[33]Yet Verbiest evidently had trouble with front- and back-vowel *k* (for which see chapter 5). Verbiest, who learned Manchu in China through the native script, knew that front- and back-vowel *k* were two distinct glyphs. But he also held that they represented the same consonant. "[I]n the consonants *K* and *C* [i.e. *k* and *k'*]," Verbiest wrote, "I have added some vowels close to the particular sound, or

Verbiest's description of the functioning of the diacritical dots and circles characteristic of reformed Manchu is revelatory in regard of his conceptualization of the script, which hovered between a syllabic and an alphabetical understanding. Verbiest wrote: "The syllable , which without the addition of a dot would be pronounced as *yan*, is by most people pronounced as *yen*, but by many pronounced as a sound between *yan* and *yen*."[34] This formulation presented the addition of a diacritic dot as something that affected the entire syllable *yan*. Unlike an alphabetical conceptualization of the script, Verbiest's formulation did not present the dot as distinguishing the vowel *-a-* from *-e-*. Similarly, when discussing the realization of *ki* as *gi* in the middle of word, Verbiest also referred to the whole syllable *ki* as a "letter" (*littera*).[35]

Verbiest explained that the script, construed as the syllabary in twelve sections, could only accommodate words from the Manchu language. When the Manchus transcribed words from languages other than Manchu into their own script, they thus had to adapt them to fit the structure of the syllabary. Verbiest gave the example of diplomatic correspondence with European countries:

> For example, when Legations from foreign Nations, such as the Portuguese, Russians, Dutch, etc., bring letters, the Tartars customarily translate them into their own language. They then largely insert the necessary vowels among the consonants in the following manner: they write the words *Petrus* and *Andreas,* for example, as *Peterus* and *Andereas*. Thus, if they are to write the sentence *Plebs est prostrata,* they write *Plebes esut porosutarata*, and so on.[36]

Verbiest held that the Manchu syllabary, to him indistinguishable from the Manchu script, prevented the Manchus from accurately transcribing European languages. This statement is puzzling for three reasons. First, at least one of the words given by Verbiest can be written using syllables from the twelve sections without difficulty: *Petrus* subdivides into *pet-* and *-rus*, syllables found in the eighth and seventh sections respectively. Second, Manchu contained

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pronunciation, that the initials announce" ([Verbiest] [1686] 1696, 5: *…consonantibus* K *&* C *addidi vocales quasdam ad exprimendum sonum illum particularem, sive pronunciatonem, quam initales referunt*). We see here that Verbiest's segmentation of Manchu into letters did not depart from Manchu speech, but from the Manchu script; he felt it necessary to retain the distinctions made in the Manchu script in his Latin transcription, which thereby approached a *transliteration,* although Verbiest does not seem to have recognized the distinction. In other words, for Verbiest, it was not possible to divide the written syllable *ka* into smaller units (i.e., letters) without losing distinctions inherent in the Manchu script and thus inherent in the Manchu language. The value of a transliteration was later argued by European scholars in a different context, as we will see in the final section of this appendix.

[34][Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 5: *…syllaba* , *quæ sine puncto addito pronuncianda esset ut* yan*, à plurimis pronunciari ut* yen*, à multis verò medio sono inter* yan *&* yen.

[35][Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 5.

[36][Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 7: *v. g. quando Legati exterarum Nationum, ut Lusitani, Moscovitæ, Hollandi, &c. epistolas suas offerunt, quas quidem Tartari in idioma suum solent vertere; tunc ejussmodi consonantibus necessariò vocalem aliquam interponunt: v. g. voces,* Petrus, Andreas*, &c. sic scribunt,* Peterus, Andereas*, &c. Sic si scribenda esset hæc propositio,* Plebs est prostrata*, scriberent,* Plebes esut porosutarata*, &c*.

many words whose syllabic structure could not be accounted for using only the syllables included in the syllabary, as I discussed in chapters 5 and 6. The existence of such words ought to have made Verbiest realize that Manchu as actually written (in turn reflecting the language as actually spoken) did not coincide exactly with the syllabary. Third, the Jesuits at the Qīng court, including Verbiest himself, acted as translators of Latin texts for the emperor; spellings such as *Peterus* would thus have been creations of the Jesuits, not the Manchus. One possible explanation for these transcriptions would be that the European terms were simultaneously transcribed into Chinese, whose writing system is distinctly syllabic. A desire to match every Manchu syllable with a Chinese syllable in the transcription might have justified the spellings given by Verbiest's as examples here. What is clear is that in transcriptions from European languages, both the Jesuits at the Qīng court and the Manchus who taught them treated the Manchu script as a syllabary.

Since Verbiest and the other Jesuits learned Manchu *in situ,* the understanding of the Manchu script represented in the *Elementa linguæ tartaricæ* undoubtedly reflected the pedagogical and scholarly traditions of seventeenth-century Qīng China. Yet Verbiest might not have been completely honest in his representation of Manchu linguistic practice; on the contrary, his exposition led toward an affirmation of European linguistic superiority, so often seen in Western typologies of writing:

> For this reason, the superiority of the letters of Latin and other Europeans stands out more clearly. They can truly be called Universal [*Catholicus*] and Apostolic, since they speak the languages of all Nations.[37]

Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716), who appears to have had access to parts of Verbiest's grammar, stated on the basis of it that the Manchu script was syllabic.[38] Yet the preceding discussion suggests that Verbiest's description of the Manchu script hovered between a syllabic and an alphabetic understanding. In the end, the apparent impossibility to satisfactorily transfer the same linguistic content from Manchu script to the Roman alphabet, and the other way around, prompted Verbiest to affirm the superiority of the European tradition. Verbiest's understanding of the Manchu script, and its deficiencies in comparison with the Roman alphabet, was not necessarily shared by other Jesuits.

Dominique Parennin's Letter on the Manchu Language (1723)

Jesuit treatments of the Manchu language after Verbiest include the much studied letter by Dominique Parennin (1665–1741), dated May 1, 1723 in Běijīng. It is known in the French version that was published in 1738 in Paris.[39] Parennin's competency in Chinese and Manchu

[37][Verbiest] (1686) 1696, 7–8: *Hinc magis elucet litterarum Latinarum, aliarumque Europæarum præstantia, quæ verè dici possunt Catholicæ & Apostolicæ, utpote quæ omnium Nationum linguis loquuntur*.

[38]See page 460.

[39]Pang and Stary 1994, 94 (in the notes) write that the letter was originally written in Latin. I do not know where the Latin original would be found. Pfister (1891) 1932, 515; Rudolph and Walravens 2009, 367 (item 973) make no mention of a Latin original (the addressee was French).

was unrivaled by other missionaries of his generation, and he held the most prominent position at the Qīng court.[40]

Much of Parennin's letter consists of the record of a conversation that Parennin had with the Kāngxī emperor's oldest son, Prince Yìnzhǐ 胤禔 (1672–1734), in Manchuria around 1705. The prince had summoned Parennin under the pretext that he write to the Jesuits who had remained in Běijīng. During their conversation, the prince let it transpire that was interested in discussing linguistic issues with Parennin. This prompted a lengthy discussion of the merits of Manchu, Chinese, and European languages, in which Parennin, by his own account, managed to convince Yìnzhǐ that European languages were, if not superior to Manchu, at least superior to Chinese. Following this conversation, Parennin added some supplementary comments on the Manchu language and Manchu penmanship for his European readers. Most interesting with regards to the conceptualization of the script was Parennin's discussion of Manchu's capability to transcribe foreign words. Parennin countered Yìnzhǐ's initial remark that Manchu and Chinese were superior to European languages in the following way:

> I thus agreed with the Prince that the Tartar language was fairly majestic and fit to describe noble acts of war; to praise the Greats; to write serious pieces; to compose history. I agreed that it possessed names and expressions for all things known by their ancestors, but I also said that one should be wary of being too protective of one's own language without prior consideration (*ne pas trop se prévenir en faveur de sa langue*).
>
> "You prefer your language," I added, "to that of the Chinese, and I think you are right in this regard. But the Chinese who know both languages, as far as they are concerned, do not agree, and in reality one cannot maintain that the Tartar language would be without defaults." These words, uttered by a foreigner, surprised the Prince, but without giving him time to respond, I added a small detail of what defaults I had noticed.
>
> "You agree," I told him, "that the Chinese with all their thousands of characters, cannot express the sounds, the words, the phrases of your language without disfiguring them to the extent of rendering a Tartar word both unrecognizable and unintelligible as soon as it is written down in Chinese. And from that you conclude with good reason that your letters (*lettres*) are better than the Chinese letters, although even fewer in number, because they express Chinese words very well. But the same reason ought to also make you agree that the characters of Europe are better than the Tartar characters, although fewer in number, since by using them we can easily express Tartar and Chinese words, and many more still that you would not be able to write."[41]

[40]Pfister (1891) 1932, 501–517 (entry 233); Dehergne 1973, 195–196 (entry 611); Ouyang 2012/2013, 47.

[41]Parennin (1738) 1811, 216–217: *J'accordai donc au Prince que la langue Tartare était assez majestueuse ; qu'elle était propre à décrire les hauts faits de guerres, à louer les Grands, à faire des pièces sérieuses, à composer l'histoire ; qu'elle ne manquait pas de termes et d'expressions pour toutes les choses dont leurs ancêtres avaient eu connaissance, mais qu'aussi on devait prendre garde de ne pas trop se prévenir en faveur de sa langue. «Vous préférez votre langue, lui ajoutai-je, à celle des Chinois, et je*

The criteria used by Parennin to judge the merits of a script were (1) its number of basic units and (2) its ability to faithfully record as many and as varied speech-sounds as possible. Parennin seems to have valued a small inventory of characters (which nevertheless had to be great enough to satisfactorily fulfill his second criterion). Comparing the number of characters in the Manchu script and Roman alphabet, Parennin stated as a matter of course that the characters of Europe are "even fewer in number" (*en plus petit nombre*) than the characters of Manchu. Parennin's statement only makes sense if we assume that he is comparing the Roman alphabet with the Manchu syllabary of more than a thousand characters, and not with a Manchu alphabet resulting from the analysis of the script into letters.[42] That Parennin was thinking about the Manchu script as a syllabary is further indicated by his evaluation of the two scripts according to his second criterion: the ability to transcribe foreign words.

The example provided by Parennin to prove his point is instructive, and identical in character to what we saw in Verbiest's grammar:

> "Your reasoning," I added, "regarding the beauty of characters proves little or nothing at all. Those who invented the European characters did not aspire to create paintings meant to please the eye; all they wanted to do was to create signs to represent their thoughts and to express all the sounds that the mouth can produce, and this has been the desire of all Nations at the moment that they invented writing. Furthermore, the simpler the signs and the fewer their number, as long as they suffice, the more admirable and easy to learn they become. In this regard, abundance is a fault, which is why the Chinese language is poorer than yours, and yours in turn is poorer than the languages of Europe."
>
> "I don't agree," the Prince said, "that we would not be able to write words from foreign languages using the Tartar characters. Do we not write the Mongol language, Korean, Chinese, and that of Tibet? etc."
>
> "That is not enough," I responded. "You would also have to be able to write ours. Try, for instance, and see whether you can write these words: *prendre, platine, griffon,* and *friand*." This he could not, because in the Tartar language,

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crois que vous avez raison : mais les Chinois de leur côté qui savent les deux langues, n'en conviennent pas ; et effectivement on ne peut nier qu'il n'y ait des défauts dans la langue Tartare». Ces dernières paroles, avancées par un étranger, le surprirent ; mais sans lui donner le temps de m'interrompre, je lui fis un petit détail de ce que j'y avais remarqué de défectueux. «Vous convenez, lui dis-je, que les Chinois avec tant de milliers de caractères, ne peuvent exprimer les sons, les paroles, les termes de votre langue sans les défigurer, de manière qu'un mot Tartare n'est plus reconnaissable, ni intelligible, dès qu'il est écrit en Chinois ; et de là vous concluez avec raison que vos lettres sont meilleures que les lettres Chinoises, quoiqu'en plus petit nombre, parce qu'elles expriment fort bien les mots Chinois. Mais la même raison devrait vous faire convenir que les caractères d'Europe valent mieux que les caractères Tartares, quoiqu'en plus petit nombre, puisque par leur moyen nous pouvons exprimer aisément les mots Tartares et Chinois, et beaucoup d'autres encore que vous ne sauriez bien écrire.

[42] A segmentation of the Manchu script into letters would yield around 28 letters used to write Manchu proper, with an additional 7 used to transcribe foreign terms, which is the combined number of the letters seen on pages 59 and 70 in Gorelova 2002, and the number 7 from the list on pages 71–72.

> one cannot join two consonants in a row; between the two, one must place a vowel, and write *perendre, pelatine, geriffon, feriand*, etc.[43]

In the subsequent discussion, which quickly lead into poetics, Parennin talked about the "Tartar alphabet … in many regards similar to ours" (*l'alphabet Tartare … en beaucoup de choses semblable au nôtre*).[44] Yet also in that context, he seems to have been still thinking about the Manchu script as a syllabary. At the very least, he faulted Manchu for precisely the same reason as had Verbiest: Manchu's perceived inability to write syllables other than those included in the syllabary in twelve sections. With regards to the conceptualization of the Manchu script by Europeans, we can conclude that with Dominique Parennin, we are still very far from a segmentation of written Manchu into letters and the organization of these letters into an alphabet. The formulations used in his missive indicate that Parennin shared the Manchu and Chinese scholars' idea of Manchu as a syllabary.

Jean Domenge's Manchu Grammar (1729)

In addition to the more well-known grammar by Verbiest, the French Jesuit Jean Domenge (1666–1735) also wrote a draft of a Manchu grammar, which he sent from China to Étienne Fourmont (1683–1745) in 1729,[45] four years after he was exiled to Guǎngzhōu. (In 1732 he was exiled even further, to the Portuguese possession of Macao close to Guǎngzhōu.) There are reports, which I have yet to investigate, that Domenge compiled a *Dictionnarium Tartarico-sinicum* (Tartar-Chinese dictionary).[46]

Fourmont was a well-connected professor of Arabic who was also in charge of the Chinese books at the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris. He had studied some Chinese with a visiting Chinese scholar before 1716 and received royal support to cast a Chinese font and produce reference works. Fourmont published a Latin grammar of Chinese between 1737–42, parts of which was later proven to have been the unattributed translation of a Spanish Franciscan

[43]Parennin (1738) 1811, 218: *Le raisonnement que vous faites, ajoutai-je, sur la beauté des caractères, prouve peu ou rien du tout. Ceux qui ont inventé les caractères Européens, n'ont pas prétendu faire des peintures propres à réjouir la vue ; ils ont voulu seulement faire des signes pour représenter leurs pensées, et exprimer tous les sons que la bouche peut former ; et c'est le dessein qu'ont eu toutes les Nations, lorsqu'elles ont inventé l'écriture. Or plus ces signes sont simples, et leur nombre petit, pourvu qu'il suffise, plus sont-ils admirables et aisés à apprendre : l'abondance en ce point est un défaut, et c'est par-là que la langue Chinoise est plus pauvre que la vôtre, et que la vôtre l'est plus que les langues d'Europe.» «Je ne conviens pas, dit le Prince, que nous ne puissions avec les caractères Tartares écrire les mots des langues étrangères. N'écrivons-nous pas la langue Mogole, la Coréenne, la Chinoise, celle du Thibet ? etc.» «Ce n'est pas assez, lui répondis-je ; il faudrait encore écrire la nôtre. Essayez, par exemple, si vous pourrez écrire ces mots :* prendre, platine, griffon, friand*». Il ne le put, parce que dans la langue Tartare on ne peut joindre deux consonnes de suite ; il faut placer entre deux une voyelle, et écrire* perendre, pelatine, geriffon, feriand*, etc.*

[44]Parennin (1738) 1811, 218.

[45]Cordier 1895, 20.

[46]Pfister (1891) 1932, 498–500 (entry 231; writes that Domenge sent one "Tartar-Chinese dictionary" [*dictionnaire tartare-chinois*] and one Manchu dictionary to Fourmont in 128 and 1733)*;* Dehergne 1973, 78–79 (entry 260; mentions the dictionary by the Latin title).

work.[47] Fourmont's knowledge of Chinese thus appears to have been limited. There is no indication that he knew any Manchu.

Domenge's grammar was partially based on a Chinese publication that I discussed in chapter 5.[48] As far as I am aware, Domenge's holograph has not survived. It is today known only through copies created by late eighteenth-century scholars, whom I will mention here but introduce in greater detail later on in this appendix: Deshauterayes, who was Fourmont's nephew, and Langlès, to whom Deshauterayes gave Domenge's badly damaged manuscript. Langlès transcribed the loose sheets twice, resulting in two manuscript redactions presenting the material in somewhat different order. At least one of Langlès manuscript's must have been completed in or after 1789.[49] The other manuscript was probably written in 1787 or earlier.[50] It is tempting to date the copying to Langlès days as a student of Arabic earlier in the 1780s. As a student, Langlès was in contact with several authorities on Arabic,[51] which might have brought him into contact also with Deshauterayes, who was professor of that language at the Collège de France until 1784.[52] Langlès had plans to publish Domenge's grammar[53] together with a supplement to the Manchu-French dictionary he edited for the press. However, "various circumstances," as the bibliographers of the Bibliothèque Impériale wrote in 1811, "brought this work to a halt."[54] Proofs for the first few pages of Domenge's work were nevertheless produced and remain among Langlès's papers. We see from the proofs that Langlès intended to begin the grammar with Domenge's numbered notes "On Tartar writing" (*De l'écriture tartare*),[55] although those notes followed the presentation of the script itself in both of the manuscripts written out by Langlès.[56] It appears that the latter intended to exclude that

[47] App 2010, 191–193.

[48] Shěn Qǐliàng's *Qīngshū zhǐnán*.

[49] This is the most well-known manuscript: Domenge (1729d) 1789, which was described in Puyraimond 1979, 129–130 under the title *Grammaire mandchoue*. The date of 1789 or later for the completion of this manuscript is inferred from the note on its first page, referring to a text by Amiot published in vol. 14 of the *Mémoires chinois*, which appeared in print that year.

[50] Domenge 1729b. The probable *terminus ante quem* of 1787 is inferred from the fact that Langlès mentioned Domenge's grammar in print in that year (Langlès 1787c, 24; I cite this work in the unbound copy found among Langlès's papers).

[51] Abel-Rémusat 1824, 151.

[52] Cordier 1895, 73.

[53] Amiot 1789–1790, vol. 1, vi.

[54] Bibliothèque Impériale 1811, 6: *Différentes circonstances ont fait suspendre ce travail*.

[55] Domenge (1729c) 1789–1790, 5 (folio 129a of the archival collection).

[56] Langlès might not have been entirely faithful in his transcription of Domenge's text. In Langlès's transcribed text, we read about the conventional outer sequence that "it is in this order of the classes that all the words are arranged in the alphabetical Tartar-Chinese dictionary, produced at the order of the late Emperor [Kāngxī]. After the words beginning in *a* come those that begin in *ai*, and following those, the words that begin in *ar* and so on for the rest" (*C'est dans cet ordre de classes que sont rangés tous les mots dans le dictionnaire alphabétique tartare chinois fait par l'ordre du feu Empereur KHANG-HI. Après les mots qui commencent par* a*, viennent ceux qui commencent par* ai*, ensuite viennent ceux qui commencent par* ar *et ensui du reste*). As chapter 6 showed, no Manchu-Chinese dictionary was produced on Kāngxī's orders. The order of the syllables given in the quoted passage corresponds to that used in the monolingual, Manchu index to the dictionary that Kāngxī did produce; Domenge

section from his edition of Domenge's grammar, as he was planning to include an engraved copy of parts of the Qīng syllabary in the same volume.[57]

Domenge's presentation of the Manchu script, which Langlès seems to have planned on excluding from the published version, is nevertheless the section of his grammar most relevant for our present purposes. At the opening of the section "on letters and nouns" (*Des lettres et des noms*), Domenge wrote that "this alphabet [i.e. the Manchu syllabary] … is divided into 12 classes, each of which contains 112 letters."[58] Domenge then did something original. He wrote that the Manchus "demonstrated the letters to their children" by "pronouncing all of them 3 by 3" or, in some cases, in smaller groups, as demanded by the structure of the syllabary.[59] Manchu syllabaries accordingly subdivided the sections into groups of three (sometimes two) syllables using punctuation or whitespace. Domenge strengthened the division he had seen in Chinese and Manchu books. He no longer presented each section as a linear sequence of syllables, over which a secondary division into trisyllabic groups was superposed, but as a linear sequence of 17 numbered groups. Departing from the late imperial Chinese habit of grouping syllables by threes, most of his groups contained six syllables, each consisting of the same onset, one of the six vowels of Manchu, and the coda defining the section in question.[60] Domenge excluded the relatively rare letters used to transcribe words of foreign origin from his presentation of the script.

In the older of Langlès's copies of Domenge's manuscript, the presentation of the script contained no Manchu characters, but only transcriptions of the syllables. In the later copy, however, a left-hand column contained the Latin script transcriptions of the Manchu, followed by Domenge's commentary, whereas a right-hand column contained the original Manchu text written vertically into numbered groups running across several lines. It is possible that the original also included both Manchu and European text on the same page, and that Langlès originally abstained from copying the Manchu since he at that point had not yet learned the script, but the older copy carried a note informing the reader that "[i]n order to make this Alphabet easier to learn, we will present it separately and written using the Chinese brush in 12 Tables containing only the Tartar Letters."[61] Furthermore, Langlès wrote that he was adding Manchu script to the dialogues included in Domenge's grammar, intending to eventually publish them in a two-column format similar to what we see in the second manuscript.[62]

It is likely, then, that Domenge's presentation had originally only consisted of twelve sections corresponding to those of the syllabary, with each section consisting of seventeen num-

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probably referred to this work. The qualifier "Tartar-Chinese" might thus be a corruption by Langlès of Domenge's original wording, which ought not to have included 'Chinese.'

[57]Langlès 1787c, 21.

[58]Domenge (1729d) 1789, 2: *Cet alphabet … est partagé en 12. classes dont chacune contient 112 Lettres.*

[59]Domenge (1729d) 1789, 30: *…en prononçant toutes les lettres … 3 à 3 … C'est ainsi que les Tartares les montrent à leurs enfans.*

[60]Since some onsets did not occur with all vowels, certain groups contained fewer than six syllables. Likewise, the existence of separate onsets for front and back vowels in the case of the dental and velar stops meant that the groups containing those characters would be of different length.

[61]Domenge 1729b, 12b: *Pour rendre cet Alphabet plus facile à apprendre, on le donnera séparément écrit avec le pinceau Chinois en 12 Tables où il n'y aura que les Lettres Tartares.*

[62]Amiot 1789–1790, vol. 3, xv.

bered lines of syllables with occasional interlinear commentary. This was not an alphabet consisting of letters, each representing one speech sound, but it was a reduction of the syllabary's inner sequence from the 112 syllables (131 including the characters to transcribe foreign words, excluded by Domenge) to only 17 groups, of which the members all shared a common onset. To our eyes, the letters appear there almost in plain view, thinly veiled by a syllabic shroud. Yet extrapolating an alphabet consisting of simple vowels and consonants from the two series of 12 codas and 17 groups identified by Domenge involves an act of abstraction that it is not evident Domenge ever effectuated.

In addition to the syllabary, Domenge explained the functioning of the Manchu script in a series of points, prompted by the different shapes assumed by Manchu characters depending on their position in a word. These points clearly show Domenge's conceptualization of the Manchu script. Like Chinese and Manchu scholars, Domenge described subsyllabic features of written Manchu syllables only in graphical terms, without reference to sound. "When the letters signify something on their own," he wrote, "they are written like in the Alphabet [i.e., the syllabary], without any changes."[63] That is to say, some syllables found in the syllabary were coterminous with words in the language. In all other cases, however, the shape of the written syllables had to be changed. The terminology used by Domenge to describe these changes is reminiscent of the words used by his Chinese and Manchu colleagues. Instead of identifying isolated, initial, medial, and final forms of letters, Domenge said that syllables that have "tails either to the right or to the left" (*queües soit a droite soit a gauche*) lose them in running text, meaning that the characteristic shapes of final-form characters were not seen when they occurred in the middle of words.[64] In the running commentary to the syllabary, Domenge had already introduced the concept of the "tail," transcribing the two Manchu vowels *u* and *û* both as *ou*, "with or without a tail" (*sans queüe, ou avec queüe*).[65] Because of their similar or perhaps sometimes identical sound, Domenge chose to describe the difference between these two vowels in purely graphical terms. In the points on writing, Domenge continued in the same manner, explaining that the syllable *o* "has no tail inside the body of words" (*n'a point de queüe dans le corps des mots*) but will accrue one when occurring at the end of them. The syllable *i*, ending in a "half circle" (*demi cercle*) in isolation, would take a different shape in medial position, and so on. Domenge also noted that some characters (medial *t* and its derivatives) assumed shapes in medial position not seen at all in the standard syllabary. He also finally introduced the characters used to transcribe foreign words.[66]

Domenge's notes reveal that he did not picture the Manchu script as consisting of letters each representing one speech sound and possessing four shapes (i.e., constituting an abstraction of four glyphs) depending on their position in isolation or as part of words. Rather, he assumed the shape of a written syllable in isolation to be the original shape of a character, which sometimes underwent changes when used in actual writing. Like the Manchu and Chinese scholars whom he might have studied, Domenge described all subsyllabic elements of written Manchu in graphic terms ("tails," "circles"), not as structural units carrying sound.

[63]Domenge (1729d) 1789, 113; (1729c) 1789–1790, 33 (129a): *Quand les lettres signifient par elles-mêmes quelque chose, elles s'écrivent comme dans l'Alphabet, sans y rien changer*.

[64]Domenge (1729d) 1789, 113.

[65]Domenge (1729d) 1789, 4.

[66]Domenge (1729d) 1789, 113–127.

Grammatological Experiments in St. Petersburg

As studies by the Běijīng Jesuits were being published in Paris, scholars based in Russia also published on the Manchu language. During the course of its eastward expansion, the Russian empire had come into contact and occasionally conflict with the Qīng, and in Bayer's time maintained a diplomatic and ecclesiastical presence in Běijīng, where construction of an orthodox church begun in 1728.[67]

An early example of Russian studies of Manchu are the two alphabets devised by Gottlieb, or Theophilus, Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738), Prussian by birth but working at the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Bayer's research in the Manchu script seems to have been very intensive. Within a period two years, he published two accounts presenting the Manchu script in different ways. The first of Bayer's alphabets still bore substantial resemblance to Qīng presentations of the script, although it revealed a new conceptualization of Manchu as an alphabet consisting of letters. In the second article, Bayer made the segmentation into letters more important than segmentation into syllables, which were the units of the Manchu syllabary. The result of Bayer's studies was not an alphabet in unilinear order, in the manner of the Graeco-Roman alphabets, but it was a much more elaborate and analytically refined conceptualization of the Manchu script than the Jesuits had produced.

One important factor that seems to have contributed to Bayer's advances in the study of the Manchu script was the integration of nascent European Manjuristics with Orientalist studies more generally. Bayer had studied and interacted with some of the most prominent Orientalists of his day, and in St. Petersburg he met with Syrians, Indians, and Japanese.[68] Bayer's familiarity with Near Eastern and South Asian matters informed his studies on Mongol and Manchu. Bayer realized that the Tibetan script (*litterae Tangutanae*) had originated in India, and initially thought that this also applied to Mongol. However, by 1717, he had realized that the Mongol script had developed from a Near Eastern script brought to Central Asia, which he identified as Syriac.[69] By 1722, furthermore, Bayer had access to transcripts of a Mongol work held in Halle,[70] thanks to his connections in the European republic of letters.

Bayer's analyses of the Manchu script, published in European learned journals and presented to the same lettered public that had been the audience of his Tibetan and Mongol studies, were much more refined and systematic than the earlier, Jesuit accounts of Manchu. Bayer's knowledge of Near Eastern scripts and their affinity with Manchu seems to have contributed to his fine analyses of the Manchu script.

[67] Dehergne 1973, 339.

[68] He also corresponded with Parennin: Pfister (1891) 1932, 507, 514.

[69] Babinger 1915, 19–20, 27 (interaction with Orientalists), 32–33 (with Syrians etc.), 57, 65 (origin of Mongol). Bayer's life is also the subject of Lundbæk 1986.

[70] Bayer 1722, 390: "There is also a Mongol book in the Library of Halle, of which I possess an exact transcript" (*Mongalicus liber itidem in Bibliotheca Halensi extat, cujus apographum apud me est*). I have not yet (2015) had the opportunity to see this book, nor can I find an entry that would correspond it it in Heissig 1961.

Gottlieb Bayer's Alphabet in Thirteen Heads (1730)

Bayer presented results from his investigations of the Manchu script to his colleagues at the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg. In 1731, he published his first article to deal specifically with Manchu.[71] Bayer's initial presentations at the Academy had helped draw attention to his Manchu studies. They won him access to more sources. Initially, the main source used by Bayer for his first alphabet seems to have been the account of the Manchu script in Verbiest's grammar, which I discussed above. After his first presentation on Manchu at the Academy, however, he obtained a Qīng syllabary. This book helped Bayer come to the idea that the syllabary in twelve sections was unsatisfactory as a description of the Manchu script.

Even before gaining access to a Qīng syllabary, Bayer used his previous studies of the Near Eastern scripts, which he traced up to the Mongol-Manchu script via Uighur, as a point of reference. He outlined the historical development of the Manchu-Mongol script, describing the passage from Mongol to Manchu and the subsequent reform of Manchu as an accretion of the number of graphs.[72]

It was Verbiest's grammar, however, that was Bayer's main source for the organization of the Manchu script before he obtained the Qīng syllabary. Bayer evidently had access to Verbiest's grammar already by 1725. Yet he initially did not distinguish between the Manchus and Mongols, who were, after all, at this time generally referred to as Eastern and Western Tartars in Europe. Bayer seems to have initially considered Mongol as synonymous with Tartar, which in turn included both languages. While thus actually referring to the Manchus, Bayer wrote in a published letter from that year, that "the Mongols divide the letters into twelve heads (as they themselves call them)."[73] Bayer's source for this piece of information was Verbiest's grammar of Manchu, which Bayer like many others thought was the work of Gerbillon.[74]

Bayer's initial identification of Manchu with Mongol explains the title of his first article on the Manchu script: "Orthographia Mungalica" (On Mongol orthography). In the article, which appeared in print six years after the letter in which he had initially cited Verbiest's grammar, Bayer still used the term 'Mongol' loosely. He once more referred to Verbiest's grammar as a grammar of Mongol, and spoke of reformed Manchu script (with the characteristic diacritics) as being Mongol.[75] Likewise, Bayer presented his first alphabet, the main point of "Orthographia Mungalica," as an alphabet of Mongol, although it evidently referred to Manchu. The paper seems to have originally been based on Verbiest's work, but before it went to print, Bayer was able to consult a Qīng syllabary that enabled him to greatly advance his understanding of the script.

From 1730, the Manchu books available to Bayer increased. That year, the Imperial Academy of Sciences received an important gift of Chinese books, brought to St. Petersburg by the Swede Lorenz Lange (d. 1738), who had been in China for the third time in 1727–28.[76] A German translation from 1788 of the original unpublished catalog for this earliest Chinese

[71] Bayer 1731.

[72] Bayer 1731, 313–314.

[73] Bayer 1729, 33: *Mogulenses in duodecim capita (ut ipsi vocant) dividunt litteras.*

[74] Bayer 1729, 34.

[75] Bayer 1731, 311, 315.

[76] Walravens 1998, 397 (main text and notes); Pang and Volkova 2001, ix says that Lange's third

collection mentioned a "Manchu grammar" (*Mandjurische Grammatik*), which might have referred to a Manchu-Chinese book from 1682.[77] The syllabary included in that work, which had previously been used by Domenge, presented the sections in an idiosyncratic order.

Among other items in the Academy's collection that might have been of interest to Bayer was a "Mongolian dictionary with Manchu translation" (*Mongolisches Wörterbuch mit mandjur. Übersetzung*), which might have been a copy of a Manchu-Mongol thesaurus from 1717 which was later noted as being in the collection of the Academy.[78] This work contained an index organized according to the syllabary,[79] which might have been of interest to Bayer.

1730 was also the year that Bayer saw a Qīng syllabary of Manchu. The new source reached him through his patronage network. Bayer wrote, that after having presented the initial paper on the Manchu-Mongol script at the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg, he sent it to Andreĭ Ivanovich Osterman (1686–1747), one of the most important statesmen of the day.[80] Osterman had then passed it along to Jacques-Daniel Bruce (1670–1735), a Russian nobleman of Scottish ancestry. Bruce was an amateur scientist, and the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences later acquired his collections upon his death.[81] Upon receiving Bayer's paper Bruce made a personal gift to its author. "He sent a book of Mongolian type, which he had received many years prior from China,"[82] Bayer wrote. He then described the book as carrying the Manchu title *juwan juwe uju* ("the twelve heads"), which would have indicated to readers of Manchu that it was indeed a syllabary of this language and not of Mongol.[83] Bayer then presented each of the twelve sections of the Manchu syllabary in standard order, and noted that "this is the order of the Heads, which *Father Gerbillon* [sic; i.e., Verbiest] follows in his Mongol [sic] Grammar."[84]

Bayer's handwritten copy of Bruce's book is still to be found among the former's papers, now in the Hunterian Collection at the University of Glasgow.[85] On its first page Bayer added

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trip to China lasted 1727–1730.

[77]Walravens 1998, 402. The book would have been *Qīngshū zhǐnán*, a supplement to *Dà-Qīng quánshū* (see chapter 5).

[78]Walravens 1998, 402, 413 (Walravens does not identify the first mention of a Mongol-Manchu dictionary in the catalog with the thesaurus of 1717; that is my conjecture). For the thesaurus, see chapter 6.

[79]Chūnhuā 2008c, 110–113.

[80]*Encyclopædia Britannica* 1911, vol. 20, 357.

[81]Hoefer 1853–1866, vol. 7, 564–565.

[82]Bayer 1731, 318: *…librum Mungalicum typis excusum transmisit, quem ante multos annos e Sinis acceperat.*

[83]Bayer wrote: "To this book is appended a Russian translation, which somebody has written by hand. The title of the book is written in big letters: ‖ *Tschuva tschuve udschu* that is, the *Twelve Heads.* In this book, the letters, or syllables, of the Manchu language are represented according to twelve classes, which the Mongols [sic] call Heads" (Bayer 1731, 318: Tschuva tschuve udschu , *hoc est,* Duodecim Capita. *Nam in hoc libro literæ seu Syllabæ linguæ Mandsur descriptæ sunt secundum duodecim classes, quas Mungali dixere Capita*).

[84]Bayer 1731, 319: *Is ipse ille ordo Capitum est, quem* P. Gerbillonius *in Grammatica Mungalica sequitur.*

[85]Cordier 1904–1908, 1652–1653.

a note identifying the book as a gift from Bruce.[86] Studying the book, Bayer came to an important realization: the standard Qīng syllabary did not fully represent the Manchu script as actually used in texts. The Qīng syllabary included the initial form *t-* ᡨ , but not the medial form *-t-* ᠲ , which would only occur in words of more than one syllable. The Manchu syllabary did not include any such words, only monosyllables. "The letters used in the middle of words have been overlooked" (*mediarum vocum literæ in hoc alphabeto prætermissæ sunt*) in the Qīng syllabary, Bayer wrote, "although they are attested in many of my observations" (*in meo ex multa observatione exstant*). The medial forms of some characters differed substantially from their shape in the inner sequence, and yet they were not included in the syllabary in twelve sections, as he had now been able to see for himself.[87]

It is also possible that Bayer saw an Oirat, or Western Mongol, syllabary before his article was sent to print. We find such a syllabary among his remaining papers. Western Mongol was at this time written with the 'clear script,' of which several graphs had counterparts in Manchu (see chapter 3 for the 'clear script'). Sharing a common history as reformed versions of the Uighur-Mongol script, the order of the syllables in the 'clear script' syllabary was also similar to the inner sequence of the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections.

The Western Mongol syllabary was transmitted to Bayer by Kalmyks, a people of Western Mongols who settled North of the Caspian Sea on territory that in the eighteenth century was incorporated by Russia. It appears that Bayer's study of that Kalmyk syllabary contributed somewhat to his eventual reorganization of the Qīng syllabary in twelve sections.

The manuscript among Bayer's papers is titled "Elementa Calmvcca" (Rudiments of Kalmyk) and dated May, 1731; his article appeared in the July, 1731 issue of a journal published in Leipzig. Most probably Bayer sent his manuscript to the journal before May, but it is possible that he had consulted the Oirat syllabary before he made the copy in that month. The fact that Bayer included what appears to be the 'clear script' form of graphs alongside the Manchu versions in the illustration of Manchu letter form that accompanied the published article suggests that he had consulted Western Mongol texts before submitting his manuscript.[88]

Bayer described the Western Mongol syllabary as "copied in his own hand by Lobsang Tchi, a former scribe among the Kalmyks who was subsequently captured by the Russians and baptized with the name of Wasili Timofejew."[89] Bayer also gave the Latin form Basilius Timothei for Lobsang Tchi's Christian name. Timothei appears to have been a Buddhist clergyman, given his Tibetan-sounding name and his mastery of writing. Literacy was rare and

[86]"This is the Twelve Heads, comprising all the letters and syllables of the Manchu script. I have copied it from a book of the kind produced in China, to which a translation in a Russian hand was appended. ‖ December, 1730. ‖ Although the Russian has made mistakes in places, I have taken care to follow also his errors. ‖ The book itself was sent to me by field marshal the Count of Bruce" (Bayer 1730, no pagination; Cordier 1904–1908, 1652–1653: *…hoc est Duodecim Capita in quibus omnes litterae et syllabae scripturae Mandsurensis continentur. Descripsi e libro typis edito in Sinis, cui adjecta erat interpretatio manu Ruthenica. A. 1730. Decemb. Quamquam Ruthenus in quibusdam erravit, tamen eius errores quoque accurate secutus sum. Librum ipsum Comes de Bruce summus belli dux ad me transmisit.*). This was recapitulated in86]Babinger1915GottliebSiegfriedBayer.

[87]Bayer 1731, 319.

[88]Bayer 1731, 310, the graphs of *t-*.

[89]Lobsang Tschi 1731, no pagination: *descripta et autographo Lobsang Tschi quondam Scribae apud Calmuccos, deinde a Russis capti, baptizati nomine Wasili Timofejew*; Cordier 1904–1908, 1653.

confined to the elite among the Kalmyks.[90] In the 1720s, a civil war with Russian involvement drove many Kalmyks to flee rivalling factions and seek refuge with the Russians;[91] perhaps Timothei was one such individual. His 'Kalmyk' syllabary was a presentation of the 'clear script.'

Two aspects of Timothei's syllabary might have encouraged the thinking of the Manchu script as an alphabet. First, it contained syllables in which one element was identical to Manchu in writing in writing and pronunciation, whereas the other element was different. A reader familiar with the Manchu script would thus have recognized the familiar element, which by necessity was subsyllabic. It would have been a small step to from there infer that the element in question functioned like an alphabetic letter, which when paired with the unknown element constituted a written syllable. Second, the 'clear script' syllables in Timothei's work appeared more similar to the forms Manchu syllables assumed at the beginning of polysyllabic words, than to the isolated forms used for the syllables in the Manchu syllabary. Looking at Timothei's syllables, a reader familiar with Manchu might have come to the idea that Manchu syllables could be construed as contextually dependent forms of the same underlying units. Such abstractions were also part of alphabetical conceptualizations, including Bayer's.

Bayer had learned two or possibly three things of importance for his reorganization of the Manchu script from his sources. First, Verbiest's grammar had shown him the Qīng organization of the Manchu script into twelve sections, and enumerated the syllables that they contained in Roman transcription. Second, from reading the Qīng syllabary he obtained from Bruce, Bayer had realized that the segmentation of the Manchu script into syllables, in the manner of the syllabary in twelve sections, did not account for all the shapes of Manchu letters as he had read them in words. Third, he might have been encouraged to think of the Manchu script as an alphabet by comparing it to the closely related 'clear script.'

In order to remedy the perceived deficiency in the syllabary that Bruce had sent him, Bayer devised his own 'alphabet,' which unlike the syllabary in twelve sections included what he called the medials. In "Orthographia Mungalica," he explained that "in my alphabet there are twenty-three shapes of letters. These letters I have enumerated in thirteen classes (the Mongols [sic] call them *heads*)." Two of the classes contained shapes not seen in the standard Qīng syllabary. Bayer explained that "the *first Head* contains the first letters, or the six vowels … appearing also as written in medial [position]" (*literæ initiales cum sex vocalibus … & literæ eædem, ut scribuntur in medio*). The first 'head' in Bayer's 'alphabet' thus consisted of single vowels graphically abstracted to show their form as both onsets and nuclei. The other innovative class was the fourth, which contained "the letters as initials, then as medials, and then as finals to the vowels and diphthongs" (*literæ tum initiales, tum mediæ, in fine desinentes vocalibus & diphthongis*). This head thus did for the inner sequence what the first had done for the vowels: it displayed the characters in the differing shapes they assumed in various positions.[92]

[90]Khodarkovsky 1992, 38.

[91]Khodarkovsky 1992, 206.

[92]Bayer also summarized the other classes: "The *second Head* contains the initial letters with five diphthongs: *ai, ei, ii, oi,* and *ui.* The *third Head* contains the initial letters with six other diphthongs: *au, eu, iu, o͘o͘*—or *o͘u͘ , u͘u͘*—and *iui.* The two dots above *oo, ou* and *uu* indicate diaeresis. The *fourth Head* contains the letters as initials, then as medials, and then as finals to the vowels and diphthongs.

We see from the description that Bayer retained the organization of the Manchu script into sections ('heads') in the manner of Qīng scholars, instead of adopting a linear organization such as that used in the Roman alphabet. Yet Bayer, who was familiar with the Syriac and Arabic scripts, had also realized that the Mongol-Manchu script could be understood as consisting of letters, each having three contextually determined shapes: initial, medial, and final. To illustrate these shapes, Bayer created two new sections (by transforming the first into an illustration of the simple vowels and interpolating an entirely new fourth section), some of which would otherwise not be attested in the syllabary.

The alphabet in thirteen sections included a secondary innovation in that it reshuffled the order of some of the other sections. Bayer explained that he did this in order to gather all the open syllables, including diphthongs, in one place. The new arrangement strengthened the division of the letters into the two main groups of vowels and consonants, a European dichotomy that made Bayer's invention even more comprehensible to Western readers.[93]

Thus Bayer presented his first Manchu alphabet. He had initially worked from a second-hand source, Verbiest's Manchu grammar, which only presented the Manchu syllabary in Roman transcription. The crucial realization needed for his own alphabet had come later, when he was studying a Qīng syllabary and comparing its characters to other Manchu language samples that he had read in Qīng publications. Bayer's alphabet was still divided into "heads," but it no longer had the same structure as the Qīng syllabary. By augmenting the number of sections to thirteen, and including the initial, medial, and final forms of the letters in the

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The *fifth Head* contains letters ending in *r* with the aforementioned vowels and diphthongs. The *sixth Head* contains letters, that by the same token end in *n.* The *seventh Head* contains letters, that by the same token end in *ng,* or the Portuguese *m*. The *eight Head* contains letters ending in *k.* The *ninth Head* contains letters ending in *s.* The *tenth Head* contains letters ending in *t.* The *eleventh Head* contains letters ending in *p.* The *twelfth Head* contains letters ending in *l.* The *thirteenth Head* contains letters ending in *m*" (Bayer 1731, 314: *…in alphabeto meo sunt formæ literarum tres & viginti. Has literas tredecim in classibus [Mungali vocant* capita*] recensui.* Secundo *in* Capite *literæ initiales sunt cum quinque diphthongis,* ai, ei, ii, oi, ui. *In* Tertio Capite *sunt literæ initales cum sex aliis diphthongis* au, eu, iu, òò *seu* òù , ùù *&* iui. *Duo puncta super* oo, ou *&* uu *sunt signa diæreseos. … In* quinto Capite *sunt literæ desinentes in* r *cum præcedentibus vocalibus & diphthongis. In* Capite sexto *sunt literæ eodem modo terminatæ in* n. *In* septimo Capite *sunt literæ eodem modo terminatæ in* ng, *seu* m *Lusitanicum. In* octavo Capite *sunt literæ terminatæ in* k. *In* nono Capite *sunt literæ terminatæ in* s. *In* decimo Capite *sunt literæ terminatæ in* t. *In* undecimo Capite *sunt literæ terminatæ in* p. *In* duodecimo Capite *sunt literæ terminatæ in* l. *In* decimo tertio Capite *sunt literæ terminatæ in* m.)

[93]Discussing the order of the characters, Bayer wrote: "But I have followed the order of the letters and heads, which *Gerbillon* [i.e., Verbiest] gave according to the Mongol example in his Grammar. I have changed it in two respects. Now, they [i.e. the Manchus and Verbiest] enumerate syllables and diphthongs ending in *au, eu, iu, òù, ùù, iui* in the tenth Head; we arrange them in the third, so that all the composite syllables with vowels can be seen close together. The fourth Head have I actually inserted. The Mongols, in fact, are accustomed to displaying these final letters ending with vowels and diphthongs separately" (Bayer 1731, 315: *At ego ordinem & literarum & capitum secutus sum, quem mihi* Gerbillonius *in Grammatica, Mungalorum exemplo præivit. In duobus mutavi. Nam syllabas, diphthongis* au, eu, iu, òù, ùù, iui *terminatas, in decimo Capite recensent, nos in tertio posuimus, ut essent omnes syllabæ cum vocalibus compositæ propiori in conspectu. Quartum vero Caput inserui. Mungali enim literas has finales cum vocalibus & diphthongis exeuntes, separatim explicare solent.*).

newly devised fourth section, Bayer departed from the principle that all the sections contained full syllables. At this point, Bayer already thought of the Manchu script as an alphabet with contextually determined letter shapes.

Gottlieb Bayer's Alphabet on Two Axes (1732–33)

Bayer appears to have continued his studies of the Manchu script without interruption, publishing a new 'alphabet' under the title "De Litteratura Mangjurica" (On Manchu philology). The journal issue in which Bayer's new study appeared was dated to 1732–33, but it was not published until 1738.[94] For the new 'alphabet,' Bayer identified the source for his study of the Manchu script as a Chinese publication from 1699.[95]

We do not know exactly when Bayer developed the idea that 'alphabets' are different in kind from 'syllabaries,' with which they should not be confused. The manuscript version of his second presentation of the Manchu script was not yet called an 'alphabet,' but was titled "Syllabarivm Manjvricvm et Mongolicvm" (Manchu and Mongol syllabary). It retained the basic structure of the Qīng syllabary in twelve sections. Bayer wrote that the manuscript syllabary was "made by me and then corrected for later concerns."[96] It appears he used it for his 1731 article and then returned to it while preparing the article he published in 1732–33, which included what was now called the 'alphabet.'

The published article went beyond the paradigm of the syllabary in twelve sections. It did two things for the conceptualization of the Manchu script. First, and most importantly for the history of the script's conceptualization in Europe, it offered what seems to be the first unambiguous treatment of the Manchu script as an alphabet. Second, Bayer simultaneously presented an original version of the Manchu syllabary. This new syllabary was different from the "thirteen heads" that Bayer had presented in his article on Manchu of 1730. Bayer's new syllabary was of greater structural complexity than both the Qīng syllabary in twelve sections and his own first attempt from three years prior. Yet he retained one important feature from the original syllabary: its non-linear organization.

After introducing the title, Bayer commented that the "alphabet" (*alphabetum*) represented in the book was divided into "twelve heads," of which the first contained "the final Vowels, and Consonants ending in some vowel" (*Vocales finales et Consonantes in vocalium aliquam exeuntes*).[97] Bayer then explained that some of the sections ('heads') ended in diphthongs, and the rest in consonants. He then commented on the overall nature of the "twelve heads," in which he identified two problems. The first problem was the absence of medial forms in the Qīng syllabary, which he had noted in his 1731 article. He now reiterated the judgment he had passed on the Qīng syllabary in the article of three years before:

> [The Qīng syllabary] therefore, as a whole, poses a remarkable difficulty: in this book, or in other [Qīng] alphabets that I have copied, neither vowels nor

[94]Rudolph and Walravens 2009, 242 (item 43).

[95]Bayer 1732/1733, 329 and table XVI. The book was *Qīngshū quánjí*, discussed in chapter 5.

[96]Bayer 1730–1732, no pagination; Cordier 1904–1908, 1653: *a me concinnatum postea curis posterioribus emendatum*.

[97]Bayer 1732/1733, 329.

> consonants exist in the very diverse forms in which they occur in the middle of words.[98]

According to Bayer, the first problem of the Manchu syllabary in twelve sections was that the medial forms of consonants, seen inside bi- or polysyllabic words, were not found in it it, as it only included monosyllables. We saw that Domenge's supplementary points on Manchu writing was also intended to address this problem. The second problem identified by Bayer in "De Litteratura Mangjurica" had, unlike the first, not been made explicit in his 1731 article on the subject. Rather than just criticizing the Qīng conceptualization of the script for being incomplete in not listing medial letter forms, Bayer now questioned the very principle upon which the syllabary in twelve sections were constructed: the segmentation of written Manchu primarily into syllables. Bayer wrote, that "there are no consonants [in this book] other than those already joint with vowels into syllables. Thus, it is more in line with our custom to call this a syllabary, rather than an Alphabet."[99] For Bayer, who knew that the Manchu script had historically developed from Near Eastern scripts which he considered alphabetical, the organization of Manchu into a syllabary was unsatisfactory.

Bayer came up with a solution to the problem. He announced that he would "depart from the Manchu teachers [i.e., the authors of the books to which he had access] … and draw from the European method" (*ego … discedam a Mangjuris magistris et Europaea vtar methodo*) in his presentation of the script. He would arrange the Manchu script as an alphabet, but "still, as much as possible, keep [it] in the Manchus' manner of distribution, for the simple reason that the Manchus' manner of distribution might thereby be discerned."[100]

The finished version of Bayer's alphabet accompanied the article in the form of etched tables. Parts of it can be seen in figure A.1. In this printed version, Bayer first isolated the vowels, diphthongs, and isolated consonants in initial, medial, and final positions. The first table, which presented the script in its entirety without recourse to the syllabary in twelve sections, had no counterpart in the manuscript version. It represents the final result of Bayer's reconceptualization of the Manchu script.

In the second and following tables, which we find also in the manuscript, Bayer listed the syllabic sequence found in the first 'head' of Qīng syllabaries. He arranged this originally simple sequence on two axes. Bayer's grid displayed the Manchu vowels (*a–e–i–o–u–û*; *x* axis) and the consonants found as onsets in the inner sequence sequence (*y* axis). Combinations of consonants and vowels, that were expected from the grid but not attested in Qīng syllabaries were left out and marked as "missing" (*caret*). However, Bayer's grid did not account for all the syllables contained in the twelve sections. For example, the front-vowel velar stops were put aside in a separate group, next to the grid proper, and (on a page not pictured in figure A. 1) Bayer set the last syllables of the first section apart as "anomalous syllables" (*Syllabae*

[98]Bayer 1732/1733, 329: *Habet igitur totum hoc insignem difficultatem, quod neque vocales, neque consonantes, vt in mediis vocibus occurrunt, sunt enim diuersissimae, hoc in libro, aut aliis in alphabetis, quae consecutus sum, exstant.*

[99]Bayer 1732/1733, 329–330: … *consonantes non exstant, nisi cum vocalibus iam deuinctae in syllabas, vt rectius hoc, more nostro, syllabarium dicas, quam Alphabetum.*

[100]Bayer 1732/1733, 330: *Attamen, quantum fieri potuit, seruabo Mangjurorum in disponendo rationem, nulla alia caussa, quam vt, qualis illa sit ratio, intelligatur.*

anomalae). These were the syllables exclusively used to transcribe foreign sounds. It was the vowels of these syllables that seemed anomalous to Bayer. He noted that "[a]mong the vowels, there exist two other: *iė*. Formed by *i* and *e* with an obscure sound, they rarely occur."[101]

Bayer's presentation was designed for the eye and not for the ear; written, as it were, for armchair scholars of foreign countries, who had an academic interest in the Manchu script, without for that reason seeking to produce a teachers' aid to be used in oral instruction in the Manchu language. It seems to have been intended mainly for linguistic and graphological analysis. It was, to my knowledge, the first time that an alphabetical understanding of the Manchu script was explicitly contrasted with the syllabic understanding seen in the Qīng syllabary in twelve sections.

Western Sinologists and Manchu Script

It was in Paris that the question of the Manchu script's nature would come to the fore, as the first generations of secular sinologists jockeyed for positions within the institutions of the academic establishment in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is an uncontestable fact that the debate over the Manchu alphabet owed its intensity and visibility to these quite different professional conflicts, and perhaps to the strong personalities of certain participants, but the debate can still show us the resilience and reach of metalinguistic paradigms, which is one of the goals of this appendix.

The importance of metalinguistic paradigms for European Manchu studies is suggested by the fact that the Qīng conceptualization of the Manchu script as syllabic was strong enough to dominate the studies by several Jesuits writing from Běijīng, whereas some European scholars writing from Paris could not fathom that their own alphabetic paradigm was not shared by people in China.

Deshauterayes' Alphabet

We saw that Jean Domenge sent Étienne Fourmont his grammatical and graphological studies of Manchu already in 1729. Along with the studies, Domenge also sent a Qīng style syllabary with phonetic glosses.[102] It does not appear that Fourmont did much with this material, however. At some point, the Manchu material among Fourmont's papers came into the possession of his nephew, Michel-Ange-André Le Roux Deshauterayes (1724–95), who had first studied with Fourmont beginning in 1734 and later became professor of Arabic at the Collège de France in 1751.[103] Eventually, Deshauterayes passed Domenge's manuscripts on to Louis Langlès, as mentioned above.

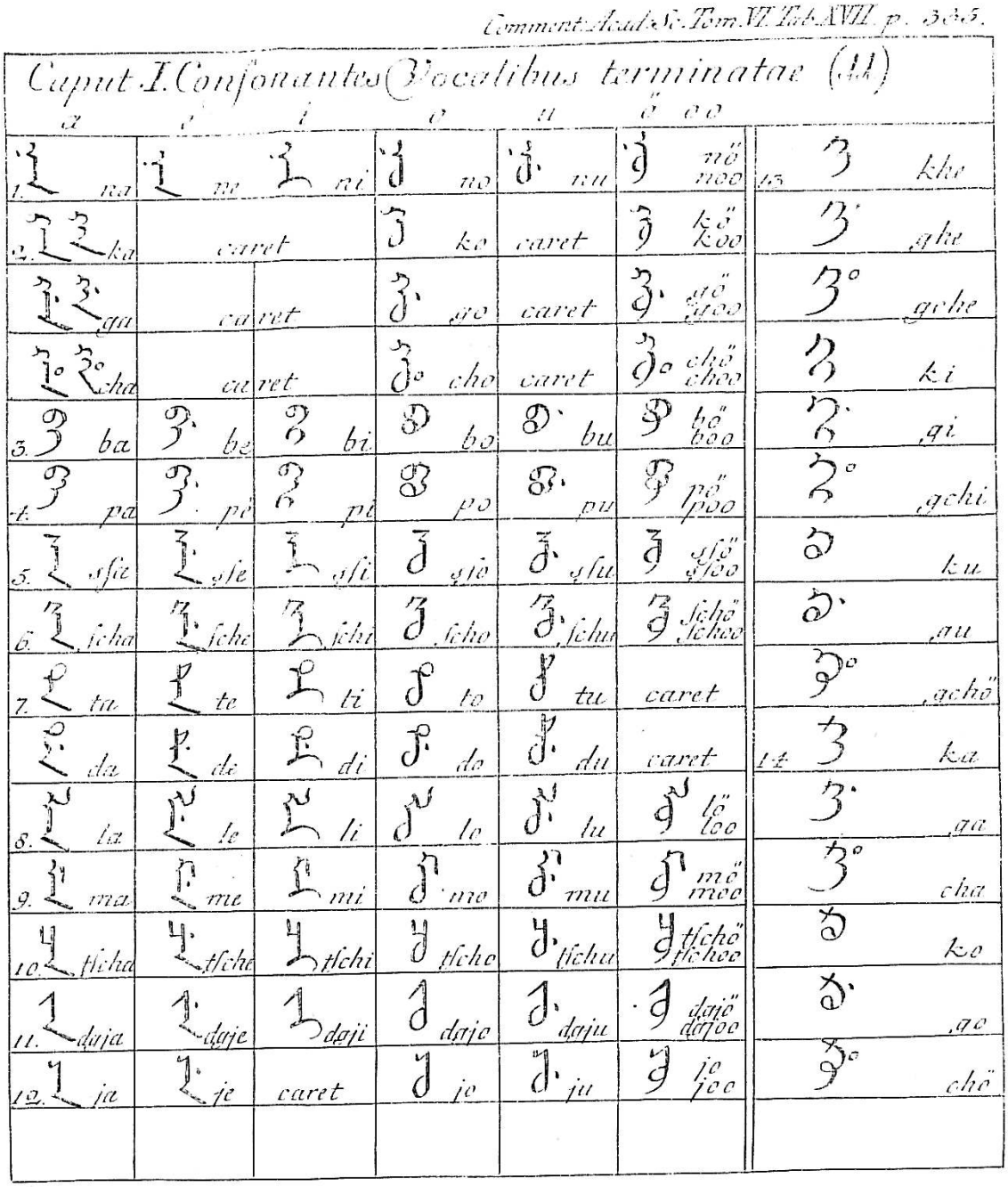
[101] Bayer 1732/1733, 332: *Sunt duae aliae vocalium* iė*, obscuro sono,* i *et* e *formae, quae raro occurrunt*.

[102] There are two copies of the syllabary. Presumably, one was copied from the other upon arrival in France: Domenge 1729a. The latter I cite as "Tchoüan tchoüe outchou."

[103] Sacy 1843–1865.

Vowels, diphthongs, and consonants, reproduced from Bayer 1732/1733 (not to scale).

Figure A.1 – Bayer's Manchu Alphabet (1732–33)



Grid of vowels and consonants, reproduced from Bayer 1732/1733 (not to scale).

Figure A.2 – Bayer's Manchu Alphabet (1732–33; Continued)

Deshauterayes understandably seems to have spent most of his time studying Arabic, Syriac, and perhaps other Near Eastern languages as his job required.[104] He did not specialize in Chinese or Manchu studies, but seems to have been the first individual in France to have analyzed the Manchu script as an alphabet. A small excerpt of Deshauterayes' treatise on Manchu was first published in the *Encyclopédie*,[105] but then appeared in its entirety in a different collection in 1766,[106] which was quickly reprinted.[107]

"The Study of Languages is not without its difficulties, even if one does not seek to increase their number," Deshauterays declared. For him, as for several of the other European scholars who occupied themselves with the study of Manchu, reducing the character inventory was a good in itself. It made learning easier, he argued, especially if one had to learn several languages. Speaking on the topic of a different script, Deshauterayes wrote that "to propose that one learns a thousand Characters, only in order to read; that is attempting to discourage even those who express the greatest fervor for this kind of Study."[108]

From the wording of Deshauterayes' treatise it is clear that he drew heavily on Domenge's grammar, which he had inherited from his uncle Fourmont.[109] Still, the analysis Deshauterayes presented ultimately differed substantially from what we saw in Domenge's manuscripts. Deshauterayes thought that the Manchu script was a modification of that used by the Mongols; that it originated from Syriac; and that "the configuration of several of their respective Elements are without a doubt the same."[110]

Like Bayer, Deshauterayes had a background in Near Eastern studies rather than Chinese studies (which had arguably not begun in Paris until with his uncle Fourmont), and was easily convinced by the apparent historical and structural affinity between the Manchu script and the Near Eastern alphabets. Deshauterayes also noted, however, that "the Manchus call their alphabet … *the twelve heads*":

> This is their Syllabary, such as they teach it to their children. In order to avoid the cost of perhaps more than twenty engraved plates that such a Syllabary would have necessitated, & finally also in order to spare our Readers a too tiresome exercise, we have limited ourselves to tracing simply the Elements of this Alphabet, according to the different configurations that they assume, either at the

[104]His remaining manuscripts dealing with 'Oriental' languages and history do not include anything related to Manchu, except for a copy of the engraved plate of the Manchu script that he produced. The mentions of *tartare* things in the papers seem to all refer to Turkic, not Manchu or Mongol: Deshauterayes 1724–1795a, 1724–1795b.

[105]Sacy 1843–1865, 517.

[106]Petity 1766a, vol. 2, 546–584.

[107]Petity (1766b) 1767.

[108]In Petity 1766a, vol. 2, 550: *L'Étude des Langues ne manque pas de difficultés, sans chercher encore à les multiplier ; & présenter mille Caractères à apprendre, pour en venir seulement à la lecture ; c'est vouloir rebuter ceux mêmes qui marqueroient le plus d'ardeur pour cette sorte d'Étude* (referring to 'Phags-pa).

[109]E.g. cf. the descriptions of the Qīng habit of reading the Manchu syllables in groups of three or more syllables in Domenge (1729d) 1789, 30; Petity 1766a, vol. 2, 557.

[110]In Petity 1766a, vol. 2, 552: *…la configuration de plusieurs de leurs Éléments respectifs sont décidément les mêmes.*

> beginning, in the middle, or at the end of words, depending on how they are connected; in short, we have presented the Manchu Alphabet just as we presented the Arabic & Syrian Alphabets. Although the Manchu Tartars have not thought to present their Alphabet according to this method, we dare assert that it is the most simple, & and at the same time the easiest & and shortest.[111]

It appears from Deshauterayes' view as represented in these quotes, that the reduction of the Manchu script from a syllabary to an alphabet was motivated by economy of presentation. In his alphabet, which can be seen in figure A.3, the reader will notice that although the Manchu script is there certainly segmented into letters, including also certain medial-form graphs not seen in the syllabary in twelve sections, it lacks the letters carrying the diacritic 'circle' and several ligatures without knowledge of which running Manchu text cannot be successfully deciphered. Langlès was probably thinking of this circumstance when he later claimed to be the first to create a complete Manchu alphabet.

Wahl's Table and the Russian Factor (1784)

In 1784 a publication appeared in Leipzig that represented a rare instance of clear Russian influence on Western Manchu studies in this period: Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl's (1760–1834) *Allgemeine Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen und Litteratur*, which included an appendix on the history of Eastern scripts. The book was printed by Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–94), who was much accomplished in his craft and also experimented with the printing of Chinese characters.[112]

The publication of Wahl's *Geschichte* took place four years before its author was made professor extraordinarius of Oriental languages at Halle.[113] Never an expert on Chinese or Manchu, his interests in the East broadly defined are evident in the *Allgemeine Geschichte*, which treated both languages. Wahl cited Deshauterayes' dissertation, but did not comment on whether the Manchu script was alphabetical or not.[114]

The actual analysis of the Manchu script was carried out in one of the appended tables, which had been executed by Christoph Andreas Büttner (1708–1774), another accomplished scholar.[115] Wahl did not offer many details on Büttner's table, but Abel-Rémusat, a French

[111] In Petity 1766a, vol. 2, 554–555: *Les Mancheous donnent à leur Alphabèt le nom … [des]* douze têtes … *C'est leur Syllabaire, tel qu'ils le font apprendre aux enfans. Pour éviter la dépense de peut-être plus de vingt planches de gravures qu'un pareil Syllabaire auroit demandé, & aussi afin d'épargner à nos Lecteurs un travail trop pénible, nous nous sommes bornés à traçer simplement les Éléments de cet Alphabèt, selon les différentes configurations qu'ils prennent, soit au commencement, soit au milieu, soit à la fin des mots, par rapport à leurs liaisons ; en un mot nous avons présenté l'Alphabèt Mancheou, comme nous avons fait les Alphabèts Arabe & Syrien. Quoique les Tartares Mancheous ne se soient pas avisés de donner leur Alphabèt suivant cette méthode ; nous osons assurer cependant que c'est la plus simple, & en même temps la plus facile & la plus courte.*

[112] Schmieder 1955.

[113] Siegfried 1896.

[114] We would have expected such a comment in Wahl 1784, 609 (the citation of Deshauterayes is on 65).

[115] Wahl 1784, "Vorrede" (no pagination). For Büttner's life: Häckermann 1876.

Reproduced from Petity 1766a, vol. 2 (not to scale).

Figure A.3 – Deshauterayes' Manchu Alphabet

scholar whom I will return to below, later wrote that he had "learned of a handwritten sheet" by Büttner,

> in which can be seen the Manchu alphabet, excerpted, according to an accompanying note, from a Manchu syllabary with a Russian transcription, produced by an interpreter called *Soson Karpow*. The syllabary, constituting one part of a small Manchu-Chinese textbook, belonged to Breitkopf, the famous Leipzig printer.[116]

It is unclear how Abel-Rémusat learned of these details regarding Wahl's work.[117] We do not know much about Soson Karpow (Sozon Karpov), other than what Gregory Afinogenov reports: that Karpov was a low-ranking Russian cleric in a mission that travelled to Běijīng during the years 1744–55.[118] Russian Manchu studies were very advanced in the late eighteenth century, having transformed substantially since Bayer's days following frequent diplomacy and trade between the two states. Ilarion Rossochin (1717–61), a Russian scholar, for example left an unpublished Manchu alphabet.[119]

Wahl's book contained two tables showing the Manchu-Mongol script, none of which presented the script in its entirety. The Roman transcription hovered between an alphabetical and a syllabic understanding, indicating either the pronunciation of one or several letters. What was displayed as the final form of a letter in fact constituted an entire syllable with the letter in question functioning as onset. One of the sources for the tables was said to be a presentation "as used in Kalmyk schools" (*Scholis calmuccicis usu*). Breitkopf had shown this source to Büttner. Büttner suggestively wrote that the item had been incompletely transcribed by a certain individual in St. Petersburg.[120] It was probably the Mongol syllabary in Halle of which Bayer professed to have a copy, but which I have not yet seen.

The tables in Wahl's book show the continuous influence of Russian Manchu studies in Western Europe even after Bayer's contributions, which had been published partially in German journals early in the century. Yet the scholars and publishers Breitkopf, Büttner, and Wahl do not seem to have been able to get a good grasp of the Manchu script from the transcribed syllabaries they received from Russia. Their presentation of the characters, isolating,

[116]Abel-Rémusat 1820, 107: *J'ai eu connoissance d'une feuille manuscrite, de la main du célèbre professeur Buttner, où l'on voit l'alphabet Mandchou, extrait, suivant une note qui s'y trouve jointe, d'un syllabaire Mandchou accompagné d'une transcription Russe, faite par un interprète nommé* Soson Karpow. *Le syllabaire, faisant partie d'un petit ouvrage élémentaire Mandchou-chinois, appartenoit à Breitkopf, imprimeur distingué à Leipsick.*

[117]Abel-Rémusat was aware of some of the Russian sinological works, having reviewed a project to print Pavel Ivanovich Kamenskiĭ's (1765–1845) Chinese-Mongolian-Manchu-Russian-Latin dictionary (Walravens 2001, 370–371). Russian Manjuristics was thus on his horizon, but it is unclear how knew of Karpov's manuscript, as it is unclear how Breitkopf obtained his source in Leipzig.

[118]Gregory Afinogenov, personal communication (2014). Afinogenov cites the archival document RGIA f. 796 op. 27 d. 341 l509v.

[119]Tranovic (1945) 1975, 62.

[120]Wahl 1784, table II: *Utor tali Syllabario, nec vero perfecto a Petropolitano quodam penna exarato, quod celeb. BREITKOPF mecum communicarit.*

albeit imperfectly, abstracted Manchu letters in their various shapes, might either have reflected an original analysis of their Russian sources, or, more probably perhaps, their so far unknown Manchu originals.

Amiot's Manchu Dictionary and Langlès's Alphabet

Joseph-Marie Amiot (1718–93), a French Jesuit who had arrived in China in 1750,[121] was the compiler of the first Manchu dictionary to be published in Europe.[122] Scholars have seen Amiot's writings as representing a moment in the development of the Chinese Jesuits' intended audience from the European Catholic community to the secular republic of letters.[123] To be sure, already Verbiest's writings had influenced secular writers in the first half of the eighteenth century. However, with Amiot's work on the Manchu language we see a direct collaboration between the Jesuits and scholars without any Catholic identity.

Amiot was one of the missionaries in a sense left behind in China when the Society of Jesus was suppressed by the Catholic church in 1773. By the late 1780s, he was a self-proclaimed "simple civilian transplanted to one of the ends of our hemisphere."[124] After the suppression of their Society, the Běijīng Jeuits depended on the French royal purse for funding.[125] In the 1780s, Amiot's liaison with the French government was Henri Bertin (1719–92). The latter's father had become a French noble by purchasing office in the French royal administration. Bertin received a Jesuit education and was interested in the Chinese mission. For a time he held a high position at the French court, but had to resign it in 1780. He remained in contact with the French Jesuits in Běijīng, however, until he fled France during the revolution.[126]

Bertin asked Amiot, who was at that time one of the few French missionaries in Běijīng with enough time on his hands to study Manchu, to send him a Manchu-Chinese dictionary, and in 1781 the sexagenarian responded that his health allowing, Bertin would receive a dictionary "in a finished state, that is, in its entirety translated into French."[127] In 1784 he sent the translation of the dictionary to Bertin, excusing its uneven quality by the circumstances of its creation as the biproduct of his own language studies. Amiot wished he could also have

[121]Rochemonteix 1915, 11. Also on Amiot: Pfister (1891) 1932, 837–860 (entry 392).

[122]Amiot's name is encountered in a number of ways. Rochemonteix 1915 gives "Joseph Amiot"; Séguy 1979, 7 gives "Jean-Joseph Amiot"; Crossley and Rawski 1993, 87 give "Jean-Jacques Marie Amyot (or Amiot)" etc. The man himself did not generally include his given name when signing letters (but once he signed one as "Josephus-Maria Amiot": Dehergne 1973, 12), but always used the spelling "Amiot" for his surname. Davin 1961, 386 writes that Langlès probably introduced the spelling "Amyot." For simplicity's sake, I will refer to him consistently as Joseph-Marie Amiot.

[123]Nii Yoko 2011.

[124]Amiot 1789, 40 (local pagination of this letter): *un simple particulier transplanté à l'une des extrémités de notre hémisphère*.

[125]Rochemonteix 1915, 101–102, 108.

[126]Lewis 2004, 69, 83.

[127]Amiot 1781, 9: *… vous auriez ce Dictionnaire dans un état complet, je veux dire, tout traduit en françois*. In the same letter, Amiot wrote that Louis Poirot (1735–1813/1814), who reportedly translated the Bible into Manchu (Pfister [1891] 1932, 965–970 [entry 436]; Dehergne 1973, 207–208 [entry 654]; Mende 2004), was occupied by his duties at the palace, and that the other missionaries were completely ignorant of Manchu.

sent a grammar at that time, but remained confident that "an intelligent man will be able to make use of it with the help of the alphabet, that I have transcribed and explicated in a separate notebook, which you will find follows the dictionary."[128] Amiot's presentation of the Manchu script was not an alphabet in Bayer's use of the word, and indeed the bulk of the manuscript consisted of a syllabary in twelve sections with some Latin-script glosses added to clarify pronunciation. On the cover of this *Alphabet Mantchou*, Amiot had written that "the Manchus reduce their letters, or rather the elements of their letters, to 12 classes of monosyllables, from which they form all the sounds of their language. The letters are arranged according to the different combinations of the classes, which are defined by their 12 endings."[129] These words closely followed the wording in the opening paragraphs of Verbiest's *Elementa*, quoted above. Amiot was familiar with this grammar and the identity of its author, but it seems that he might have thought Bertin would not notice the degree to which he had relied on Verbiest's publication.[130]

Having received the manuscripts from Amiot, Bertin seems to have made enquiries regarding the possibilities of having it printed in France. Among his correspondence is found a note, lacking both date and signature, appearing to be a response to such an enquiry. The tone of the letter is very authoritative, making the young and unestablished Langlès an unlikely candidate for its authorship. It is possible that the note was copied from a letter perhaps passed on to Amiot, in which case it seems very likely that it would have been written by Deshauter-

[128] Amiot 1784c, 3–4: *je crois qu'un homme intelligent peut en tirer parti, en s'aidant de l'alphabet que j'ay transcrit et expliqué dans un cahier séparé que vous trouverez à la suite du dictionnaire.* As mentioned in Simon and Howard 1977, 24–25, the holograph of Amiot's translated dictionary ended up at the Royal Asiatic Society. However, at the time of my visit (July 2014), it could not be located there.

[129] Amiot 1784a, cover: *Les Mantchoux réduisent leurs lettres, ou plutôt les élements de leurs lettres à 12 classes de monosyllables dont ils forment tous les sons de leur langue, par les différentes combinaisons sous lesquelles ils les rangent. Ces 12 classes sont fixées par les terminaisons qui sont au nombre de 12.*

[130] Amiot 1790a, 125a (43): "You ask whether I would not have a Tartar grammar here that Mr. l'Anglès [sic] could draw on. I know only the one that Father Verbiest wrote a long time ago, which is more or less in the style of my own, by which I mean in the European manner, but Verbiest's grammar is incomplete" (*Vous demandez s'il n'y auroit pas icy quelque grammaire tartare dont M. l'Anglès* [i.e. Langlès] *put tirer parti. Je ne connois que celle qu'avoit faite autre fois le P. Verbiest, et qui est à peu près dans le goût de la mienne, je veux dire à la manière Européenne, et cette grammaire du Père Verbiest n'est pas complette*). Was Amiot referring to an early manuscript of Verbiest's grammar that he had at hand in Běijīng? (At least one eighteenth-century source says that the grammar was actually *printed* in Běijīng: Pfister [1891] 1932, 358) Did Amiot not know that it had been published in Paris by Thévenot? Was he insincere in not more explicitly acknowledging his debt to Verbiest? The letter does not say, but it is possible that he had not seen the grammar that was published in France, or thought that it was a different work, perhaps like Bayer attributing its authorship to Gerbillon. We possess a longer undated manuscript in Amiot's hand, titled *Grammaire Tartare-Mantchou*, now found among Henri Cordier's (1849–1925) papers (Amiot 1788a), which also contains these statements and has been identified as a translation from Verbiest (e.g. Davin 1961, 388). In 1788, Amiot's translation was published as his own work in a series of missionary papers on China (Amiot 1788b). Langlès, who supervised that edition, at least by 1807 knew that it was a partial translation of the *Elementa* (Langlès [1787b] 1807, xiv).

ayes,[131] who had experience with engraving Manchu characters and might in the mid-1780's very well have seemed to Bertin the most knowledgeable person in Paris with regards to the Manchu language. The note also made reference to Arabic, which was Deshauterayes' forte. It began:

> In order for the Tartar Dictionary to be of any use in a country where this language is completely unknown, it ought to be preceded by a Grammar, in which one would present first the alphabet. The author [i.e. Amiot] has sent an extensive Chinese-style syllabary, which might be useful for practicing reading, but it would be slow and difficult to learn to read with the help of the syllabary alone. The Chinese want to make things conform entirely to their own ideas; not understanding what an alphabet is, they make the reading of it more difficult [by transforming it into a syllabary]. Without discarding this syllabary, one would have to complement it with the simple alphabet, that the Tartars once possessed, indicating the changes that each letter can undergo at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of a word, the way the Arabs do it. Thus one could try to read letter by letter and not by whole syllables, which might be what is causing the Tartars to consider them only in groups similar to Chinese characters.[132]

Deshauterayes had some years prior edited a missionary history of China, in which he had also commented on the Chinese terminology as carried over in the translation and in his view misrepresented the linguistic realities to which it referred, seemingly by using the Chinese character as yardstick for both script and sound.[133] He would thus have been attuned to the radical difference existing between Chinese conceptions of language and writing and the European alphabetic paradigm, which we also see in this note.

After some comments on the need for a grammar, the anonymous note continued by remarking that "the printing of the dictionary in France cannot but be very difficult, given that there is no one in a state to oversee it: one would at the very least have some basic knowledge of the language in order to evaluate the engravings."[134] Bertin entrusted the task

[131] Comparing the handwriting to that seen in Deshauterayes 1724–1795b, I am unable to tell whether the note is written in Deshauterayes' hand.

[132] Anonymous 1780–1785, 121a: *Le Dictionnaire Tartare, pour être utile dans un païs où cette langue est totalement inconnüe, doit être précédée d'une Grammaire, dans laquelle on donneroit d'abord l'alphabet. L'auteur a envoyé un sillabaire très-étendu à la maniere Chinoise, il peut-être très utile pour s'exercer dans la lecture, mais avec cela seul, il seroit long et difficile de lire. Les Chinois en veulent tout ramener à leurs idées ; comme ils ne comprennent pas ce que c'est qu'un alphabet, ils rendent par leur méthode la lecture plus difficile. Sans rejetter ce sillabaire, il faut y joindre le simple alphabet tel que les Tartares l'avoient, indiquant les changements que chaque lettre peut éprouver lors qu'elle est au commencement, au milieu, et à la fin d'un mot, comme chez les Arabes, afin de chercher à lire, lettre à lettre, et non pas par sillabes entières, ce qui peut conduire les Tartares à ne les connoître que par groupes, comme les caractères chinois.*

[133] Mailla 1779, 311 (in the notes).

[134] Anonymous 1780–1785, 121a–b: *Quant au Dictionnaire, l'impression en France n'en peut être que très difficile vû que personne n'est en état de la diriger : il faudroit au moins avoir quelques légères connoissances de la langue, afin de juger des gravures.*

of acquiring the knowledge necessary for orchestrating such an enterprise to Louis-Mathieu Langlès (1763–1824), who had recently drawn attention for his work on Central Asian history.

Son of an officer, Langlès had briefly had a military appointment, but had spent his spare hours studying 'Asian' languages (Arabic and Persian[135]), allegedly in the hope of one day serving in India. He published a translation of a work on Central Asian history, which drew enough attention to award him a competitive, merit-based pension. At that time, he was not even twenty-five years old.[136]

Bertin passed Amiot's so-called alphabet on to Langlès in 1785 along with the dictionary.[137] By 1786 the "young man" had, in his own words, "set himself on learning the Tartar-Manchu language under the auspices of Monseigneur Bertin" with the aid of the material sent by Amiot, as Langlès wrote to the old Jesuit in November of that year.[138] Langlès comes off in the letter all at once as perspicacious (noting the resemblance of the Manchu script to Syriac), curious ("Is it true … that the Tartars have no poetry?"), boldly speculative ("I think I have found in the Tartar a great resemblance to Turkic and English"), and perhaps slightly delusional with regards to his own importance in the history of Manjuristics, claiming to be embarked on "an arduous journey that no one has undertaken before him."[139] Langlès told Amiot of his idea that "it would be much easier to divide [the Manchu script] into *initials, medials,* and *finals*, in the manner of the Orientals [e.g., the Arabs]," as opposed to dividing it into a syllabary in twelve sections. He hoped that Amiot would temporarily lay aside his "missionary duties" (*travaux apostoliques*) and send him a more substantial grammar with which to continue his studies.[140]

Amiot seems to initially have been less than enthusiastic. Yet he could not flatly refuse a request by one of Bertin's protégés. The unequal relationship that Amiot, as dependent on funds from the French state, had with Bertin probably compelled him to satisfy Bertin's various requests, but it would also have made him protective of his role as Bertin's privileged source for information on China.[141] Langlès's appearance on the scene probably represented for Amiot both more work and a potential threat to his authority in Bertin's eyes.

Given his relationship with Bertin, Amiot could not ignore Langlès. Yet he did almost that: declining to answer any of Langlès's questions, he passed the task of corresponding with him regarding Manchu over to the Lazarist Nicolas Joseph Raux (1754–1801), "who has already made the most considerable progress in this language, and who continues with this

[135]Caussin 1824, 2.

[136]Gauttier 1825, ii–iii.

[137]Langlès (1787b) 1807, 5 (in the notes) for the date, but no details on the manuscripts.

[138]Langlès 1786, 42a: *Un jeune-homme qui avec les secours que vous avez envoyés et sous les auspices de M^gneur^ de Bertin s'est livré à l'étude de la langue Tartare-Mantchou.…*

[139]Langlès 1786, 42a–44a: *…une pénible carrière que personne n'a parcourue avant lui … J'ai cru trouver dans le Tartare une grande ressemblance avec le turc et l'anglois … est-il vrai … que les Tartares n'ont aucune poésie ?*

[140]Langlès 1786, 42a: *…il étoit bien plus simple de les diviser à la manière des Orientaux en* initiales, médiales *et* finales.

[141]We might be seeing a hint of that when Amiot tells Bertin that Louis-Joseph de Guignes (1759–1845), whom Bertin had secured a non-clerical position at Canton (Lewis 2004, 85), was in a bad position to learn about China, as the Chinese in contact with the Europeans there were of poor character (Amiot 1789).

task, helped by three or four masters with whom he spends all his spare time."[142] Langlès does not appear to ever have corresponded with Raux, but the young scholar might at some point have become aware of the Lazarist's work on Manchu, as Bertin had noted in the margin of a letter written by Raux on November 17, 1786 that Langlès might be interested in Raux's work on Manchu. When the letter bearing Amiot's suggestion that Langlès study with Raux was sent from China, Langlès was preparing the printing of Amiot's works in Paris. Learning of Langlès's efforts to publish his Manchu studies, Amiot changed his mind and did not again push Langlès in Raux's direction.

Langlès's Manchu Alphabet (1787; 1789; 1807)

Langlès published his Manchu alphabet in 1787 and then again in 1789. The third edition did not appear until almost two decades later, in 1807. With the publication of the *Alphabet*, Langlès took steps toward securing a position in the French academic establishment. The *Alphabet* was considered one of the great scholarly achievements of his career,[143] and helped Langlès quickly rise to become one of the best-placed Orientalists of his day.

Langlès's most important claims with regards to the structure of the Manchu script remained the same throughout the three editions, although he by the time of the *Alphabet*'s third iteration had complemented them with extensive discussions on the history of the Manchus and their script. Some of the initial criticism leveled at Langlès concerned his central claim that the Manchu script consisted of single-sound letters, but by the time he came under attack in print by a new generation of scholars, those ideas were already widely accepted. The most strongly phrased criticism concerned Langlès's claim to priority in the discovery of the Manchu script's alphabetic character and details of his argument and actions with only limited relevance for our evaluation of his place in the history of European Manchu studies.

The most striking differences between the results obtained by Langlès and his predecessors through their analyses lay not in their conclusions on the nature of the Manchu script, but in the problems that they set out to solve. Before Langlès, the analysis of the Manchu script had been a response to a pedagogical or grammatological problem; Verbiest and Domenge had produced their segmentations of the script as part of their efforts to teach it. For Bayer, understanding the Manchu script had been a problem of grammatology and the history of Near Eastern scripts. Deshauterayes was like Bayer interested in Manchu's relationship to the Near Eastern script, but introduced economy of presentation as a motivation for an alphabetic understanding.

Learning the Manchu script had also initially been Langlès's point of departure. That much is clear from his letter to Amiot, where he had written that he at that point knew the syllabary pretty well and had embarked upon reading, but felt that "by forming a Syllabary

[142] Amiot 1788c, 46a–b: *…M. Raux qui a déja fait les plus grands progrès dans l'étude de cette langue, et qui continue de s'en occuper, à l'aide de trois ou quatres maîtres qui partagent auprès de lui tout le loisir qu'il peut avoir dans le courant de la journée.* Langlès later published this letter: Langlès (1787b) 1807, 174–175.

[143] It was highlighted in obituaries: Caussin 1824, 2–3; Walckenaer 1826, 4–5.

instead of an alphabet, the Manchus have terribly inconvenienced their reading."[144] Langlès's initial realization that the twelve-headed syllabary could be construed as consisting of letters came out of his own language studies. Yet it was Bertin's suggestion that Langlès find a way to print Amiot's Manchu-French dictionary that compelled him to make a complete alphabetical description of all the components of the Manchu script. Printing the dictionary posed a typographical problem that would contribute crucially to Langlès's analysis of the Manchu script as an alphabet.

Charged with Bertin's commission, Langlès had to solve an entirely new problem: how to print a book of hundreds of pages in which Manchu characters coexisted with Roman type. In earlier European works, the few Manchu characters that were reproduced were generally engraved, as in the finely drawn letters seen in Deshauterayes' figures. Such a procedure necessitated the express carving of a copper sheet to produce one page, a method somewhat similar to the carving of woodblocks in East Asian printing. Although publishers might be willing to produce a few pages using the method of engraving, carving every page of a reference work in such a way was an economic impossibility.

If the dictionary's Roman text was set in moveable type, the Manchu needed to be as well. Langlès thus had to come up with a way of cutting the Manchu text into smaller blocks that could be cast as type and assembled in various combinations to spell the lemmata of the dictionary. Casting combinations of letters (ligatures) as single blocks of type was common practice in European typography. Furthermore, in the late eighteenth century there were also experiments with casting commonly occuring full syllables as single units of type.[145] Despite such precedents, Langlès decided to base the Manchu type of his understanding of the script as constituted by letters variously realized as contextually determined glyphs. We have seen that by 1787, this was not a novel idea; both Bayer and Deshauterayes had articulated and illustrated it before him. Yet the necessity of casting type made Langlès take the analysis of Manchu graphs further than his predecessors. He did not invent the Manchu alphabet, but he refined it and showed in hard metal that the model worked. The typographer and punchcutter engaged for the job was Firmin Didot (1764–1836),[146] who together with his older brother were often engaged by the French learned societies to print scholarly works.

Langlès's analysis was more detailed than that of earlier scholars in at least two regards: in its treatment of the "dots and circles" (*tongki fuka*) characteristic of the reformed Manchu script and in its treatment of ligatures. Langlès's main argument against casting the type within the syllabic paradigm was stronger than the mere assertion that the syllabary was too large and unwieldy. Like Bayer, Langlès pointed out that although "the combinations [of the syllabary] express all the sounds of their language, not all characters are found in it." Langlès had had the "unpleasant surprise of encountering many unknown letters, and especially ligatures, when reading Tartar books [even] after having thoroughly studied the syllabary."[147] "I burned with

[144]Langlès 1786, 42a: *les Mantchoux en formant une Syllabaire au lieu d'un alphabet ont terriblement embarrassé leur lecture*.

[145]Camus 1799, 67 (in the notes).

[146]de Rienzi and Hoefer 1855.

[147]Langlès 1787c, 8: *Ces combinaisons expriment tous les sons de leur langue, mais on n'y trouve pas tous les caracteres … j'ai été très désagréablement surpris, après avoir bien étudié le syllabaire, de rencontrer dans les livres tartares des lettres, et sur-tout beaucoup de ligatures qui m'étoient inconnues.*

impatience for publishing the dictionary," Langlès wrote,

> but it could only be done using movable type, and I had before me but a complicated mass of shapes … from which I succeeded in extracting twenty-three letters, the greatest part coming in three different shapes … I dare think that this was the first *complete* ALPHABET [Langlès's emphasis] for this language, unknown even to those who speak it.[148]

To his defense, Langlès did not claim to have been the first to realize that the Manchu script could be segmented using the alphabetic principle into individual glyphs corresponding to individual speech sounds, but only to have comprehensively accounted for all occurring shapes in a way that allowed them to be reassembled to spell not only the twelve-headed syllabary, but all the words found in the Manchu books deposited in the Bibliothèque Royale. It might have been that he in some sense was justified in believing this was the case, since his analysis unlike those of his predecessors had resulted in the creation of a Manchu font.[149] He also refined the alphabetic analysis by clearly establishing the ligatures, combinations realized when the abstract letters were employed in words, as a separate category. This distinction, necessary in order to account for all the forms assumed by the Manchu script as actually used, had not been made explicit in either Bayer's or Deshauterayes' tables.

In the letterpress technology used to produce the Manchu type, letters were produced by first carving a punch (*poinçon*) out of a bar of hard metal. The punch was then pressed into a piece of softer metal, creating the matrix (*matrice*) used as a mold to cast the type. The two-step process of producing type using both punch and matrix was reflected in Langlès's model of the Manchu alphabet. When producing the type, Langlès established for himself a "law" (*loi*), according to which the number of ligatures was to be kept to a minimum. The law does not seem to have been motivated by technical expediency; on the contrary, Langlès admitted that it "presented obstacles that were not easily overcome."[150] Like his predecessors, Langlès might have been driven to reduce the number of ligatures by a desire for maximum conceptual economy. Yet economical reasons might also have played a part: Didot's bill for casting the type, now found among Langlès's papers, makes it clear that it was cheaper to punch new matrices and then modify them, than to cut new punches.[151] As the ligatures in Langlès's mind were concrete realizations of abstract letters, so most of the ligature types were produced using the original punches of the individual letters, the joint imprint of which was later modified in the matrix. The 'dots and circles,' which Langlès considered to be "accents,"

[148]Langlès 1787c, 8: *…je brûlois d'impatience de publier le dictionnaire ; mais on ne pouvoit l'imprimer qu'avec des caracteres mobiles, et je n'avois devant moi que des masses très compliquées … Je parvins à en tirer vingt-trois lettres, dont la plupart ont trois formes différentes … J'ose croire que c'est le premier ALPHABET* complet *de cette langue, inconnu aux peuples mêmes qui la parlent*.

[149]Some information on later European fonts for the Manchu script is found in Plath 1831, 1018 (in the notes).

[150]Langlès 1787c, 16–17: *Cette loi, que je m'étois imposée, présentoit des obstacles qu'il n'étoit pas aisé de vaincre*.

[151]One punch and its matrix cost 18 livres, whereas a modified matrix made from an existing punch cost only 6 livres: Langlès 1763–1824, 138.

were produced in a similar way. In Langlès's model of the alphabet, *d* ᡩ was not a letter on a par with *t* ᡨ, but rather a modification of that letter by means of an "accent" in the shape of a dot. Langlès's predecessors had also envisioned the letters carrying 'dots and circles' in this way, as appears from their alphabetical tables. Langlès and Didot applied this theoretical model in the cutting of type, translating it into steel, copper, and lead and tin alloy: using the punches for the unaccented letters, a second matrix was produced, into which Didot carved the 'dots and circles.'[152]

It is possible that Langlès conceived of the method and wrote the description of the Manchu font before the type was cast. In the first edition of the *Alphabet*, he wrote that the punches were "fewer than sixty" (*ne se montent point à soixante*), but that ligatures and accented letters had necessitated the punching of ninety matrices.[153] In the second edition of the alphabet, however, which accompanied the printed dictionary, the stated number of punches had been reduced to fifty-five and the number of matrices to eighty.[154] The circumstance that the number of punches and matrices seem to have been reduced in number as the type was produced suggests that Didot was able to increase the conceptual economy of Langlès's alphabet further as he was carrying out his task. This conjecture appears all the more plausible considering that the bill dressed by Didot for Bertin for the payment of the Manchu type included only sixty-eight matrices, and not eighty as Langlès wrote.[155] Didot's experience with the technology of letterpress printing might have enabled him to progress further than other Orientalists in the analysis of the Manchu script. Regardless of who contributed what, by the time the Manchu alphabet left Langlès's and Didot's hands, it was unambiguously defined as on the highest level of abstraction consisting of basic letters, that could be modified by diacritics and joined into a fixed number of ligatures when concretely realized in written language. Langlès and Didot were able to account for all the shapes of written Manchu characters using a font made from eighty matrices. In contrast, the syllabary in twelve sections counted more than 1,300 syllables, which still, as chapter 5 showed, needed the addition of the 'outer characters' to fully account for all the shapes seen in written Manchu. For the third edition of the *Alphabet*, which appeared in 1807, Langlès had a new, smaller Manchu font made with Didot, which he used in the footnotes.[156]

Langlès's Critics (1): Amiot (1787–90)

The only criticism Langlès appear to have received at the time of his initial publication of the *Alphabet* came from Amiot.

Amiot, who had learned Manchu the Qīng way on site in Běijīng, initially criticized the very idea that Manchu was an alphabet. He was soon mollified by the positive publicity that

[152]Langlès did not specify exactly how the type was made, referring only to "certain typographical measures" (*certains procédés typographiques*) used for producing the modified matrices: Langlès 1787c, 19.

[153]Langlès 1787c, 19.

[154]Langlès (1787a) 1789, xxix.

[155]Langlès 1763–1824, 138.

[156]Klaproth 1826, vol. 3, 46 (in the notes).

Langlès brought him by publishing his dictionary, however. Amiot's criticism was voiced in a letter to Bertin. We saw that the old Jesuit was initially less than enthusiastic about mentoring Langlès in Manchu matters. Before Amiot responded to Langlès's initial letter, he wrote about the aspiring scholar and his project to Bertin. Amiot offered Bertin

> a general response with regards to the *Syllabary*, I say *Syllabary* and not *Alphabet*, because the Manchus do not have an Alphabet in the strict sense of the word. They only recognize those that we call *vowels* as primitive, basic, and true letters. … If our Alphabet appears to us preferable to their Syllabary, would not that be because the Peoples who taught us wanted it that way? I will not decide as to which of the two methods is better. We have a long Alphabet and a Syllabary that is even longer; the Manchus have an Alphabet that is very short, since it contains only the vowels, and a Syllabary that is as short as it could possibly be while still being able to express all their sounds. I say all the sounds, because to those of their own language they have added the sounds of Chinese and of all the Foreign languages known to them.[157]

It is not obvious from Amiot's letter whether he shared the Manchus alleged inability to see letters elsewhere than in the sequence of six vowels that opened the inner sequence. Still, already in this letter do we see Amiot's remarkable cultural relativism, which he continued to champion in subsequent missives to his Parisian correspondents. For Amiot, the issue was not whether or not the Manchu script could be segmented as an alphabet; the Manchus themselves did not use an alphabet, so there was no reason Europeans should adopt an alphabetic model when discussing Manchu. If both the syllabary and the alphabet were culturally conditioned conceptual models, why replace one with the other? Amiot probably felt compelled to state his views by the sometimes complacent tone of European writings on the Manchu script, which was probably grating to the Běijīng resident's ear.

When Amiot learned about Langlès's publication of the grammatical and lexicographical œuvre he had sent to Bertin, however, the Jesuit was full of praise for the younger scholar. "It is surprising that as his age, he would already have made such considerable progress in the Study of languages,"[158] he wrote to Paris. He asked Bertin to offer Langlès "the deserved tribute of the high Esteem that I have for his talents" (*le juste tribut de la haute Estime que j'ay pour ses talents*).[159] Amiot even wrote a letter beautifully written in Manchu to *langkeles looye*

[157] Amiot 1787b, 6 (local pagination for this letter): *une réponse générale au sujet du* Syllabaire *je dis du* Syllabaire *et non pas de* l'Alphabet*, car les Mantchoux n'ons pas d'Alphabet proprement dit. ils ne connoissent de lettres primitives, fondemen[tales] et véritables lettres que celle que nous nommons* voyelles*. … Si no[tre] Alphabet nous paroît préférable à leur Syllabaire, ne seroit ce pas parce que [les] Peuples qui ont été nos maîtres l'ont ainsi voulu ? je ne déciderai point la quelle des deux méthodes vaut le mieux. nous avons un long Alphabet et un Syllabaire encore plus long ; et les Mantchoux ont un Alphabet très court, puisqu'il ne contient que les voyelles, et un Syllabaire aussi court qu'il puisse l'être, pour exprimer tous les sons. je dis tous les sons ; car à ceux de leur propre langue, ils ont ajoûté ceux de la langue chinoise, et de toutes les langues Etrangères qui leur sont connues.*

[158] Amiot 1789, 32 (local pagination for this letter): *il est étonnant qu'à son âge, il ait déja fait tant de progrès dans l'Etude des langues.*

[159] Amiot 1789, 32.

, which is how he chose to transcribe name of the French scholar (suggestively using only letter combinations permitted by the syllabary in twelve sections).[160]

Amiot had originally been skeptical of Langlès's choice of printing Manchu horizontally, but after having shown a copy of the published dictionary to Manchu scholars, who thought it was a clever move as it made them fit better with the French text, he withdrew his reservations. Yet he still did not agree entirely with Langlès's scholarly enterprise, as he chose to have "some light criticism" accompany the praise, "modestly phrased as *advice*."[161] Amiot's 'advice' reads like an articulation of the tensions growing within European Orientalism as the discipline became better informed and more rapidly updated on developments in Asia, while still treating them within an epistemological framework in which the European scholar was free to pontificate over other cultures as if they would forever remain mute unless mediated through his mind. Although Langlès's work on the Manchu script would have been impossible without the Jesuits and their Manchu patrons in Běijīng, the latter had no obvious place in the Orientalist discourse. Bayer, Deshauterayes, and Langlès ranged in their writings from the early Near East to contemporary China, as if they all represented but artifacts to be discovered by the Western researcher. At least that is how it looked to Amiot, for whom the Qīng empire was not an abstraction but the country in which he lived and would soon die. Amiot asked Bertin to tell Langlès that he ought

> not to work on a living language, which has its own scholars, its own grammarians and writers, in the country where it has currency, in the same way as he might work on a a dead language found only in books. You might say whatever you want about a language that is no longer spoken, as you risk nothing but the criticism of a few academics. You can dispute and hope and even claim to defeat those whose authority you can at least claim to match. That is not the case when it comes to a language spoken in a country where there are scholars and people of every station who study literature. These scholars and lettered men will see just what how much all that you write with regards to their language is worth as soon as it is based on anything but the precise truth.[162]

This piece of advice also served to bolster Amiot's own authority, for he proceeded to criticize Langlès's (and Didot's) choice of presenting and producing the letters with diacritics as accented versions of other letters (discussed above). Amiot then left the subject of the nature of script and gave his account of the pre-conquest origins of the Manchu writing system. Amiot, citing unnamed Manchu scholars, seems to have been critical of the discussions

[160] Amiot 1790b.

[161] Amiot 1790a, 106b (6): *…quelque légère critique … sous le nom modeste de* conseils.

[162] Amiot 1790a, 106b–107a (6–7): *…ne pas travailler sur une langue vivante qui a ses docteurs, ses grammairiens et ses écrivains dans le pays où elle a cours, comme il pourroit le faire sur une langue morte qui n'existe que dans les livres. on peut dire tout ce qu'on veut d'une langue qu'on ne parle plus, parce qu'on n'a à craindre que les critiques de quelques savants aves lesquels on peut disputer, et qu'on peut espérer et se flatter même de vaincre, parce qu'on s'arroge une autorité tout au moins égale à la leur. il n'en est pas ainsi quand il s'agit d'une langue qu'on parle dans un pays où il ỳ a des savants et des hommes de tous les rangs qui cultivent les lettres. Ces savants et ces hommes de lettres apprecieront ce qu'il vaut tout ce qu'on écrira sur leur langue qui n'aura pas l'exacte vérité pour fondement.*

regarding the Manchu script's relationship to Near Eastern alphabets like Syriac, which he found in the writings by Langlès and other European authorities, urging Langlès instead to look closer at the early history of the Manchus and their relationship with the Mongols. The Mongols and their language were little known in western Europe at this time. Amiot would thus have been justified in stressing the importance of the Mongols for the cultural history of the Manchus. Unfortunately, the account Amiot offered of the pre-conquest Manchus' adoption of the Mongol alphabet was far from accurate, even when judged by the state of the field at the time. Langlès's incorporation of Amiot's account into the third edition of his *Alphabet* would only facilitate for his later critics to attack his authority as a scholar.[163]

Amiot's criticism of Langlès's Manchu scholarship appears to have ended there. The two men might have disagreed on the characterization of the Manchu script as syllabary or alphabet, but they were not enemies. Sometime before 1788, Langlès intended to republish parts of Amiot's alphabet and grammar, of which three sets of printed proofs remain. By the time he was editing Amiot's words for the new publication, Langlès wrote that "were it not for my respect for everything that leaves the hands of Amiot, I would have replaced ALPHABET with SYLLABARY" in the work's title.[164] Like Bayer before him, Langlès wanted to clearly separate 'alphabet' from 'syllabary'; Amiot was content with using the terms loosely.

The fact that the re-imagination of the Manchu script as an alphabet reached its completion as the solution to a problem of movable type printing is of some interest from the point of view of grammatology and the history of linguistic ideas. This is even more so considering that Langlès and Didot were not the only ones experimenting with Manchu type in the late eighteenth century.

Parallel Inventions? Raux and the Peking Typewriter

Still, the little information that we have on what the missionaries were doing with the Manchu script at the Qīng court suggests that typographical experiments might have inspired more people than Langlès and Didot to reconsider the nature of the Manchu script.

Raux's November letter to Bertin discussed a "machine," originally conceived by "the English," that Bertin had discussed with Raux before the latter left for China. The machine, Raux reminded Bertin, "writes Chinese characters in praise of the Emperor."[165] The missionaries seem to have either replicated the English machine, or possessed the original, because Raux was explaining that Qiánlóng had asked the clockmaker Jean-Mathieu de Ventavon (1733–87)[166] to "make the aforementioned machine write Manchu characters" (*faire écrire à la dite machine des caractères Mantchoux*). Ventavon succeeded in this task, eventually making it write also Mongol and before long, Raux assured Bertin, it would be able to write Tibetan.

[163]The mistaken identification of the creators of the Manchu script in Langlès (1787b) 1807, 55 seems to have stemmed from Amiot. Klaproth 1826, vol. 3, 58 pointed out the error.

[164]Amiot (1784b) 1787–1790, set 2, 1 (in the notes): *Sans mon respect pour tout ce qui sort de la plume de M. Amyot, j'aurois substitué SYLLABAIRE à celui d'ALPHABET*. This note is not included in the edition of the grammar from 1788.

[165]Raux 1786, 14:239: *Je me souviens qu'étant à Paris Mgr. me parla un jour d'une machine faite par les Anglois, laquelle écrit des caractères chinois à la louange de l'Empereur.*

[166]Pfister (1891) 1932, 913–919 (entry 426).

Yet it does not seem to have been all that simple an enterprise: in a series of letters from 1789–90, Raux told Bertin that a prince had asked another of the missionaries (Ventavon having passed away) to work on a "new machine that writes characters" (*une nouvelle machine qui écrit des caractères*) in preparation for the Qiánlóng emperor's eightieth birthday (by Chinese reckoning) in 1790.[167] At that time they had already been at it for several weeks "confident that they will succeed" (*avec espérence de réussir*).[168] Yet the task does not seem to have been all that simple: in late 1790 they had been working on the machine, which at that time was "very advanced" (*fort avancée*), for more than a year. Their Manchu employers were reportedly satisfied.[169]

Catherine Pagani with reason calls Ventavon's 'machine' an automaton, associated with the other mechanical devices the Jesuit constructed for Qiánlóng's amusement.[170] However, in light of the other projects that Raux related to Bertin, we would also seem justified in understanding Ventavon's 'machine' as a typographical project. It appears from Raux's letters that Bertin had arranged for European movable type (*caractères typographiques*) to be sent to the Běijīng Jesuits. Ventavon had built a press, with Raux reporting that "our plan [being] to in the future print various things, especially small dictionaries in several languages."[171] The Běijīng missionaries had access to European movable type, a self-made printing press, a 'machine' capable of producing written Manchu words, and their intent was to produce multilingual dictionaries. Either they were envisioning to write the presumably Chinese and Manchu text in Roman transcription, or their printing project must have included a plan to somehow print also these scripts using movable type. Was the 'machine' built by Ventavon and his successors a kind of typewriter or printing press?

The key question with regards to the role of typography in the re-conceptualization of the Manchu script as an alphabet, then, becomes whether Ventavon's machine produced entire Manchu words, individual syllables, or letters as would Didot's font. The original incarnation of the machine, which printed praises to the emperor in Chinese, appears to have included only a few keys carrying select Chinese characters. A machine intended to produce the equivalent messages in Manchu could conceivably have been constructed in the same way, using keys each carrying a Manchu word. Was the machine to print more than a few fixed sentences, however, a word-by-word solution would quickly have become too unwieldy. The choice, if there ever was one, would have stood between a syllable-based set of keys numbering more than 1,300 units, or a letter-based one similar to the font made by Didot in Paris, which used only eighty. Given the sophisticated metallurgical work needed to produce the Paris font, it is unlikely that Ventavon would have succeeded in creating a letter-based set without substantial resources and know-how at his disposal. Yet Qiánlóng's Imperial Household Department, the agency that built the missionaries' mechanical devices, would have possessed those resources.

In any case, the very fact that the missionaries experimented with Manchu typography sug-

[167]Raux 1789a, 244.

[168]Raux 1789b, 252. Raux called the machine a *machine à écrire des charactères*, a term close to the later generic term for the modern typewriter, *machine à écrire*.

[169]Raux 1790, 254.

[170]Pagani 2001, 53–54.

[171]Raux 1790, 254–255: *Notre dessein est d'imprimer différentes choses dans la suite, en particulier des petits dictionnaires en plusieurs langues.*

gests that it might have played a role in Raux's study of the language. Raux relied in his studies on a well-known textbook of Manchu written in Chinese,[172] which I discussed at some length in chapter 5 as an early example of an analysis of Manchu characters into subsyllabic strokes. In 1788, he sent a translation of the first chapter of this work to Bertin. It is indeed a faithful translation; Raux followed the original textbook in referring to both initial vowels, consonantal codas, and open syllables with consonantal onsets as "characters" (*caractères*), not explicitly distinguishing letters corresponding to single speech-sounds as structural units.[173] However, in the same year Raux sent a copy of a common Chinese-Latin dictionary[174] (perhaps of the kind that he wanted to print?) to de Guignes in Canton.[175] To the dictionary was appended a Manchu syllabary in twelve sections with Roman-script glosses. On occasion, the glosses unambiguously identified components of the Manchu script as letters.[176]

Raux's dispatches to Bertin and de Guignes indicate that he developed an understanding of the Manchu script that we might call alphabetic. The circumstance that he learned Manchu in part from a Chinese textbook of Manchu that invited the reader to think of the syllabary in twelve sections as consisting of graphic units smaller than full syllables might have helped him come to that conclusion. Yet the clearest indication that Raux thought about Manchu alphabetically does not come from his translation of the Chinese Manchu textbook, but from his annotations to the syllabary accompanying the Chinese dictionary he sent de Guignes. The syllabary carrying the annotations in question seems to have been finished in 1788 at the latest, when the Manchu typing machine was more than a year in the making. It is possible that the missionaries' experiments with movable type contributed to Raux's analysis of the Manchu script as alphabetic.

Movable Type and Alphabetic Thinking

In a highly problematic book, *Orality and Literacy,* that the student of East Asian cultural history can only use with the greatest caution, Walter J. Ong pointed to the importance of the invention of alphabetic letterpress print in the history of literacy broadly defined. Ong argued that the pre-islamic Uighurs, whose script was the ancestor of that of the Manchus, practiced movable type printing, "but the movable types bore not separate letters but whole words. … Alphabet letterpress printing, in which each letter was cast on a separate piece of metal, or type, marked a psychological breakthrough of the first order."[177] In my opinion Ong's book does not fully substantiate that claim, but it is noteworthy that the Qīng imperial print shop did not use movable type to print any Manchu books,[178] reserving it for printing in Chinese, in

[172] *Qīngwén qǐméng*.

[173] Raux 1788.

[174] The dictionary of which Raux's manuscript was a copy is described in Yáng Huìlíng 2011.

[175] For de Guignes, see footnote 141. De Guignes also received "a Tartar and Chinese grammar" (*une grammaire tartare et chinoise*) from Raux: Guignes 1786, 503.

[176] E.g. over Ma. *ša*, which was transcribed *chā*, a note identified the Manchu letter *š-* in initial position as "= *ch*." Likewise, the initial-form letter *y-* was glossed as "= *y-*": Brollo (1788) 1813, 365a–b. The somewhat unclear origin of this dictionary is touched upon in the bibliography.

[177] Ong (1982) 2012, 116.

[178] "In print, the Manchus have adopted the Chinese method of woodblock printing; only in Korea was Manchu ever printed with moveable type" (*Im Druck haben sich die Manju an das chinesische*

which case the type for obvious reasons represented Chinese characters, which were syllabic.

We saw that the felt need to cast a Manchu font pushed Langlès and Didot to take the alphabetic hypothesis for Manchu to its logical conclusion and attempt to account for all the script's glyphs, ligatures included, using the smallest number of units possible. The tantalizing reports on the Běijīng 'machine' and Raux's Manchu studies suggest that moveable type might also have played a role in the latter's understanding of the script. Finally, the fact that the imperial print shop did not cast a Manchu type could very well reflect the fact that an understanding of Manchu built around the syllabary in twelve sections did not encourage thinking and experimentation along those lines. Although cause and effect are ultimately difficult to identify with any certainty, it seems that the pre-existing European technology of the letterpress may have played a role in the definitive establishment of the alphabetic conception of the Manchu script among Europeans in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

Langlès's Critics (2): Klaproth and Rémusat

The French revolution ended or suspended the careers of many scholars and potential rivals of Langlès, enabling him to quickly rise to positions first at the Royal—intermittently National—Library and then at the newly formed École spéciale des langues orientales (today's INALCO), which he headed from 1794.[179] As his career indicates, Langlès embraced the revolution. In 1790, he addressed the revolutionary National Assembly on the importance of "Oriental languages," not neglecting to mention his work on Manchu, the increased study of which would strengthen France's hand in China.[180] Langlès' later critics seem to have thought that he piggybacked on the revolution to advance his own career; the "volunteer in the Parisian national guard," who published his writings "under the auspices of liberty,"[181] would not be quickly forgiven by certain politically conservative academics.

Langlès faced a wave of criticism of his Manchu studies in the 1810s. In 1807, Langlès published the *Alphabet* in a much expanded third edition, which reached almost two hundred pages in length and was filled with historical and other information not immediately relevant for the analysis of the alphabet proper. The criticism directed at the third edition of the *Alphabet* did not question the veracity of the alphabetic assumption, but merely Langlès's claim to have been the first to provide an alphabetical model that could account for all the shapes assumed by Manchu graphs. Langlès's younger critics, themselves unwavering in their belief that Manchu was an alphabetic script, revealed by their criticism just to what extent the alphabetic paradigm conditioned their thinking about the relationship between speech and writing. The following survey of their views will conclude this chapter on the European invention of the Manchu alphabet.

Verfahren des Holztafeldrucks angeschlossen; mit beweglichen Typen ist Manju nur in Korea gedruckt worden), wrote Laufer 1908, 10. It is not clear from where Laufer received his information on Korea (as far as I know, Manchu was not printed using moveable type in that country), but he was in any case correct regarding the situation in China.

[179]Walckenaer 1826, 6. The early history of the school outlined in Bazin 1995, 983–989.

[180]Langlès 1790.

[181]V.M. 1815, 9: *M. Langlès, volontaire de la garde nationale parisienne, &c. sous les auspices de la liberté*.

The severe criticism that Langlès received from Julius Klaproth (1783–1835) and Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832) is impossible to make sense of without considering the idiosyncratic personality of the former and the political history of France during the formative years of the latter. Whereas Amiot had criticized Langlès through Henri Bertin "and in no other way,"[182] Klaproth and Rémusat attacked him in print, sometimes in disingenuous ways.

Born in Berlin, Klaproth started studying Chinese by himself at age fourteen while still in Gymnasium. In 1801 his father sent him to Halle to attend university, which complicated his Chinese studies as he no longer had easy access to the library in the Prussian capital. In 1804, he took a junior position at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, which enabled him to travel extensively in the Russian Far East and in Georgia during the years that followed. Despite promising career prospects in Russia, Klaproth left that country. In 1814 he travelled to Elba to consult with Napoleon, then in exile, with regards to the possibility of obtaining a position in Paris. Caught up in the events that led to the former emperor's brief return to power the following year, Klaproth spent the last of his available funds travelling via Florence to Paris, where he would remain until shortly before his death. Klaproth was able to reside in Paris as a Prussian professor at large thanks to the support of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), the Prussian statesman and scholar. The financial independence allowed him to gather a circle of students and was at the root of certain French rumors that he was in fact a Prussian spy.[183] Indeed, there circulated around Klaproth such stories that the present writer will decline to repeat them, lest he be accused of gratuitously reveling in the scandalous.[184] Yet Klaproth's strong personality appears even from reading only his polemic writings against Langlès, which he published shortly after arriving in Paris around 1815.

In Paris, Klaproth met Rémusat. Initially a student of medicine, Rémusat had also tried to learn Chinese since 1806. Two years later, he tried to consult the Jesuit manuscript dictionaries of Chinese held at the Bibliothèque Royale,[185] but was denied access by Langlès, who was in charge of the Chinese collection.[186] Rémusat surprisingly managed to learn to read literary Chinese anyway, earning a doctorate on the subject of Chinese medicine at age twenty-five. Soon thereafter, his medical knowledge was put to use in the Parisian slaughterhouses that had been filled with wounded soldiers as impromptu field hospitals during the last leg of the Napoleonic wars.[187] Yet Rémusat managed to draw the attention of well-placed scholars, which earned him an appointment as France's first professor of Chinese and Manchu at the Collège de France in 1814, around the time that Klaproth was setting out for Paris. Rémusat had seen his academic career held back first by Langlès, custodian of the capital's Chinese books and earlier supporter of the Revolution, and then by Napoleon's war with Europe. Politically a conservative nostalgic for the *ancien régime*,[188] Rémusat seems to have held a few regrets regarding the political upheavals of his youth and the self-proclaimed creator of the Manchu alphabet whom they had carried to the apex of France's academic establishment.

[182] Amiot 1790a, 106b (6): *…par l'organe de votre grandeur et non autrement*.
[183] Naundorf 1977.
[184] See e.g. Cordier 1917, 303–304.
[185] Lundbæk 1995, 208.
[186] Rousseau and Thouard 1999, 280–281 (in the notes).
[187] Walckenaer 1832, 4.
[188] Lundbæk 1995, 218 for Rémusat's political views (the rest is my own inference).

In 1815, as the country underwent the last of its Napoleonic convulsions of that generation, Rémusat and Klaproth joined in an attack on Langlès and his *Alphabet*.

Before going to Paris, Klaproth had already published on the Manchu script and criticized Langlès's Manchu studies and his claims with regards to the alphabet. In 1810 in St. Petersburg, he published a presentation of the Manchu script consisting of parts of the first section of the syllabary, which the Manchus would have "borrowed … from the Mongols" (*entlehnten … von den Mongolen*). Klaproth maintained that the syllabary could be easily reduced to twenty-nine "basic letters" (*Grundbuchstaben*), which he purported to present. Yet the Manchu graphs transcribed using single Roman letters represented full syllables (*ka, ga, ha* etc.).[189] In this early publication Klaproth made no reference to earlier Manchu studies, be it in China or Europe.[190]

The criticism of Langlès followed two years later. In *Abhandlung über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren* (1812), he wrote that "Langlès claims that the Uighurs and the other peoples, who use their script, would never have divided their syllabary into individual letters. This is false."[191] Klaproth presented a table of the Uighur-Mongol script, in which he isolated the letters, claiming to have derived it from a Mongolian xylograph on the origin of the characters from 1730, which I have been unable to either locate or identify.[192] Klaproth argued that this alphabet, which "was composed and printed about 90 years ago" (*das vor etwa 90 Jahren verfaßt und gedrucht worden ist*), together with the publication of Chinese books analyzing the Manchu script in the early eighteenth century signified that Langlès could not claim that the alphabetic analysis of the Uighur-Mongol script was unknown to the people who used it. Klaproth pointed out that that "Langlès himself received this syllabary from Father Raux in Peking," citing the French scholar's statement to this effect in the third edition of his *Alphabet*.[193] The Chinese Manchu textbook[194] Klaproth argued that both Raux and Langlès had studied operated with a paradigm of syllables subdividing into strokes (see chapter 5), but Klaproth was probably correct in suggesting that a European exposed to its demonstrations of medial form graphs would have inspired an alphabetic understanding of Manchu. This was not the last time that the fact that Langlès had access to a Chinese Manchu textbook was used to criticize the originality of his *Alphabet*. Yet Langlès's voluntary acknowledgment that he had access to the Chinese book indicates that he did not think of it as having guided him substantially in his own analysis.

In 1814, Klaproth published a much more substantial criticism of Langlès in an account of his travels in the Caucasus and in Georgia. The criticism levelled at Langlès encompassed several points. Klaproth quoted at length from Manchu publications to refute Langlès's de-

[189] Klaproth 1810, 3–5.

[190] Klaproth also made reference to Manchu-language sources in a separate publication from that year, described in Rudolph and Walravens 2009, 321 (item 634).

[191] Klaproth 1812, 90: *Behaubtet Herr Langlès: die Uiguren und die übrigen Völker, welche sich ihrer Schrift bedienten, hätten ihr Syllabar nie in einzelne Buchstaben aufgelöset; welches falsch ist.*

[192] Klaproth 1812, 55. I have been unable to parse Klaproth's transcription of the Mongol-Tibetan title. He refers to a "Saadsha Bandida," which could presumably be either Sakya Pandita or Zaya Pandita.

[193] Klaproth 1812, 90–91: *Dies Syllabar erhielt Herr Langlès selbst vom P. Raux aus Peking*.

[194] Again, the book in question was *Qīngwén qǐméng*.

scription of the history of the script, but also noted that the French scholar was not the first European to present the Manchu script as an alphabet.[195] However, this criticism was embedded deep in a two-volume work with a different overall purpose, published in German in Halle. It probably did not initially reach many readers in Paris.

In an apparent attempt to strike directly at Langlès, Klaproth in 1815 published a collection of French letters he pretended to have translated from the Russian.[196] The letters were presented as a "great execution of the fall" (*grande exécution d'automne*). "In China," we are told, "major criminals are executed immediately after their sentencing. Ordinary felons are kept until the great execution of the fall, which is held on a fixed date in that season."[197] Klaproth ventured to 'execute' Langlès primarily by questioning his ability to read Manchu and his failure to properly edit the manuscript he had received from Amiot. But Klaproth also attacked the *Alphabet*. He admitted that Langlès had been the first to produce a Manchu font in Europe, but reiterated his belief that Manchu scholars writing in Chinese had already analyzed the Manchu script alphabetically. Klaproth cited the example of Deshauterayes, whom he considered the first in Europe to have published a Manchu alphabet, noting that "this modest erudite did not attach great importance to this minor achievement." He contrasted Deshauterayes' attitude with "the pompous announcement of the alledged discovery of the Manchu alphabet that Langlès reiterates wherever there is a white page to fill."[198] Klaproth did not question or comment on the details of Langlès's (and Didot's) analysis, but asserted that the font was poorly made, "horrible to look at" (*horribles à voir*), leaving Manchus who supposedly had seen it unimpressed.[199]

In the same year, another *Streitschrift* appeared, this time alledgedly written by an unnamed German Orientalist. It does not seem that the exact authorship has been positively established, but nor has it ever been in question; it has been identified as written by both Rémusat and Klaproth.[200] The tone and partial overlap with the booklets discussed above certainly makes it appear that Klaproth played an important role in the matter. And again, the subject of the criticism was Langlès's ability to read Asian languages. This time too, it seems that Langlès's self-aggrandazing claims had contributed to the fury of his critics: "This never-ending analysis of the syllabary, that Langlès boasts about in every book he produces, had already been carried out by the Manchus even before it was carried out by Deshauterayes."[201] Yet the analysis itself was not questioned in this book anymore than it was in the other polemical texts.

[195] Klaproth 1814, 547–571.

[196] The letters were later reprinted under Klaproth's name in Klaproth 1826, vol. 3. Klaproth's authorship of the letters is also asserted in Walravens 1999, 82–84.

[197] Klaproth 1815, on the flyleaf: *En Chine, les grands criminels sont exécutés immédiatement après leur jugement. Les coupables ordinaires sont réservés jusqu'à la grande exécution d'automne, qui a lieu à un jour fixe de cette saison.*

[198] Klaproth 1815, 24: *Ce modeste savant n'attacha pas un grand prix à ce mince mérite … la pompeuse annonce de la prétendue découverte de l'alphabet mandchou que M. Langlès répète à chaque instant, partout où se trouve une page blanche à remplir.*

[199] Klaproth 1815, 29–30.

[200] V.M. 1815. See the bibliography for details.

[201] V.M. 1815, 17–19: *Cette éternelle analyse du syllabaire dont M. L. s'énorgueillit à chaque ouvrage qu'il met au jour, avoit déjà été faite avant M. Des Hauterayes lui-même par les Mantchous.*

Whether Langlès, Abel-Rémusat, or Klaproth were ever very good at reading Manchu is not important for our purposes; suffice it to say in Langlès's defense that he continued to study it long after the publication of Amiot's dictionary, as evidenced by the many annotations he made to his personal copy even after he published the third edition of the *Alphabet*.[202] Still, Rémusat claimed even in his obituary of Langlès that the deceased scholar "never knew Manchu, or, at least, never knew it well enough to read anything whose contents was not already known to him beforehand."[203] Rémusat's criticism of the deceased was not as severe as what was printed about him during his lifetime, but he still claimed that Langlès's alphabetic analysis was "so simple and so easy that anyone who cared to try could have carried it out just as well" (*si simple et si facile que le premier venu eût pu la faire tout aussi bien*).[204]

This last of Rémusat's statements reveals the great misconception that made Langlès's claims so outrageous to his critics; the claims of the *Alphabet* made no sense to Klaproth and Rémusat, because in their view the Manchu alphabet could not have been 'invented,' but would have been obviously already in evidence to anyone who learned to use the Manchu script. Rémusat thought that the analysis of the Manchu script into letters was self-evident and not just to people like himself schooled in the European metalinguistic paradigm. He expressed this idea most clearly in *Recherches sur les langues tartares* (1820), a lengthy study treating various matters whose core appears to have been a chapter dealing largely with the Manchu language and script.[205] Rémusat asserted that the Manchu writing system was so simple that it was impossible to miss that it was an alphabet:

> No writing system in the world is composed of simpler and more regular signs [than that of the Manchus]. Where would we be able to find a child—let alone an adult—who, gifted with some amount of insightfulness, would not, faced with the syllables *ma, me, mi, mo, m[u]* straight away recognize the shape of the consonant *m* and the vowels *a, e, i, o,* and [*u*]! Who would not, in the groups *na, ne, ni, no,* and [*nu*] immediately become aware, that the consonant *n* is represented by the initial dot? There is not a single one among the groups in the syllabary, even among those formed by three or four letters, that present any real difficulties. I am not seeking to redeem a merit for the Manchus in the analysis of their syllabaries, but re-establish a fact which I find sufficiently proven by the examples I have given here.[206]

[202] See the bibliography under Amiot 1789–1790.

[203] Abel-Rémusat 1824, 152: *M. Langlès n'a jamais su le mandchou, assez, du moins, pour en lire une page dont in n'aurait pas connu le sens d'avance*.

[204] Abel-Rémusat 1824, 152.

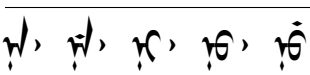
[205] At least if the manuscript at the BNF represents an early version: Abel-Rémusat 1807–1820.

[206] Abel-Rémusat 1820, vol. 1, 106: … *aucune écriture au monde ne se compose de signes plus simples et plus réguliers. Quel est, nous ne dirons pas l'homme, mais l'enfant doué de quelque perspicacité, qui, dans les syllables* ma, me, mi, mo, mou, *ne reconnoîtra sur-le-champ la forme de la consonne* m, *et des voyelles* a, e, i, o, ou! *Qui, dans les groupes*

If the alphabetical analysis was such a simple operation, why then had the nature of the Manchu script been the subject of so much discussion in Europe? Why had European writers claimed to have discovered or created the Manchu alphabet? Rémusat believed that although the Manchu script was so obviously an alphabet that Chinese and Manchu students intuitively felt it to be so, the syllabary in twelve sections with which they studied the characters did not present it that way. When European scholars came into contact with Manchu writing in the form of the syllabary in twelve sections, it would have mystified them, Rémusat argued. He wrote:

> One cannot find, in any of the copies of the Manchu syllabary, an analysis of the syllabic groups … and this is what had persuaded the first [European] writers to discuss the language of the Manchus that this people had no conception of the alphabet, and that the syllables appeared to them as just as many isolated signs, whose elements had never drawn their attention. It would no doubt be a great singularity, and a feat without equal, that a nation would not have by themselves come around to executing such a simple and easy analysis, waiting instead for people to come from the other side of the world to tell them that they had used letters for two hundred years without knowing it.[207]

Rémusat thought the very idea that the Manchus would not have considered their own script as an alphabet absurd. It was not a question of pure grammatology; on the contrary, to claim that the Manchus had no notion of the alphabet was to claim that they were fools. Rémusat's defense of Manchu intelligence reads like an attack on self-satisfied European Orientalism, but can also be seen as a generalization of the European idea of what writing was and how it functioned. By closing his eyes to the alterity of the Qīng conceptualization of language and writing, Rémusat also barred the way to a complete understanding of Manchu language pedagogy and lexicography as practiced in China. Rémusat's criticism was not formulated as harshly as that by Klaproth, but it was not fundamentally different from it.

 na, ne, ni, no, nou, *ne s'aperçoit tout de suite que la consonne* n *est figurée par le point initial? Il n'est pas un seul des groupes du syllabaire, même parmi ceux qui sont formés de trois ou quatre lettres, qui présente de véritables difficultés. Aussi n'est-ce pas un mérite que je cherche à revendiquer pour les Mandchous dans l'analyse de leurs syllabaires, mais un fait que je veux rétablir, et que je crois suffisamment prouvé par les exemples rapportés précédemment.*

[207] Abel-Rémusat 1820, vol. 1, 106: *On ne trouve pas, dans toutes les copies du syllabaire Mandchou, les groupes syllabiques analysés … et c'est ce qui avoit persuadé aux premiers auteurs qui ont parlé de la langue des Mandchous, que ce peuple n'avoit aucune idée de l'alphabet, et que les syllabes étoient pour eux comme autant de signes isolés dont les élémens n'avoient jamais fixé leur attention. Ce seroit sans doute une bien grande singularité et un fait sans exemple qu'une nation n'eût pu s'aviser d'exécuter elle-même une analyse si simple et si facile, et qu'elle eût attendu qu'on vînt des bouts de l'univers l'avertir qu'elle avoit depuis deux cents ans des lettres sans s'en apercevoir.*

The Alphabet, Lexicography, and Transliteration

Pronouncements on the nature of the Manchu script occasionally appeared also after Klaproth and Rémusat. The grammarian and lexicographer Ivan Zakharov (1817–85), for example, asserted in 1879 that Manchu was an example of "syllabic writing, and not writing by letters" (*есть письмо слоговое, а не буквенное*).[208] As late as 1932, P. Schmidt wrote that "the Manchu script is actually syllabic" (*die mandschurische Schrift [ist] eigentlich eine Silbenschrift*).[209] Yet the debate was essentially over. Louis Ligeti's (1902–87) study from 1952, a forceful argument in favor of an alphabetical analysis,[210] seems to have been the last contribution.

We have seen in the preceding that the debate over the Manchu alphabet was not carried out in a vacuum, but reflected the development of sinology as an institutionalized discipline. Missionaries in China and academics in Europe had different and sometimes conflicting interests guiding their scholarship, which occasionally showed in the discussion over the Manchu script. To this dynamic was added the disruptions and accelerations of some scholars' careers during and following the French revolution. Yet despite these factors essentially unrelated to the study of the Manchu script itself, the debate as reviewed in the preceding revealed how deeply rooted the alphabetic paradigm was in the minds of European scholars. However, it also showed that even missionaries trained in several Western languages could adopt the syllabic paradigm current in Qīng China when they learned Manchu from native teachers working from the syllabary in twelve sections. Both circumstances show the influence of the pedagogy and presentation of a script on the learner's later understanding of its nature and functioning.

To return to a point already made in the preceding: except for Langlès, Didot, and perhaps Deshauterays, all scholars working on the Manchu alphabet seem to have done so to facilitate either learning the script or relating it to Near Eastern script in a general grammatology. Langlès's and Didot's comprehensive treatment of the script had different origins, being motivated by the technical demands of printing a Manchu-French dictionary. For that reason it also seems to have had somewhat different consequences. Langlès was editing the dictionary that Amiot had translated from a Manchu-Chinese dictionary featuring a graphological lexicographic arrangement based on the syllabary in twelve sections (studied in chapter 6). Langlès seems to have developed a better understanding of the system than anyone else in the West, as apparent from his explanation of it in the second edition of the *Alphabet*. Langlès knew, as will the reader who has finished chapter 6, that the details of the arrangement are "truly tiresome, but useful for those who would want to use the dictionary."[211] Relying on the alphabetical understanding he had advanced in the preceding section of his treatise, Langlès summarized the structural principles behind Manchu graphological arrangement in a way both as succinct and precise as anything we might read in Chinese texts on the subject:

> The words are thus classified according to the order of the *syllabary*, which is made up of simple vowels and syllables of two or three letters. This is why the

[208]Zakharov (1879) 2010, 1.

[209]Schmidt 1932, 578.

[210]Ligeti 1952.

[211]Langlès (1787a) 1789, xxxiv: *des détails fastidieux, à la vérité, mais utiles pour les personnes qui voudront s'en servir*.

> placement of a word in the Dictionary depends either on its *initial* vowel, or on its first syllable; no attention is paid to the letters that might follow.[212]

Langlès then described the arrangement in detail, using examples that would help a European reader use a graphologically arranged Qīng dictionary of Manchu. It appears the engagement with the Manchu lexicographical tradition that the dictionary project entailed led not only to the creation of a Manchu alphabet in the form of Manchu type, but also to a description of Manchu lexicographical arrangement in alphabetic terms.

After Langlès, European lexicographers had the option of using—by perfecting, hopefully—Manchu graphological order, now understood and explained in alphabetical terms. This did not happen, however. Instead, Manchu lexicography in Europe developed on the basis of another invention that seems to have been related to the alphabetic analysis: accurate transliteration of the Manchu script using Roman letters. Langlès criticized Amiot, who as we saw long resisted an alphabetical understanding of Manchu, for not abiding by a consistent system of transcription, writing that the Jesuit "does not always use a uniform spelling for the same word" (*il ne suit pas toujours, pour le même mot, une orthographe uniforme*).[213] Not conceptualizing the Manchu words he was reading as consisting of letters, Amiot seems to have created his transcriptions from his knowledge of Manchu speech and sound, not its representation on the page. Rémusat similarly wrote that "in all languages that have their own characters, transcription into European letters is a powerful analytical tool."[214] Unlike previous attempts at transcribing 'Oriental' languages, Rémusat's transcription of Manchu would enable readers to look at the Roman transcription and "recognize and rewrite the words" (*de les reconnoître et de les récrire*) using the native orthography without knowing the original spelling beforehand. It was possible, he asserted, "to write Manchu words using European letters in way so as to represent exactly the original spelling."[215] An alphabetical analysis, which segmented the written Manchu syllable into units commensurable with Roman letters in their representation of single speech sounds, facilitated the complete and accurate transliterations of the Manchu script in Europe. Later European dictionaries of the language would rely on such transliterations for their arrangement, which could thereby use familiar European alphabetical order from A to Z.[216] Similar transliterations and European alphabetic arrangement even influenced Manchu dictionaries published in China in the late twentieth century, including those using a variant of the Qīng system.[217]

[212]Langlès (1787a) 1789, xxxiv: *Les mots sont donc classés suivant l'ordre du* syllabaire*, qui est composé des voyelles simples et de syllabes de deux ou trois lettres. C'est pourquoi la position d'un mot dans le Dictionnaire dépend ou de sa voyelle* initiale*, ou de sa premiere syllabe ; et l'on ne fait aucune attention aux lettres qui peuvent suivre.*

[213]Langlès (1787b) 1807, 161.

[214]Abel-Rémusat 1820, 90: *Dans toutes les langues qui ont des caractères particuliers, la transcription des mots en lettres Européennes est un puissant moyen d'étude*.

[215]Abel-Rémusat 1820, 90: *…écrire les mots Mandchous en lettres Européennes, de manière à en représenter exactement l'orthographe primitive*.

[216]E.g. Hauer (1952) 2007; Norman 2013.

[217]That development is the subject of Söderblom Saarela 2014e.

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This copy contains two independent works: the thesaurus *Tóngwén guǎnghuì quánshū* (4 vols.; by Ā-dùn, Liú, and Sāng-gé) and the textbook *Liánzhū jí* (1 vol.; by Liú and Zhāng). The thesaurus was originally independently published in 1693. Its preface is dated 1702. The preface to the textbook is dated 1699. The marginalia were written around 1748, as they include dates noting the reader’s progress through the thesaurus, one of which is complete (“21st [day] of the 10th month, 13th year of Qiánlóng” [*abkai wehiyehe-i juwan ilan aniya juwan biyai orin uju*; 1:17b]).

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The three sets number five pages each for the first two and three for the second. The pagination is not uniform. The first set contains no Manchu type on the first four pages, and has been crossed out in ink, presumably by Langlès. The second contains Manchu type throughout, and appears to be a later version. These first two sets carry the title *Alphabet Mantchou*. The third set has the title *Grammaire Tartare-Mantchou*, and is similar to the first in that it does not include Manchu type. It appears to be the immediate ancestor of of the second set, as Langlès has incorporated many of the ink corrections found on those pages into the printed text of the second set.

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Chŏng Yunyong 鄭允容. 1856. "Charyu chosŏk" 字類註釋 (Classified characters with glosses and explanations). Microfilm of manuscript copied from an original chirograph. Held at Kyujanggak, Seoul with the call number 古 3820-8.

Chóngyì Mǎnwén lǎodàng. See MWLD.

Chū Qíshǔ 初齊曙 and Chū Jǐngfū 初敬敷. 1727. "Fānyì fāwēi" 翻譯發微 (Explanations of the subtleties of translation). Chirograph. Held at Dalian Library with the call number M 22-161 B.

"Chūxué biānshí Qīngzì xūzhī" 初學辨識清字須知 (What the beginner needs to know to decipher Qīng characters). n.d. Chirograph likely written after 1830. Held at the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences with the call number 经 91612527 2323474.

This book includes a mention of a work titled *Yuányīn zhèngkǎo* 元音正考 (Rectification and examination of primordial sounds). This likely refers to the book written in 1743 but not printed until 1830 under the title *Yuányīn zhèngkǎo* 圓音正考 (Rectification and examination of round sounds). The chirograph might be referring to the printed version, in which case the *yuán* 元 ('primordial') of the title would be a mistake for *yuán* 圓 ('round'), or it might be citing an earlier manuscript copy carrying an alternative title. I find it likely that it is in fact referring to the printed version, which would give the present work a *terminus post quem* of 1830. If it is not referring to the printed version, we must push back the *terminus post quem* to 1773, when *Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì* 欽定清漢對音字式 (Imperially authorized Manchu and Chinese characters presented in corresponding sounds), which is also mentioned in the chirograph, was published.

"Chūxué duózhēn" 初學度針 / *teni tacime ubaliyambure durun kemun* (Translation rules for the beginning student). 1821–1861. Chirograph. Held at Peking University Library with the call number SB 419.1 3708.

"Chūxué Mǎnwén zhǐméng gē" 初學滿文指蒙歌 (Educational jingles for the beginning student of Manchu). 1862–1911. Chirograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 41.5511 7.

Cordier, Henri. (1784–1790a) 1913. "Les correspondants de Bertin, Secrétaire d'état au XVIIIe siècle." *T'oung Pao* 14 (2): 227–257. The original date refers to the date the letters were written (not the date of publication).

———. (1784–1790b) 1913. "Les correspondants de Bertin, Secrétaire d'État au XVIIIe siècle, III. De Guignes." *T'oung Pao* 14 (5): 497–536. The original date refers to the date the letters were written (not the date of publication).

———. 1895. *Fragments d'une histoire des études chinoises au XVIIIe siècle.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

———. 1904–1908. *Bibliotheca Sinica: Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois.* 2nd edition. 6 vols. Paris: Librairie Orientale & Américaine.

Correspondance des RR. PP. Jésuites missionnaires en Chine avec H.-L.-J.-B. Bertin. 1744–1798. Held at Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France with the call numbers MS 1515–1526.

Courant, Maurice. 1894–1896. *Bibliographie coréenne; tableau littéraire de la Corée, contenant la nomenclature des ouvrages publiés dans ce pays jusqu'en 1890 ainsi que la description et l'analyse détaillées des principaux d'entre ces ouvrages.* Paris: E. Leroux.

———. 1901. *Supplément à la Bibliographie coréenne (jusqu'en 1899).* Paris: E. Leroux.

Cúnzhī Táng 存之堂. (1743) 1830. *Yuányīn zhèng kǎo* 圓音正考 (Rectification and examination of rounded sounds). Edited by Wén-tōng 文通. Xylograph. Běijīng: Sānhuái Táng.

———. (1830) 1900. “Yuányīn zhèng kǎo” 圓音正考 (Rectification and examination of round sounds). With an afterword by Gài-xiān 蓋暹. Chirograph. Held at Taiwan Normal University Library with the call number A 940 046-3.

“Daicing gurun-i taidzu dergi hûwangdi-i yargiyan kooli”. *See* TZuSL-II.

“Daicing gurun-i taidzu horonggo enduringge hûwangdi yargiyan kooli”. *See* TZuSL-I.

“Daicing gurun-i taidzung šu hûwangdi-i yargiyan kooli”. *See* TZoSL-II.

Daigu 戴穀. 1722a. *Qīngwén bèikǎo* 清文備考 / *manju gisun-i yongkiyame toktobuha bithe* (Definitive collection of the Manchu language). 1st edition. With a foreword by Lǐ Jiàn 李鑑. With an afterword by Shěn Qián 沈潛. Xylograph. Microfilm made from the copy held at Tenri University Library.
Peking University Library holds a copy of the same edition (call number X 419.1 4347). That copy has marginalia in German, probably by Walter Fuchs.

———. 1722b. *Qīngwén bèikǎo* 清文備考 / *manju gisun-i yongkiyame toktobuha bithe* (Definitive collection of the Manchu language). 2nd edition. With a foreword by Zhū Kuàng 朱昿. Xylograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 41.25 6.
This “newly cut” (*chóng zǐ* 重梓) edition does not contain Lǐ Jiàn’s preface.

———. 1722c. “Qīngwén bèikǎo” 清文備考 / *manju gisun-i yongkiyame toktobuha bithe* (Definitive collection of the Manchu language). Chirograph. Held at Peking University Library with the call number X 419.1 4347.1.
A complete copy of the original edition.

———. 1722d. “Qīngwén bèikǎo” 清文備考 / *manju gisun-i yongkiyame toktobuha bithe* (Definitive collection of the Manchu language). Chirograph. Held at Peking University Library with the call number X 419.1 4347.2.
An incomplete complete copy of the original edition.

Dà-Qīng Mǎnzhōu shílù, Dà-Qīng Tàizǔ Gāo huángdì shílù 大清滿洲實錄、大清太祖高皇帝實錄 (Manchurian veritable records of the Great Qīng; Veritable records of the Lofty Emperor of the Great Qīng). (1636–1739) 1969. Facsimile of chirograph. Táiběi: Huáwén Shūjú.

de Rienzi and Ferdinand Hoefer. 1855. “DIDOT, célèbre famille d’imprimeurs français.” In *Nouvelle biographie générale, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu’à nos jours,* edited by Ferdinand Hoefer, 15:112–119. Paris: Firmin-Didot frères.

Dennys, Nicholas Belfield, Chas King, and Wm Fred Mayers, eds. 1867. *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: A complete guide to the open ports of those countries….* London: Trübner.

Deshauterayes, Michel-Ange-André Le Roux. 1724–1795a. “Papiers 1: Traductions et mémoires.” Disparate manuscripts and prints, title retrospective. Held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with the call number NAF 8942.

Deshauterayes, Michel-Ange-André Le Roux. 1724–1795b. “Papiers 2: Études sur les langues.” Disparate manuscripts and prints, title retrospective. Held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with the call number NAF 8943.

Desvouges, André, and Ernest Leroux, eds. 1911. *Collection d’un amateur: Objets d’art de la Corée, de la Chine et du Japon. Bronzes et bois, peintures, céramique, émaux, étoffes, paravents, meubles, livres illustrés de la Corée, gravures, estampes, etc.* Paris: Ernest Leroux. Auction catalog.

Domenge, Jean. 1729a. “Alphabet Tartare pour Monsieur de Fourmont.” Chirograph, date conjectural. Held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with the call number MANDCHOU 271, likely copied from MANDCHOU 273.

———. 1729b. “Essai de méthode pour apprendre la langue des Mantchoux ou Tartares Orientaux qui sont aujourd’hui Maîtres de la Chine.” Edited by Louis-Mathieu Langlès. Chirograph. Held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France as part of a batch of Langlès’s papers with the call number NAF 22171, copied from a lost original likely before 1789.

———. (1729c) 1789–1790. “Essai de méthode pour apprendre la langue des Mantchoux ou Tartares Orientaux, qui sont aujourd’hui Maîtres de la Chine.” Edited by Louis-Mathieu Langlès. Incomplete print. Nine pages of proofs held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France as part of a batch of Langlès’s papers with the call number NAF 22171.

———. (1729d) 1789. “Fragmens d’un Essay de Méthode pour apprendre La langue des Moüan-tchoux ou Tartares Orientaux qui sont aujourd’hui Maitres de la Chine.” Edited by Louis-Mathieu Langlès. Chirograph. Held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with the call number MANDCHOU 275, copied from a lost original.

——— [Meng weng ki]. 1729e. “Tchoüan tchoüe outchou.” Chirograph, date conjectural. Held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with the call number MANDCHOU 271.

Dū-sì-dé 都四德. (1753) 2001. *Huángzhōng tōngyùn* 黃鐘通韻 (Rhymes to be used with the yellow bell tonic). Vol. 185. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Jǐnán: Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

Edkins, Joseph. 1864. *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect*. Revised, 2nd edition. Shànghǎi: Presbyterian Mission Press.

Encyclopædia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information. 1911. 11th edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

“Èr tǐ hébì wénjiàn” 二體合璧文鑑 / *juwe hacin-i hergen kamciha buleku bithe* (Mirror of two kinds of writing joined together). n.d. Chirograph. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MA 5806.05 2524.

Fán Téngfèng 樊騰鳳. (1710) 1997. *Wǔfāng yuányīn* 五方元音 (Primordial sounds of the five regions). Facsimile of the expanded 2nd edition xylograph. Continued by Nián Xīyáo 年希堯. Vol. 219. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: jīngbù. Jǐnán: Qí-Lǔ Shūshè. The first edition likely dated from 1654–73.

———. (1727a) 1884. *Xīnzuǎn wǔfāng yuányīn quánshū* 新纂五方元音全書 (A newly written complete book of the primordial sounds of the five regions). Probably a reissue of the 3rd edition. Continued by Nián Xīyáo 年希堯. Xylograph. Wénxīng Táng. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number 5132 4377.
See further Fán Téngfèng (1710) 1997.

———. (1727b) 1873. *Zēngbǔ "Wǔfāng yuányīn"* 五方元音 (*Primordial sounds of the five regions*, expanded). Probably a reissue of the 3rd edition. Continued by Nián Xīyáo 年希堯. Xylograph. Tóngwén Táng. Held at the National Diet Library, Tokyo with the call number 180 2 91.
See further Fán Téngfèng (1710) 1997.

Fán Wényīng 范文英. (1648) 1820. *Shěn Huáyáng zhuàn* 沈華陽傳 (Biography of Shěn of Huáyáng). Vol. 18. Zhī-bù-zú Zhāi cóngshū. Xylograph. Zhī-bù-zú Zhāi.

Fāng Yǐzhì 方以智. (1666) 1990. *Tōngyá* 通雅 (The comprehensive *[Approaching of] elegance*). Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Zhōngguó Shūdiàn. Written in 1641.

Fú-gé 福格. (1850–1900) 1984. *Tīng yǔ cóngtán* 聽雨叢談 (Conversations gathered while listening to the rain). Redacted by Wāng Běipíng 汪北平. Lìdài shǐliào bǐjì cóngkān–Qīngdài shǐliào bǐjì. Typeset edition. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú. The original date is conjectural and refers to the date of writing (not publication).

Fugiyûn. *See* Fügiyün.

Fügiyün 富俊. 1780a. *Sānhé biànlǎn* 三合便覽 / *ilan hacin-i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe* / *γurban ǰüil-ün üge qadamal üǰehüi-dür kilbar bulγaγsan bičig* (Book made from a combination including three languages). Xylograph. Privately published.
The copies held at Capital Library, Běijīng (乙・一 123 and 乙・一 121) contain marginalia.

———. (1780b) 1792. *Sānhé biànlǎn* 三合便覽 / *ilan hacin-i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe* / *γurban ǰüil-ün üge qadamal üǰehüi-dür kilbar bulγaγsan bičig* (Book made from a combination including three languages). Xylograph. Běijīng: Míngguì Táng.
The Harvard-Yenching copy (MO 5805.01 3624) is heavily annotated. It lacks the last folio of the last volume (present in the copy held at Tenri Library, which is available in microfilm), but the missing dictionary entries have been written on the penultimate page in red ink. The Kyujanggak copy (奎章 4507) contains some marginalia. The Princeton University Library copy (A 161.1487) lacks the first few pages of the first volume, and it is possible that it is a copy of the 1780—and not the 1792—edition. This last copy has some marginalia in red ink.

———. (1780c) 1792. "Sānhé biànlǎn" 三合便覽 / *ilan hacin-i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe* / *γurban ǰüil-ün üge qadamal üǰehüi-dür kilbar bulγaγsan bičig* (Book made from a combination including three languages). Xylograph with marginalia in author's hand, Běijīng. Held at Princeton University Library with the call number A 161 1471.
The marginalia, in several languages, seen in this copy are by Fügiyün; the last page of the preface has been stamped with his personal seal. It has been treated as an unpublished holograph in this bibliography.

Fügiyün 富俊. 1797. “Měnggǔ, Tuōtè huìjí” 蒙古托忒彙集 / *monggo tot hergen-i acamjaha isabu[ha bithe]* / *mongγo tod üsüg-iyer neileltükülui čuγla[γsan bičig]* (Combined collection of Mongol and Oirat). Mimeographed chirograph. Held at Peking University Library with the call number NC 5980.6 3624.

The original from which this copy was mimeographed is held at the Palace Museum Library, Běijīng (not seen). At Peking University, it is cataloged under the retrospective title *Tuōtè dà zìhuì* 托忒大字彙 (Unabridged Todo vocabulary). The book has no title page. The quadrilingual preface (vol. 1, no pagination) gives the Chinese title as *Měnggǔ, Tuōtè huìjí*. However, because of the syntax of the sentence in which the title occurs, the Manchu form is *monggo tot hergen-i acamjaha isabun*, which I have conjectured would be …*isabuha bithe* on a title page (were there one). By the same token, I have conjectured that the Mongol title would be …*čuγlaγsan bičig* and not *čuγlalγ-a*, which is the form found in the preface. The title is also given in the Oirat ‘clear script,’ the transcription of which is beyond my linguistic abilities.

———. 1809. *Qīngwén zhǐyào* 清文指要 / *manju gisun-i oyonggo jorin-i bithe* (Guide to Manchu). 4 vols. Xylograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 41.25 4.

The running title of the first two volumes is *Qīngwén zhǐyào*, but the title above the fish tail is *Zìyīn zhǐyào* 字音指要 (Guide to the pronunciation of characters). Since this copy lacks a cover page, the work has been catalogued under the running title, which has also been added to the box. In the latter two volumes the running title is *Xù Qīngwén zhǐyào* 續清文指要 (Sequel to the Guide to Manchu), which is also the title above the fish tail. The print is of poorer quality in the latter two volumes. The date has been inferred from another copy (incomplete), also at Minzu University, which has a cover page with publication data. A third copy, held at Waseda University and digitized, has a cover page with the same date but a different publisher than the second Minzu University copy. The Waseda copy also has a preface that is absent in both Minzu University copies. Both of the copies that include cover pages say that the work is a “reprint” (*chóngkān* 重刊). It is unclear when it was first printed.

Fújiàn tōngzhì 福建通志 (Comprehensive gazetteer of Fújiàn). (1736) 1983. Vol. 527–530 of *Yǐngyìn “Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū.”* Facsimile of chirograph. Táiběi: Táiwān Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn.

Fù-jùn 富俊. *See* Fügiyün.

Gāo É 高鶚. (1822) 1857. *Sānhé lìzhì jíyào* 三合吏治輯要 / *ilan hacin-i gisun kamcibuha hafan-i dasan oyonggo be isabuha bithe* / *γurban ǰüil-ün üge qadamal tüsimel-ün ǰasaγ-un čiqula-yi quriyaγsan bičig* (Collection of important matters on officials’ duties in three juxtaposed languages). Edited by Yù-chūn 玉春 and Yù-shùn 裕順. With a foreword by Meng boo 孟保 and Tungšui 通瑞. Xylograph. Digitized copy held at Harvard-Yenching Library.

Gāo Jìngtíng 高靜亭. (1810) 1867. *Zhèngyīn cuōyào* 正音撮要 (Collected essentials of correct pronunciation). 2 vols. Xylograph. Held at Sun Yat-Sen Library, Guǎngzhōu, with the call number K 54.9 429.2 [3].

Gāozōng 高宗. 1736–1771. “Yùzhì jiān Hàn Qīngwén jiàn” 御製兼漢清文鑑 (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language with Chinese text). Chirograph, Běijīng.
This book represents one step in production of *Yùzhì zēngdīng Qīngwén jiàn,* original printed edition 1771–1773, the completion of which constitutes its *terminus ante quem*. Since it is written by the Qiánlóng emperor, it must date from after his accession to the throne in 1736.

Gauttier, Édouard. 1825. “Notice sur M. Langlès.” In *Catalogue des livres imprimés et manuscrits, composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Louis-Mathieu Langlès,* i–vii. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Gōng Zìzhēn 龔自珍. (1841) 1975. *Gōng Zìzhēn quánjí* 龔自珍全集 (Complete works of Gōng Zìzhēn). Critical edition. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Rénmín Chūbǎnshè.

Gù Yánwǔ 顧炎武. (1695) 2006. *“Rìzhī lù” jiào zhù* 日知錄校注 (Critical edition of *Record of knowledge acquired daily*). Edited by Chén Yuán 陳垣. 3 vols. Héféi: Ānhuī Dàxué Chūbǎnshè.

Guignes, Louis-Joseph de. 1786. Louis-Joseph de Guignes to Henri Bertin, Canton, 25 October, part of Cordier (1784–1790b) 1913.

GZJZ. *Qīndìng Guózǐ Jiàn zhì* 欽定國子監志 (Imperially authorized treatise on the Directorate of Education). (1781) 1983. Vol. 600 of *Yǐngyìn “Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū.”* Facsimile of chirograph. Táiběi: Táiwān Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn.

Häckermann, Adolf. 1876. “Büttner, Christoph Andreas.” In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* 3:659–660. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. Accessed August 12, 2014. `http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117639508.html?anchor=adb`.

Hán Xiàoyán 韓孝彦 and Hán Dàozhāo 韓道昭. (1212) 1630. *Wǔyīn “Jíyùn”* 五音集韻 (*Collected rhymes* under the five sounds). Xylograph. Nánjīng: Jīnlíng Yúanjué Hàn. Microfilmed copy held at Peking University Library with the call number NC 5150.5 4540.

Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language). 1708. Edited by Maci and Margan. Xylograph. Běijīng: Wǔyīng Diàn.

Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe: uheri hešen (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language: Index). 1708. 5 vols. Xylograph with manuscript additions.
The Peking University copy (call number 5975 3408), which comes from the Yenching University collection, has been cataloged under the title *Mǎn-Měng wénjiàn zǒnggāng* 滿蒙文鑑總綱 (Index to the Mirror of the Manchu and Mongol languages), likely reflecting an erroneous identification as a copy of the index to the Manchu-Mongol mirror from 1717. A copy is also held at National Palace Museum Library, Táiběi with the call number 故滿 002481–82.

Han-i araha manju monggo gisun-i buleku bithe / qaγan-i bičigsen manju mongγol-u gen-ü toli bičig (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu and Mongol languages). 1743. Xylograph. Běijīng: Wǔyīng Diàn.
A fair copy is held at the British Library with the call number 19915.b.7. A copy of much poorer quality, probably a late print from worn blocks, is held at the Inner Mongolian Academy of Social Sciences with the call number 41.25 14:27.

Han-i araha nongime toktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe: juwan juwe uju (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language, expanded and emended: The twelve codas). 1771–1911. Xylograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 滿 41.5511 8 and the retrospective title *Măn-Hàn hébì shíèr zìtóu* 滿漢合璧十二字頭 (The twelve character heads, joint-faced in Manchu and Chinese).

Hi Hiya 谿霞, annot. 1733a. 清漢對學千話譜 / *cing han dui siyoo ciyan huwa pu.* Xylograph. Běijīng: Lǎo Èryǒu. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 滿 41.5511 2.

This book contains sections 8–12 in the Manchu syllabary. At Minzu University of China, it shares its call number with two separate works (see further *Măn-Hàn shíèr zìtóu* 1861). Two of the works, this one included, seem to have belonged to the same collection even before the Republican period, as they have similar manuscript notes on the outside cover. On this volume it is written: "The twelve codas; latter volume" (*juwan juwe uju. jai debtelin.*).

———, annot. 1733b. *Măn-Hàn quánzì shíèr tóu* 滿漢全字十二頭 / *man han ciyun dze si el teo* (The twelve heads in complete Manchu and Chinese characters). Xylograph. Běijīng: Hóngwén Gé.

Hoefer, M., ed. 1853–1866. *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter*. 46 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Hong Kyehŭi 洪啓禧. 1751. *Samun sŏnghwi* 三韻聲彙 (Collected sounds in three rhymes). Microfilm of xylograph. Un'gak. Held at Kyujanggak, Seoul with the call number 奎 4893.

Hú Yuán 胡垣. 1888. *Gŭ-jīn, Zhōng-wài yīnyùn tōnglì* 古今中外音韻通例 (General principles of the phonology of past and present, China and abroad). Xylograph. 4 vols. Preface dated 1886.

Huà Gāng 華綱. (1756) 1876. *Zìlèi biāo yùn* 字類標均 (The classes of characters as marking the rhymes). Microfilm of xylograph held at the National Diet Library, Tokyo with the call number 230-27.

The irregular character form 均 in the title is a common Qīng archaism.

Huángcháo tōngzhì [Qīngcháo tōngzhì] 皇朝通志 [清朝通志] (Complete treatises of our August dynasty [Complete treatises of the Qīng dynasty]). (1787) 1955. Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Shāngwù Yìnshù Guăn.

Huttman, William. 1837. "On the Chinese Mode of Expressing the Sounds of Manchu Words." *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia,* New Series, 23:197–198.

Hyde, Thomas. 1767. *Syntagma dissertationum quas olim auctor doctissimus Thomas Hyde s.t.p. separatim edidit* (Presentations from dissertations once given by the most learned Professor of Sacred Theology Thomas Hyde, their author, on separate occasions). Edited by George Sharpe. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Idzun. (1853a) 1858. *Zhèngyīn jǔhuá* 正音咀華 (Tasting splendor in correct pronunciation). 2 vols. Xylograph. Wǔyún Lóu. Held at Taiwan Normal University Library with the call number A 940 410.

———. (1853b) 1910. *Zhūzhù Zhèngyīn jǔhuá* 硃註正音咀華 (Tasting splendor in correct pronunciation, with cinnabar annotations). Bichrome xylograph. Línshū Gé. Held at Sun Yat-sen Library, Guǎngzhōu with the call number 15924.

———. 1860a. *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng* 正音切韻指掌 (Correct pronunciation and spelled rhymes made easy). Xylograph. Written in 1857. Shànghǎi Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè. Held at Musée Guimet, Paris with the call number 58274 F CH D 9.

This copy has an outside cover not reproduced in the reprint. It should also be noted that the Guimet copy is wrongly cataloged in Pang 1996, 154–155 and Pang 1998, 73 under the title *Qīndìng yīnyùn zhǐxué* 欽定音韻指學.

———. (1860b) 1995. *Zhèngyīn qièyùn zhǐzhǎng* 正音切韻指掌 (Correct pronunciation and spelled rhymes made easy). Vol. 258. Xùxiū *Sìkù quánshū*: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè. Written in 1857.

———. 1867. *Zhèngyìn zàihuá bàngzhù* 正音再華傍註 (More splendor in correct pronunciation, with accompanying annotations). Bichrome xylograph. Wéijīng Táng. Held at Sun Yat-sen Library, Guǎngzhōu with the call number 15925.

———. (1868) 1881. *"Hónglóu mèng" zhāi huá* 紅樓夢摘華 (Excerpted splendors from the *Dream of the red chamber*). Xylograph. Chéntán Xuān. Held at Sun Yat-sen Library, Guǎngzhōu with the call number 01294.

Jiànchāng fǔzhì 建昌府志 (Prefectural gazetteer of Jiànchāng). (1759) 2001. Vol. 6/7 of *Jiāngxī fǔ-, zhōu-, xiànzhì*. Facsimile of xylograph. Hǎikǒu: Hǎinán Chūbǎnshè.

Jiāngsū Shūjú chóngdìng héshí jiàmù 江蘇書局重訂核實價目 (List of assessed and rectified prices at the Jiāngsū Book Bureau). 1893. Sūzhōu: Jiāngsū Shūjú.

Jiāngsū zhílì Tàicāng zhì 江蘇直隸太倉州志 (Gazetteer of the centrally administered prefecture of Tàicāng, Jiāngsū). (1802) 1995. Xùxiū "Sìkù quánshū": shǐbù: dìlǐ lèi 697–8. Facsimile of xylograph. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè.

Jiānzhù shíèr zìtóu 箋註十二字頭 / *giyan ju si el dzi teo* (The twelve heads, annotated). 1701. By Shěn Qǐliàng 沈啟亮. Xylograph. Běijīng: Fùkuí Zhāi. Incomplete copy held at the Vatican Apostolic Library with the call number BORG. CINESE 351.7.

Jīn shǐ 金史 (History of the Jīn). (1343) 1975. By Toγtaγa [Tuō-tuō 脫脫]. Typeset edition. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú.

Jiù Mǎnzhōu dàng. *See* JMZD.

JMZD. *Jiù Mǎnzhōu dàng* 舊滿洲檔 (Former Manchu archives). (1607–1636) 1969. 10 vols. Facsimiles of manuscripts and xylographs. Táiběi: Guólì Gùgōng Bówùyuàn. Retrospective title.

Juntu 屯圖. (1746) 2001. *Yī xué sān guàn Qīngwén jiàn* 一學三貫清文鑑 (Mirror of the Manchu language, which will direct you to three things when you consult only one). Vol. 723. Gùgōng zhēnběn cóngkān. Facsimile of xylograph. Hǎikǒu: Hǎinán Chūbǎnshè.
The copy held at Capital Library, Běijīng (乙・一 46), which is not the basis for the reprint, contains marginalia.

Juwan juwe uju (The twelve codas). n.d. Xylograph likely printed by the Imperial Household Department. Held at the National Palace Museum in Táiběi with the call number 故滿 002551 002580.
Another copy is held at the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Běijīng with the call number 滿 92-218 5.

"Juwan juwe uju bithe" (The book of the twelve codas). n.d. Chirograph. Held at the Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MA 5806.02 4130.

Kastler, C.W. 1909. "Die neuesten Versuche zur Vereinfachung der chinesischen Schriftzeichen." *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin: Erste Abteilung* 12:199–209.

Klaproth, Julius [von]. 1810. *Archiv für asiatische Litteratur, Geschichte und Sprachkunde.* Vol. 1. St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften.

———. 1812. *Abhandlung über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren.* Berlin.

——— [von]. 1814. *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien, unternommen in den Jahren 1807 und 1808, auf Veranstaltung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg.* Vol. 2. Halle: Waisenhaus.

———, trans. 1815. *Lettres sur la littérature mandchou, traduites du russe.* By Afanasii Larionowitch Leontiew. Paris: Fain.
The letters were in reality not translated but written by Klaproth.

———. 1826. *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie, contenant des recherches historiques, géographiques et philologiques sur les peuples de l'Orient*. 3 vols. Paris: Dondey-Dupré, père et fils.

Langlès, Louis-Mathieu. 1763–1824. "Mélanges sur la langue des Tartares Mantchous." Collection of manuscripts and prints held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with the call number NAF 22171.

———. 1786. Louis-Mathieu Langlès to Joseph-Marie Amiot, Paris, 25 November, part of Correspondances des RR. PP. Jésuites 1744–1798 (MS 1517).

———. (1787a) 1789. "Alphabet Mantchou, dédié à l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, avec des détails sur les lettres et l'écriture des MANTCHOUX." In *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou François, composé d'après un Dictionnaire Mantchou-Chinois,* by Joseph-Marie Amiot, edited by Louis-Mathieu Langlès, 1:ix–xl. Paris: Didot l'aîné.

———. (1787b) 1807. *Alphabet mantchou, rédigé d'après le Syllabaire et le Dictionnaire universel de cette langue.* 3rd edition. Paris: Imprimerie impériale.

———. 1787c. *Alphabet Tartare-Mantchou, dédié à l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, avec des détails sur les lettres et l'écriture des MANTCHOUX*. Paris: Didot l'aîné.

———. 1790. *De l'importance des langues orientales pour l'extension du commerce, les progrès des lettres et des sciences, adressé à l'Assemblée Nationale.*

Lanjuinais, J. D. 1808. *Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé: "ALPHABET MANTCHOU, rédigé d'après le Syllabaire et le Dictionnaire de cette langue; par L. Langlès. Troisième édition."* Paris: J. B. Sajou.

Láo Nǎixuān 劳乃宣. 1898. *Děngyùn yīdé* 等韻一得 (Quick introduction to graded rhymes). 2 vols. Jǔzhāi suǒ xué. Xylograph. Wúqiáo Guānxiè.

———. (1906a) 1957. *Chóngdīng héshēng jiǎnzì pǔ* 重訂合聲簡字譜 (Newly revised chart of simplified characters that combine sounds). In *Jiǎnzì pǔ lù.* Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Wénzì Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.

———. (1906b) 1957. *Jiǎnzì cónglù* 簡字叢錄 (Serialized record of the simplified characters). In *Jiǎnzì pǔ lù.* Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Wénzì Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.

———. (1906c) 1957. *Zēngdīng héshēng jiǎnzì pǔ* 增訂合聲簡字譜 (Augmented and revised chart of simplified characters that combine sounds). In *Jiǎnzì pǔ lù.* Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Wénzì Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.

———. (1907a) 1957. *Jiǎnzì quánpǔ* 簡字全譜 (Complete charts of the simplified characters). In *Jiǎnzì pǔ lù.* Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Wénzì Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.

———. (1907b) 1957. *Jiǎnzì shùlüè* 簡字述略 (Summary account of the simplified characters). In *Jiǎnzì pǔ lù.* Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Wénzì Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.

Laufer, Berthold. 1908. "Skizze der manjurischen Literatur." *Keleti Szemle* 9:1–53.

LCSL. *Cháoxiǎn "Lǐcháo shílù" zhōng de Nǚzhēn shǐliào xuǎnbiān* 朝鲜《李朝实录》中的女真史料选编 (Selections of historical sources on the Jurchen from the Chosŏn *Yijo sillok* [Veritable records of the Yi dynasty]). (1401–1649) 1979. By Wáng Zhōnghàn 王锺翰. Typeset edition. Shěnyáng: Liáoníng Dàxué Lìshǐ Xì.

"Leibniz' bref till Sparfvenfelt." 1884–1885 (Leibniz's letters to Sparfvenfelt), compiled by Harald Wieselgren. *Antiqvarisk tidskrift för Sverige* 7 (3): 1–64. Transcribed text.

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm von. 1697. Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz to Johan G. Sparfvenfelt, Hannover, 29 January, part of "Leibniz' bref till Sparfvenfelt" 1884–1885, 10–18.

"Lèiyīn *Zìhuì*" 類音字彙 (*The characters collected* classified according to sound). n.d. Chirograph. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number TMA 5806.05 6690.

[Lǐ Dānnián 李丹年]. n.d. "Pèiyīn yùpǔ" 珮音玉圃 (Jade garden of strung sounds). Chirograph. Held at Dalian Library with the call number M 22-135.

Lǐ Hóng 李鋐. *See* Lyi Küng.

Lǐ Guāngdì 李光地. (1736) 2009. *Róngcūn quánjí* 榕村全集 (Complete collection from Banyan Village). Vol. 160. Qīngdài shī-, wénjí huìbiān. Facsimile of xylograph. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè. Written before 1718.

Lǐ Guāngdì 李光地 and Wáng Lánshēng 王蘭生. (1726a) 1881. *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* 欽定音韻闡微 (Imperially authorized elucidation of the subtleties of phonology). Xylograph. Huáinán Shūjú.

———. (1726b) 1782. *Qīndìng yīnyùn chǎnwēi* 欽定音韻闡微 (Imperially authorized elucidation of the subtleties of phonology). In *Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū.* Chirograph. Běijīng: Wǔyīng Diàn. Digitized.

Lǐ Guǒ 李果. (1750) 2001. *Zàitíng cónggǎo* 在亭叢藁 (Zàitíng's collected drafts). *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū bǔbiān 9. Facsimile of xylograph. Jǐnán: Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

Lì Héng 酈珩. 1880. *Qièyīn jiéjué* 切音捷訣 (Quick mnemonics for syllabic spelling). Xylograph. Zhūjì: Zhígǔ Táng. Held at Sun Yat-sen Library, Guǎngzhōu with the call number 09345.

Lǐ Huán 李桓, ed. (1884–1890) 1985. *Guócháo qíxiàn lèizhēng, chūbiān* 國朝耆獻類徵初編 (Categorized and verified accounts of venerable historical figures of our dynasty, original installment). Qīngdài zhuànjì cóngkān. Facsimile of xylopgraph. Táiběi: Míngwén Shūjú.

Lǐ Qīngzhí 李清植. (1825) 2006. *Wénzhēn Gōng niánpǔ* 文貞公年譜 (Biographical record of the Cultured and Steadfast Duke [Lǐ Guāngdì]). Vol. 15 of *Qīngchū míngrú niánpǔ.* Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Běijīng Túshūguǎn Chūbǎnshè.

Lǐ Yánjī 李延基. 1724a. *Qīngwén huìshū* 清文彙書 / *manju isabuha bithe* (Manchu collected). Original edition. Xylograph. Shīlǐ Táng.
Copies are held at Capital Library, Běijīng (call number 乙・一 44) and Minzu University of China Libary (call number n41.25 9-1). The edition has no title page, but the end of the preface has the note: "Preface written by Lǐ Yánjī, of the Capital, at Learning-from-Ritual Hall on the day of the Dragon Boat Festival, 1724" 雍正二年端陽月端陽日京都李延基序於師禮堂中 (*xù*:3a). Elsewhere in that edition (1:1a) it is written that the printing blocks were held at the same Learning-from-Ritual Hall, meaning that it was privately published by Lǐ in 1724. The carvers were Lǐ's nephews (*zhínán* 侄男).

———. (1724b) 1751. *Qīngwén huìshū* 清文彙書 / *manju isabuha bithe* (Manchu collected). Reprint. Xylograph. Běijīng: Yīnghuá Táng.
Lǐ's preface, which was dated 1724 in the original edition, has here been given the date 1750 (Qiánlóng 15). The cover page says that it was "newly printed" (*xīnkān* 新刊) in 1751 (Qiánlóng 16). A printed note on the cover page, only partially legible, says that "This book is sold by Mr. Xú's bookshop … inside the East Gate of Glazed Tile Factory [area]" 此書在琉璃廠東門內…徐氏書坊發兌.

———. (1724c) 1751. *Qīngwén huìshū* 清文彙書 / *manju isabuha bithe* (Manchu collected). Reprint. Xylograph. Sìhé Táng. This edition has no cover page and no date of printing. The date is given as 1751 in Tenri Toshokan 1955, 15. The publisher's name is given on 1:1a. The outside cover of vol. 1 in the Tenri copy has, in manuscript, the title *Qīngwén zìhuì* 清文字彙 (The characters collected in Qīng writing) and the note "Compiled by Shàng zhī lǐ" (*Shàng zhī lǐ jí* 上之禮集), of unknown reference.

———. (1724–1751) 2001. *Qīngwén huìshū* 清文彙書 / *manju isabuha bithe* (Manchu collected). Vol. 719. Gùgōng zhēnběn cóngkān. Facsimile of xylograph. Hǎikǒu: Hǎinán Chūbǎnshè.

The date of the preface has been erased in the edition that is the basis of the facsimile.

Liào Lúnjī 廖綸璣. (1670–1700) 1979. "Liào Lúnjī *Pāizhǎng zhīyīn* yǐngyìn běn" 廖綸璣《拍掌知音》影印本 (Facsimile edition of Liào Lúnjī's *Chart for learning the initial, spelling the rhyme, and circling through the even and oblique tones by clapping*), edited by Fāngyán Biānjí Bù 方言编辑部. Dates are conjectural, *Fāngyán,* no. 2: 143–154. Includes an introductory note by the editors.

The copy used for the facsimile was owned by Huáng Diǎnchéng 黃典誠 (1914–1994). The translation of the title is based on its full form: *Pāizhǎng zhīshēng qièyīn diào píng, zè tú* 拍掌知声切音調平仄圖, which is partially derived from a mnemonic jingle.

———. (1671) 1996. *Shíèr zìtóu* 十二字頭 / *juwan juwe uju* (The twelve character heads). In *Zhèngzì tōng,* edited by Liào Wényīng, compiled by Zhāng Zìliè. Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Zhōngguó Gōngrén Chūbǎnshè.

Líng Shàowén 凌紹雯 and Chén Kěchén 陳可臣, eds. 1699a. *Qīngshū duìyīn xiézì* 清書對音協字 / *manju-i acanara bithe* (Fitting writings for Manchu). Vol. 2 of Líng Shàowén and Chén Kěchén 1699b.

———, eds. 1699b. *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* 新刻清書全集 / *ice foloho manju-i geren bithe* (Complete collection of Manchu writing, newly cut). Xylograph. Nánjīng: Tīngsōng Lóu.

———, eds. 1699c. *Xīnkè Qīngshū quánjí* 新刻清書全集 / *ice foloho manju-i geren bithe* (Complete collection of Manchu writing, newly cut). Xylograph. Nánjīng: Tīngsōng Lóu. Held at Keio University Library, Tokyo with the call number 語二 47.1.

This copy, which was acquired by Nagashima Eiichirō 永島栄一郎 (1909–1978) in Běijīng sometime between 1936–1944, is from a different edition than the one represented in the more well-known copies held at Peking University Library and Harvard-Yenching Library.

Liú bù chéngyǔ 六部成語 / *ninggun jurgan-i toktoho gisun-i bithe* (Set phrases of the Six Boards). 1742. Xylograph. Běijīng: Yǒngkuí Zhāi. New cut.

Liú Shìēn 劉世恩. (1909) 1957. *Yīnyùn jìhào* 音韻記號 (Phonological notation). Běijīng: Wénzì Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè. Facsimile of lithograph (?).

Lobsang Tschi [Wasili Timofejew]. 1731. “Elementa Calmvcca” (Rudiments of Kalmyk). Continued by Theophilus Siegfried Bayer. Microfilm of chirograph. Held as part of the Hunterian Collection at the University of Glasgow with the call number HS Hunter 382 (V.2.2) and the repository code GB 0247.
See Bayer 1730.

Lù Cìyún 陸次雲. (1683a) 1997. *Bāhóng huāngshǐ* 八紘荒史 (Bāhóng’s wild histories). Vol. 256. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: shǐ bù. Facsimile of xylograph. Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

———. (1683b) 1997. *Bāhóng yìshǐ* 八紘譯史 (Bāhóng’s translated histories). Vol. 256. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: shǐ bù. Facsimile of xylograph. Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

———. (1683c) 1997. *Dòngxī xiān zhì* 峒谿纖志 (Small treatise on Dòngxī). Vol. 256. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: shǐ bù. Facsimile of xylograph. Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

Lǚ Kūn 呂坤. (1603–1620) 2001. *Jiāotài yùn* 交泰韻 (Interconnected rhymes). Vol. 210. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Jìnán: Qí-Lǔ Shūshè. Finished in 1603 and printed later.

Luó Zhènyù 羅振玉, comp. (1632–1635) 2005. “Tiāncōng cháo chéngōng zòuyì” 天聰朝臣工奏議 (Memorials from the Tiāncōng reign). In *Shǐliào cóngkān chūbiān,* vol. 2 of *Míng-Qīng shǐliào cóngshū bā zhǒng,* 269–516. Reprint of a typeset collection from 1924. Běijīng Túshūguǎn Chūbǎnshè.

Lyi Küng 李鋐, red. (1891) 1913. *Měng-Hàn-Mǎn sān hé* 蒙漢滿文三合 / *mongγol kitad manǰu üsüg-ün san ke* (Tripartite collection of Mongol, Chinese, and Manchu characters). With a foreword by Ioijang 裕彰. Lithographically printed facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Zhèngméng Yìnshūjú. Originally published with the title *Měnggǔ zǒnghuì* 蒙文總彙 / *mongγol ügen-ü bögöde quraγaγsan bičig* (Comprehensive collection of Mongol).

Magalhães, Gabriel de [Magaillans]. 1688. *Nouvelle relation de la Chine, contenant la description des particularitez les plus considerables de ce grand empire.* Translated by Claude Bernou. Paris: Claude Barbin. Portuguese original written in 1668.

Mailla, Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de. 1779. *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire; traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou.* Edited by Michel-Ange-André Le Roux Deshauterayes. Vol. 9. Paris: Pierres & Clousier.

Maisonneuve. 1872. *Catalogue de livres de linguistique anciens et modernes en vente aux prix marqués.* Paris: Maisonneuve.

Manbun rōtō. See MBRT.

Mǎn-Hàn chéngyǔ duìdài 滿漢成語對待 / *manju nikan fe gisun be jofoho acabuha bithe* (Book of aligned old Manchu and Chinese sayings). n.d. 4 vols. Xylograph. Nánjīng: Tīngsōng Lóu. Held at the British Library with the call number 1995 1 c 1.
This edition has an afterword that is not included in *Mǎn-Hàn chéngyǔ duìdài,* Yúnlín Táng ed. n.d.

Măn-Hàn chéngyǔ duìdài 滿漢成語對待 / *manju nikan fe gisun be jofoho acabuha bithe* (Book of aligned old Manchu and Chinese sayings). n.d. 4 vols. Xylograph. Yúnlín Táng. Held at the Chinese Academy of Sciences Library.

Also has the title *Xīnjuān Màn-Hàn bìdú* 新鐫滿漢必讀 (Indispensable readings in Manchu and Chinese, newly cut).

Măn-Hàn hébì jíyào 滿漢合璧集要 / *manju nikan hergen-i kamciha isabuha oyonggo bithe* (Collected essentials in juxtaposed Manchu and Chinese script). 1764. Xylograph. Jīngkǒu: Ging keo-i alban tacikû / Jīngkǒu Guānxué. Held at the Royal Asiatic Society, London without a call number.

Măn-Hàn hébì shíèr zìtóu 滿漢合壁十二字頭 / *manju nikan hergen kamcime araha juwan juwe ujui bithe* (Manchu-Chinese joint-faced book of the twelve codas). n.d. Lithograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 41.551 2.

The paper is glossy and I have conjectured that it is a lithographic print from the Republican period. The back has a sticker advertising that the bookshop Wéndiàn Gé Lóngfú Temple in Běipíng (the name for Běijīng in the Republican period) buys and sells books, ancient and modern (北平隆福寺街文殿閣書店經售收售古今書籍). There is also the penciled note "11 *máo* 毛," which might refer to the book's price.

"Măn-Hàn hébì yīnyì míngzhǐ quánshū" 滿漢合璧音義明指全書 / *manju nikan hergen kamcibure mudan jurgan getukelame joriha bithe* (Instructions on the sound and drawing of Manchu and Chinese brought together). n.d. Chirograph. Incomplete copy held at Peking University Library with the call number NC 5975.6 0865.

Măn-Hàn shíèr zìtóu 滿漢十二頭 (The twelve heads in Manchu and Chinese). 1861. Xylograph, the title being the title on the cover page. Běijīng: Wénxīng Táng.

The copy at Peking University (X 419.1 0033) was previously owned by Walter Fuchs. There are also two copies at Minzu University of China, both sharing the call number 滿 41.5511 2. A third book, Hi Hiya 1733a, related to the others by virtue of its contents, is also subsumed under the same number. The three were all part of Imanishi Shunjū's collection when he lived in Xīdàn, Běijīng. Two of the books have manuscript Manchu notes on their outside covers, and seem to have belonged to the same collection already in the Qīng period. On the outside cover of the first of the two Minzu University copies it is written: "The twelve coda characters in Manchu and Chinese || Purchase[d] on the 18th day of the 1st month in the 16th year of Guāngxù" (*manju nikan juwan juwe uju hergen* || *badarangga doro-i juwan ningguci aniya aniya biya juwan jakûn de udambi*). On the second copy held at Minzu University, the outside cover carries a date written by a previous owner, corresponding to August 27, 1874 (甲戌七月十六日). A proof of identity for a Chinese civilian examination candidate named Zhāng Liányuán 張聯元, aged eighteen *suì*, of Tōngzhōu in Shùntiān prefecture, is found between its pages.

Măn-Hàn tóngwén quánshū 滿漢同文全書 / *manju nikan šu adali yooni bithe* (Complete book in standardized Manchu and Chinese writing). 1690. 8 vols. Xylograph. Běijīng: Bìshū Gé. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 41.5512 2.

The inside cover (*fēngmiàn*) says that it was "published by Zhū Xīngruò of Bìshū Gé" 秘書閣朱星若發兌. Furthermore, the outside cover of the first volume has a seal that says "A title found at Wénjǐn Táng" 文錦堂藏書, which was probably the name of a store that sold it.

"Măn-Hàn zìdiǎn" 滿汗字典 (Manchu-Chinese dictionary). n.d. Chirograph. Held at the Library of the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences with the call number 916 2527.
The character *Hàn* 汗 for the expected *Hàn* 漢 is written as such on the book's outside cover.

"Măn-Hàn zìyīn liánzhù shìwén" 滿漢字音聯註釋文 (Character pronunciations, linked annotations, and textual explanations in Manchu and Chinese). 1861–1875. Chirograph held at Dalian Library with the call number M22-149.

"Mănwén pǔ" 滿文譜 (Record in Manchu). 1851. Chirograph, title retrospective. Held at Sun Yat-sen Library, Guǎngzhōu with the call number 32104.

Mănwén yuándàng. See MWYD.

"Mănwén zìtóu" 滿文字頭 / *manju juwan juwe uju bithe* (The twelve codas of Manchu). n.d. Chirograph. Held at Dalian Library with the call number M 22-140.
Although this item is undated, it is very similar in appearance to several pedagogical texts held at Inner Mongolia University Library (call numbers 41.53174, 41.53175, and 41.531756). As these texts are evidently of very late Qīng or Republican provenance, we can assume that the present item dates from that time as well.

"Mănwén zòuzhé lù" 滿文奏摺錄 (Record of Manchu memorials). 1736–1820. Chirograph held at Harvard-Yenching Library.
The date is inferred from the observance of imperial taboo characters in the text.

"Mănzhōu yǔ bǐfǎ" 滿洲語筆法 (How to wield the brush in Manchu). n.d. Chirograph. Held at Kyujanggak, Seoul with the call number 想白古 495.93-M314.

MBRT. *Manbun rōtō* 滿文老檔 (Old Manchu archives). (1774) 1955–1963. Translated by *Manbun rōtō* Kenkyūkai 滿文老檔研究會. 7 vols. Transcribed Manchu text and Japanese translation. Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko.

Meadows, Thomas Taylor. 1849. *Manchu Literature, With the Original Texts, Prefaced by an Essay on the Language.* Guǎngzhōu: Press of S. Wells Williams.

Méi Yīngzuò 梅膺祚. 1615. *Zìhuì* 字彙 (The characters collected). Xylograph. Méi Shìqiàn, Méi Shìjié.

Mgon-po-skyabs. n.d. *Egesig üsüg kiged, geyigü-legči üsüg-üd oro-siba* (Vowels and consonants are contained herein). Xylograph. Held at Tōyō Bunko with the call number MO_2 A-11-1.
A copy is also held at the Inner Mongolian Academy of Social Sciences with the call number 06556.

Mingcang 明昌. 1793. "Qīngwén diǎnyào dàquán" 清文典要大全 / *manju bithei kooli šošohoni yooni bithe* (Complete essentials of the fixed standards of Qīng writing). Chirograph. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MA 5806.05 6622.
In other manuscript copies of this work, the preface is signed by both Mingcang and Urtai 伍爾泰.

Mingcang 明昌 and Urtai 伍爾泰. 1793. “Qīngwén diǎnyào dàquán” 清文典要大全 / *manju bithei kooli šošohon-i yooni bithe* (Complete essentials of the fixed standards of Qīng writing). Chirograph. Copy held at Capital Library, Běijīng.

———. 1793. “Qīngwén diǎnyào dàquán” 清文典要大全 / *manju bithei kooli šošohon-i yooni bithe* (Complete essentials of the fixed standards of Qīng writing). Chirograph. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MA 5806.05 6626.

———. 1793–1911. “Qīngwén diǎnyào dàquán” 清文典要大全 (Complete essentials of the fixed standards of Qīng writing). Incomplete chirograph. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MA 5806.05 6627.
The preface that might have contained the names of the authors and the date are missing. The identity of the authors has been inferred from other copies.

———. 1793–1911a. “Qīngwén diǎnyào dàquán” 清文典要大全 (Complete essentials of the fixed standards of Qīng writing). Chirograph.
First of two copies held at the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Běijīng. It has no preface or title page; the authors’ identity has been inferred from other copies. The book begins with Chinese lemmata belonging to the *yī* 一 radical.

———. 1793–1911b. “Qīngwén diǎnyào dàquán” 清文典要大全 (Complete essentials of the fixed standards of Qīng writing). Chirograph.
Second of two copies held at the Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Běijīng. It has no preface or title page; the authors’ identity has been inferred from other copies. The book begins with Chinese lemmata belonging to the *kǒu* 口 radical.

Mingdo 明鐸. 1735a. *Yīn Hàn-, Qīngwén jiàn* 音漢清文鑑 / *nikan hergen-i ubaliyambuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* (Mirror of the Manchu language transcribed in Chinese writing). 4 vols. Xylograph. Běijīng: Wénruì Táng. Copy held at Princeton University Library with the call number A 161 4010.

———. 1735b. *Yīn Hàn-, Qīngwén jiàn* 音漢清文鑑 / *nikan hergen-i ubaliyambuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* (Mirror of the Manchu language transcribed in Chinese writing). 4 vols. Xylograph. Běijīng: Wénguāng Táng. Copy held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number TMA 5806.05 2491.6.
The book contains marginalia in black and red ink, some of which merely retraces the faint text of the poor print, and some of which correcting mistakes in the Manchu. Some pages (e.g., 1:21a and 1:26a) have yellow note slips pasted on them with Manchu and Chinese text.

———. 1735c. *Yīn Hàn-, Qīngwén jiàn* 音漢清文鑑 / *nikan hergen-i ubaliyambuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* (Mirror of the Manchu language transcribed in Chinese writing). 4 vols. Xylograph. Běijīng: Yīnghuá Táng. Copy held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number M 5806.05 2491.5.

Mingdo 明鐸. 1735d. *Yīn Hàn-, Qīngwén jiàn* 音漢清文鑑 / *nikan hergen-i ubaliyambuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* (Mirror of the Manchu language transcribed in Chinese writing). 6 vols. Xylograph. Copy held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number TMA 5806.05 2491.7.

There is no printer's name on the cover page. It might have been erased, as the phrase "blocks kept…" (*cángbǎn* 藏板) remains. Another note on the cover page, "reprinters will be investigated" (*fānkè bìjiū* 翻刻必究), indicates that it is a commercial edition.

———. 1737. *Măn-Hàn jīngwén chéngyǔ* 滿漢經文成語 / *manju nikan ging bithei toktoho gisun* (Manchu and Chinese set phrases from the classics). 4 vols. Xylograph. Běijīng: Qíhé Lóu Wénruì Táng. Held at the British Library with the call number 19951 c 6.

"Mongγol üsüg-ün arban qoyar čaγan toloγai" (The twelve white heads of the Mongol characters). n.d. Fragmentary chirograph. Held at the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences Library with the call number 41.239 5:1.

"Mongγol üsüg-ün arban qoyar čaγan toloγai" (The twelve white heads of the Mongol characters). n.d. Chirograph. Held at the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences Library with the call number 41.239 5:2.

Mongγol üsüg-ün čaγan toloγai-yin arban goyar kubilγadasu [*Měngwén shíèr zìtóu biànhuà* 蒙文十二字頭變化] (The twelve changes of the white heads of Mongol characters). n.d. Lithograph (?) possibly dating from the time of the Chinese Republic (1912–1949). Held at Inner Mongolia Normal University Library with the call number H 11 5 02171.

Montucci, Antonio. 1817. *Urh-Chih-Tsze-Tëen-Se-Yin-Pe-Keáou.* Privately published. London.

Murayama Shiu 邨山芝塢 and Nagame Hyōsai 永根氷齋, eds. 1807. *"Shin sanchō jitsuroku" saiyō* 清三朝實錄採要 (The essentials of *Qīng sāncháo shílù* [Veritable records of the (first) three Qīng reigns]). 8 vols. Edo: Goseki shoken. Xylograph.

MWLD. *Chóngyì Mǎnwén lǎodàng* 重译满文老档 (New translation of the old Manchu archives). (1774) 1978. Translated by Liáoníng Dàxué Lìshǐ Xì 辽宁大学历史系. Qīng chū shǐliào cóngkān. Liáoníng Dàxué Lìshǐ Xì.

MWYD. *Mǎnwén yuándàng* 滿文原檔 (Original Manchu archives). (1607–1636) 2005. 10 vols. Photographs of manuscripts and xylographs. Tǎiběi: Guólì Gùgōng Bówùyuàn. Retrospective title.

Naikoku Shiin tō: Tensō shichinen. See NKSIT.

Nánchāng fǔzhì 南昌府志 (Prefectural gazetteer of Nánchāng). 1873. Xylograph. Nánchāng: Nánchāng Xiànxué Wénchāng Cí. Held at Princeton University Library with the call number B 194 924 GDEC.

Nèigé cáng "Mǎnwén lǎodàng" 内阁藏本满文老档 (The *Old Manchu archives* held at the Grand Secratariat). (1774) 2009. 20 vols. Facsimile of chirograph. Shěnyáng: Liáoníng Mínzú Chūbǎnshè.

Nèigé Dàkù dàng'àn. See NGDKDA.

NGDKDA. *Nèigé Dàkù dàng'àn* 内閣大庫檔案 (Grand Secretariat Archives). 1619–1911. Database with images of manuscripts. `http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/db/cgsa/`.

NGSY. *Qīng chū Nèi Guóshǐ Yuàn Mǎnwén dàng'àn yìbiān* 清初内国史院満文档案译编 (Edited translations of the Manchu archives from the Palace Historiographic Academy). (1633–1661) 1989. Translated by Zhōngguó Dì yī Lìshǐ Dàng'àn Guǎn 中国第一历史档案馆. 3 vols. Běijīng: Guāngmíng Rìbào Chūbǎnshè.

NKSIT. *Naikoku Shiin tō: Tensō shichinen* 内国史院檔：天聡七年 (The archives of the Palace Historiography Academy: the 7th year of Tiāncōng). (1633) 2003. Edited by Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫, Hosoya Yoshio 細谷良夫, Nakami Tatsuo 中見立夫, Matsumura Jun 松村潤, Katō Naoto 加藤直人, and Yanagisawa Akira 栁澤明. Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko.

Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠. (1728) 1974. *Sorai zenshū* 徂徠全集 (Complete writings of Sorai). 2 vols. Facsimiles of xylographs and chirographs. Tōkyō: Misuzu shobō.

Ortai and Sioi Yuwan Meng, eds. (1741) 1959. *Tongki fuka akû hergen-i bithe* (Book of writing without dots and circles). Vol. 1. Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum 5. Facsimile of chirograph. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsyn Khėvlėl.

Pak Nanyŏng 朴蘭英. 1631. "Simyang wanghwan ilgi" 瀋陽往還日記 (Diary from the trip to Shěnyáng). Microfilm of manuscript copied in 1927–29 from the chirograph owned by Wi Sunyang 魏順良 of Changhŭng-gun. Held at Kyujanggak, Seoul with the call number 奎 15682 under the title *Simyang ilgi.*

The title used here is taken from the outer cover.

Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de. 1670. *Histoire de la conqueste de la Chine par les Tartares, contenant plusieurs choses remarquables, touchant la Religion, les Mœurs, & les Coûtumes de ces deux Nations, & principalement de la derniere.* Translated from the Spanish by Collé. Paris: Antoine Bertier.

It appears that the Spanish original was never published. The translator claims to have used Palafox's original manuscript ("Avis," no pagination).

Parennin, Dominique. (1738) 1811. "Lettre du Père Parennin, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, à Messieurs de l'Académie des Sciences, en leur envoyant une traduction qu'il a faite en langue Tartare de quelques-uns de leurs ouvrages, par ordre de l'Empereur de la Chine ; et adressée à M. de Fontenelle, de l'Académie Française, et Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences." In *Lettres édifantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères,* 19:208–242. Toulouse: Sens/Gaudé.

———. 1840. "Lettre du Père Parennin au Père Duhalde [sic]: Préceptes de morale des Chinois." In *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique,* edited by L. Aimé-Martin, 3:750–760. Paris: Société du Panthéon littéraire.

Petity, Jean-Raymond de, ed. 1766a. *Bibliothèque des artistes et des amateurs : ou Tablettes analytiques, et méthodiques, sur les sçiences et les beaux arts.* 2 vols. Paris: P. G. Simon.

———, ed. (1766b) 1767. *Encyclopédie élémentaire, ou Introduction à l'étude des lettres, des sciences et des arts.* 2 vols. Originally published under the title *Bibliothèque des artistes et des amateurs.* Paris: Herissant Fils.

Pfister, Louis. (1891) 1932. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773.* Edited by Le bureau sinologique. 2 vols. Shànghǎi: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique. The original date represents the date of composition. Pfister left a completed holograph of this work at the time of his untimely death in 1891. New information was subsequently added by the editors.

Plath, Johann Heinrich. 1831. *Die Völker der Mandschurey.* Vol. 2. Göttingen: Dieterich.

QDHCTZ. *Qīndìng huángcháo tōngzhì* 欽定皇朝通志 (Complete treatises of our august dynasty, imperially authorized). (1787) 1882. 2nd edition. Zhèjiāng Shūjú. Xylograph.

QDHCTZ, SKQS ed. *Qīndìng huángcháo tōngzhì* 欽定皇朝通志 (Complete treatises of our august dynasty, imperially authorized). (1782–1787) 1983. Vol. 644 of *Yǐngyìn "Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū."* Facsimile of chirograph. Táiwān Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn.

QDTWYT. *Qīndìng tóngwén yùntǒng* 欽定同文韻統 (Imperially authorized rhyme systems in standardized writing). (1750) 2001. By Yǔn-lù 允禄. Vol. 723. Gùgōng zhēnběn cóngkān. Facsimile of xylograph. Hǎikǒu: Hǎinán Chūbǎnshè.

Qián Yíjí 錢儀吉, ed. (1893) 1985. *Bēizhuàn jí* 碑傳集 (Collection of epigraphic biographies). 9 vols. Qīngdài zhuànjì cóngkān. Facsimile of xylograph. Táiběi: Míngwén Shūjú.

Qiānzì wén 清書千字文 / *ciyan dzi wen* (Thousand character essay). 1644–1670. Xylograph. Incomplete copy held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with manuscript transcriptions in Korean script.
Taboo is not respected for the character *xuán* 玄, which dates the work to before the Kāngxī emperor's accession to the throne in 1671.

Qín Wényuān 秦文淵. 1662–1795. *"Sì shū" zǒng zìyīn* 四書總字音 (Collected pronunciations of characters in the *Four Books*). Redacted by Chén Zhèngxuān 陳正宣. Xylograph. Annotated copy held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number T 885 5903.

Qīndìng Dà-Qīng huìdiǎn shìlì (Jiāqìng cháo) 欽定大清會典事例（嘉慶朝）(Imperially authorized collected statutes and precedents of the Great Qīng [Jiāqìng period]). (1818) 1991–1992. 641–700 vols. Jìndài Zhōngguó shǐliào cóngkān sān biān. Facsimile of xylograph. Táiběi: Wénhǎi Chūbǎnshè.

Qīndìng Guózǐ Jiàn zhì. See GZJZ.

Qīndìng huángcháo tōngzhì, 1882 ed. *See* QDHCTZ.

Qīndìng huángcháo tōngzhì, SKQS ed. *See* QDHCTZ, SKQS ed.

Qīndìng "Liáoshǐ" yǔjiě 欽定遼史語解 (Imperially authorized explanations of terms in the *History of the Liáo*). (1824) 1878. Sūzhōu: Jiāngsū Shūjú.

Qīndìng Qīng-Hàn duìyīn zìshì 欽定清漢對音字式 (Imperially authorized Manchu and Chinese characters presented in corresponding sounds). (1773) 1836. Xylograph. Jìnggǔ Táng.

Qīndìng tóngwén yùntǒng. See QDTWYT.

Qīndìng yīnyùn shùwēi 欽定音韻述微 (Imperially authorized account of the subtleties of phonology). (1765) 1782. By Liáng Guózhì 梁國志. In *Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū*. New chirograph edition. Běijīng: Wényuān Gé. Digitized.

Qīng chū Nèi Guóshǐ Yuàn Mǎnwén dàng'àn yìbiān. See NGSY.

Qīng Nèifǔ kèshū dàng'àn shǐliào huìbiān. See QNFKS.

Qīng Tàizǔ cháo lǎo Mǎnwén yuándàng: dì yī cè "huāng" zì lǎo Mǎnwén dàngcè. See QTZ-CLMWYD I.

Qīng Tóngzhì, Guāngxù jiān Wǔyīng Diàn màishū dǐbù 清同治光緒間武英殿賣書底簿 (Pricing guidelines for books sold at Wǔyīng Diàn in the Tóngzhì and Guāngxù reigns of the Qīng period). (1861–1908) 2000. Vol. 28. *Sìkù* wèi shōu jíkān, èr jí. Facsimile of chirograph. Běijīng: Běijīng Chūbǎnshè. The title is retrospective.

Qìng-guī 慶桂. (1807) 1994. *Guócháo gōngshǐ xùbiān* 國朝宮史續編 (Compilation on the palace history of our dynasty, sequel). Redacted by Zuǒ Bùqīng 左步清. 2 vols. Typeset edition. Běijīng: Běijīng Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè.

Qīngshǐ lièzhuàn. See QSLZ.

"Qīngwén dānkǎo" 清文單考 (Itemized examinations of Qīng literature). n.d. Chirograph held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MA 5806.05 4530.

"Qīngwén hòuxué jīnfá" 清文後學津筏 / *manju gisun-i amaga tacire ursebe ibebure tasan-i bithe* (Manual for the advancement of the beginning student of Manchu). n.d. Chirograph. Held at Dalian Library with the call number M 22-121.

Qīngyǔ zhāichāo 清語摘鈔 (Qīng language excerpts). 1889. 4 vols. Běijīng: Júzhēn Táng.

Qiūfāng Táng 秋芳堂. 1738a. *Qīngwén diǎnyào* 清文典要 (The fixed standards of Qīng writing). Xylograph. Běijīng: Èryǒu Táng & Wénjǐ Táng. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number TMA 5806 05 6611.

———. (1738b) 1878. *Qīngwén diǎnyào* 清文典要 (The fixed standards of Qīng writing). Xylograph. Běijīng: Wényuān Táng. Held at Capital Library, Běijīng.

QNFKS. *Qīng Nèifǔ kèshū dàng'àn shǐliào huìbiān* 清內府刻書檔案史料彙編 (Collection of archival sources related to book production in the Qīng Imperial Household Department). (1644–1911) 2007. Compiled by Wēng Liánxī 翁連溪. Vol. 2. Yángzhōu: Guǎnglíng Shūshè. Typeset and punctuated memorials and edicts.

QSLZ. *Qīngshǐ lièzhuàn* 清史列傳 (Biographies of historical figures of the Qīng). (1644–1911) 1987. Edited by Wáng Zhōnghàn 王鍾翰. 20 vols. Unclear authorship and provenance, most probably dating from the Qīng period. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú.

QTZCLMWYD I. *Qīng Tàizǔ cháo lǎo Mǎnwén yuándàng: dì yī cè "huāng" zì lǎo Mǎnwén dàngcè* 清太祖朝老滿文原檔：第一冊荒字老滿文檔冊 (The original old Manchu-language archives from Qīng Tàizǔ's court: the documents from the first volume, marked with the character *huāng* [from the sequence of characters in *Qiānzì wén*]). (1607–1619) 1970. Translated by Kunggur [Guǎnglù] 廣祿 and Lǐ Xuézhì 李學智. Táiběi: Táiwān Zhōnghuá Shūjú.

Quán-xǐ 全禧. 1865. "Fān Qīng yuèmù biànlǎn" 翻清閱目便覽 / *fan cing iowei mu biyan lan bithe* (Listed items for convenient browsing, turned into Manchu). Chirograph. Held at Dalian Library with the call number M 22-153.

Quánzhōu fǔzhì 泉州府志 (Prefectural gazetteer of Quánzhōu). (1870) 1964. 4 vols. Facsimile of xylograph. Táinán: Dēngwén Yìnshuājú.

Raux, Nicolas Joseph. 1786. Nicolas Joseph Raux to Henri Bertin, Peking, 17 November, part of Cordier (1784–1790a) 1913.

———. 1788. "Methode pour apprendre les caractères et la Langue des Tartares-Mantchou extraite de la Grammaire Sinico-Tartare-Mantchou appellée 'Tsing-ouen-ki-mong.'" Chirograph. Held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France with the call number MANDCHOU 276.

This translation of the first volume of Wǔ-gé 1730c was sent by Raux in Běijīng to Henri Bertin in Paris.

———. 1789a. Nicolas Joseph Raux to Henri Bertin, Peking, 12 November, part of Cordier (1784–1790a) 1913.

———. 1789b. Nicolas Joseph Raux to Henri Bertin, Peking, 18 October, part of Cordier (1784–1790a) 1913.

———. 1790. Nicolas Joseph Raux to Henri Bertin, Peking, 14 November, part of Cordier (1784–1790a) 1913.

Sacy, Silvestre de. 1843–1865. "DESHAUTESRAYES [sic], Michel-Ange-André Le Roux." In *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne,* 2nd edition, edited by Louis-Gabriel Michaud, 9:516–517. Paris: Louis Vivès.

Saišangga. *See* Sayišangγ-a.

Sài-shàng-ā 賽尚阿. *See* Sayišangγ-a.

Sāng Shàoliáng 桑紹良. (1593–1599) 2001. *Qīngjiāo zázhù* 青郊雜著 (Miscellaneous writings from the Green Fields). Vol. 216. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Jǐnán: Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

The title is retrospective and originally referred to a greater collection of which the present work was part.

Sangge 桑額, ed. 1700a. *Măn-Hàn lèishū* 滿漢類書 / *man han lei šu bithe* (Standardized writing in Manchu and Chinese, divided into sections). 8 vols. Xylograph. Zìxǐng Zhāi. Microfilm made from the copy held at Tenri University Library with the call number 829 44-83.

This book seems to have been privately published, as Zìxǐng Zhāi, which I infer was Sangge's style name, was also the name of the editor. The editor writes in the preface that we was serving in Shānxī province at the time. The book was, furthermore, reprinted by the Shānxī provincial authorities the following year (as Sangge [1700b] 1701). It is therefore probable that also this edition was published in Shānxī. The Manchu title is not given on the cover page, but is found in the preface.

———, ed. (1700b) 1701. *Măn-Hàn lèishū quánjí* 滿漢類書 / *man han lei šu ciyon ji* (Standardized writing in Manchu and Chinese, divided into sections). Revised, 2nd edition. 8 vols. Xylograph. Zìxǐng Zhāi. Copy held at Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo with the call number 漢 13465.

The cover page (*fēngmiàn*) merely says "blocks kept in this office" (*běnyá cángbăn* 本衙藏版), which we can infer refers to the Shānxī Provincial Governor's office, where the editor worked. The Manchu title figures on the cover page.

———, ed. (1700c) 1706. *Măn-Hàn tóngwén fēnlèi quánshū* 滿漢同文分類全書 / *man han tung wen fen lei ciyan šu* (Complete book, divided into sections, of standardized writing in Manchu and Chinese). 2nd printing from the same blocks as the original edition. 8 vols. Xylograph. Běijīng: Tiānhuì Gé. Copy held at Tōyō Bunko with the call number MA 2 4 21.

Except for the cover page, this edition is identical to Sangge 1700a. The Manchu title figures on the cover page.

Sayišangγ-a 賽尚阿, red. 1848a. 蒙文晰義 / *monggo hergen-i jurgan be fagsalaha bithe* / *Mongγol üsüg-ün jirüm-i salγaγsan bičig* (Analysis of the system of Mongol characters). 2 vols. Xylograph. Privately published.

———. (1848b) 2001. *"Biànlăn" bŭyí* 便覽補遺 / *tuwara de ja obuha bithei melebuhengge be niyecetehe bithe* / *üjehüi-dür qilbar bulγaγsan bičig-ün tasuldaγsan-i inu nühülgelegsen čičig* (Collection of things left out in *Sānhé biànlăn* [Book made from a combination including three languages]). Vol. 724. Gùgōng zhēnběn cóngkān. Facsimile of xylograph. Hăikŏu: Hăinán Chūbănshè.

———. 1851a. "Měnggŭ wénhuì" 蒙古文彙 / *monggo hergen-i isabuha bithe* / *mongγol üsüg-ün qariyaγsan bičig* (Mongol collected). Chirograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 蒙 552.24 1.

This manuscript is in poor condition and contains marginalia seemingly written in two hands. The Chinese title of this manuscript differs from that in Sayišangγ-a 1851b. In both cases, the title has been obtained from the text of the preface (no pagination), as there is no cover page. The wording of the preface differs slightly between the two manuscripts also in other passages. In most of these instances, the originally different Chinese wording in this copy has been changed by crossing out the differing text or appending note slips with corrections, with the result that the corrected text in this manuscript conforms to the wording in the other copy. This circumstance allows for several possibilities with regards to the relationship between the manuscripts, but it seems probable that

this manuscript is the earlier of the two. The last page of the preface in this manuscript has a seal that says *qiánlì zìhào* 乾利字號. Might this mean "[sold at] the Qiánlì store"?

Sayišangγ-a 賽尚阿. 1851b. "Měngwén huìshū" 蒙文彙書 / *monggo hergen-i isabuha bithe* / *mongγol üsüg-ün qariyaγsan bičig* (Mongol collected). Chirograph. Digitized and held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MO 5805.05 4025.
A clean, likely late copy on intact paper. See Sayišangγ-a 1851a.

Shàng Yùzhāng 尚玉章. 1724. *Qīngwén xūzì jiǎngyūe* 清文虛字講約 (Summary discussions on empty characters in Manchu). Xylograph, new edition. Mínggāo Gé.

Shěn Chǒngsuí 沈寵綏. (1639) 1649. *Dùqǔ xūzhī* 度曲須知 (Essential knowledge for composing tunes). Xylograph. Sōnglíng.
digitized and held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number T 5658 3132.

Shěn Qǐliàng 沈啟亮, ed. (1682) 1713. *Qīngshū zhǐnán* 清書指南 / *manju gisun-i jyi nan* (Guide to the Manchu language). Xylograph. Extant only as a supplement to Shěn Qǐliàng (1683b) 1713.

———. (1683a) 2008. *Dà-Qīng quánshū* 大清全書 / *daicing gurun-i yooni bithe* (Complete book of the Great Qīng). Facsimile of xylograph. Shěnyáng: Liáoníng Mínzú Chūbǎnshè.

———. (1683b) 1713. *Dà-Qīng quánshū* 大清全書 / *daicing gurun-i yooni bithe* (Complete book of the Great Qīng). 2nd edition, 2nd printing. Xylograph. Běijīng: Sān yì Táng / Zūngǔ Táng. Copy held at Harvard-Yenching Library.

———. 1686. *Shíèr zìtóu jízhù* 十二字頭集註 (Collected notes on the twelve heads). Xylograph. Chōnglǐ Táng. Held at the library of the National Museum of China.

———. 1693. *"Yùzhì bǎijiā xìng" Mǎn-Hàn héjí* 御製百家姓滿漢合集 / *ioi jyi be giya sing* (Manchu-Chinese combined edition of the *Imperially commissioned hundred surnames*). Xylograph. Běijīng: Yāndū Chéng Shì [engraver].

Shěn Qǐyuán 沈起元 and Shěn Zōngyuē 沈宗約. (1847) 1999. *Jǐngtíng Gōng niánpǔ* 敬亭公年譜 (Chronological biography of Mr. Jǐngtíng). Vol. 92. Běijīng Túshūguǎn cáng zhēnběn niánpǔ cóngkān. Xylograph. Běijīng: Běijīng Túshūguǎn Chūbǎnshè.

Shěn Shòuhóng 沈受宏. (1738) 1997. *Báilóu xiānshēng wénjí* 白漊先生文集 (Collected prose of our teacher Báilóu). Vol. 238. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: jíbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Jǐnán: Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

Shěn Xúnwèi 沈荀蔚. (1701) 1820. *Shǔ nàn xùlüè* 蜀難叙略 (Summary account of the troubles in Sìchuān). Vol. 18. Zhī-bù-zú Zhāi cóngshū. Xylograph. Zhī-bù-zú Zhāi.

Shī Hóngbǎo 施鴻保. (1845–1856) 1985. *Mǐn zájì* 閩杂记 (Miscellaneous notes from Fújiàn). New edition. Edited by Lái Xīnxià 来新夏. Fújiàn Rénmín Chūbǎnshè. The original date represents the date of composition.
Shī never printed the book. The unadultered holograph no longer exists. It was posthumously edited and published later in the nineteenth century ("Shuōmíng" 說明, no pagination).

Shíèr zì tóu 十二字頭 (The twelve character heads). n.d. Xylograph. Held at the Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number Ma5806.02 4131 (two works share this call number).

Shí-jīn 石津 [Shí Líntīng 石霖汀]. (1737) 1837. *Qīngyīn biān* 清音辨 (Distinguishing clear sounds). With an afterword by Tài-guāng 泰光. Xylograph. Held at Fu Ssu-Nien Library of Academia Sinica, Táiběi, with the call number 429.1 080 1.
The title page of the original print has been replaced with a page in manuscript, presumably in imitation of the original.

Shìzōng shílù 世宗實錄 (Veritable records of the Generational Ancestor). (1735) 1985. In *Qīng shílù.* Facsimile. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú.

Sìchuān tōngzhì 四川通志 (Comprehensive gazetteer of Sìchuān). (1733) 1983. Vol. 559–661 of *Yǐngyìn "Wényuān Gé Sìkù quánshū."* Facsimile of chirograph. Táiběi: Táiwān Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn.

Siegfried, C. 1896. "Wahl, Samuel Friedrich Günther." In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* 40:593–594. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. Accessed August 11, 2014. `http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117114308.html?anchor=adb`.

"Sìkù quánshū" zǒngmù 四庫全書總目 (Bibliographical summaries for the *Complete writings of the four repositories*). (1789) 1965. Edited by Yǒng-róng 永瑢. 4 vols. Facsimile of xylograph. Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú.

Sìtǐ hébì wénjiàn 四體合璧文鑑 / *duin hacin-i hergen kamciha buleku bithe* / *dörben jüil-ün üsüg qabsuruγsan toli bičig* (Mirror with four kinds of script placed together). 1771–1911. Xylograph. Held at Princeton University library with the call number A 161 2733.
The title is also given in Tibetan, the transcription of which is beyond my ability. It has no date. The dates I have given are conjectures based on Chūnhuā 2008c, 210–214.

Sōng-luò-fēng 嵩洛峰. *See* Sung Lo Fung.

Sōng-sēn 松森. *See* Sungsen.

Sung Lo Fung 嵩洛峰. 1867. *Qīngwén jiēzì* 清文接字 / *cing wen jiye dzi bithe* (Connected characters in Qīng writing). Xylograph. Běijīng: Jùzhēn Táng. Held at Harvard-Yenching Library with the call number MA 5806 07 2232.

Sungsen 松森, red. 1892. *Qīndìng Měngwén huìshū* 欽定蒙文彙書 / *mongγol-un üsüg-ün quriyaγsan bičig* (Imperially authorized collection of Mongol). 17 vols. Xylograph. Held at Peking University Library with the call number SB 419.2 3097.
The preface is dated January 24, 1892 (Guāngxù 17/9/25). The Mongol title, which differs from the Chinese, figures only on slips pasted onto the outside cover of the volumes. The book was added to the Peking University catalog in 1930. A slip of paper inserted into vol. 2 says "I correct mistakes in the book as I go along (written by Fēng-kuān)" 書中錯誤隨手改正（奉寬記）.

Suō Yízūn 莎彝尊. *See* Idzun.

"Tàizōng Wén Huángdì shílù". *See* TZoSL-I.

Tàizōng Wén Huángdì shílù, reprinted version. *See* TZoSL-III.

Tàizǔ Gāo Huángdì shílù. See TZuSL-III.

Taylor, Isaac. 1883. *The Alphabet: An Account of the Origin and Development of Letters.* 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.

"Deaths, Arranged in Counties." 1845. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (February): 212–223.

"Advertisements Connected With Literature and the Arts." 1835. *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.* No. 986 (December 12).

Thom, Robert, trans. (1810) 1846. *The Chinese Speaker, Or Extracts From Works Written in the Mandarin Language, as Spoken at Peking.* By Gāo Jìngtíng. Níngbō: Presbytarian Mission Press. Digitized by the National Library of Australia, `http://nla.gov.au/nla.gen-vn2044235`.

——— [Sloth]. 1840. *Esop's Fables.* Translated by Mun Mooy Sheen-Shang. Guǎngzhōu: The Canton Press Office.

Tóngwén yàolǎn 同文要覽 / *tûng wen yolan* (Essential readings in translation). 1644–1746. Incomplete copy held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 滿 41.5512 4.

The sole volume of this work is marked as "first out of two" (*shàng* 上; *šang*), so we can assume it once included a second volume. The copy at Minzu University appears to be a unicum. The book carries no date, but as it appears to be the source for the similar section in *Zēngbǔ wànbǎo quánshū* (1739) 1746, I assume it must have been published before that book appeared.

"Tóngyīn zìhuì" 同音字彙 / *ubaliyambure mudan adanangge be isabuha bithe* (Collection of arranged translated expressions). n.d. Chirograph copied by Sōngyuè Shānfáng 松月山房 in 1895. Held at Dalian Library with the call number M 22-137.

It is possible that the Chinese title is retrospective, featuring on slips glued onto the volumes, in one instance almost glued over the pre-existing Manchu title.

Tóngzhì Sūzhōu Fǔ zhì 同治蘇州府志 (Gazetteer of Sūzhōu prefecture from the Tóngzhì period). (1883) 1991. Vol. 7. Zhōngguó dìfāngzhì jíchéng: Jiāngsū fǔ- xiànzhì jí. Facsimile of xylograph. Nánjīng: Jiāngsū gǔjí Chūbǎnshè.

Trigault, Nicolas [Jīn Nígé 金尼閣]. (1626) 1995. *Xī-Rú ěrmù zī* 西儒耳目資 (The Western classicists' resources for the ears and eyes). Redacted by Lǚ Wéiqí 呂維祺. In collaboration with Wáng Zhēng 王徵. Vol. 259. Xùxiū *Sìkù quánshū*: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè.

TZoSL-I. "Tàizōng Wén Huángdì shílù" 太宗文皇帝實錄 (Veritable records of the Great Ancestor, the Lettered Emperor). 1655–1682. Chirograph. Held at the National Palace Museum Library, Táiběi with the call number 1030000144-158.

TZoSL-II. "Daicing gurun-i taidzung šu hûwangdi-i yargiyan kooli" (Veritable records of the Great Ancestor, the Lettered Emperor). 1682. Microfilm of chirograph held at the First Historical Archives, Běijīng.

TZoSL-III. *Tàizōng Wén Huángdì shílù* 太宗文皇帝實錄 (Veritable records of the Great Ancestor, the Lettered Emperor). (1739) 1986. Vol. 2 of *Qīng shílù.* Facsimile of chirograph. Zhōnghuá Shūjú.

TZuSL-I. "Daicing gurun-i taidzu horonggo enduringge hûwangdi yargiyan kooli" (The veritable records of the Holy Martial Emperor, Supreme Progenitor of the Great Qīng state). 1655–1686. Microfilm. Held at the Fu Ssu-nien Library of Academia Sinica with the call number MF 925.17 6561 under the retrospective title "Mǎnwén shílù" 滿文實錄 (Veritable records in Manchu language) and at the First Historical Archives, Běijīng, without call number, under the retrospective title "Tàizǔ Wǔ huángdì shílù" 太祖武皇帝實錄 (Veritable records of the Martial Emperor, the Supreme Progenitor), based on a chirograph of unclear date possibly held at the Palace Museum Library, Běijīng.

A note by the archivists in the Běijīng copy says that the manuscript was revised in 1686. The title used in reference to Nurhaci dates to 1655. Although the two microfilms appear identical, I have not been able to satisfactorily determine whether they are both made from the same manuscript held in Běijīng, or if one of them is made from a manuscript in Táiběi.

TZuSL-II. "Daicing gurun-i taidzu dergi hûwangdi-i yargiyan kooli" (Veritable records of the Supreme Progenitor and Supreme Emperor of the Great Qīng state). 1686. Microfilm of chirograph held at the First Historical Archives, Běijīng without call number.

TZuSL-III. *Tàizǔ Gāo Huángdì shílù* 太祖高皇帝實錄 (Veritable records of the Great Progenitor, the Lofty Emperor). (1688–1739) 1986. Vol. 1 of *Qīng shílù.* Facsimile of chirograph. Zhōnghuá Shūjú.

[Verbiest, Ferdinand]. (1686) 1696. *Elementa linguæ tartaricæ* (Rudiments of the Tartar language). 2nd edition. Edited by Melchisédech Thévenot. Paris: Thomas Moette. Written in 1677–78.

V.M. 1815. *Lettre écrite de Lintz par un orientaliste allemand au sujet d'un orientaliste françois celèbre par ses traductions, ses rédactions, ses éditions, ses notes, &c., &c.* Translated by F.P.J. Strasbourg: Frédric Offenhertzig.

The authorship of this book is unclear. In one collection, it was grouped together with works definitely by Julius Klaproth and attributed to him (*Catalogue…de M. le Marquis de Ch**** 1827, 177). Another copy was recorded in the nineteenth century to have the following note on the flyleaf: "This brochure is by Mr. Abel de Rémusat. It was printed not in Strasbourg, but in Besançon by Chalandre in early 1815" (Maisonneuve 1872, 36: *Cette brochure est de M. Abel de Rémusat. Elle a été imprimée non pas à Strasbourg, mais à Besançon, chez Chalandre, au commencement de 1815*). At least some of that information is correct, as the municipal library of Besançon holds (MS 1325; not seen) what appears to be the author's holograph (*Catalogue général…Tome XLV* 1915, 133).

Wahl, Samuel Friedrich Günther. 1784. *Allgemeine Geschichte der morgenländischen Sprachen und Litteratur.* Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf.

Walckenaer, Charles Athanase. 1826. "Notice sur Louis-Mathieu Langlès, membre de la société des bibliophiles français." Mélanges publiés par la société des bibliophiles françois. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Walckenaer, Charles Athanase. 1832. “Funérailles de M. Abel-Rémusat.” *Institut Royal de France Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*

Wáng Yìngdiàn 王應電. (1540) 2001. *Yùnyào cūshì* 韻要粗釋 (Rough explanations of the essentials of rhyming). Vol. 189. *Sìkù quánshū* cúnmù cóngshū: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Jǐnán: Qí-Lǔ Shūshè.

Wáng Zhào 王照. 1903. *Chóngkān guānhuà héshēng zìmǔ xùliè jí guānxì lùnshuō* 重刊官話合聲字母序列及關係論說 (Mandarin initials and finals in combined sounds, reprinted with their arrangement and relations discussed and explained). Xylograph. Held at Sun Yat-sen Library, Guǎngzhōu with the call number 27387.

Wèi Yuán 魏源. (1842) 2004. *Shèngwǔjì* 圣武记 (Record of the sacred wars). Vol. 3 of *Wèi Yuán quánjí*. Critical edition. Chángshā: Yuèlù Shūshè.

Wén-qīng 文清. 1849. “Fānyì fù zhù ‘Qiān zì wén’” 繙譯千字文 (*The thousand character essay* translated and annotated). Continued by Wenjehun 文据琿. Chirograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 41 271 3.
The title under which it is listed here is found at the beginning of the main text. The preface gives the shorter title *Fānyì qiānzì wén* 翻譯千字文 (The thousand character essay, translated). The last page has a note saying that it was “copied in the 9th month of Dàoguāng 29 by Wenjehun with the style name Ming Tang” (*doro eldengge-i orin uyuci aniya uyun biyade wenjehun colo ming tang sarkiyame araha*). On the last page, there is a seal with the text *Wén-jū-hún yìn* 文据琿印, which gives us the Chinese form of the copyist’s name. The first page has a seal with the text *qíng cǐ suǒ zhōng* 情此所鐘 and another with text *Hàn Yánmǐ Zhāi* 漢岩弭齋.

Wǔ-gé 舞格. (1730a) 1761. *Jiān Mǎn-, Hànzì Mǎnzhōu tàohuà Qīngwén qǐméng* 兼滿漢字滿洲套語清文啟蒙 (Manchu phrases and Qīng language primer with Manchu and Chinese writing). Expanded 2nd edition. Xylograph. Běijīng. Copy held at Minzu University of China Library.

———. 1730b. *Mǎn-, Hànzì Qīngwén qǐméng* 滿漢字清文啟蒙 (Qīng language primer with Manchu and Chinese writing). Xylograph. Běijīng: Hóngwén Gé. Digitized copy held at Waseda University Library.

———. 1730c. *Qīngwén qǐméng* 清文啟蒙 / *cing wen ki meng bithe* (Qīng language primer). Xylograph. Běijīng: Sānhuái Táng. Digitized copy held at Waseda University Library.

Wylie, Alexander. 1855. *Translation of the “T’sing wan k’e mung,” a Chinese grammar of the Manchu Tartar language; with introductory notes on Manchu literature.* Shanghai: London Mission Press.

Xī-lín 錫麟. n.d. “Jiǎngyīn quánzhù” 講音全註 (Expounded sounds comprehensively annotated). Chirograph. Held at Dalian Library with the call number M 22-128.

Xīn-zhù 新柱. (1744) 2004. *Fúzhōu zhùfáng zhì* 福州驻防志 (Gazetteer of the Fúzhōu garrison). Edited by Fújiàn Shěng Shǎoshù Mínzú Gǔjí Cóngshū Biānwěihuì 福建省少数民族古籍丛书编委会. 7–176. Fújiàn Shěng shǎoshù mínzú gǔjí cóngshū: Mǎnzú juàn. Typeset edition. Běijīng: Mínzú Chūbǎnshè.

Xióng Shìbó 熊士伯. 1709. *Děngqiè yuánshēng* 等切元聲 (The fundamental sounds, spelled and arranged in grades). 4 vols. Xylograph. Shàngyǒu Táng. Held at National Taiwan Normal University Library with the call number A 940 680 1.

Xú Bǎoguāng 徐葆光. (1721) 1972. *Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù* 中山傳信錄 (Report from Ryūkyū). Typeset edition with facsimiles of xylographed illustrations. 2 vols. Táiběi: Táiwān Yínháng.

Xú Jiàn 徐鑑. (1817) 1995. *Yīnfū* 音泭 (The sound raft). Vol. 258. Xùxiū *Sìkù quánshū*: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè.

Yè Bǐngjìng 葉秉敬. (1605) 1995. *Yùnbiǎo* 韻表 (Rhyme charts). Vol. 255. Xùxiū *Sìkù quánshū*: jīngbù. Facsimile of xylograph. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Gǔjí Chūbǎnshè.

Yí-xīng 宜興. 1786a. *Qīngwén bǔhuì* 清文補彙 / *manju gisun be niyeceme isabuha bithe* (Manchu collected, supplemented). 8 vols. Xylograph. Copy held at Capital Library, Běijīng with the call number 乙・一 46.
It has no cover page and appears to have been privately published. The Capital Library copy has a red seal on a page (1b) of the preface, which seems to say that it was sold at "Wú Zhèngyù's shop" (*Wú Zhèngyù hào* 吳正裕號).

———. (1786b) 1802. *Qīngwén bǔhuì* 清文補彙 / *manju gisun be niyeceme isabuha bithe* (Manchu collected, supplemented). 2nd, revised edition. Edited by Fǎ-kè-jīng-é 法克精額. 8 vols. Xylograph. Digitized copy held at Waseda University Library.
Vol. 8 of this edition has an afterword by Fǎ-kè-jīng-é, who was the author's nephew. The main body shows numerous differences with the original edition. Another copy of the same edition is found at Minzu University of China Library with the call number 41.25 10. The edition has no cover page and appears to have been privately published.

Yǒng-guì 永貴. 1736–1771. *"Qīngwén jiàn" wài xīnyǔ* 清文鑑外新語 (New words that were not in *Manju gisun-i buleku bithe* [Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language]). Xylograph. Held at Minzu University of China Library.
The copy at Minzu University might be the only one extant. The dates are conjectural, the work itself is undated.

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