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From Empire to Nation:
The Politics of Language in Manchuria (1890-1911)

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Abstract

This thesis explores the issues of language and power in the Qing Empire's (1644-1911) northeastern borderlands within the larger context of political reforms in late Qing China between 1890 and 1911. To the present, much research on the history of language in late Qing China continues to fall within the framework of national language. Drawing on Manchu and Chinese sources, this thesis argues that the Qing emperors devised a multilingual regime to recreate the imperial polyglot reality and to rule a purposefully diverse but unifying empire. From the seventeenth century, the Qing emperors maintained the special Manchu-Mongol relations by adopting Manchu and Mongolian as the two official languages, restricting the influence of Chinese, and promoting Tibetan in a religious context in the Jirim League. From the 1890s, the Jirim League witnessed a language contest between Manchu, Mongol, Chinese, Japanese and Russian powers which strove to legitimize and maintain their control over the Jirim Mongols. Under the influence of European and Japanese language ideologies, the Qing Empire fostered the learning of Chinese in order to recreate the Jirim Mongols as modern nationals in an integrated China under a constitutional monarchy. Meanwhile, the Qing Empire preserved Manchu and Mongolian, which demonstrated the Manchu characteristic of the constitutional monarchy in a wave of Chinese nationalism. However, the revised language regime undermined the Jirim Mongols' power and challenged their special position in the traditional Manchu-Mongol relations, which caused disunity and disorder in the borderlands.

This thesis challenges the notion of language reform as a linear progress towards Chinese national monolingualism. It demonstrates the political and ritual role of Manchu and Mongolian beyond their communicative and documentary functions, and unfolds the power of language pluralism in Chinese nationalist discourse from a non-Chinese and peripheral

perspective. By investigating how ethnic, national, and imperialist powers interacted with one another, this thesis allows us to understand the integration of Manchuria into modern China, East Asia, and the world from a different perspective.

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Note on Transcription, Names, and Toponyms

Chinese terms and names are transcribed according to the pinyin system, with the exception of the names which have entered into common usage by another romanization, e.g., Sun Yat-sen, and the names of authors living in and publications in Taiwan, which are romanized with Wade-Giles. Manchu terms and names are transcribed according to the Möllendorff system, as explicated in *A Manchu Grammar* (1892). Christopher Atwood's system (2002: xv-xviii) is used for phonetically rendering Mongolian terms and names. In all instances where two transliterations are provided in parentheses, the first is Manchu, the second Chinese. A comma is added between original texts and their English translations.

Chinese and Japanese names are transcribed in the traditional order: family name first. As for Manchu and Mongolian names, in conventional usage, clan names were not a part of the personal name. Therefore, only personal names are given, e.g., Nurhaci instead of Aisin Gioro Nurhaci. Manchu and Mongolian names are transcribed from their original forms and their Chinese forms will be given in brackets, e.g., Erdeni (額爾德尼). Where the Manchu name is uncertain because it is derived from its form in Chinese characters, which usually happened in the late Qing period, the name is written in pinyin followed by the Manchu and Chinese forms in brackets, e.g. Xiliang (Siliyang 錫良). The pinyin form for these names is used throughout the dissertation, e.g., Xiliang, because they are better known for this form of their names. The birth and death years are given following the names unless unknown. The Qing emperors are referred to by their reign titles, e.g., the Yongzheng emperor, with the exception of Nurhaci and Hong Taiji whose personal names are more commonly used than their titles. A list of the Qing emperors' names, titles, birth and death years, and reigning periods is provided before the text.

In the text, the names of the Jirim banners are transcribed from their original forms in Mongolian, e.g., Gorlos instead of Guo'erluosi. But when these names are presented in Chinese source in citations, they are romanized according to the pinyin system, e.g., Zhelimu instead of Jirim. For easier reading, Manchu toponyms are usually written using pinyin with Manchu names and Chinese characters in brackets, e.g., Jilin (Girin Ula 吉林), with the

exception of the terms that are commonly used in the English-language academic literature, e.g., Mukden (盛京).

In the text, traditional Chinese characters are given in brackets following Chinese names, toponyms, institutions, official titles, and book titles as shown in the original source, e.g., Hong Chengchou (洪承疇), with the exception of the names of authors living in and publications in mainland China, which are written in simplified Chinese characters, e.g., Zhao Yuntian (赵云田). Citations use both traditional and simplified Chinese characters as shown in the original source.

The term "Manchuria" is used to refer to the area that was bordered by Siberia on the north, by the Greater and Lesser Khinggan ranges on the west, by the Great Wall on the south, and by the Changbai Mountains (長白山) on the east. The term "Manchukuo (滿洲國)" is used to describe the state established by Japan in 1932 and abolished in 1945. The term "the Three Eastern Provinces (東三省)," which comprises three provinces of Fengtian (奉天), Jilin (吉林), and Heilongjiang (黑龍江), is used to refer to the civil government established in the region of Manchuria in 1907.

Qing Reign Periods

Name	Reign Title	Reign Period
Nurhaci 努爾哈赤 (1559-1626)	Tianming 天命 *Abkai fulingga*	1616-1626
Hong Taiji 皇太極 (1592-1643)	Tiancong 天聰 *Abkai sure*	1627-1635
	Chongde 崇德 *Wesihun erdemungge*	1636-1643
Fulin 福臨 (1638-1661)	Shunzhi 順治 *Ijishūn dasan*	1644-1661
Hiowanyei 玄燁 (1654-1722)	Kangxi 康熙 *Elhe taifin*	1662-1722
Injen 胤禛 (1678-1735)	Yongzheng 雍正 *Hūwaliyasun tob*	1723-1735
Hungli 弘曆 (1711-1799)	Qianlong 乾隆 *Abkai wehiyehe*	1736-1795
Yongyan 顒琰 (1760-1820)	Jiaqing 嘉慶 *Saicungga fengšen*	1796-1820
Minning 旻寧 (1782-1850)	Daoguang 道光 *Doro eldengge*	1821-1850
Yiju 奕詝 (1831-1861)	Xianfeng 咸豐 *Gubci elgiyengge*	1851-1861
Dzaišun 載淳 (1856-1875)	Tongzhi 同治 *Yooningga dasan*	1862-1874
Dzaitiyan 載湉 (1871-1908)	Guangxu 光緒 *Badarangga doro*	1875-1908
Pui 溥儀 (1906-1967)	Xuantong 宣統 *Gehungge yoso*	1909-1911

Introduction

In this dissertation, I explore the issues of language and power in Manchuria within the larger context of political reforms in late Qing China between 1890 and 1911. I address a major theme in the modern histories of many Eurasian empires, the role of language and literacy in maintaining universal reign over disparate peoples and territories in a multi-ethnic empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This dissertation focuses on the Jirim League (哲里木盟), a Mongolian league under the Manchurian jurisdiction in the Qing Empire which occupied what is now Tongliao (通遼) in Inner Mongolia. The Jirim Mongols inhabited the most eastern part of Mongolia. They formed a military alliance with the Manchus in the early seventeenth century and contributed to early Qing campaigns in Mongolia and China. Manchu and Mongolian were the two official languages in the League from then onwards. To maintain the distinctiveness of the Mongols under Manchu reign, Qing emperors "closed off (封禁)" Manchuria and prevented the influence of Han Chinese culture. They prohibited the Mongols from using the Chinese language and promoted Tibetan learning in Tibetan Buddhist temples. In the late nineteenth century, most Jirim Mongols read neither Mongolian nor Chinese. They spoke Mongolian in everyday life and learnt Tibetan in lama temples.

From the 1890s onwards, especially after the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the Jirim League became an intersection of the Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian powers. An increasing number of Chinese, Japanese, and Russian speakers flooded in to Manchuria, which created language barriers between local officials, Mongol nobles and ordinary people, Han Chinese settlers, and Japanese and Russian visitors. At the same time, under the influence of European and Japanese language ideologies, Chinese intellectuals sought to promote mass literacy in Chinese. In a wave of language, educational, and political reforms, the Qing Empire ceased the close-off policy and lifted the ban on Chinese immigration and the use of Chinese in Manchuria. To integrate Manchuria into a united Qing China under Manchu constitutional

monarchy, the Qing government transformed the Manchurian military division into a governor general – provincial governor system in 1907. Xiliang (Siliyang 錫良 1853–1917), Governor General of the Three Eastern Provinces, officially promoted the learning of Chinese in the Jirim League in 1909. Nevertheless, under the language regime devised by Xiliang, the promotion of Chinese intertwined with the maintaining of the Manchu and Mongolian languages.

In discussing the politics of language in the Jirim League, which involved the Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian powers between 1890 and 1911, I address the following questions in this dissertation. How did the Qing ideology of language pluralism change in the context of reforms in the late Qing period? How did national, ethnic, and imperial powers engage in devising and revising the language regime in Manchuria? How did late Qing language reform in turn transform power relations in Manchuria, and in this context, how did Qing officials, intellectuals, and elites reimagine Qing China under Manchu reign and reshape Jirim people's understanding of China, the Qing Empire, and the world?

Literature Review

The National Framework in the Study of Language

The role of language as a political tool to identify territory and nation emerged very recently, when politicians and intellectuals understood western European societies, particularly England and France, as ideal models for nation-states.[1] In the era of empire, languages did not have much national content and, as Karen Barkey states, "people switched between languages and interacted across communities with relative ease."[2] Scripts under empire were less fixed than those in the national era. In the Ottoman Empire, for example, Turkish was written in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Greek scripts.[3] In a multi-ethnic

[1] Stephen Barbour, "Nationalism, Language, Europe," in *Language and Nationalism in Europe*, eds., Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14-5. Tomasz Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8-10.
[2] Karen Barkey, "Thinking about Consequences of Empire," in *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-building: the Soviet Union and Russian, Ottoman and Habsburg Empires*, eds., Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colo.: Westview press, 1997), 103.
[3] Lars Johanson, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe: The Ottoman Empire," in *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe: A Comprehensive Guide*, eds. Bernd Kortmann and Johan van der Auwera (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 731.

empire, languages more often signified users' professions, religions, and classes rather than identifying a person with a nationality or a country with a territory.

To the present, however, much research on the history of language in late Qing China continues to fall within the framework of national language movement. Li Jinxi (黎錦熙) and Ni Haishu (倪海曙) historicize the romanization of Chinese in the late Qing period as the initial stage of national language movement in China.[4] John DeFrancis studies the debates on the definition of standard pronunciation, modern grammar, and script reform within the larger context of Chinese nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[5] Federico Masini studies how Chinese contact with the West and Japan in the late nineteenth century led the evolution of Chinese lexicon on a path towards a national language.[6] Lydia Liu's work links Chinese linguistic interpretations, adaptations, translations, and rejections of the world linguistic system with the concepts of national identity between 1850 and 1950 in China.[7] Elizabeth Kaske explores the culture of *diglossia* within the politics of language in the context of educational reform between 1895 and 1919, which demonstrates the complexity of Chinese language reform from the perspective of the classical-vernacular dichotomy.[8] Kaske's study focuses on various forms of the Chinese language and depicts a complex linguistic scene in a national and rather monolingual setting.

Charles Ferguson defines *diglossia* as patterns of hierarchical structured multilingualism in a society.[9] Ferguson studies *diglossia* through multiple varieties of a language, such as the high form of Arabic for the learned and low form of Arabic as regional dialects for the common people.[10] A *diglossic* situation can be more complicated in a multilingual context of an empire than Kaske describes in her work. Issues of language and power in a polyglot empire involve not only the high and low forms of one certain language but also various

[4] Ni Haishu 倪海曙, *Qingmo hanyu pinyin yundong biannianshi* 清末汉语拼音运动编年史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1959). Li Jinxi 黎錦熙, *Guoyu yundong shigang* 國語運動史綱 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934).
[5] John DeFrancis, *Nationalism and Language Reform in China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950).
[6] Federico Masini, "The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series* no. 6 (1993): 1-295.
[7] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-China, 1900-1937* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995).
[8] Elizabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008).
[9] Charles Ferguson, "Diglossia," *Word* 15 (1959), 336.
[10] Ferguson, "Diglossia," 325-40.

languages including both the dominant one and the others. The multilingual monarchy of an empire hierarchically structured various languages in a deliberately devised language regime so as to maintain its power over peoples who had disparate ethnicities, classes, religions, knowledge, and professions. A certain parallel can be drawn between Eurasian empires. For example, the Ottoman literati used Ottoman Turkish, a literary language mixing with Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, when in official and literary writings.[11] Meanwhile, the Ottoman monarchy allowed local people to use their native languages in borderlands.[12] Language reform in late Qing China was not only an evolution of spoken and written Chinese but also a reorientation of multilingual Manchu emperorship's conception of the hierarchy of languages.

The Politics of Qing Multilingualism

The Manchus entered China south of the Great Wall in 1644. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Qing troops consolidated the Inner Asian frontiers by fixing the border with Russia and incorporating the Mongolian steppe, the Tibetan plateau, the Tarim Basin (today's southern Xinjiang), and Dzungaria (today's northern Xinjiang) into the Qing Empire. Such military conquests turned the Manchu state into a pluralistic and multi-ethnic empire and transformed Manchu rulership from the Khan of the Manchus to universal emperorship over diverse peoples and territories. While Qing territories expanded to Inner Asia, one major problem Qing emperors encountered was how to establish their rulership over peoples who possessed distinct ethnic, cultural, religious, and political traditions. As Evelyn Rawski notes, "the key to Qing achievement lay in its ability to implement flexible culturally specific policies aimed at the major non-Han peoples inhabiting the Inner Asian peripheries in the empire."[13]

Similar to the Ottoman, Habsburg, and Russian Empires, multilingualism was at the centre of the Qing's language policy. The Qing rulers encouraged peoples speaking a variety of languages to maintain their distinctive linguistic features. This policy created a large number of non-Chinese documents during the Qing dynasty. Improved access to these

[11] Johanson, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe: The Ottoman Empire," 731.
[12] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 32.
[13] Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 7.

materials has stimulated recent scholarship on the pluralistic characteristics of the Qing Empire and Manchu emperor's statecraft of balancing the diversity and unity of multiple groups in an integrated empire. After Beatrice Bartlett investigated the Grand Council's archival inventories of Manchu materials,[14] many scholars paid attention to documents held in national and local archives, libraries, museums, academic institutions in Mainland China, Taipei, Japan, Europe, and the U.S.[15] Based on these materials, historians who constitute "the New Qing History School," as Joanna Waley-Cohen defines it, have reinterpreted the history of the Manchus and the multicultural empire under Manchu reign.[16] These studies, and many on-going works in the forms of theses, papers, and conference proceedings, have demonstrated the archival value of non-Chinese languages for the study of Qing history, particularly for rewriting the history of Qing borderlands, including Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet.[17]

Nevertheless, these languages were not only documentary mediums but also a political tool adopted by Qing emperors to maintain Manchu emperorship. A variety of research, although some does not focus on the history of language, has proved the political function of non-Chinese languages in the Qing Empire. Studies on the evolution of the Manchu language in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflect Qing emperors' political aspirations for establishing and expanding the Manchu power. For example, Pamela Kyle Crossley and Rawski note that Manchu served as a security language in the early Qing court when Manchu emperors and ministers discussed confidential issues.[18] Despite disagreement on the identity of bannermen, scholars suggest that the Manchu language played a pivotal role in constructing and maintaining bannermen's identity.[19] Nicola Di Cosmo argues that the ritual Manchu language used in shamanic ceremonies was "a tool more of rulership than of daily

[14] Beatrice S. Bartlett, "Books of Revelations: The Importance of the Manchu Language Archival Record Books for Research on Ch'ing History," *Late Imperial China* 6, no.2 (1985): 25-36.
[15] Mark Elliot, "The Manchu-Language Archives of the Qing Dynasty and the Origins of the Palace Memorial System," *Late Imperial China* 22, no. 1 (2001): 1-70.
[16] Joanna Waley-Cohen, "The New Qing History," *Radical History Review* 88, no.1 (2004): 193-206.
[17] Mark Elliot, "Frontier Stories: Periphery as Center in Qing History," *Frontiers of History in China* 9, no. 3 (2014): 349-51.
[18] Pamela Kyle Crossley and S. Rawski Evelyn, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no.1 (1993): 70-5.
[19] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 12-14. Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manchu Education," in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, eds. Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994), 353-5.

life" among bannermen at court and throughout the empire.[20] As shown in studies of the Lifanyuan's (tulergi golo be dasara jurgan 理藩院, the Court for the Administration of the Outer Provinces) role in governing Inner Asian affairs, the Lifanyuan adopted Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and sometimes Uighur and Arabic as official languages, through which the Qing Empire treated the peoples inhabiting peripheries as equal imperial subjects with Han Chinese.[21] Research on the great variety of Qing polyglot publications and monuments demonstrates Qing emperors' political ambition, in particular the Qianlong emperor's political ambition for building the all-encompassing characteristic of Manchu rule.[22] Multiple works illustrate that Manchu emperors maintained their rule over the Mongols and Tibetans in the spiritual realm by producing a multitude of religious literature written in Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan.[23]

These studies discuss the role of language so as to depict Manchu rulership over particular groups or in particular realms. However, language pluralism, as a major characteristic of the multi-cultural Qing Empire, is an independent research topic and deserves more attention. The Qing Empire's linguistic practice in a multi-cultural setting not only sustained and demonstrated Manchu emperorship over various peoples but was also an essential part of the exercise of Manchu power. Whilst the formation of the Qing Empire's multilingual policy was based on the polyglot reality that the conquest generation of Manchu emperors encountered, the policy maintained, appropriated, and even transformed the polyglot reality under Manchu reign. Qing multilingualism was not a natural and passive response to the multilingual environment. Instead, Qing emperors deliberately devised a language regime to organize and hierarchize various languages in correlation to ethnicity, religion, class, culture, politics, military, and foreign relations. This dissertation will focus on

[20] Nicola Di Cosmo, "Manchu Shamanic Ceremonies at the Qing Court," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. Mcdermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 387.
[21] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 1.
[22] Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 429-42.
[23] Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism, and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). Millward et al., *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004).

the language regime that the Qing Empire devised and revised in its final years of its existence so as to balance the segmentation and integration of languages under Manchu reign.

The Power of Manchu and Multilingualism in the Late Qing Period

While much attention has been drawn to Qing multilingualism prior to the 1800s, few scholars have studied the history of language pluralism in the late Qing period. It is widely believed that the Manchu language declined from the late Qianlong reign, as many bannermen lost the ability to speak, read, and write Manchu properly. Scholars note many such examples in the Veritable Records from the mid-eighteenth century. Frequently cited examples include that some Manchu bannermen failed to respond to emperors at court in proper Manchu and that Qing emperors reiterated the importance of Manchu learning.[24] Ye Gaoshu's (業高樹) study on Qing Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Mongolian translation examinations shows that the Qing court had to cancel several examinations in the nineteenth century due to the lack of qualified candidates.[25] As a consequence, the writing of late Qing history is more often based on Chinese-language archives. Moreover, the rise of Chinese nationalism and the emergence of nascent Chinese national language direct much scholarly attention to Chinese writing and its relation with nationalist movements as shown in DeFrancis, Kaske, Benjamin Elman, and Paul Bailey's works.[26] As Prasenjit Duara notes, "historical consciousness in modern society has been overwhelmingly framed by nation-state,"[27] and this undermines the importance of Manchu and other non-Chinese languages.

However, recent studies, which have drawn attention to the use of Manchu in various fields in the late Qing period, suggest a different conclusion. Bartlett notes that "Manchu did not substantially decline during the nineteenth century" and even had advantages over Chinese in some aspects, such as frontier affairs.[28] Crossley and Rawski argue that some

[24] Mark C. Elliot, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 294-301. Crossley, "Manchu Education," 367.
[25] Ye Gaoshu 葉高樹, "Qingchao de fanyi kaoshi zhidu 清朝的翻譯考試制度," *Taiwan shida lishi xuebao* 台灣師大歷史學報 49 (2013): 47-136.
[26] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education*. Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990). Benjamin Elman, *Civil Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013). DeFrancis, *Nationalism and Language Reform in China*.
[27] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995), 3.
[28] Bartlett, "Books of Revelations," 30, 32.

bannermen, civilian literati, and westerners maintained Manchu language skills in the nineteenth century, which remained fundamental to research on late Qing history.[29] Giovanni Stary's work on Manchu journalism in the late Qing and early republican periods demonstrates that Manchu and Sibe, a language derived from Manchu, were still in use in newspapers in Manchuria and Xinjiang in the early twentieth century.[30] Kanda Nobuo's study on the archives left by the Manchu Bordered Red Banner Office demonstrates that documents related to banner affairs were solely written in Manchu until 1908.[31] Murata Yujiro's study shows the wide use of Manchu as "national language" in diplomacy in the late Qing period.[32] Mårten Söderblom Saarela discusses the linguistic value of the Manchu alphabetical system for Chinese linguists who aimed at Romanizing the Chinese language in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[33] Qu Liusheng's (屈六生) concise account of newly translated Manchu terms in *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* (1909) reflects a short yet significant revival of Manchu at the beginning of the collapse of the Qing dynasty, although many translations in the book were a tentative try.[34]

These studies suggest that, similar to the evolution of Manchu in the early Qing period that was accompanied by the establishment and extension of Manchu power, the Manchu language in the late Qing period cannot be studied purely as a linguistic phenomenon. Similar to the role of Latin in Europe, which remained important after ceasing to be a widely spoken language, Manchu's role as a natural language should not obscure another function as a political and artificial language of the banner system, universal Manchu emperorship, and the Qing Empire. While the Manchu language's communicative function declined in Chinese provinces in the late Qing period, we may question whether Manchu's other functions withered as well, and if not, how Manchu existed and functioned for other purposes and as

[29] Crossley and Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu language in Ch'ing History," 102.
[30] Giovanni Stary, "Manchu Journals and Newspapers: Some Bibliographical Notes," in *Proceedings of the XXVIIIth Permanent Altaistic Conference*, ed. Giovanni Stary (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 217-32.
[31] Kanda Nobuo, *The Bordered Red Banner Archives in the Toyo Bunko* (Tokyo: The Tokyo Bunko, 2001).
[32] Murata Yujiro, "The Late Qing 'National Language' Issue and Monolingual Systems: Focusing on Political Diplomacy," *Chinese Studies in History* 49, no.3 (2016): 108-25.
[33] Mårten Söderblom Saarela, "The Manchu Script and Information Management: Some Aspects of Qing China's Great Encounter with Alphabetic Literacy," in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*, ed. Benjamin Elman (Leiden, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2014), 172, 192.
[34] Qu Liusheng 屈六生, "Lun qingmo manyu de fazhan – jianping manmenghan sanhe jiaokeshu 论清末满语的发展——兼评《满蒙汉三合教科书》," *Manyu yanjiu* 满语研究, no.2 (2004): 60-5.

other mediums. We may also question whether the imperial polyglot system, in which Manchu constituted an important but not the only part, collapsed or transformed into other forms, and whether the borderlands had the same experience as Chinese provinces.

Language Pluralism in Manchuria

As for the history of language pluralism in Manchuria, scholars have focused on the periods before 1800 and after 1911. Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Manchu emperors ritualized and maintained Manchuria as the sacred homeland of the Manchus and the distinctive origin of the Qing Empire through producing Manchu-language literature, such as the *Manchu Veritable Records* (*Manju-i yargiyan kooli* 滿洲實錄), *Ode to Mukden* (*Mukden-i fujurun bithe* 盛京賦), and *Researches on Manchu Origins* (*Manjusai da sekiyen-i kimcin* 滿洲源流考).[35] Besides, scholars have discussed how early Qing emperors maintained the linguistic purity of Manchuria. For example, Manchu emperors discouraged the Manchus to adapt to the Chinese style when naming themselves.[36] Manchu emperors institutionalized the use of Mongolian in official writing, legal documents, religious practice, and literary productions.[37]

After this, scholars overlooked the late Qing and early republican period, electing to focus instead on Manchukuo. Li Narangoa and Junko Agnew study language pluralism created by the Japanese imperial power in Manchukuo and its implications for making local people's identity in Manchukuo, the Mongol state, and the Japanese Empire.[38] Moreover, multiple studies have been done on various groups' struggling for power in Manchuria based on sources in Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, and Russian.[39]

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[35] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987): 761-83. Mark Elliot, "The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 3 (2000): 607-19.

[36] Robert Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970), 8.

[37] Dorothea Heuschert, "Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols," *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998): 311. Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Making Mongols," in *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, eds. Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006), 71-3.

[38] Li Narangoa, "Educating Mongols and Making 'Citizens' of Manchukuo," *Inner Asia* 3 (2001): 101-126. Junko Agnew, "The Politics of Language in Manchukuo: Hinata Nobuo and Gu Ding," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2013): 171-88.

[39] Mariko Asano Tamanoi ed., *Crossed Histories: Manchuria in the Age of Empire* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i press, 2005). Shao Dan, "Ethnicity in Empire and Nation: Manchus, Manzhouguo, and Manchuria (1911-1952)" (PhD diss., University of California, 2002). Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

Few studies have explored the history of language pluralism in the late Qing period in Manchuria, because it is believed that Manchuria was mostly Sinicized in terms of administration, language, culture, population, and lifestyle. More usually, scholars study the Qing Empire's language policy in Manchuria in the early twentieth century within the framework of national language and consider the contest between various languages as a straight line of progress towards Chinese national language education.[40]

However, this was not the entire truth in Manchuria. As Owen Lattimore points out, many Mongols living in Manchuria maintained their ancestral language and were unable to speak and read Chinese in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[41] Liu Yanchen (刘彦辰), Wang Fenglei (王风雷), Li Qinpu (李勤璞), and Lin Shih-hsuan's (林士鉉) articles on the Qing Empire's language policy in education in Manchuria show that the empire maintained the pluralistic linguistic feature in Manchuria for governing the Mongols and for handling foreign affairs with Russia.[42] But more work can be done. In this dissertation, I will focus on the history of language pluralism in the Manchurian setting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is not only because the gap between the early Qing Empire and the Japanese Empire needs to be bridged but also for the reason that this period demonstrates the fluidity of various imperial, national, and ethnic powers from within and without. This is a vital transition period for making the modern history of Manchuria.

Translating the Qing Empire

[40] Yu Fengchun 于逢春 and Liu Min 刘民, "Wanqing zhengfu dui mengguzu de guoyu jiaoyu zhengce 晚清政府对蒙古族的国语教育政策," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中国边疆史地研究 18, no. 2 (2008): 67-77. Cai Fenglin 蔡风林, "Qingmo mengguzu jiaoyu 清末蒙古族教育," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 3 (1992): 82-5. Yu Fengchun 于逢春, *Zhongguo guomin guojia gouzhu yu guomin tonghe zhi lichen – yi' ershi shiji shangbanye dongbei bianjiang minzu guomin jiaoyu weizhu* 中国国民国家构筑与国民统和之历程——以 20 世纪上半叶东北边疆民族国民教育为主 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006).

[41] Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols in Manchuria* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935), 201.

[42] Liu Yanchen 刘彦辰, "Qingmo qiren xinshi xuetang ji manwen jiaoyu 清末旗人新式学堂及满文教育," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 19, no. 2 (2009): 105-6. Wang Fenglei 王风雷, "Fengtian baqi manmengwen zhongxuetang chutan 奉天八旗满蒙文中学堂初探," *Neimenggu shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 内蒙古师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版） 39, no. 1 (2010): 120. Lin Qinpu 李勤璞, "Manmenghan sanwen hebi jiaokeshu fanyi banxing kao shang 《满蒙汉三文合璧教科书》翻译颁行考（上）" *Manyu yanjiu* 58, no. 1 (2014): 38-42. "Manmenghan sanwen hebi jiaokeshu fanyi banxing kao xia 《满蒙汉三文合璧教科书》翻译颁行考（下）" *Manyu yanjiu* 59, no. 2 (2014), 67-74. Lin Shih-hsuan 林士鉉, "Manmenghan hebi jiaokeshu yu qingmo menggu jiaoyu gaige chutan 滿蒙漢合璧教科書與清末蒙古教育改革初探," *Furen lishi xuebao* 輔仁歷史學報 32 (2014): 123-74.

In the polyglot Qing Empire, Manchu emperors maintained their rule over linguistically diverse populations through the translation and production of *kamcime* (合璧, simultaneous) writing in official, religious, literary, and diplomatic contexts. Crossley defines Qing emperorship in terms of the pluralistic and simultaneous feature of the language environment in the empire. As Crossley notes "The Qing emperorship was in its expression what I have called 'simultaneous' (in Chinese, *hebi*, 合璧, in Manchu *kamcime*). That is its edicts, its diaries and its monuments were deliberately designed … as simultaneous expressions in multiple cultural frames."[43]

For a long time, it is generally believed that Manchu-language documents were simply duplication of the Chinese counterparts, despite the Qing Empire's *kamcime* policy. However, as Crossley and Rawski suggest, "it is a mistake … before examining both or all versions, to assume that any translation wholly corresponds to its original."[44] Crossley and Rawski's argument that Manchu was a security language between Manchu emperors and ministers suggests that Chinese did not always play a role in handling confidential affairs.[45] Mark Elliot's study on multiple language versions of the inscriptions in Falun si (法輪寺) proves important textual differences between Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian, which suggests that "it would be rather too generous to acknowledge them as mirror reflections of an identical proto-text, in the usual Western sense of translation."[46] By examining textual variance between the inscriptions in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan that recorded Qing military achievements in the borderlands, Peter Perdue argues that the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors intentionally created deliberately different texts in order to address various audiences and announced Manchu authority in varied ways.[47] Besides, many discussions have been made on the translation and meaning of *gurun* in various contexts such as "nation," "political federation," and "ethnic collectiveness."[48]

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[43] Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: history of Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1999), 11.
[44] Crossley and Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," 69.
[45] Ibid., 64, 70-1, 100.
[46] Mark Elliot, "Turning a Phase: Translation in the Early Qing Through a Temple Inscription of 1645," *Aetas Manjuric*a 3 (1992): 28.
[47] Perdue, *China Marches the West*, 435.
[48] Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formation of the Manchu Heritage," 767. Mark Elliot, "Manchu (Re)Definitions of the Nation in the Early Qing," *Indiana East Asian Working Paper Series on Language and Politics in Modern China:*

These studies show that parallel texts in *kamcime* writing did not necessarily express the same meaning. Qing emperors, imperial writers, and official translators allowed and sometimes favoured polyglot texts that contained subtly different information so as to address different groups. Translation as political rule in a polyglot context was a shared reality in many early modern Eurasian empires. Michaela Wolf's study provides an example of such a study in the context of the multilingual Habsburg Empire. Wolf argues that translation practice contributed to the construction of "polyculturalism" in the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, in which "the battle for language was always a weapon in the battle for political power."[49] In these cases, translation was not a scientific or technical task accomplished by a linguistic technician but a political struggle between various powers.

Studying translation as a manifestation and production of power relations instead of a technical duplication of texts in different languages allows us to examine the nature of Qing *kamcime* writing within Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework of language and power. Bourdieu rejects the methodology that analyses linguistic expressions in isolation from specific social-historical contexts, which he calls "idealization" or "*fictio juris*."[50] Bourdieu undertakes a critique of Saussure and Chomsky's linguistic theories, which "focus exclusively on the internal constitution of a text or a corpus of texts, and hence ignore the social-historical conditions of the production and reception of texts."[51] Bourdieu argues that language is a social-historical phenomenon instead of an autonomous and homogenous object, which can be understood as a product of the relation between a set of "dispositions" that orient peoples' behaviours, which Bourdieu calls "linguistic habitus," and the social contexts, which Bourdieu calls "linguistic market" or "field."[52] The translation of parallel texts in *kamcime* writing was such a process that was influenced by various powers' political aspirations and the power structure in the Qing Empire. The production of each text was not a

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Paper 7 (1996) eds., Jeffrey Wasserstrom and Sue Tuohy, 74. Gang Zhao, "Reinventing China: Imperial Qing Ideology and the Rise of Modern Chinese National Identity in the Early Twentieth Century," *Modern China* 32, no. 1 (2006): 6-10.

[49] Michaela Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting, 1848-1918*, trans Kate Surge (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2015), 36.

[50] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), 44.

[51] John B. Thompson, "Editor's Introduction," in *Language and Symbolic Power*, 4.

[52] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 33-65.

synchronized operation but relatively independent procedures which were subsequently integrated into a *kamcime* writing.

While the aforementioned studies of Crossley, Elliot, and Perdue point out textual variance in Qing *kamcime* writing, more research can be done on issues of translation and power in the polyglot Qing Empire. Rather than asking what the differences between various texts are, we may ask how they were different, why they were different, who made them different, what the translators' purposes were, and how these differences appropriated and adapted worldviews, influenced Qing politics and diplomacy, and transformed our understanding of ethnicity, state, and empire.[53] We may also wonder whether there was any difference in translation practice between the early and late Qing periods, and if there were, how these differences correlated with the exercise of power in the context of reforms in the late Qing period. This dissertation will explore these questions in examining the origin and translation of a Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese trilingual textbook published in 1909.

Main Argument

As the Manchu reign extended over newly conquered territories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Manchu emperors incorporated and hierarchized multiple languages within a deliberately devised language regime. Although the regime was built upon the polyglot reality of the Qing Empire, the regime was not an automatic or passive response to the pluralistic characteristic of the Qing Empire's language environment. I argue that the language regime devised by Qing emperors maintained, appropriated, and transformed the polyglot reality so as to demonstrate and sustain Manchu reign over peoples with various ethnic origins, particularly those inhabiting the peripheries in the Qing Empire. The conceptual framework of the Qing Empire's language regime is composed of two facets. The Qing Empire promoted the diversity of languages at the lower level so as to demonstrate the coexistence of various peoples as equally important imperial subjects. Meanwhile, the translation and production of *kamcime* texts within the upper-level government reduced a potential threat of disunity and disorder and maintained the integrity of the empire under

[53] Mark Elliot, "Manchu Sources and the Problem of Translation," Conference paper for Manchu in Global History: A Research Language for Qing Historians (University of Göttingen, 20 September 2017), 12, 18, 23, 24.

universal Manchu emperorship. Through the two-folded language regime, Manchu emperors resolved two challenging ideas: segmentation and integration in an empire of difference.

Secondly, I argue that in a multilingual environment like this, the occasions when, where, and why a language is used is more important than the number of its users. Manchu and Mongolian remained the two official languages of the Jirim League until the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912, which manifested and maintained the close Manchu-Mongol relations in the Qing Empire. Manchu emperors prevented the Jirim Mongols from learning Chinese in order to maintain Mongols' distinctiveness in nomadism, the military, and culture. Emperors promoted Tibetan learning so as to demonstrate Qing patronage of Tibetan Buddhism and to maintain Manchu reign over the Mongols in the spiritual realm. From an empire-wide perspective, although Chinese language users outnumbered those who used Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan, the three languages remained indispensible because they sustained the universal Manchu regime.

The first two arguments lead to the third one. The main tasks of language reform in the late Qing period were located not just in applying new linguistic ideas and adopting new language learning methods but also in reforming the social structure and power relations that sustained the objective of maintaining a polyglot empire under Manchu reign. From the 1890s onwards, the fluidity of people and powers in Manchuria, particularly the increasing Japanese and Russian influence, drove the Qing Empire to reform its language strategy that balanced segmentation and integration. The Qing Empire adopted a European and Japanese language idea that mass literacy played a crucial role in transforming traditional society. In the context of the New Policies, Chinese intellectuals and Qing emperors conceived people's ability to read a language, especially a nascent Chinese national language, as a valuable tool to transform universal Manchu emperorship to a constitutional monarchy. Chinese literacy was considered important for mobilizing the whole populace, uplifting citizens, and constructing a modern constitutional state.

Instead of promoting a simple transformation from multilingualism to national monolingualism, the Qing Empire subtly revised its multilingual policy in the Jirim League.

The Qing Empire fostered Chinese learning in order to recreate the Mongols as modern nationals in an integrated China under a Manchu constitutional monarchy. Meanwhile, Qing emperors still underscored the importance of Manchu and Mongolian learning. This is not only because the two languages were indispensible for governing non-Chinese speakers during the transition period but also for the reason that the two languages reflected the Manchu characteristic of the constitutional monarchy in a wave of Chinese nationalism. But the importance of Manchu and Mongolian was also manifested in their supportive role of promoting Chinese learning and improving literacy, instead of simply distinguishing the Manchu and Mongols from Chinese people as proclaimed by the early Qing emperors.

In the *kamcime* language reader written in Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese for Jirim Mongol students, Qing China was depicted as a historically unified and China proper-centred state in world history and Manchuria as an integrated but peripheral part of Qing China. Whilst early Qing emperors preferred to differentiate between texts in *kamcime* writing, the trilingual language reader aimed at avoiding such textual variance so as to formulate the same image of Manchuria, Qing China, and the world in the three languages. But the trilingual practice in the Jirim League was not easy or smooth, because not all Jirim Mongols were prepared to break with the Great Qing, in which they possessed a relatively independent position and power in association with the special Manchu-Mongol relations in the multi-ethnic Qing Empire.

Significance and Contribution

This dissertation will unfold the power of Qing multilingualism and the Manchu language in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whilst many scholars believed that Manchu declined in the late Qing period, this study will be one of the first academic inquiries into the role of Manchu in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I will in particular explore the influence of the Manchu language in ordinary Mongols' life, which has not been widely studied. This dissertation will contribute to the discussion on the last Qing-published Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese trilingual textbook, a significant Manchu and Mongolian linguistic achievement yet rarely studied. In examining the Manchu translation in the

textbook, I will discuss the simultaneous and asynchronous feature of Qing *kamcime* texts, which will reflect the construction and deconstruction of Qing China's image when texts moved from a Chinese cultural context to Manchu and Mongolian ones.

Beyond the archival value of the Manchu and Mongolian languages, this dissertation will investigate their significance as an independent research topic and demonstrate that they are not only linguistic carriers but also a set of cultural and social items with power. The historical role of Manchu in the late Qing Empire will also correspond to the history of other less spoken yet significant languages, such as Latin, which was a written medium and dominant spoken language among educated Western Europeans and is still used by specialists after the Second World War.[54] The role of Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian within the Qing language regime and their relations were a social-historical phenomenon, as Pierre Bourdieu argues, instead of an autonomous and homogenous object.[55] The Qing Empire's sociolinguistic value system will be thus studied in relation to the political landscape.

Based on this, the dissertation will lead us to rethink the transformation of the Qing Empire's language regime, which is widely believed to be on a straight line of progress towards Chinese national monolingualism. This dissertation will extend the scope of the study on the *diglossic* culture and late Qing language reform from within various forms of spoken and written Chinese to a great variety of both Chinese and non-Chinese languages. Accordingly, the politics of language in the late Qing period was associated with not only Chinese conservatives, reformists, and revolutionaries' search for power but also the exercise of Manchu and Mongol powers. From the perspective of language reform, this study will show the continuity of Manchu emperorship's pluralistic characteristic and the challenges it encountered in constitutional reform, nationalist movements, and imperialist expansion. This dissertation will also contribute to a recently more generally accepted argument that the New Policies were not a doomed failure but a vigorous attempt to reform Manchu emperorship

[54] Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*, 90. Hans Henrich Hock and Brain D. Joseph, *Language History, Language Change and Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical and comparative Linguistics* (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996), 61.
[55] Thompson, "Editor's Introduction," 4.

and the Qing Empire, which laid the foundation for China's search for modernization in the twentieth century.[56]

This dissertation will contribute to the study of China's path in becoming nation state and its search for modernity from a peripheral perspective. Sino-centralism is undoubtedly important for studying the history of China, but it cannot be the sole method. From Lattimore to the New Qing History, their work revisits the idea of borderlands and frontiers in the Qing Empire so providing the foundation for a reconsideration of the traditional "center-periphery" relationship between Chinese provinces and borderlands.[57] As Elliot suggests, reconsidering the Qing frontier as a central "site of empire-making"[58] rather than a peripheral region helps to reshape the narrative frameworks of Qing history.[59] From the eleventh century, Manchuria had its own "historical dynamic," although it interacted closely with cultures emanating from China Proper.[60] From the Qing Empire to Manchukuo, Manchuria produced several non-Chinese powers which revised Chinese and East Asian history previously content with Confucius Chinese culture. The language turn in Manchuria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed the struggle for power between various groups including the Manchu imperial family, Chinese nationalists, the Mongols, and Japanese and Russian imperialists. The Jirim League's geopolitical position as an intersection of the Manchu, Mongol, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian powers will enrich our understanding of the fluidity of peoples, cultures, and powers in regional history.

Language pluralism in the Qing Empire has bequeathed an enduring legacy to twentieth-century Manchuria and China. As Rawski notes, "many geopolitical issues confronting

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[56] Bailey, *Reform the People*, 263, 268-9. Mary Wright, "Introduction: The Rising Tide of Change," in *China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913*, ed. Mary Wright (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 1-63. John H. Fincher, *Chinese Democracy: The Self-government Movement in Local, Provincial, and National Politics, 1905-1914* (London, Croom Helm, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1981).

[57] Owen Lattimore, *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict* (New York: Macmillan, 1932). Owen Lattimore, "The Geographical Factor in Mongol History," *Geographical Journal* 91, no. 1 (1938): 1-16. Owen Lattimore, "Inner Asian Frontiers: Chinese and Russian Margins of Expansion," *Journal of Economic History* 7, no. 1 (1947): 24-52. Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia: Sinkiang and the Inner Asian Frontiers of China and Russia* (Boston: Little Brown, 1950). Owen Lattimore, *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928-1958* (Boston: Little Brown, 1950). Elliot, "Frontier Stories," 354.

[58] Elliot, "Frontier Stories," 354.

[59] William T. Rowe, "Owen Lattimore, Asia, and Comparative History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66 (2007): 759-86. Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Role of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 2002). Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

[60] Evelyn Rawski, *Early Modern China and Northeast Asia: Cross-Border Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

policymakers in the People's Republic of China derive from the Qing heritage."[61] Multilingualism, which is integrated with social, cultural and political elements, persists in modern and contemporary Manchuria.[62] The crucial role of Qing multilingualism in maintaining the territorial integrity of China impelled the republican, Manchukuo, and communist governments in Manchuria to develop their distinctive polyglot strategy as well as national language policy in order to educate loyal nationals and establish strong states in a multilingual context. This study on the history of language in Manchuria will allow us to understand in a different light the processes through which the Chinese nation and national language were constructed and deconstructed throughout the twentieth century.

Research on Manchuria corresponds to global language turns in other regions. Large areas of our historical and contemporary world are habitually bi- or multilingual, including early modern empires, colonial and post-colonial regions, and modern states.[63] Moreover, there is a far more complicated linguistic situation, engaging class, profession, gender, and knowledge beyond territorial, ethnic, and national issues.[64] The unified language movement sometimes creates confusion and identity issues for those who have previously inhabited a diverse range of linguistic groups. This makes it complicated to evaluate the result of national language reform. Geoffrey Lewis aptly summarizes the Turkish case as "a catastrophic success."[65] In the conclusion, I will make a tentative comparison on language pluralism between the Qing and Ottoman Empires and explain the striking distinction of the two empires' fates in the post-empire era. Nearly all Qing borderlands were reconstituted under the republican regime, whereas the Ottoman domains spilt into various national units. Through this, this dissertation will enrich the global history of language turns from a Eurasian

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[61] Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, 1.
[62] Uradyn E. Bulag, "Mongolian Ethnicity and Linguistic Anxiety in China," *American Anthropologist* 105, no. 4 (2003): 753-63. Elena Barabantseva, "From the Language of Class to the Rhetoric of Development: Discourses of 'Nationality' and 'Ethnicity' in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 56, no. 17 (2008): 565-89. Zhao, "Reinventing China," 3-30.
[63] Laurent Dubreuil, *Empire of Language: Toward a Critique of (Post)colonial Expression* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2013). Joseph Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Maldon, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2008). Benjamin C. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). Stephen May, *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Language* (New York, London: Routledge, 2012), 2nd edition.
[64] Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6 no. 1 (2013): 39-76. Evangelia Belta and Mehmet Ölmez eds., *Between Religion and Language: Turkish Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire* (İstanbul: Eren, 2011).
[65] Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

perspective and demonstrate the promise of a comparative approach to the study of Qing borderlands. Moreover, in light of the linguistic communications that took place in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, this dissertation will question the extent to which national languages dominate the historiography of world history.

Primary Sources

The primary sources used in my dissertation can be categorized into published collections of historical documents, textbooks, gazetteers, diaries, and memoirs, and unpublished materials held by both national and local archives.

Many Qing memorials and edicts have been published in thematic volumes. I use many of those in the Guangxu and Xuantong reigns. I also use the Veritable Records of the Ming, Joseon, and Qing Dynasties Database (明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫) developed by the Institute of History of Philology (歷史語言研究所), Academia Sinica (中央研究院), Taiwan. To illustrate the official use of Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese in various occasions, I consult the *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing* (大清會典) and the *Collected Statues and Precedents of the Great Qing* (欽定大清會典事例).

Language reform plans drafted by Chinese linguists, politicians, and educators between 1890 and 1911 provide information on social and political concerns behind linguistic issues. The Wade Collection at Cambridge University Library, particularly the textbooks and notes written by European missionaries, diplomats, and scholars, describe their observation into the language environment in China and their Manchu and Chinese learning experience prior to 1911. I explore these materials from the perspective of how they transformed the understanding of language and literacy in the Qing Empire, and how they suggested the Qing Dynasty to employ language to mobilize the masses under a Manchu constitutional monarchy.

As the archives of the Ministry of Education (學部檔案) at the First Historical Archives of China is not yet open to the public, I consult *Materials on Modern Chinese Educational History* (中国近代教育史资料 1981) edited by Shu Xincheng (舒新城) and the Late Qing Dynasty Periodical Full-text Database (晚清期刊全文數據庫) to research on late Qing education and language reform. *Collection of Qing Documents in Jilin Provincial Archives*

(吉林省檔案館藏清代檔案史料選編 2012) substantially enriches the sources I can use. These include school regulations, student registers, syllabi, teaching notes, exam papers, transcripts, supervision reports, etc.

The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook (滿蒙漢合璧教科書 1909) is an important source for studying language reform in Manchuria. I read three editions of this textbook held by the Library of Palace Museum (Beijing), Cambridge University Library (Cambridge), and Liaoning Provincial Library (Shenyang). I pay particular attention to the four prefaces included in the edition held in Cambridge University Library and the errata attached to the republican edition held by Liaoning Provincial Library. By examining and comparing these three editions, my dissertation studies the linguistic evolution of Manchu and the complex ideas of nation and state behind simple languages.

The Report of the Investigation on the Ten Mongolian Banners of the Jirim League (哲里木盟十旗調查報告書) accomplished by the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs of the Three Eastern Provinces (東三省蒙務局) between 1910 and 1911 and *Collection of Official Documents regarding Mongolian Affairs in the Three Eastern Provinces* (東三省蒙務公牘彙編) compiled by Zhu Qiqian (朱啓鈐 1871-1964) in 1909 provide rich materials about local economy, administration, military, religion, foreign affairs, education, language etc. Provincial, prefecture, and county gazetteers compiled by Qing officials and Chinese literati, and travel journals and diaries written by Chinese and Japanese also provide valuable information on the history of language in Manchuria.

This dissertation also use a large number of documents held at the First Historical Archives of China and the National Palace Museum in Taipei. The materials held at the First Historical Archives include memorials with written instructions, documents kept by the Grand Council, documents kept by the Imperial Household Department, two special collections regarding preparation for constitutionalism and imperialist invasion, and the documents of the Zongli Yamen (總理衙門). The documents used in my dissertation cover the following topics, *guanhua* (官話 Mandarin) education throughout the Qing period, late Qing educational reform and new textbooks, language barriers in foreign affairs, the use of

Manchu and Mongolian in official documents and court rites, Japanese and Russian influence in Manchuria, the reform of Manchurian and Mongolian affairs during constitutional reform, and reports on educational affairs in Fengtian, Jilin and Heilongjiang. I also consulted exam papers of Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Russian translations in the early Qing period, and the maps of the Jirim League in the early twentieth century at Academia Sinica.

While the historical documents held by the archives in Beijing and Taipei focus on the state rather than regional level, those in local archives sketch a more detailed local picture on frontier affairs in Manchuria and the Jirim League. My dissertation uses many materials held by Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang Provincial Archives and Libraries. The topics include the suggestions of Manchurian officials regarding the management of Mongolian affairs; the language barriers between Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian; the influence of Russia and Japan in Manchuria, particularly after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05); the Russo-Mongol and Japanese-Mongol relations; the translation, publication, and distribution of the trilingual textbook in Manchuria.

Outline

Let me briefly introduce the six chapters of this dissertation. Chapter 1 examines the two-fold conceptual framework of the Qing Empire's language ideology and hierarchy and its relation to maintaining universal Manchu emperorship over diverse peoples. I argue that Manchu emperors preserved the diversity of linguistic features at the lower level in the borderlands in order to distinguish different cultures and demonstrate the pluralistic characteristics of the Qing Empire. Within the upper-level governments, emperors used multiple languages and produced polyglot texts to maintain the integrity of the Qing Empire. Language segmentation at the lower level and language integration at the upper level were two facets of Qing multilingualism. This was the Qing Empire's method to maintain universal Manchu reign over disparate peoples and cultures.

Chapter 2 describes the geographical and geopolitical history of the Jirim League and discusses how the Qing's multilingual policy recreated the local polyglot reality in the Jirim League in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the late Qing period, most

Jirim Mongols, especially those inhabiting the north and west of the league, spoke only Mongolian in their everyday life and learnt Tibetan in Tibetan Buddhist temples. However, the flow of Chinese, Russian, and Japanese settlers and visitors to the League created language barriers. Facing the fluidity of languages and powers, local officials considered the Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan language regime an obstacle to maintaining Qing reign over the Jirim Mongols.

Chapter 3 and 4 discuss how the Qing Empire's idea of language and literacy changed in the global context of language reform and in the context of educational and constitutional reforms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter 3 focuses on the teaching of the Chinese language in the Jirim League in the early twentieth century against the background of the heated debate on the Chinese language across the empire. With the rise of a global concern about literacy, Chinese elites and the Qing government conceived the Chinese language as a valuable tool to empower the whole populace to strengthen China and to mobilize them to participate in constitutional reform. Rather than a linguistic choice between Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian, the policy of promoting Chinese in the Jirim League demonstrates a proclamation of the superiority of literacy over illiteracy, a deconstruction of the traditional Manchu-Mongol relations under universal Manchu emperorship, and an attempt to integrate the Jirim Mongols into the Chinese populace under a constitutional Manchu monarchy.

Chapter 4 examines how the Qing Empire revised its multilingual policy in the Jirim League in order to improve literacy and how the Qing handled relations between the Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese languages. Based on this, I also investigate the various meanings of *guo* (國, nation or state) in a multilingual context. I argue that the Qing Empire established a Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese trilingual educational system in order to improve literacy in the Jirim League rather than transforming the League from one that was multilingual into one spoke Chinese only. While *guo* represented a nascent Chinese nation in Chinese national language classes, *guo* referred to the *gurun* (state) founded by the Manchus, in which the special Manchu-Mongol relations were valued by Qing emperors.

Chapter 5 assesses the language and content of *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* (1909). From 1909, this textbook was the officially sanctioned language reader for elementary school students in the Jirim League. This chapter addresses the question of how the textbook reimagined Qing China and the world, and conveyed complex concepts and values, such as nationhood, sovereignty, and patriotism, in simple Manchu language. I argue that the book promoted a story of China as an individual and integrated state among others, with which it must catch up in an increasingly globalized world. This revised Qing historiography concerning the diversity of territories and peoples under Manchu emperorship. Moreover, the book reconstructed an image of Qing China from a China proper-centred perspective, in which Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet tightly surrounded China proper.

Chapter 6 examines the reception of *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* and the overall practice of trilingual pedagogy in the Jirim League. This chapter shows that the trilingual policy had different impacts on the ten banners of the Jirim League. Most banners experienced a variety of difficulties such as teacher shortages, financial problems, and the absence of a reading culture. But the real difficulty in adopting the revised language strategy was the difficulty of transforming the social-economic structure and Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese power relations in a way that maintained Mongols' distinctive position in the Great Qing.

Chapter 1

Language Segregation and Integration:

The Formation of Imperial Multilingualism in the Early Qing Empire

Qing multilingualism was shaped by the Manchu rulers' vision of the Qing Empire and their emperorship. In this chapter, I will discuss how the Manchu rulers constructed and modified the multilingual regime so as to sustain their reign over divergent peoples as the Qing territories expanded. I will first discuss the evolution of written Manchu in the early Qing period. Proclaiming Manchu to be the state language laid the foundation for Qing multilingualism and the imperial hierarchy of languages. I will then discuss the Qing emperors' policy on the Chinese language and the role of Chinese in the imperial language system. I will argue that the Qing policy to promote classical Chinese and *guanyin* (官音 Mandarin Chinese) separated the elite and the ordinary people, and Manchu and Chinese. I will then turn to the Qing's language policy towards the Mongols and argue that the Qing prohibited Chinese learning but promoted the Tibetan language in order to maintain Manchu reign over the Mongols. After discussing how the Qing Empire segregated different languages and peoples at the lower level, this chapter will turn its attention to the Qing's upper-level multilingual policy. The Qing Empire integrated various languages into the imperial language regime by employing official translators, sponsoring polyglot printings, and creating multilingual inscriptions. Language integration at the upper level maintained the unity of the Qing Empire and resolved tensions diversity created in an empire.

The Evolution of Written Manchu: The Origin of Qing Multilingualism

Before 1599, the Manchu language existed only in spoken form. This section will discuss the evolution of written Manchu in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which was a political as well as linguistic effort under the instruction of the early Qing emperors.

The Manchu language belongs to the Altaic family of languages which is spoken along the northern territory of China and extends further westward from Siberia to Asia Minor.[1] The Altaic family of languages includes three major linguistic branches, Tungus, Mongolian,

[1] Fang-Kuei Li, "Languages and Dialects of China," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 1, no.1 (1973): 9-11. S. Robert Ramsey, *The Languages of China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 171, 173.

and Turkish. Manchu is one of the best-known languages of the Tungus branch. The writing system of the Manchu language shows great similarities with Mongolian. Manchu and Mongolian writing use similar alphabets adopted from the Uighur alphabet[2] and writing from top to bottom and from the left to the right.

The close relationship between the Manchu and Mongolian languages predates the sixteenth century. Prior to the founding of the Later Jin State (後金國 1616-1636), Jurchens and Mongols were tribal groups living north of the Great Wall. Despite their different living styles, languages, and religions, the late Ming court regarded all these warlike and barbarian peoples as Mongols.[3] The Mongolian language was the *lingual franca* of this region.[4] It was commonly used by various groups living in today's Mongolia and Manchuria. Before the Manchu script was created, Mongolian was the official written language among Jurchens. As the *Manchu Veritable Records* states, "when the Manchus did not have their own script, official documents had to be written in the Mongolian script or translated into Mongolian."[5]

According to the *Manchu Veritable Records*, Manchu became distinguishable from Mongolian as a written language in 1599, when Nurhaci instructed Erdeni (額爾德尼 1592–1634) and Gagai (噶蓋 ?–1600) – two prominent Manchu *bakši* (博士, scholar officials) – to modify the Mongolian script and create the *gurun-i gisun* (the state script) of the Manchus. Nurhaci stated,

> "When the Chinese script is read aloud, those who have learnt the script and who have not can both understand it. When the Mongolian script is read aloud, those who have not learnt it can also understand it. When our script is read aloud in the Mongolian way, those who have not learnt it cannot understand it at all. Why is the writing of our script difficult, while the writing of the Mongolian script easy?"[6]

By comparing Chinese, Mongolian, and Manchu as written and spoken languages, Nurhaci explained that the discrepancy between spoken and written Manchu (which was the

[2] Li, "Languages and Dialects of China," 9-11.
[3] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Making Mongols," In *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Eghnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, eds. Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006), 64.
[4] Ibid., 65.
[5] *Manzhou shilu* 滿州實錄 (hereafter: *MZSL*) (Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1969), J. 3, 110a-112b.
[6] *MZSL*, J. 3, 108a-110b. The Manchu text is also available in Gertraude Roth Li, *Manchu: A Textbook for Reading Documents* (Honolulu, HI: National Foreign Language Resource Center, 2010), 37-8.

Mongolian script at that time) created a language barrier amongst the Manchu people. Nurhaci therefore emphasized the significance of having "a script of our state (*musei gurun-i gisun*)" instead of writing in the Mongolian style.

Nurhaci then outlined how Erdeni and Gagai could create a Manchu script by modifying written Mongolian:

> "Writing a letter 'a' and putting an 'a' under 'ma.' Then it is 'ama' [father], isn't it? Writing a letter 'e' and putting an 'e' under 'me.' Then it is 'eme' [mother], isn't it? … The script written in the Mongolian way has been changed to the Manchu script. After Nurhaci created the script, he disseminated it in the Manchu state."[7]

Written Manchu so created is known as the old Manchu (*fe manju hergen* 老滿文) or "written Manchu without circles and dots (*tongki fuka akū hergen* 無圈點滿文)."

Hong Taiji, Nurhaci's eighth son, noticed the old Manchu script easily created misunderstandings as it did not contain circles and dots and the initial and final forms of the twelve Manchu syllables were the same. As he stated, "when it comes to the names of a person or place, there must be mistakes."[8] Therefore, he instructed Dahai (達海 1595-1632) that "you can consider the circumstances and add dots and circles to separate [the initial and final forms]. By doing so, the sound and meaning will be clear and it will be of great help to the study of writing."[9] This improved writing system is referred to as the new Manchu script (*ice manju hergen* 新滿文) or script with circles and dots (*tongki fuka sindaha hergen*).

After the Manchu script became distinguished from Mongolian, Later Jin and early Qing official documents were primarily written in Manchu. *Fe Manju Dangse* (舊滿洲檔 滿文老檔 滿洲老檔 老滿文原檔, *The Old Manchu Archives*), also known as *Tongki fuka akū hergen-i dangse* (literally, *The Archives Written in Manchu without Circles and Dots*) is a collection of early Manchu documents. Solely written in Manchu, it covers the Manchu history from 1607 to 1632.[10] In the First Historical Archives of China, memorials written in

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[7] *MZSL*, J. 3, 108a-110b.

[8] *Taizong wenhuangdi shilu* 太宗文皇帝實錄 (hereafter *TZWHDSL*), J. 11, 156b. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html

[9] Ibid., J. 11, 156b.

[10] Hanson Chase, "The status of the Manchu language in the early Ch'ing" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1979), 1-3. Pamela Kyle Crossley and S. Rawski Evelyn, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no.1 (1993): 67-8. Liu Housheng 刘厚生, *Jiumanzhoudang yanjiu* 旧满洲档研究 (Changchun: Jilin

Manchu constitute a great proportion of documents regarding military, ethnic, and borderland affairs produced during the Shunzhi, Kangxi, and Yongzheng reigns.[11] The recent noteworthy trend of using the Manchu language in Qing history studies, especially for the period before the nineteenth century, is based on the fact that Manchu was an indispensible documentary language in early Qing institutions.[12]

Written Manchu was commonly used in official documents in the early Qing period not just because it was the native language of the Manchus. More importantly, the proclamation of Manchu as the *gurun-i gisun* closely related the Manchu script with the Manchu state and the Qing Dynasty. The emphasis on the political significance of the Manchu script can be seen clearly in the Chinese version of the *Veritable Records*, which omitted the linguistic discussion about Manchu's adaptation from Mongolian and stressed the result of Nurhaci's decision. The Chinese version reads:

> "By adapting the Mongolian script to the speech of our country and connecting [words] to make sentences, [people will] understand the meaning when following the script. … [Nurhaci] created the state language [國語] by using the Mongolian script [蒙古字]. Then the Manchu script [满文] was created and disseminated in the country."[13]

Official writing depicted the evolution of written Manchu as a political move to distinguish the Manchus from the Mongols and to emphasize the state's Manchu characteristics.

As the Qing territory expanded, the use of *gurun-i gisun* in official occasions further distinguished the Manchus from Han Chinese people. Hong Taiji ordered that "no country will abandon its state language but learnt other countries' languages. … From now on, the names of official titles and places in our state should all use the Manchu language, … instead

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wenshi chubanshe, 1994).

[11] Beatrice S. Bartlett, "Books of Revelations: The Importance of the Manchu Language Archival Record Books for Research on Ch'ing History," *Late Imperial China* 6, no.2 (1985): 25-36. Mark C. Elliot, "The Manchu-Language Archives of the Qing Dynasty and the Origins of the Palace Memorial System," *Late Imperial China* 22, no.1 (2001): 1-70. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆, *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan guancang dang'an gaish*u 中国第一历史档案馆馆藏档案概述 (Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1985).

[12] Pamela Kyle Crossley and S. Rawski Evelyn, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no.1 (1993): 63-102. Mark C. Elliot, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[13] *Taizu gaohuangdi shilu* 太祖高皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *TZGHDSL*), J. 3, p. 44a. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html

of following the old names in Chinese."[14] In 1635, Hong Taiji forbade using *Jurchens* and *jianzhou* (建州) as the name of the Manchus and ordered to use *manju* (滿洲) in referring to the Manchu state.[15] In 1636, Hong Taiji proclaimed the founding of the Great Qing (大清). From then onwards, in addition to *guoyu* and *guoshu* (國書, the state script), official documents written in Chinese referred to Manchu as *qingwen* (清文, the Qing script), *qingyu* (清語, the Qing language), *qingshu* (清書, the Qing script), and *qingzi* (清字, the Qing alphabet). The meaning of *gurun-i gisun* expanded from "the Manchu script" to "the Manchu language" including spoken and written forms. The use of *gurun-i gisun* demonstrated not only the distinctiveness of the Manchu group but also the Qing Dynasty's Manchu characteristics. Previous non-Han Chinese dynasties also adopted the policy to maintain a non-Chinese state language so as to display their non-Chinese characteristics. In the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368), Mongolian was the state language and the 'Phags-pa script was the state alphabet (國字).[16] In the Qing Dynasty, by linking the Manchu language with "state" and "Qing" instead of calling it *manyu* (滿語, the Manchu language) or *manwen* (滿文, the Manchu script), the Manchu emperors stressed the language's political significance above its natural linguistic origin.

Incorporating Chinese into the Imperial Multilingual Regime

The Manchus defeated Li Zicheng (李自成 1606–1645) at the Battle of Shanhai Pass (山海關) in 1644 and soon after entered Beijing and Southern China. Prior to 1644, only a limited number of Manchu scholar officials were literate in the Chinese language, such as Dahai, Garin (剛林 ?–1651), and Kicungge (祁充格 ?–1651).[17] The Manchus were concerned that a limited knowledge of the Chinese language would obstruct their progress in governing the Chinese population. In this section, I will discuss the role of the Chinese language in the imperial multilingual regime. I will argue that the early Qing emperors encouraged the Manchus to learn Chinese and promoted Chinese *guanyin* among officials in South China to legitimize and consolidate Manchu reign over Han Chinese. But the Qing

[14] *TZWHDSL*, J. 18, 237a, 237b.
[15] Ibid., J. 25, 330b, 331a.
[16] Su Rui 苏瑞 and Li Haiying 李海英, "Zhongguo lishishang feihanzu wangchao de yuyan diwei guihua 中国历史上非汉族王朝的语言地位规划," *Changjiang xueshu* 长江学术, no. 3 (2011): 135-9.
[17] *TZWHDSL*, J. 12, 167b-168a. Frederic Evans Jr. Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 875-6.

Empire maintained a policy of language segregation between both the literati and the ordinary people and the Manchus and the Han Chinese.

Classical Chinese and Guanyin in the Early Qing Period

From 1644, the Shunzhi emperor became the first Manchu emperor settling in Beijing. He proclaimed "a family of Manchu and Chinese (滿漢一家)" so as to ease the tension between the Manchus and the Chinese they had conquered.[18] Hong Chengchou (洪承疇 1593–1665), the first Chinese Grand Secretary (大學士) of the Qing Dynasty, suggested that "written and spoken Chinese must be learnt so that the emperors' edicts can be conveyed [to Chinese people] and local situations [in Chinese provinces] can be understood [by emperors]."[19] The Shunzhi emperor had learnt classical Chinese from an early age and had encouraged the Manchus to do so as well. Those proficient in Manchu and Chinese were selected to be teachers in court, banner, and clan schools.[20]

The early Qing Dynasty continued the Ming tradition of selecting officials through empire-wide civil examinations to win over the support of the Chinese literati and officials.[21] To be nominated in this competitive examination required a good command of classical Chinese, the ability to write the eight-legged essay in a shared canon in classical Chinese, and being deeply knowledgeable about Confucianism.[22] Although the Qing Dynasty created separate imperial examinations exclusively for bannermen, such as Chinese-Manchu and Manchu-Mongolian translation examinations (翻譯考試), civil examinations held in classical Chinese remained the primary path to become an official.

From the mid-seventeenth century, a knowledge of Chinese gradually became an important selection criterion for high-level officials at court. In 1652, the Ministry of Revenue (戶部) issued an order that "governor generals and provincial governors [部堂督撫] must be selected from those proficient in both Manchu and Chinese."[23] In 1685, the Kangxi

[18] *Shizu zhanghuangdi shilu* 世宗章皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *SZZHDSL*), J. 43, 348a. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html

[19] Ibid., J. 15, 131b-132a.

[20] *SZZHDSL*, J. 90, 707b; J. 98, 762a; J. 136, 1050a.

[21] Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2000), 173-238.

[22] Benjamin Elman, *Civil Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013), 3.

[23] *SZZHDSL*, J. 68, 530b.

emperor instructed that "the Grand Secretariat [内閣] and the Hanlin Academy [翰林院] must employ those well versed in the Chinese language and good at [Manchu-Chinese] translation."[24] From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, an increasing number of official documents received and dispatched by the Qing court were written in Chinese. The Chinese language was officially used in Qing institutions because Manchu emperors realized the necessity of using Chinese to govern the Chinese population.

The role of Chinese as an administrative language was also important for other institutions that were established by non-Chinese in China, such as the Maritime Customs Service (海關) which was founded in 1854 and largely staffed by foreigners. As cosmopolitanism was a guiding principle in the recruitment of the Customs Service, the indoor staff came from Britain, France, Germany, America, and other small European countries such as Norway and Switzerland.[25] Whilst English was the working language in the Customs Service, Robert Hart (赫德 1835–1911), the Inspector General between 1863 and 1911, believed that a good knowledge of Chinese was essential for understanding China, establishing authority, and communicating with Chinese staff.[26] As Hans van de Ven notes, "recruits for the indoor staff were made to study Chinese, examinations were conducted on their progress, and promotion depended on success."[27] Although the Maritime Customs Service was different from the early Qing institutions in many ways, the Chinese language became necessary because it facilitated the Manchu-Chinese and Chinese-Western communications and made administration easier.

The early Qing's policy regarding the use of Chinese also extended to its spoken form and to the local level. In the Kangxi emperor's later years, he recognized the language barrier that various dialects created.[28] The Yongzheng emperor first addressed this problem and attempted to resolve it. On September 9, 1728, the Yongzheng emperor instructed that:

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[24] *Shengzu renhuangdi shilu* 聖祖仁皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *SZRHDSL*), J. 120, 257a, 257b. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html

[25] Hans van de Ven, *Breaking with the Past: The Maritime Customs Service and the Global Origins of Modernity in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 94.

[26] Ibid., 98.

[27] Ibid.

[28] *SZRHDSL*, J. 290, 819b

> "When I ask officials to report their working experience, those from Fujian and Guangdong speak the dialects that I cannot understand. ... When they take office in other provinces, how can they clearly pronounce and explain the Sacred Edicts, and settle lawsuits to ensure that the ordinary people can follow them. …, petty officials will interpret for them, but will overstate facts and fabricate evidence, which will cause corruption and delays."[29]

To change the accents of Fujian and Guangdong officials, four Schools for Correcting Pronunciation (正音學堂) were established in Fuzhou (福州) in 1729.[30] In local schools in other counties in Fujian, only *guanyin* could be used and only the teachers who spoke *guanyin* were appointed.[31] A good command of *guanyin* also became an advantage in civil examinations. Students who did not complete *guanyin* learning within eight years were not eligible to attend the provincial examination (鄉試).[32] In 1736, Yang Bing (楊炳), the education commissioner of Fujian (福建學政), suggested that only those who were able to pronounce their ancestral home clearly and loudly in *guanyin* were eligible to attend examinations.[33] In 1737, Zhou Xuejian (周學健 ?–1748), the education commissioner of Fujian, proposed that "in the local and district examination [童試], examiners can select another one or two candidates who write clearly and concisely among those who articulate each word with precision in *guanyin.*"[34] Even after the Schools for Correcting Pronunciation in Fujian and Guangdong were closed, speaking good *guanyin* was still an advantage in local officials' career.[35]

Some Chinese politicians and scholars in the late nineteenth century historicized the early Qing dissemination of *guanyin* in Fujian and Guangdong as an effort to create a

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[29] *SZRHDSL*, J. 72, 1074a, b.
[30] Shi Hongbao 施鴻保, *Minzaji* 閩雜記 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1858, Reprinted in 1985), 7.
[31] Yang Bing 楊炳, "Zou wei fengyu xuanze shuxiao guanhuazhe wei yixue zhishi 奏為奉諭選擇熟曉官話者為義學之師," 1734, No. 03-0039-002, First Historical Archives of China.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Zhou Xuejian 周學健, "Zou wei jingchen xuexi zhengyin zhifa deng xuezheng geshiyi shi 奏為敬陳學習正音之法等學政各事宜事," 1737, No. 04-01-38-0059-031, First Historical Archives of China.
[35] *Gaozong chunhuangdi shilu* 高宗純皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *GZCHDSL*), J. 897, 56a, b; J. 1021, 16a-17b. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html

standard language. For example, Li Yuerui (李岳瑞 1862-1927), a candidate in civil examinations, stated that:

> "People know that Zhu Yuanzhang [朱元璋 1328–1398], the founding emperor of the Ming Dynasty [1368–1644], dispatched officials to Fujian and Guangdong to teach *guanyin*. But people do not know that our Dynasty also had such a policy. … We should not overlook the origin of this policy, when the current court is planning to unify languages in the Qing Empire."[36]

But it is an exaggeration to claim that the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors aimed to unify dialects through their *guanyin* policy. Rather, they considered *guanyin* as means to transmit the Qing power from the court in Beijing to administrations in Fujian and Guangdong, and from local officials to the ordinary people. As seen from his 1728 instruction, one of the Yongzheng emperor's concerns was that local officials were unable to properly pronounce and explain sacred edicts. From the Ming Dynasty, the announcement and explanation of sacred edicts (聖諭宣講) was an important way for emperors in Beijing to convey imperial orders to local people and ideologically control rural China.[37] In 1729, the Yongzheng emperor made it a rule that every prefecture, county, major town, and major village establish a public place where officials could read out imperial edicts to the local population.[38] Sacred edicts were publicly announced and explained on the first and fifteenth days of every month. *The Sixteen Sacred Edicts* (上諭十六條) contained sixteen maxims of the Kangxi emperor, which were about filial piety, promoting family peace, cultivating harmony within neighbourhood, honouring the scholar, elucidating the laws, and so on.[39] The Yongzheng emperor wrote the *Amplified Instructions of the Sacred Edicts* (聖諭廣訓) to illustrate the Kangxi emperors' edicts in detail. According to Zhou Zhenhe's (周振鶴) study, there were more than 20,000 lecturing sites in China and the literati reproduced the *Amplified Instructions of the Sacred Edicts* in the vernaculars so as to make it accessible to local

[36] Li Yuerui 李岳瑞, "*Chunbingshi yecheng* 春冰室野乘," in *Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊, ed. Shen Yunlong 瀋雲龍 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1966), vol. 60, 24.
[37] Kung-Ch'uan Hsiao, "Rural Control in Nineteenth Century China," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12, no.2 (1953): 176-7.
[38] *SZZHDSL*, J. 84, 121a.
[39] *The Sacred Edict: Containing Sixteen Maxims of the Emperor Kang-He*, trans. William Milne (London: Black, Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1870).

people.[40] By transmitting the Confucian value embedded in the Kangxi emperor's edicts to local people, Qing emperors presented a Confucian image of Manchu emperorship to the Chinese population, shaped the minds of the masses, and maintained social order, which consolidated Manchu reign in the former Ming territories.

Another concern of the Yongzheng emperor was the malpractice of petty officials, interpreters, and clerks who had direct influence on local administrative and judicial affairs. The problems of the corruption by low-level government officials continued into the late Qing period. In 1832, the Daoguang emperor received a series of memorials from the provincial governor of Fujian stating that some clerks in Tingzhou (汀州) and other prefectures colluded and lied when interpreting and conveying messages in different dialects.[41] By disseminating *guanyin* among Fujian and Guangdong officials, Qing emperors sought to bridge the barrier between dialects and to establish an effective way of words between local officials and the ordinary people.

The *guanyin* policy promoted by the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors focused primarily on officials, imperial students, and the literati. By contrast, there was no order that required ordinary people to learn *guanyin*. In the case of *guanyin* dissemination in Fujian, only a limited number of people, most of whom were officials and imperial students, received *guanyin* education. As reported by Zhou Xuejian, Governor of Fujian,

> "Each Pronunciation Correction School accepts only tens of students. But there are a great number of gentries and ordinary people in Fujian. It is therefore difficult to correct everyone's pronunciation all over the province. After several years' teaching, local accents are still the same as before. These schools are nothing but a waste of money."[42]

The Qianlong emperor closed these schools in 1745. In 1772, the Schools for Correcting Pronunciation in Guangdong were closed for the same reason.[43] In short, although Qing emperors considered Chinese an indispensible administrative language and attempted to

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[40] Zhou Zhenhe 周振鹤, *Shengyu guangxun: jijie yu yanjiu* 圣谕广训：集解与研究 (Shanghai: shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2006), 586.
[41] *Xuanzong chenghuangdi shilu* 宣宗成皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *XZCHDSL*), J. 219, 38a-40b. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html
[42] *GZCHDSL*, J. 245, 12a, b.
[43] Zhong Yin 鐘音, "Zou wei zunzhi chaming Fujian bingwu guanyin yixue tuzi mifei shi 奏為遵旨查明福建並無官音義學徒滋糜費事," 1772, No. 04-01-01-03-06-02, First Historical Archives of China.

standardize its pronunciation in South China, they restricted their policy to Qing officials and the literati, as Hong Chengchou stated, "so that emperors' edicts can be conveyed and local situations can be understood."[44]

Manchu-Chinese Segregation in the Imperial Language Regime

After the Chinese language was involved into the imperial language regime, the relation between Manchu and Chinese languages constituted an important part of Qing governance, something which has raised considerable discussions about the nature of Manchus' reign over China.[45] The rise and decline paradigm is commonly employed in the study of the evolution of Manchu and the Manchu-Chinese language relations. In discussing the various roles of the Manchu language, particularly in the late Qing period, I will argue that Qing emperors maintained the Manchu's sacred position as the state language while recognizing the importance of Chinese for ruling the Chinese population. Throughout the Qing Dynasty, Manchu was important for the occasions when and where it was used and the identity of the people who used it instead of the number of its users.

In the Qing Dynasty, Manchu writing dominated certain types of matters, such as banner, military, and borderland affairs. The exclusive use of Manchu in the early Qing period remained until the late Qing period. As Bartlett points out, "many unique Manchu documents, never translated into Chinese, were produced in the middle and even the late Ch'ing."[46] In addition to the aforementioned studies of Kanda Nobuo, Giovanni Stary, Murata Yujiro, and Qu Liusheng, many recent published catalogues of Manchu archives demonstrated that Manchu was prevalently used in borderland and ethnic affairs in Mongolia, Manchuria, and Xinjiang.[47] Besides, Manchu was widely used in Qing-Russian treaties in the nineteenth century. The Qing court did not translate Manchu into Chinese until the 1850s and used Chinese along with Manchu after the 1860s.[48] The Jingzhou Garrison (荊州駐防) in Hubei

[44] *SZZHDSL*, J. 15, 131b-132a.
[45] Evelyn S. Rawski, "Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no.4 (1996): 829-50. Pingti Ho, "In Defence of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski's 'Reenvisioning the Qing'," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no.1 (1998): 123-55.
[46] Beatrice S. Bartlett, "Books of Revelations," 26.
[47] Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆 et al, eds. *Qingdai bianjiang manwen dang'an mulu* 清代边疆满文档案目录 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1999). Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu zhongxin 中国边疆史地研究中心, *Xinjiang manwen dang'an huibian* 新疆满文档案汇编 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2012).
[48] Qian Xun 錢恂, *Zhong E jieyue kanzhu* 中俄界約勘注 (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1894, reprinted in 1963).

recompiled and reprinted twelve Manchu reference books, in contrast to previous local garrisons which had only published four.[49]

Qing emperors were consistently wary of the Chinese language's increasing influence of the Chinese language among Manchus. The Yongzheng emperor considered it improper for Manchu soldiers not to learn Manchu.[50] He even prohibited Chinese speaking and allowed the Valiant Cavalry Battalion (驍騎營) to speak Manchu only.[51] In the nineteenth century, many examples can still be found from the *Veritable Records* stating that emperors criticized bannermen who failed to use Manchu as required at certain occasions and regarded this tendency as a loss of the Qing tradition.[52]

Throughout the Qing Dynasty, the Manchu language was used at court everyday. Speaking Manchu when expressing gratitude and greeting emperors became an important part of the Manchu court culture. At Jingyun, Longzong, Donghua, and Xihua Gates (景運門 隆宗門 東華門 西華門), whenever a minister passed, the Han bannermen on guard shouted *ili* (to stand to attention) to show their respects.[53] As a rule, Manchu bannermen presented greeting and expressed gratitude to emperors in Manchu. They kneeled down saying that *enduringge ejen-i tumen elhe be baimbi* (long live the sacred emperor; literally: I greet the sacred emperor healthy for ten thousand years) or sometimes simply *[name] de elhe baimbi* ([name] ask after the emperor). In response, emperors answered *ili* (stand up please). This tradition was maintained until the last Qing emperor.[54]

The Qing court also used the Manchu language when conducting shamanic religious ceremonies. In 1898, the *Code of Rituals of Sacrifice to the Sacred Pole* (恭祭神杆禮節之冊) was issued, which was a detailed description regarding how to make sacrifices to the heaven with the Sacred Pole. The *Code* included a sacred Manchu song written in Manchu with a Chinese transliteration. For example, *anje amba abka donji* (the great heaven hears) was also

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[49] Huang Runhua 黃润华, "Manwen guanke tushu shulun 满文官刻图书述论," *Wenxian* 文献, no.4 (1996): 220-35.
[50] *SZXHDSL*, J. 65, 1001b.
[51] Ibid., J. 103, 367b.
[52] *Renzong ruihuangdi shilu* 仁宗睿皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *RZRHDSL*), J. 358, 722a, b. *XZCHDSL*, J. 95, 533b; J. 400, 1159a; J. 417, 364a. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html
[53] Zhenjun 震鈞, *Tianzhi ouwen* 天咫偶聞 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, reprinted in 1982), 5.
[54] Pujia 溥佳, "Qinggong huiyi 清宫回忆," in *Wanqing gongting shenghuo jianwen* 晚清宫廷生活见闻, eds. Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi quanguo weiyuanhui 中国人民政治协商会议全国委员会 and Wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui 文史资料研究委员会 (Beijng: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1982), 5.

written as 安哲按爸阿撲喀端機 (anzhe anba a'puka duanji). The note at the end explained the reason that "if descendants are not proficient in Manchu, please read the Chinese transliteration respectfully."[55]

Imperial mausoleums were important memorial sites for Manchus to worship deceased emperors. Epitaphs on stelae that described an emperor's sacred merit and sage virtue were all written in Manchu. As for imperial family members and ordinary Manchu bannermen, Manchu was consistently used on their tombstones in the Qing dynasty. Many of them can still be found in Beijing and Shenyang.[56] The power generated by these inscriptions survived after the death of the person, announced their identity, and thereby made the dead immortal.[57]

From these examples, it can be seen that when, where, and who used the Manchu language was more important than the Manchu texts themselves. The use of Manchu at the aforementioned occasions identified Qing emperorship with Manchu identity, which distinguished bannermen from the other groups.[58] "A family of Manchu and Chinese people" was not fully realized in the nineteenth century. As Edward Rhoads argues the still noticeable Manchu-Chinese distinctions in the last decade of the Qing dynasty distinguished the Manchus as a privileged group during the late Qing constitutional reform.[59] The rise of the communicative function of the Chinese language for governing the Chinese population did not obscure the ritual and political significance of Manchu at court and in the borderlands. While the dissemination of classical Chinese and *guanyin* legitimized Manchu reign in China, the use of Manchu separated the Manchu ruling group from Han Chinese and distinguished the Qing Empire from Han Chinese dynasties.

In a multilingual environment, different languages carry different functions, not limited to communication. When Romance languages developed out of spoken Latin, it remained a written medium for many centuries throughout Western Europe and was used by elites.[60] In

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[55] Songpei 松培, *Gongji shengan lijie zhice* 恭祭神竿禮節之冊 (The wuying palace edition, 1898).
[56] Huang Runhua 黃润华 and Qu Liusheng 屈六生, *Quanguo manwen tushu ziliao lianhe mulu* 全国满文图书资料联合目录 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991).
[57] Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 2.
[58] Nicola Di Cosmo, "Manchu Shamanic Ceremonies at the Qing Court," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. Mcdermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 385-6.
[59] Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).
[60] Hans Henrich Hock and Brain D. Joseph, *Language History, Language Change and Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical and comparative Linguistics* (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996), 46.

Central Europe, it continued to be taught to legal practitioners, medical doctors, and biologists who employed elements of this language for specialized needs after the Second World War.[61] Likewise, Sanskrit functioned as a scholarly *lingua franca* in India long after the emergence of regional languages that had descended from it.[62] "French remained the language of law courts in England as late as 1733."[63] The Ottoman Empire is a more recent example. The Ottoman literati used the Ottoman language which was a mixture of Arab, Persian and Turkic as it "had enabled them to build an instrument with a conceptual sophistication above the 'rough' Turkish of the poorer classes and Turkmen tribes."[64] They rejected the simplification of the Ottoman Turkish and kept their linguistic habits.[65] These cases show a complicated linguistic situation in empires involving class, profession, religion, and knowledge.

Taming Nomads: Qing Language Policy towards the Mongols

For centuries, northern nomadic and pastoral groups posed a threat to Chinese dynasties located south of the Great Wall, such as the Huns in the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) and the Jurchens in the Song dynasty (960–1279).[66] Nomadic Mongols constituted an important non-Chinese group in the Qing Empire. Although Qing emperors believed that the Mongols' nomadic nature and martial spirit helped maintain the special Manchu-Mongol relations, they were concerned about how to control nomadic Mongols under Manchu reign. In this section, I will discuss how Manchu emperors devised a Mongolian-Tibetan-Chinese language regime so as to transform individual Mongols into loyal subordinates.

The Manchu-Mongol Special Relations

Mongols were incorporated into the Qing Empire at different times and by different means. Southern Mongols, the Mongols living south of the Gobi desert who eventually converted into Inner Mongolia, established a close marital, political, and military relationship

[61] Tomasz Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 97.
[62] Hock and Joseph, *Language History, Language Change and Language Relationship*, 61.
[63] Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*, 90.
[64] Serif Mardin, "The Ottoman Empire," in *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-building: the Soviet Union and Russian, Ottoman and Habsburg Empires*, eds., Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colo.: Westview press, 1997), 119.
[65] Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[66] Nicola Di Cosmo, "Kirghiz Nomads on the Qing Frontier: Tribute, Trade, or Gift Exchange?" in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, eds. Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 351-72.

with the Manchus in the early seventeenth century. From the late 1630s, the Manchus' military support for the Khorchin tribe against the Ligdan Khan (1588–1634) forced the allied Mongols to surrender to the Qing.[67] The subordination of Southern Mongols not only assured Manchus about the situation in Manchuria but also enhanced the Manchus' military power. They provided labour, taxes, and military personnel. Manchu emperors organized Southern Mongols into banners and leagues. The *jasagh* (a word derived from "ruling"), who were appointed by Manchu emperors from among local Mongol aristocrats, acted as the political and judicial authority of each banner.[68] The figure of the *jasagh*, as Di Cosmo argues, was "the critical element in the political remaking of the southern Mongol."[69] Although the Southern Mongols relinquished their sovereignty, the league-banner system guaranteed them political privileges. The status of the Southern Mongols was between partners and subordinates. Di Cosmo defines it as a condition of "tutelage."[70]

In the middle of the Kangxi period, Khalkha Mongols in Outer Mongolia were absorbed into the Qing by peaceful negotiation, whilst the Qing conquered the western Mongols, primarily the Dzunghars in today's northern Xinjiang, in the middle of the Qianlong period.[71] After more Mongols were incorporated under Qing reign, Qing emperors considered Mongolia an important area to defend both the capital Beijing and Chinese provinces. Qing emperors frequently stated that Mongolia could function as a "fence" (藩籬) and provide "protection" (屏障) for the Qing.[72] The Qing's emphasis on the geopolitical position of Mongolia continued into the late Qing period when the Qing encountered the threats from the Russian Empire. When Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠 1812–1885) suggested building a Qing defence system on land in the nineteenth century, he stated that "Xinjiang is significant for protecting Mongolia and protecting Mongolia is significant for defending the capital."[73]

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[67] Nicola Di Cosmo, "From Alliance to Tutelage: A Historical Analysis of Manchu-Mongol Relations before the Qing Conquest," *Frontiers of History in China* 7, no.2 (2012), 188-9.
[68] Nicola Di Cosmo, "The Extension of Ch'ing Rule over Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet, 1636-1800," in *The Cambridge History of China: The Ch'ing Dynasty to 1800*, Vol. 9, Part Two, ed., Willard J. Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 122.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Nicola Di Cosmo, "From Alliance to Tutelage: A Historical Analysis of Manchu-Mongol Relations before the Qing Conquest," *Frontiers of History in China* 7, no. 2 (2012): 175-97.
[71] C.R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 39-80. Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 174-292.
[72] *GZCHDSL*, J. 633, 70b, 71b. *RZRHDSL*, J. 163, 116a.
[73] Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠, "Zunzhi tongchou quanju zhe 遵旨统筹全局摺," in *Zuo Zongtang quanji* 左宗棠全集, Zougao 奏

Qing emperors constructed a separate legal system to rule the Mongols.[74] The *Mongolian Code* (蒙古律例), which was written solely in Mongolian prior to the eighteenth century, constituted a set of statutes that applied to the Mongols. These statutes were later included in the *Regulations of the Lifanyuan* (理藩院則例) and the *Great Qing Legal Code* (大清律例) that were compiled between the Kangxi and Qianlong reigns.

In 1636, the Qing state established the Mongol Bureau (*Monggo jurgan* 蒙古衙門) to handle Mongolian affairs.[75] In 1638, the Bureau was renamed "the Lifanyuan," which was *tulergi golo be dasara jurgan* in Manchu, literally the Court of the Administration of the Outer Domains.[76] The Lifanyuan, which was staffed primarily by Manchu and Mongol bannermen, retained the tradition of using Manchu and Mongolian as the two official languages. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the outer domains extended to Outer Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang. The Lifanyuan, which initially handled Inner Mongolian affairs, turned into the department administering Inner and Outer Mongolian, Tibetan, Muslim, and Russian affairs.

The Promotion of the Tibetan Language

The imperial sponsorship of the Tibetan language, which derived from Qing patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, brought Manchu reign into the Mongols' religious life. Tibetan Buddhism became widespread among Mongols during the Yuan Dynasty.[77] With the aid of Mongol chief Gushri Khan (1582-1655), the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) assumed temporary control of Tibet.[78] The Western Mongols–Oirats and the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia–declared Tibetan Buddhism the official religion of the Mongols in 1640.[79] In the early seventeenth century, Manchu rulers began to show their respect of Tibetan Buddhism. Nurhaci and Hong Taiji conducted Tibetan Buddhist rituals to "impress the Mongols favourably, and to make submission to Manchu imperial authority more acceptable to the

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稿, vol. 6 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2009), 702.

[74] Heuschert Dorothea, "Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols," *The International History Review* 20, no.2 (1998): 311.

[75] *TZWHDSL*, J. 30, 382a.

[76] Ibid., J. 42, 550a.

[77] Shen Weirong, *Tibetan Buddhism in Mongol-Yuan China (1206-1368)* (Brill, 2010). Walther Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, trans. Geoffrey Samuel (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970, translated and published in 1980), 24-35.

[78] S. Lopez Jr. Donald, "Tibetan Buddhism," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. eds. James A. Millward et al. (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 26.

[79] James A Millward, "The Return of the Torghuts," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 99.

Mongolian princes."[80] Hong Taiji invited the Fifth Dalai Lama to Mukden in 1637. In 1640, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama (1570–1662) formally recognized the Manchu emperor as a bodhisattva in his letter addressed to the "Mañjuśrī-Great Emperor".[81] In 1653, the Shunzhi emperor invited the Dalai Lama to Beijing. After the Mongolian territory over which Qing rule had extended in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors employed many Tibetan Buddhist monks at court.[82] Meanwhile, they sponsored the construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples in Beijing and Jehol to practice Tibetan Buddhist rituals and receive Mongol princes.[83]

The Qing Empire's patronage of Tibetan Buddhism fostered the policy of sponsoring the Tibetan language in Mongolia. In the Shunzhi reign, the Turgot Academy (唐古特學) was established in the Lifanyuan to teach Tibetan and train Mongolian-Tibetan and Chinese-Tibetan translators. In 1657, the Shunzhi emperor approved that "each [Mongolian] banner selects people to learn Tibetan [at the Turgot Academy] and the teachers are given a government salary as officials ranking at the sixth grade."[84] Meanwhile, the Tibetan language was used to compose much of Buddhist literature in the Qing dynasty, especially between the Kangxi and Qianlong reigns. The Qing Dynasty sponsored Tibetan-Mongolian translation projects on a huge scale, including the biographies of renowned lamas, the chronicles of yellow churches (黃寺), and the Buddhist cannon.[85] Between 1718 and 1720, the Mongolian canon, the *Bka'-'gyur* (translation of the Buddha Word, consisting of 1,161 works in 108 large volumes), translated from Tibetan between 1628 and 1629 was revised and published. The Mongolian translation of the Tibetan supplementary canon (226 volumes), the *Bstan-'gyur* (translation of Teachings), was completed between 1741 and 1749.[86]

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[80] David M Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the governance of the Ch'ing empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 38, no. 1 (1978): 20, Cf. Walther Heissig, "A Mongolian Source to the Suppression of Shamanism," Anthropos 48 (1953), 499-500.

[81] Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the governance of the Ch'ing empire," 19, Cf., Gunther Schulemann, *Die Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, rev. ed. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), 243.

[82] Ning Chia, "The Lifanyuan in the Early Ch'ing Dynasty," (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1992), 225. Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 271. Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 33.

[83] James A. Millward et al., eds. *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004). Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 585.

[84] *QDDQHDSL*, J. 992, 78a-80b.

[85] Naquin, *Peking*, 585.

[86] David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no.1 (1978): 23-4.

The position of the Tibetan language in the religious life of Mongolian society is similar to the role of Latin in liturgies, decrees, and official communications in the Catholic Church today. The Mongols learnt Tibetan for ritual and religious reasons. All lamas who claimed to be converted to Tibetan Buddhism must learn Tibetan. Mongols considered those who read Tibetan literate, just like Chinese literati who read classical Chinese. As early as in the early seventeenth century, Hong Taiji noted that "Mongol princes abandoned the Mongolian language but imitated lamas' names."[87] Mongol monks performed rituals in Tibetan to show their association with the imperial Buddhist Qing. Being Mongol and being Buddhist was incorporated into a Buddhist Qing identity.[88] As Benedict Anderson argues, prior to the formation of nation states, sacred language and practices which were mastered by the higher level of communities helped holding together religious communities in dynastic realms.[89]

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Tibetan Buddhism and the Tibetan language helped unite Mongols around the Qing territory which Manchu emperors ruled over. Khalkha Mongols identified many similarities they shared with the Qing, to the extent that they joined the Qing in 1691.[90] After the Qing defeated the Dzunghar Mongols (1687–1757), Tibetan Buddhists, including those living in Mongolia and Tibet, inhabited almost half the Qing territory under the Manchu reign.[91] The Qing Empire's patronage of Tibetan Buddhism convinced and assured Mongolian and Tibetan subjects that they were incorporated into a cosmopolitan empire which persistently preserved the their distinct culture from Han Chinese influence. In this way, the Qing Empire resembled the Ottoman Empire which was described as "a haven of relative peace, security and tolerance which the Ottomans offered not just to Muslims but also to Christian and Jewish subjects of their would-be universal empire."[92] The Mongols' loyalty to the Great Qing, which largely derived from the Qing's religious toleration, explains the Mongols' difficult relation with the Republic of China after 1911.[93]

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[87] *TZWHDSL*, J. 18, 237a.
[88] Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism, and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 100.
[89] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1996), 12-22.
[90] Millward, "The Return of the Torghuts," 99.
[91] Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China*, 17.
[92] Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 13.
[93] John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Post, 1842-1854*. Vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 42. Rawski, *The Last* Emperors, 301. Elverskog, *Our Great Qing*, 166-7.

The Prohibition of the Chinese Language

Crossley and Rawski argue that "it was not until the late eighteenth century that the court developed a cultural policy mandating that Manchus should express themselves in Manchu, Mongols in Mongolian, and Chinese in Chinese."[94] Although there was no regulation explicitly prohibiting the use of Chinese in the everyday life of the Mongols, it does not imply that the Qing held a *laissez-faire* language policy. During the campaign against Ming China in the early seventeenth century, Manchu emperors were concerned that people who spoke Chinese could leak military secrets. When Hong Taiji selected soldiers to escort Ming envoys to Ningyuan (寧遠), he ordered local officials to "select those who are experienced and steady, who do not understand the Chinese language, and who are loyal and of few words."[95] From the seventeenth century onwards, the Qing Dynasty prohibited Chinese immigration and land reclamation in Manchuria and Mongolia.[96] A Willow Palisade (柳條邊) was erected to restrict the living district of Chinese people who had already moved north of the Great Wall.[97] These restrictions with general regard to the prohibition against Chinese-Mongol communication appeared to assure Manchu emperors that the Mongols would not learn the Chinese language on their own initiatives or be influenced by Chinese culture.

But from the nineteenth century, many instructions and orders can be found in the *Regulations for the Lifanyuan* and the *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing* which prohibited the Mongols from learning and using the Chinese language in their everyday life and on official occasions. Such articles first appeared in 1815. The Jiaqing emperor instructed that:

> "The Mongols have gradually fallen into Chinese bad habits in recent years. Some of them have gone so far as to build houses, and perform and see operas. They have already lost their traditional customs and learnt from evil teachings [邪教], which is extremely unacceptable. Instruct the Lifanyuan to order all inner and outer *jasagh* tribes to keep the Mongols under strict control so that the Mongols will maintain their

[94] Crossley and Rawski, "*A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History*," 80.
[95] *TZWHDSL*, J. 60, 822b.
[96] Christopher Mills Isett, *State, Peasant, and Merchant in Qing Manchuria, 1844-1862* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 47.
[97] David Sneath, "Beyond the Willow Palisade: Manchuria and the History of China's Inner Asian Frontier," *Asian Affairs* 34, no.1 (2003): 3. James Reardon-Anderson, "Land Use and Society in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia during the Qing Dynasty," *Environmental History* 5, no.4 (2000): 507.

traditional customs. At the same time, [all inner and outer *jasagh* tribes] should carefully investigate the situation, capture those who still learn from the evil sect, and report the cases to the Lifanyuan."[98]

"Performing and seeing operas" indicates the influence Chinese language and culture had on the Mongols' everyday life in the early nineteenth century. In 1836, the Daoguang emperor noted that some Mongols used Chinese in their names and instructed that "only Manchu or Mongolian can be used in the Mongols' names."[99] These instructions regulated the use of language by the ordinary Mongols.

The Daoguang emperor also paid attention to the use of language by Mongol nobles in administrative affairs. In 1839, he ordered that "*wang* [王], *gong* [公], and *taiji* [台吉] should not employ government clerks from south of the Great Wall to teach [Chinese] reading or act as government clerks [in Mongol tribes]."[100] In 1853, the Xianfeng emperor issued an instruction which reaffirmed the Qing language policy:

"The Mongols who use Chinese names and learn the Chinese language and culture have lost their tradition. Using Chinese in lawsuits is even more incorrect. Order the Lifanyuan to instruct all [Mongol] tribes that [the Mongols] should learn the Mongolian language and [the tribes] should not allow [the Mongols] to learn Chinese as they wish."[101]

In 1876, the Guangxu court issued an article concerning the use of Chinese in Mongolian official documents:

"Chinese cannot be used in official documents, reports, and legal papers without permission. Those who breach this article will be punished in accordance with the *[Great Qing Legal] Code*. Those who write documents [in Chinese] on behalf of others will be escorted to their ancestral home and kept under strict control. If it is a legal case, the person who writes on the behalf of others will be punished according to the rule for

[98] Kungang 崑岡 et al. *Qinding daqing huidian shili* 欽定大清會典事例 (hereafter: *QDDQHDSL*) (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1976), J. 993, Lifanyuan 理藩院, Jinling 禁令, Neimenggu buluo jinling 內蒙古部落禁令, 56a,b.
[99] Ibid., J. 993, 56a-57b.
[100] Ibid., J. 993, 58a.
[101] *QDDQHDSL*., J. 993, 58a-59b.

fraudulent officials, no matter whether he has colluded with others or incited others to commit crimes or both."[102]

In brief, in the nineteenth century, every Qing emperor, except the Tongzhi emperor, issued instructions to restrict the use of Chinese among the Mongols. These instructions demonstrated the Qing's concern that the growing Chinese influence on everything from the Mongols' everyday life to official occasions was a serious violation of the traditional Qing ruling system (殊失舊制).

Learning to read Chinese meant following a civil and secular path to become literate. From the seventeenth century, under the Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan language regime, Qing emperors prioritized the nomadic nature and martial spirit of the Mongols over literacy, and considered Tibetan the learned language of Tibetan Buddhism. Through this language regime, Manchu emperors maintained the distinctiveness of the Mongols and strengthen the Manchu-Mongol relations in political, military, religious, and cultural aspects. Early Qing emperors frequently compared themselves to Genghis Khan (1162–1227), the founding emperor of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty.[103] Mounted archery (騎射), a military skill that the Manchus and Mongols excelled at, was persistently valued by Qing emperors. The Qianlong emperor recognized mounted archery as part of Manchu heritage along with the state language (國語騎射).[104] The Qing court, especially between the Kangxi and Jiaqing reigns, invited Mongol princes to hunt with the imperial family regularly at the Mulan hunting preserve (木蘭圍場). Imperial hunts, which featured a nomadic living style, symbolized the preservation and revival of nomadic culture and demonstrated the special tie between Manchus and Mongols.[105]

Qing emperors, particularly the conquest generation, regarded Chinese culture, which in their opinion valued civilian learning more than military force, as a dangerous element that would ruin the fierce and brave characteristics of the Mongols and undermined the special Manchu-Mongol relations. In the opinions of the Qing emperors, the spread of Chinese was not just a natural linguistic influence but also a penetration of Chinese political and cultural

[102] Ibid., J. 993, 60a-62b.
[103] *SZZHDSL*, J. 15, 130b-131a; J. 136, 1050b-1051a. *SZXHDSL*, J. 83, 99a.
[104] *GZCHDSL*, J. 411, 379b-381a.
[105] Mark C. Elliot and Ning Chia, "The Qing Hunt at Mulan," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 70-1.

power into Mongolian society. They thus welcomed the antagonism of the Mongols towards Chinese culture to some extent. By prohibiting Mongols from learning Chinese, Qing emperors segregated not only Chinese and non-Chinese languages and peoples but also consolidated the difference between the two cultures.

Furthermore, learning to read Chinese symbolized the spread of the Confucian tradition, which contradicted the image of universal Manchu emperorship as manifested in the Qing policy towards the Mongols. As Hong Chengchou stated when he suggested the Shunzhi emperor learn the Chinese language, "the way [道] for an emperor to cultivate his character and rule the people is all included in the Six Classics [六經]."[106] The Six Classics is a term for the group of six classics of Confucianism, which were considered classics in Chinese culture, including the *Classic of Poetry* (詩經), the *Book of Documents* (書經), the *Book of Rites* (禮記), the *Classic of Music* (樂經), the *Classic of Changes* (易經), and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋). These classics created an imagined moral realm that sage Chinese rulers followed Confucian morals and doctrines, which became the basis for the civil examinations and shaped much of Chinese politics, society, and thoughts in dynastic history.[107]

Although Qing emperors disseminated an image of Confucian monarchs to Han Chinese within former Ming territories, they cultivated the Mongols in a different way as noted earlier. The policy of distinguishing the Mongols from Han Chinese was part of the Qing policy implemented towards the Inner Asian peoples, which was at odds with the "sinicizing" policy that was applied to the peoples inhabiting the southern and southwestern borderlands. In contrast to the Confucian ideal that aimed at unifying all peoples under a Confucian rule, the Qing's Inner Asian policy laid the foundation for Manchu universal emperorship under which divergent cultures remained fundamentally different and separate. The Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan language regime not just transformed individual Mongols to the loyal subordinates of Manchu emperors and separated the Mongols from Han Chinese but also distinguished Manchu emperorship from the previous Han Chinese ones.

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[106] *SZZHDSL*, J. 15, 131b-132a.
[107] Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 4-11.

The Upper-level Multilingualism:
Integrating Languages into the Imperial Language System

While Qing emperors constructed a boundary between the Manchus, Mongols, and Han Chinese which divided their traditional languages, the emperors were still concerned with how to maintain the unity of the empire under Manchu reign. In this section, I will discuss how Manchu emperors integrated various languages into the Qing language regime at the upper level. I will explore the Qing's official translation system, the imperially sponsored projects of polyglot printings, and the *kamcime* character of inscriptions on the multilingual monuments that commemorated Qing military achievements and demonstrated the Qing emperors' patronage of Tibetan Buddhism.

Qing Official Translators and Translation Institutions

Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan were the four major languages used in official documents in the Qing Dynasty. The Qing capital of Beijing was the place where documents written in these languages were gathered. In order to make memorials that were written in various languages understood by emperors and Han ministers, the Qing Empire employed official translators in most departments and established several translation institutions in Beijing.

Bithesi (筆帖式, official translator) and *zhongshu* (中書, chief official translator) were unique Qing official titles, whose duties included the hand copying and translating of official documents, decrees and edicts, and imperial printings. *Bithesi* and *zhongshu* were all selected from bannermen through examinations. In 1723, the Yongzheng emperor introduced translation examinations into the Qing civil examination system. At the beginning, this was a Manchu-Chinese translation examination opened only to Manchu bannermen, but Mongolian and Chinese bannermen were also permitted to attend the examination several years later.[108] Attending translation examinations was regarded as an extra opportunity for those who had a good command of Manchu and Mongolian to enter Qing officialdom.[109] Despite a perennial lack of examinees which resulted in the suspension of several examinations, translation

[108] *QDDQHDSL*, J. 241, 85a. Tieliang 鐵良 et al., *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 [1796] (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1968), J. 103, 6a-7a.
[109] Ye Gaoshu 葉高樹, "Qingchao de fanyi kaoshi zhidu 清朝的翻譯考試制度," *Taiwan shida lishi xuebao* 台灣師大歷史學報 49 (2013): 106.

examinations selected a great number of Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Mongolian translators for Qing institutions.[110]

The Grand Secretariat was in charge of receiving, dispatching, and copying out routine documents written in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan. It also wrote preliminary comments on *tiben* (題本, routine memorials) and copied significant imperial printings, such as the publications of the Wuying Palace (武英殿), imperial laws, and the Veritable Records. Different departments in the Grand Secretariat handled documents written in different languages. The House of Manchu Documents (滿本房) was responsible for copying and proofreading Manchu writings. The House of Chinese Documents (漢本房) was in charge of Manchu-Chinese translation. The House of Mongolian Documents (蒙古本房) was responsible for translating the memorials from outer tribes (外藩) and writing decrees and edicts descending to Tibet. Besides, there were the Offices of Manchu Preliminary Comments (滿票籤處) and Chinese Preliminary Comments (漢票籤處). The former wrote preliminary comments, copied decrees and edicts, and wrote articles in Manchu and Mongolian, while the latter fulfilled these tasks in Chinese.[111] Besides, the Grand Secretariat was responsible for copying, writing, and translating other significant imperial printings, such as the *Veritable Records*, *Sacred Edicts*, *Collected Statutes*, and plaques in imperial temples.[112]

Bithesi and *zhongshu* also worked in various institutions in the capital as well as other provinces, such as the Six Ministries in Beijing, the Five Ministries in Shengjing (盛京五部), the General's Yamen in provinces (將軍衙門), the Provincial Military Yamen (都統衙門), and the Vice Provincial Military Yamen (副都統衙門).[113] The Lifanyuan, in which the working language were Manchu, Mongolian, and in some cases Tibetan and Uighur, employed the most *bithesi* among all Qing institutions. According to the *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing*, in the Lifanyuan, thirty-six *bithesi* were selected from Manchu bannermen,

[110] Ye Gaoshu, "Qingchao de fanyi kaoshi zhidu," 59, 70-1, 91-3, 95-6.
[111] *QDDQHDSL*, J. 2, 3a-4b.
[112] Ibid., J. 2, 10b-11a.
[113] Yang Jinlin 杨金林, "Bietieshi yu 1673-1683 nian qingchao juece xitong 笔帖式与 1673-1683 年清朝决策系统," *Xiamen daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 厦门大学学报（哲学社会科学版）, no.2 (1984): 85-90. Li Hong 李红, "Qingdai bietieshi 清代笔帖式," *Lishi Dang'an* 历史档案, no.2 (1994): 89-92. Zhao Yunan 赵郁楠, "Qingdai bietieshi zhi tese 清代笔帖式之特色," *Manzu yanjiu* 满族研究, no.4 (2006): 59-68. Wang Jingya 王静雅, "Yongzheng chunian bitieshi kao 雍正初年笔帖式考," *Lishi dang'an*, no.2 (2015): 104-11

fifty-five from Mongolian bannermen, and twelve from Chinese bannermen. These 103 *bithesi* were dispatched to different departments and offices of the Lifanyuan.[114] In the House of Mongolian Documents, whose duty included handling Tibetan documents, "four among the sixteen Mongolian *zhongshu* are selected from *bithesi* who have graduated from the Tangut Academy."[115] At the same time, *bithesi* also worked with ministers and generals that were stationed in the borderlands, such as the Office of the General of Yili (伊犁將軍) and the Office of the Councillor of Tarbaghatai (塔爾巴哈台參贊大臣).[116]

Official translations conveyed messages written in different languages from local provinces and borderlands to emperors and ministers in Beijing; and transmitted imperial orders and instructions back. However, as Crossley and Rawski argue, "it is mistake, …, before examining both or all versions, to assume that any translation wholly corresponds to its original."[117] Although translation sustained Manchu simultaneous reign over divergent peoples and cultures, we may wonder how Manchu emperors hierarchized various languages and whether there were any error, omission, or deliberate difference in official translations.

Kamcime Printings: Dictionaries and Books

To standardize the writing and translation of different languages, a great number of bilingual, trilingual, quadrilingual, and quinlingual dictionaries were compiled and published in the Qing Dynasty. Drawing on several catalogues of polyglot collections produced during the Qing Dynasty, Rawski found that 24.7 per cent of Manchu books were language guides, such as dictionaries, reference books, and textbooks.[118] These publications included two or more of the Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, Tibetan, and Uighur languages. Most of these polyglot printings were produced between the Kangxi and Qianlong reigns.

The compilation of the *Imperially Commissioned Manchu Dictionary* (*Han-i araha toktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* 御製清文鑒) in 1708, a Manchu-Chinese dictionary, marked the first attempt by the Qing to create polyglot publications. The Qianlong emperor commissioned a project to enlarge this dictionary, which then became the *Imperially*

[114] Yuntao 允祹 et al. *Qinding daqing huidian* 欽定大清會典 (hereafter: *QDDQHD*), J. 79, 2b-3a. (1764). In *Qinding Sikuquanshu* 欽定四庫全書, Shibu 史部, 13. Digitalized.
[115] *QDDQHDSL*, J. 2, 3a.
[116] Ibid. vol. 80, 6a, 23a-24a.
[117] Crossley and Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," 69.
[118] Evelyn S. Rawski, "Qing Publishing in Non-Han languages," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, eds. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 315.

Commissioned Enlarged Manchu Dictionary (*Han-i araha nonggime totktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* 御製增訂清文鑒). These books soon became popular reference books and basic-level textbooks in banner schools and continued to be so in the late Qing period.[119] These books also provided guidance for *zhongshu* and *bithesi*'s translation of official documents.

In the later years of the Kangxi reign, the emperor thought that the Qing also needed to produce a Mongolian dictionary, because Mongolian was the national language of the Mongols.[120] Consequently, the *Imperially Commissioned Dictionary of the Manchu and Mongol Scripts* (*Han-i araha manju monggo gisun-i buleku bithe* 御制滿蒙合璧清文鑒) appeared in 1717. A trilingual version, the *Imperially Commissioned Dictionary of Matching the Sounds of Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese* (*Han-i araha manju monggo nikan hergen ilan hacin-i mudan acaha buleku bithe* 御制滿洲蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑒) was published in 1771.

The scope of the imperial effort to compile polyglot dictionaries expanded as the empire grew in territory. From the later Kangxi reign, it became a Qing tradition to compile military annals in different languages after significant military campaigns. The Qing often romanticized their military campaigns as either the Manchus' efforts to uphold the peace or the salvation of poor local people from brutal powers.[121] By writing in the native languages of defeated peoples as well as Manchu and Chinese, these books transmitted the "emperors' authority and wise teachings [聲教] to remote regions."[122] This imperial writing project required a standard translation between various languages and a unified transliteration of place and person names. The eighteenth century therefore saw a considerable increase in the printing, reprinting, and revision of polyglot reference books. After the Qing defeated Dzunghar Mongols, the Qianlong emperor commissioned the compilation of the *Transcribed Records of the Western Regions* (西域同文志), which was completed in 1782. This book standardized the Manchu and Chinese transliterations of proper names and presented the

[119] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manchu Education," in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, eds. Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994), 353-5.
[120] *SZRHDSL*, J. 241, 397b.
[121] Joanna Waley-Cohen, "Commemorating War in Eighteenth-Century China," *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no.4 (1996): 869-99.
[122] Fuheng 傅恆, *Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi* 欽定西域同文志, Tiyao 提要 (Wuyingdian keben, 1763), 1a-3b. In *Qinding Siku quanshu* 欽定四库全书 (The Four Treasuries), Jingbu 經部 (Section of Classics) 10. Digitalized.

spelling of the words in their original language and phonetic equivalents in Mongolian, Tibetan, Oirat Mongolian, and Uighur pronunciations.[123] A quadrilingual version of the Manchu dictionary, the *Imperially Commissioned Dictionary of Manchu in Four Scripts* (*Han-i araha duin hacin-i hergen kamciha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* 御制四體清文鑒), was published later. Apart from the three scripts of the previous version, the Tibetan language was added to this four-script dictionary. The compilation of the *Imperially Commissioned Dictionary of Manchu in Five Scripts* (*Han-i araha sunja hacin-i hergen kamciha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* 御制五體清文鑒) was the high point of polyglot printing in the Qing dynasty. Each item in this dictionary was written vertically in Manchu, Tibetan, the Manchu *qieyin* (切音, syllabic spelling) of Tibetan, the Manchu *duiyin* (對音, corresponding sounds) of Tibetan, Mongolian, Uighur, the Manchu *duiyin* of Uighur, and Chinese.[124]

By displaying these written works in various languages, Qing emperors mixed cultures together. The Kangxi and Qianlong emperors emphasized the significance of the construction of a *tongwen* (同文, harmonised writing) system in the empire.[125] *Tongwen* first appeared in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸) in the *Book of Rites* (禮記) describing the unity of written scripts under the Qin reign, "now all under heaven, carriages have all wheels of the same size, write the same script, and behave under the same established principles (今天下車同軌書同文行同倫)."[126] Originally, *tongwen* meant using the same Chinese characters in writing. In the multicultural Qing context, however, *tongwen* meant putting different languages with the same meaning line by line in one piece. This writing style is known as *kamcime* in Manchu and *hebi* (合璧) in Chinese. In *kamcime* works, Manchu was prioritized over the other languages. The aforementioned trilingual, quadrilingual, and quinlingual reference books were not named after all the languages they included. Instead, they were named "the Manchu dictionary in three, four, or five scripts," which implied that all other scripts were included so as to provide a supplement explanation to the state language. In the *Transcribed Record of the Western Regions*, the state language was presented at the first place as "the focal point" of

[123] Fuheng. *Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi, Tiyao* 1a-3b. Rawski, "Qing publishing in Non-Han languages," 315.
[124] *Yuzhi wuti qingwenjian* 御製五體清文鑑 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, reprinted in 1957).
[125] *SZRHDSL,* J. 233, 329a-330a.
[126] *Liji* 禮記, Zhongyong 中庸 (Beijing: Chongwen shuju, 2007), 28.

the whole book (首列國書以為樞紐), following which the book listed Chinese illustration and Chinese phonetic equivalents, then Mongolian, Tibetan, Oirat Mongolian, and Uighur scripts.[127] This sequence of presenting languages can be noticed in almost all Qing-published polyglot reference books.[128]

Beyond the literal meaning of *tongwen*, as Ma Zimu (马子木) and Borjigidai Oyunbilig (乌云毕力格) argue, *tongwen* in Chinese also meant "the uniformity and order of ethics, rites and music, and teachings under a sacred rulership."[129] In the *kamcime* context of the Qing Empire, the scope of *tongwen* extended to a multicultural realm. Meanwhile, Qing emperors, especially the Qianlong emperor developed the vision of Manchu rulership which was embedded in *tongwen* or *kamcime* writing. Although Manchu was prioritized over other languages in *kamcime* printings to remind the Manchus of their distinctive ancestral origin and culture,[130] the Qing aimed to do more than preserve Manchu heritage through these projects. *Kamcime* writing transmitted a multifaceted image of Manchu emperorship to diverse peoples and encompassed their cultures all under Manchu reign. The following two sections will discuss how *kamcime* writing symbolized and disseminated the vision of Manchu universal reign to different audiences in military and religious aspects.

Multilingual Monuments Commemorating Qing Military Achievements

The simultaneous use of multiple languages was frequently seen on monuments erected at places that were symbolically important in the Qing Empire, such as the Imperial Academy in the capital and cities where major battles occurred. The Manchu emperors' passion for erecting multilingual monuments, particularly during the Qianlong reign, was closely intertwined with the reinvention of universal Manchu emperorship. Rather than a presentation of the polyglot reality in the empire, this was an enterprise which combined the Manchu emperors' social, cultural, and political aspirations.[131]

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[127] Fuheng, *Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi, Tiyao,* 1a-3b.
[128] Chunhua 春花, *Qingdian manmengwen cidian yanjiu* 清代满蒙文词典研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2008).
[129] Ma Zimu 马子木 and Borjigidai Oyunbilig 乌云毕力格, "Tongwen zhizhi: qingchao duoyuwen zhengzhi wenhua de gouni yu shijian 同文之治：清朝多语文政治文化的构拟与实践," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究, no. 4 (2017): 84.
[130] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987): 761-83. Peikuan 培寬 and Zhigao 志高, *Qingwen zonghui* 清文總匯 (Jingzhou zhufang fanyi zongxue keben, 1897), 1b-2a.
[131] Waley-Cohen, "Commemorating War in Eighteenth-Century China," 871.

After the Qing victory over Galdan (1644–1697), the Kangxi emperor wrote five Manchu-Chinese inscriptions for the staelae erected at Chahan qiluo (察罕七羅), Tuonuo Mountain (拖諾山), Jao modo (昭木多), Langjuxu Mountain (狼居胥山), and the Imperial Academy in Beijing.[132] Although the inscriptions at the five sites focused on different themes, they collectively emphasized that the Qing's victory at these sites was the result of military and natural forces.[133] The Yongzheng emperor did the same after his Great Army pacified Qinghai.[134] The Qianlong emperor followed and developed this tradition to the greatest extent. In 1792, he styled himself the "Old Man of Ten Victories (十全老人)" to emphasize his ten major military achievements against the Dzunghars, Muslims, Jinchuan (金川) people, Taiwanese, Burmese and Vietnamese, and Khalkhas.[135] The stelae that commemorated the defeat of Jinchuan were erected between 1749 and 1776, three in Jinchuan and one at the Imperial Academy in Beijing.[136] Between 1755 and 1758, four stelae were erected to celebrate the Qing victory over the Dzunghars in Yili, Yerkiang, Gedeng Mountain, and Beijing.[137] After the Qing "pacified" the Muslims, the Qianlong emperor erected stelae in Yarkant, Yashilkul, and Beijing in 1760.[138]

The inscriptions on the stelae around battlefields were usually written in four or five languages. For example, four languages – Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan or Uighur – were used on the stelae commemorating the Qing victory over the Jinchuan people, Dzunghars, and Muslims. In Xinjiang, Uighur was more often used, while Tibetan was usually found on stelae in Sichuan. The *Ten Complete Military Victories* (十全武功紀), which was written when the Qianlong emperor styled himself as the Old Man of Ten Victories, was engraved in the four languages on a monument erected on Potala mountain in Lhasa, Tibet.[139]

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[132] Wenda 文達, *Shengzu renhuangdi qinzheng pingding shuomo fanglüe* 聖祖仁皇帝親征平定朔漠方略 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), J. 48, 30a-42a.
[133] Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 432-3.
[134] *SZXHDSL*, J. 21, 342a-344a.
[135] *GZCHDSL*, J. 1414, 1018b-1019a.
[136] Agui 阿桂 et al, *Pingding liangjinchuan fanglüe* 平定兩金川方略 [1781] (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 1992), J. 1, Juanshou 卷首.
[137] *GZCHDSL*, J. 499, 276a-280a.
[138] Ibid., J. 600, 717a-719a.
[139] Waley-Cohen, "Commemorating War in Eighteenth-Century China," 882.

Different languages were used to address different groups. While the Chinese language targeted at Chinese literati, the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan languages illustrated the Qing authority to their native speakers. Perdue studies the different styles of the four languages on the stele that commemorated the Qing victory over the Dzunghars. Perdue notes that the Chinese version referred to complicated definitions in Chinese classics, while the non-Chinese versions used "more immediately comprehensible language."[140] The Manchu and Mongolian texts also used more concrete words, while the Chinese version featured "lofty abstractions."[141] For example, the Manchu and Mongolian versions used "all became subjects of the great Manchu nation" to substitute the Chinese expression of "all have masters and all are servants."[142] In brief, while the Chinese writing announced the Qing power with an allusion to Chinese classics, the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan versions explicitly announced Manchu authority over all groups in the Qing Empire. Meanwhile, the visual display of all these languages at the same time at major battlefields delivered a message to the population at large that Qing emperors maintained a universal reign over all under heaven.

Stelae were also erected at the Imperial Academy in Beijing, which were normally named the Imperial Academy Stele for Successfully Pacifying [the place] (*necihiyeme toktobuha doroi ijibuha tacikui yamun-i bei bithe* 平定[地區]告成太學碑). Unlike the aforementioned quadrilingual and quinlingual inscriptions on the monuments in borderlands, stelae at the Imperial Academy were usually written in two languages, Manchu and Chinese. Wei Yuan (魏源 1794–1857) noted that the Kangxi emperor was the first emperor who commemorated military success at the Imperial Academy.[143] In the inscriptions written by the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors, they often quoted from the *Book of Rites* to illustrate why they erected a stele at the Imperial Academy after military campaigns, saying that:

> "When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition … He received the complete plan for the execution of [this charge] in the college. He went forth accordingly and seized the criminals. On his return, he set forth in the college his

[140] Perdue, *China Marches West,* 435.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Wei Yuan 魏源, "Kangxi qinzheng Zhunga'e ji 康熙親政準噶爾記," *Shengwu ji* 聖武記 [1842], J. 3, in *Wei Yuan quanji* 魏源全集, J. 3 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2005), 118.

offerings, and announced [to his ancestors] how he had questioned [his prisoners], and cut off the ears [of the slain]."[144]

By erecting a stele at the Imperial Academy that summarized the process and outcome of an expedition, Qing emperors reported their achievement to "the college" that had "instructed them how to complete the expedition".

The worship of Manchu emperors at the Imperial Academy conveyed a message that the incorporation of the conquered and pacified regions into the Qing territory complied with the will of ancient Chinese sages. The commemoration ritual was thereby relevant to the Qing project of constructing and maintaining a multicultural society, in which the Manchus acknowledged the distinct culture of non-Han peoples whilst commemorating Chinese history.

Furthermore, the commemoration of Manchu campaigns at the Imperial Academy legitimized the Qing reign over the conquered. The commemoration ceremony, in which a multitude of princes, ministers, and military officers attended, not only commemorated the victory but also marked the conclusion of a military campaign.[145] A complete commemoration constituted sacrifices at the mausoleums of deceased emperors in Shengjing and Beijing, the Imperial Ancestral Temple, and memorial sites out of the palace, a ceremony of "offering and acceptance of captives" held at the Meridian Gate of the Imperial Palace (午門), and eventually an announcement at the Imperial Academy.[146] Through a series of ceremonies, Qing emperors concluded military campaigns at the educational centre of the empire, which blurred the bloody feature of warfare. In their inscriptions at the Imperial Academy, Qing emperors emphasized their benevolent and wise policies towards the conquered after writing about major battles.[147] After the soldiers returned victoriously, worship at the sacred site further signified the combination of military action and civil means. It also brought to an end the permissibility of immortal conduct during war, the restoration of order in cosmos, and a return to normality.

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[144] Liji, Wangzhi 王制, 20. Translation cited from *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, Part IV, The Li Ki, I – X, trans., James Legge (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1990), 220.
[145] Waley-Cohen, "Commemorating War in Eighteenth-Century China," 871. Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒, "Cong gaoyu miaoshe dao gaocheng tianxia: qingdai xibei bianjiang pingding de liyi chongjian 从告于庙社到告成天下：清代西北边疆平定的礼仪重建," in *Dongfangxue yanjiu lunwenji* 东方学研究论文集 (Seisaku: Rinsen Shoten, 2014).
[146] *QDDQHD*, J. 35, 9b-13a.
[147] Waley-Cohen, "Commemorating War in Eighteenth-Century China," 871-2.

Establishing monuments to celebrate victory in war was a Chinese tradition since the Qin Dynasty. But the Qing Empire introduced this tradition to a multicultural realm. Erecting multilingual monuments became a Qing strategy to rule an empire of difference, which "revived a practice of the conquest dynasties which had been abandoned by the Ming."[148] Detailed accounts of battles or summaries of wars that were engraved on huge stones in multiple languages became an immortalized reminder of Qing authority to all peoples in the capital as well as the borderlands. Through these inscriptions, emperors conveyed a message that no further opposition would be tolerated, and more importantly, the Qing reign would be a combination of *wen* (文) and *wu* (武) and an integration of the conquerors and the conquered.

Multilingualism in the Spiritual Realm: The Multifaceted Imagery of Chengde

Qing multilingualism on land extended to the spiritual realm, which can be seen from the building of a polyglot Chengde, where Manchu emperors held annual imperial hunts and received Mongolian and Tibetan nobles. Chengde is located 155 Chinese li (approximately 77.5 kilometres) northeast of Beijing in present day Hebei province. Between the reign of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, Chengde became a symbol and microcosm of the multiethnic Qing Empire.

At Chengde, Qing emperors not only escaped the heat at the Bishu shanzhuang (避暑山莊, Mountain Villa to Escape the Heat), but also received Mongol and Tibetan nobles confirming their loyalty to the Qing and commemorating Qing military achievements in Mongolia.[149] As previously discussed, the imperial sponsorship of Tibetan Buddhism played an effective role in maintaining Manchu reign over the Mongols. Many temples in Chengde modelled Tibetan Buddhist temples or contained the Tibetan Buddhist architectural elements,[150] among which the eight main remaining ones are known as the Eight Outer Temples (外八廟). For example, the Puren si (普仁寺, the Temple of Pervading Benevolence) was constructed for Mongol princes who were invited to celebrate the Kangxi emperor's sixtieth birthday. The Putuozongcheng miao (普陀宗乘廟, the Potala Temple), which was

[148] Perdue, *China Marches West,* 429.
[149] Ruth W. Dunnell and James A. Millward, "Introduction," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 2.
[150] Anne Chayet, "Architectural Wonderland: An Empire of Fictions," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. eds. James A. Millward et al. (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 33-52.

built between 1767 and 1771 by modelling the Lhasa Potala, hosted various Mongolian groups including the Torghuts who returned from Russia and those invited to celebrate the Qianlong emperor's sixtieth birthday and his mother's eightieth birthday.

On most stelae in Chengde, Manchu and Chinese were used in inscriptions. To impress visitors from Mongolia and Tibet, Mongolian and Tibetan can also be found on many stelae. In these multilingual inscriptions, usually quadrilingual ones in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan, Qing emperors, particularly the Qianlong emperor, related the construction of these temples to a significant question of Manchu emperorship in the Qing Empire. An excerpt from the inscription written by the Qianlong emperor for the Xumifushou miao (須彌福壽廟, the Temple of the Happiness and Longevity of Mt Sumeru) in 1780 illustrates the origin and significance of the establishment of this temple.

> "In 1771 We built a Putuozongcheng miao … for blessings as well as to mark the return of the Torghut people. Since the Sixth Panchen Lama, Losang Belden Yeshe, wanted an audience with Us, today We have constructed the Xumifushou miao … and modeled it on his residence in order to give him a restful place for mediation. Also, We are following the precedent established by Our Imperial Ancestor Shizu [the Shunzhi emperor, r. 1644-1661], who built the Northern Yellow Temple in the capital to house the Fifth Dalai Lama. However, the visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama in fact came at the emperor's sincere invitation, while this visit of the Panchen Lama is not in response to Our summons but came from his own desire to visit the capital in order to witness the flourishing of the Gelukpa sect, [Our] nurturing and teaching, the ubiquitous peace and happiness, and the plenitude of goods in China (*huaxia*). At the same time, his visit has coincided with Our seventieth birthday and it is a time for celebration. Now, We had not intended to allow extravagant ceremony and had prepared an edict to forestall this; however, with the visit of the Sixth Panchen Lama, we should not hinder [his wishes to honor Us]. Our realm (*guojia*) has enjoyed peace and harmony for over a hundred years, and so the peoples of the center and the peoples of the periphery are one family. It has also been over a hundred years since the visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama. At that time, when Our Dynasty was first established, the Khalkha Mongols and the Oirat Mongols still included some obstructionist elements, but today there is complete peace and

harmony. The Khalkha submitted a long time ago, and all of the Oirat are now obedient. As soon as they heard of the visit of the Panchen Lama, they rejoiced and all wanted to serve him and adore him. This all stems from their perfect sincerity and happened without anyone telling them how to behave. Thus the higher goal in the building of the Xumifushou miao is to exalt accomplishments planned through the ages which have pacified and protected the realm (*bang*), while the basic goal is to answer the absolutely sincere desire of the vassal peoples to become civilized. Can We be perfunctory about this? Qianlong, forty-fifty year [1780] sixth month, first week."[151]

In this inscription, the Qianlong emperor proclaimed the Qing's willingness to welcome peoples from the outer domains of the empire, particularly Tibetan and Mongol nobles, who came to the capital to pay an audience to Manchu emperors. The Xumifushou miao was established mainly to house the sixth Penchan Lama (1738–1780) who visited the capital to witness the glorious, peaceful, and wealthy *huaxia* and attended the celebration of the emperor's seventieth birthday. The coming of the Penchan Lama was considered as the Tibetans' acknowledgement of the legitimate and successful reign of Manchu emperors over the empire. In the inscription, the Qianlong emperor repeatedly emphasized "the peace and harmony of our realm" and the establishment of Xumifushou miao was constructed as a symbol of the Qing's power, benevolence, and generosity, which connected the supreme authority in the capital with vassals in the borderlands. The quadrilingual inscription not only demonstrated the distinctiveness of the Mongols and Tibetans but also displayed the multi-cultural facets of Qing emperorship. The deliberately designed political-cultural landscape made Chengde a microcosm of the multicultural Qing Empire.

Conclusion

In the Qing Empire's multilingual regime, Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur were all indispensible languages at official occasions and in everyday life. The formation of this imperial language regime, which was accompanied by the expansion of Qing territories, had political as well as linguistic dimensions. Instead of exploring the rise

[151] Peter Zarrow, "Qianlong's Inscription on the Founding of the Temple of the Happiness and Longevity of Mt Sumeru (Xumifushou miao)," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 185-6. The original text can be found in Qi Jingzhi 齐敬之, *Waibamiao beiwen zhuyi* 外八庙碑文注译 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1985), 97-102.

and decline of languages, this chapter has studied how various languages played their equally important roles in a multilingual regime and how Manchu emperors organized these languages to maintain a balance of segregation and integration in the Qing Empire. The account of the Qing's imperial multilingual regime allows us to analyze the construction of power relations in the Qing Empire.

Like the Khitan Liao (907-1124), Jurchen Jin (1115-1234), and Mongol Yuan Dynasties, the Qing was a dynasty established by non-Han Chinese. By showing respect to various languages, Manchu emperors demonstrated the diversity of the Qing Empire and assured multiple non-Han peoples that the Qing tolerated their cultures. Through this policy, the Qing Empire prevented any forced assimilation. After Manchu emperors adopted the Chinese language at official occasions, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Oirat Mongolian remained important for conducting non-Han Chinese affairs and distinguishing various peoples within the Qing Empire. The Qing's imperial sponsorship of various languages established and maintained peace and order in the empire and ensured the loyalty of the conquered. As Barkey notes in her study of the Ottoman Empire, "toleration is neither equality nor a modern form of 'multiculturalism' in the imperial setting. Rather, it is a means of rule, of extending, consolidating, and enforcing state power."[152]

The overwhelming use of Chinese in official documents from the eighteenth century did not naturally lead to the decline of other languages. Instead of the rise and fall paradigm, how the roles of different languages were organized and how the language regime adapted to and altered the Manchu reign are more important questions. In a multilingual environment like this, the symbolic meaning of a language was as important as, and sometimes, even more important than its communicative function. Whilst the Chinese language symbolized the power of Confucian tradition in shaping emperorship in China, the use of non-Chinese languages characterized Qing emperorship with Manchu and Inner Asian features. By distinguishing the use of each language on different occasions and in different regions, Qing emperors reshaped the righteousness of their rulership based on the diversity of rule and presented diverse images of their rulership to their imperial subjects.

[152] Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 110.

While accepting difference, Manchu emperors maintained their governance over a coherent empire by adopting multiple languages as official languages at the same time in Qing institutions. Through *kamcime* writings, in which Manchu was prioritized, the Qing Empire combined multiple cultures and maintained an all-encompassing Manchu reign. Moreover, the production of *kamcime* writings was not a technical textual duplication of different languages but a reinterpretation of the original text so as to address various audiences in the empire. This is similar to how Barkey defines the Ottoman Empire, a "purposefully diverse, but nevertheless homogeneous and unifying culture."[153]

Language segregation and integration were two facets of the Qing Empire's multilingual systems. They were intertwined and neither can be overlooked. Diversity was embedded and maintained by language segregation. Meanwhile, a potential threat of disunity and disorder was reduced by language integration within upper-level governments. The Qing Empire achieved a "resolution of two challenging ideas: segmentation and integration."[154]

[153] Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 7-8.
[154] Ibid., 17.

Chapter 2

The Jirim League: A Brief Account of Geography, History, and Languages

From this chapter onwards, this dissertation will focus on the history of language in the Jirim league. In this chapter, I will describe the geographical and geopolitical history of the Jirim league and discuss how the Qing's multilingual policy recreated the language environment in the Jirim League at official occasions and in everyday life. By providing a brief account of geography, history, and languages in the Jirim league, I will explain the geopolitical and cultural distinctiveness of the league. I will illustrate how the Jirim league became an intersection of Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, Russian, and Japanese powers in the late Qing period.

I will argue that the Qing's language policy maintained the polyglot environment in the Jirim League until the late nineteenth century. Manchu and Mongolian were the two official languages in the League. Most Mongols spoke Mongolian and learnt Tibetan to perform Tibetan Buddhist rituals. However, few learnt to read Mongolian or Chinese. From the 1890s, the Jirim League underwent a language contest between Manchu, Mongol, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian powers which strove to legitimize, maintain, and restore their control over the Jirim Mongols. In this context, Qing officials changed their understanding of multilingualism and believed that language pluralism impeded Qing administration and weakened Qing authority in the Jirim League.

The Geopolitical Position of the Jirim League in the Early Qing Period

The Jirim league's location between Manchuria and Mongolia and its historical significance for the Manchus made it an important part of the early Qing state. Lattimore summarizes the Jirim League's historical significance as follows,

> "The Mongols of Jerim [Jirim] are historically important because, as the most easterly of the Mongols, they were the first to come into contact with the Manchus. It was with them that the Manchus made the first of the series of alliances that led eventually to the defeat of the Chahars and the domination of Inner Mongolia, protecting the flank of the

Manchus during the conquest of China, and eventually making it possible to extend Manchu influence all over Mongolia."[1]

As Lattimore states, the Jirim Mongols formed an alliance with the Manchus in the early seventeenth century. Shortly after Nurhaci proclaimed to be the Khan of the Later Jin, the Khorchin right wing rear banner (科爾沁右翼後旗) joined the Manchus in 1617. Later, the Jalaid (扎箂特), Dörbed (杜爾伯特), and two Gorlos (郭爾羅斯) banners joined the Manchus in 1624. The three Khorchin left wing banners joined the Manchus in 1626. In 1635, the Khorchin right wing front banner (科爾沁右翼前旗) joined the Manchus in fighting against the Ming Dynasty.[2] The early Qing emperors considered the Khorchin right wing centre banner (科爾沁右翼中旗) an important ally of the Manchus in their campaigns against the Chahar Mongols in 1636.[3]

After the Jirim Mongols joined the Manchus, the Manchu-Mongol alliance defeated Ligdan Khan in 1634. This victory eliminated the Chahar Mongols' threat to the Jirim Mongols. Meanwhile, the Manchus, who had made a great contribution to this victory, consolidated their reign over the Jirim Mongols. In 1636, the Qing Dynasty established the Jirim League, consisting of four tribes and ten banners. The Jirim League was one of the six Mongolian leagues in Inner Mongolia (Fig. 2.1).

[1] Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols in Manchuria* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935), 193.
[2] Ibid., 201.
[3] Ibid., 207.

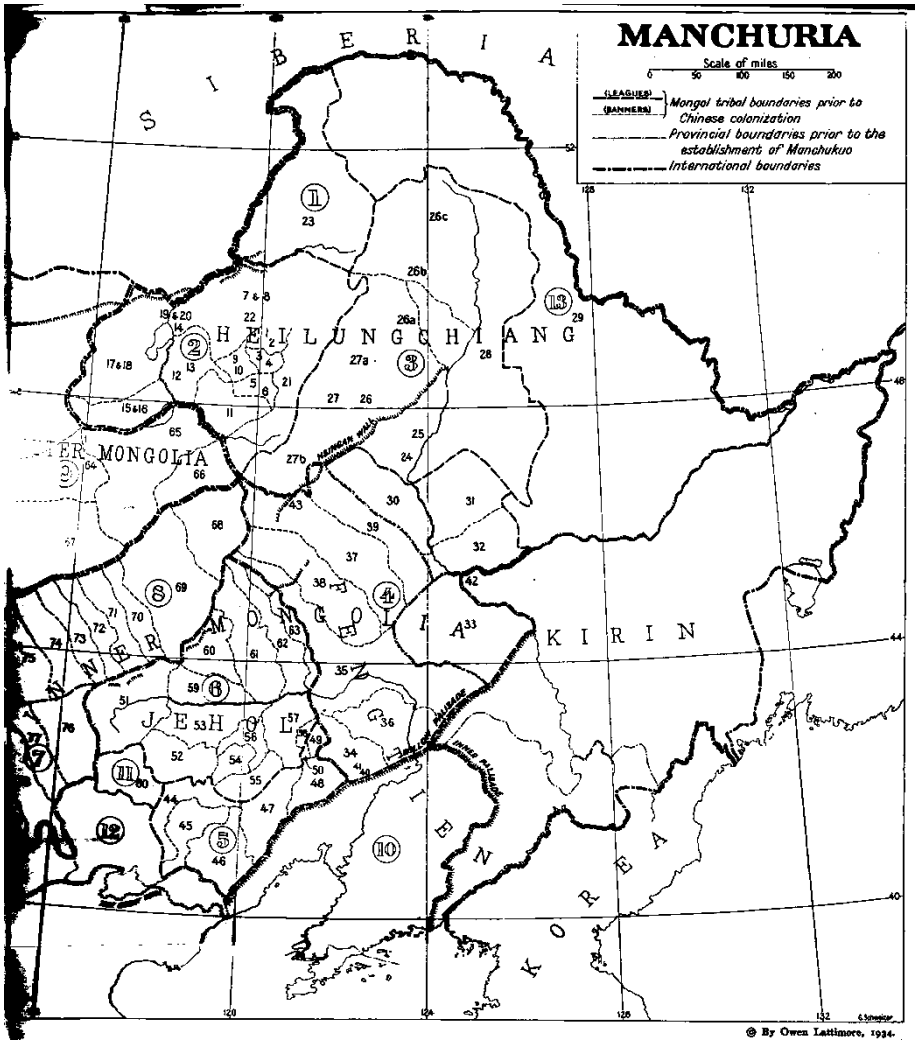


Fig. 2.1 The Jirim League in Manchuria

Reproduced from Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1934).

Illustration: The Jirim League: 30-39. 30: Jalaid Banner; 31: Dörbed Banner; 32: Rear Gorlos Banner; 33: Front Gorlos Banner; 34: Khorchin Left Wing Front Banner; 35: Khorchin Left Wing Centre Banner; 36: Khorchin Left Wing Rear Banner; 37: Khorchin Right Wing Front Banner; 38: Khorchin Right Wing Centre Banner; 39: Khorchin Right Wing Rear Banner. (5: The Josotu League; 6: The Juu Uda League; 10: The old Chinese pale in Manchuria)

The Jirim League was composed of four tribes (部): the Jalaid, Dörbed, Gorlos, and Khorchin tribes.[4] Each tribe governed a number of banners (旗). Banners were named after their geographical location. In the names of the banners, "north" was interpreted as "rear

[4] Dongsansheng Mengwuju 東三省蒙務局, *Zhelimumeng shiqi diaocha baogaoshu* (hereafter: *DCBGS*) 哲里木盟十旗调查报告书 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, reprinted in 2014).

(後)," "south" as "front (前)," "west" as "right (右)," and "east" as "left (左)." The Khorchin left wing front banner was the banner located at the southeast of the Khorchin tribe.

The Jalaid and Dörbed tribes lied southwest of Qiqihar (Cicigar 齊齊哈爾), the capital city of Heilongjiang. They were both located to the north of the league, the Jalaid tribe in the northwest and the Dörbed tribe in the northeast. The two tribes were under the jurisdiction of Heilongjiang General. Each of them governed one banner, the Jalaid and Dörbed banners. The Jalaid banner had a population of 4,906 and the Dörbed banner had a population of 3,165, both excluding Tibetan Buddhist lamas.[5]

The Gorlos tribe (郭爾羅斯部) was composed of two banners, the front Gorlos banner and the rear Gorlos banner. The front Gorlos banner had a population of 6,166.[6] It had the Nonni River (嫩江) to the west, the Sunggari River (松花江) to the south, and the Dörbed banner to the north. The banner was under the jurisdiction of Jilin General. The rear Gorlos banner, located northwest of Changchun prefecture (長春府), had a population of 10,820[7] and was under the jurisdiction of Heilongjiang General.

The Khorchin tribe was situated in the south of the Jirim league and had the largest area. It bordered Jilin and Fengtian to the east. The tribe constituted six banners: the Khorchin left wing front banner, Khorchin left wing rear banner, Khorchin left wing centre banner, Khorchin right wing centre banner, Khorchin right wing rear banner, and Khorchin right wing front banner. The tribe was under the jurisdiction of Shengjing General.

The Jirim league was located at the most eastern part of Mongolia and bordered Shengjing, Jilin, and Heilongjiang to the east. To the southeast, the league bordered the Willow Palisade. Surrounded by a great number of Mongols to the west, Manchus to the east, and Chinese to its southeast, the Jirim league was situated at an intersection of Mongol, Manchu, and Chinese peoples (Fig. 2.2). When the Qing Empire intended to separate the Mongols, Manchus, and Chinese by closing off Manchuria and establishing the Willow Palisade, the Jirim League became the front line of the Mongol-Manchu-Chinese division. From 1740 onwards, the Willow Palisade separated the settlement of the Han Chinese people who entered Fengtian in the early seventeenth century, a Manchus' preserve in Jilin and

[5] *DCBGS*, 100.
[6] Ibid., 146-7.
[7] Ibid., 166-7.

Heilongjiang, and the lands owned by Mongol allies in the northwest.[8] This policy also corresponded to the natural economic division "between agriculture, which predominated in the south, hunting and reindeer herding in the forests, and 'nomadic' pastoralism on the steppe."[9]

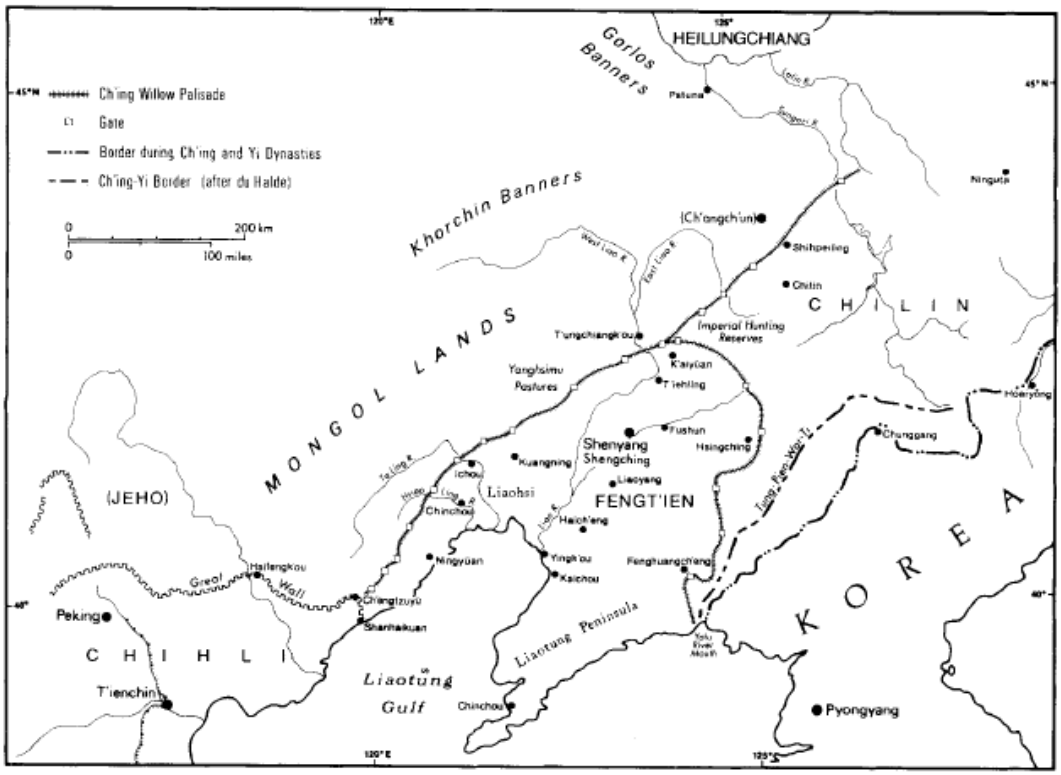


Fig. 2.2 The Willow Palisade

Reproduced from Richard L. Edmonds, "The willow palisade," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 4 (1979): 602.

By contrast, when the Qing's ban lost its effectiveness, the league was under the influence of Mongol, Manchu, and Chinese cultures. From the eighteenth century, as Lattimore argues, the zone along the Willow Palisade became a "reservoir" in which Han Chinese farmers and the nomadic Manchus and Mongols influenced each other's life style.[10] During the Qianlong reign, a series of changes put the early Qing's ban of Chinese immigration to Manchuria and Mongolia under strain. The Palisade gradually deteriorated

[8] Richard L. Edmonds, "The Willow Palisade," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no.4 (1979): 600-2. Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 43-5. James Reardon-Anderson, "Land Use and Society in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia during the Qing Dynasty," *Environmental History* 5, no.4 (2000): 507.
[9] David Sneath, "Beyond the Willow Palisade: Manchuria and the History of China's Inner Asian Frontier," *Asian Affairs* 34, no.1 (2003): 3.
[10] Lattimore, *The Mongols in Manchuria,* 186.

and lost its original function to divide the domains of the Manchus, Mongols, and Han Chinese.[11] Although the 1740 decree which forbad Chinese immigration to Manchuria remained in effect until the early twentieth century, Qing emperors could not control the flow of Chinese farmers and their cultural influence through a legal ban.

Institutional Changes in the Jirim League in the Late Qing Period

In the eighteenth century, the rich soil of the Manchurian plain attracted a large number of Chinese farmers who had suffered from famine in Shanxi, Shandong, and Zhili.[12] Chinese settlements expanded their farmland to a larger area in Manchuria. The eagerness of Mongol princes to increase their income by renting land to Chinese farm tenants also accelerated this process.[13] Chinese emigrants flooding into Manchuria seriously undermined the early Qing's policy of closing off Manchuria. As Robert Lee argues, "the combination of famine-driven peasants and profit-seeking Mongols continued to frustrate the decrees."[14]

Han Chinese settled in the eastern part of the front Gorlos banner, which was the alluvial plain created by the Nonni and Sunggari rivers. These first caught the attention of Mongol princes and the Qing government in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1800, the Qing established Changchun Subprefecture (長春廳) to govern Chinese settlers in the front Gorlos banner. This was the first Chinese administration established in the Jirim league upon the request of Mongol princes. From then on, the Qing gradually legalized and encouraged agricultural cultivation by Chinese in Manchuria and Mongolia. "Increasing the population and consolidating the frontiers (殖民實邊)" replaced the early Qing's policy of closing off Manchuria.

After the Changchun prefecture was established and put under the jurisdiction of Jilin General in 1825, the Qing set up more prefectures and counties to govern an increasing number of Chinese immigrants who had settled in the Jirim league and reclaimed the Mongols' lands. In Jilin, Changchun Subprefecture was expanded to Changchun Prefecture

[11] Edmonds, "The Willow Palisade," 613-8. Uradyn E. Bulag, "Rethinking Borders in Empire and Nation at the Foot of the Willow Palisade," in *Frontier Encounters: Knowledge and Practice at the Russian, Chinese and Mongolian Border,* eds. Franck Billé, Gregory Délaplace, and Caroline Humphrey (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2012), 33-54.
[12] Thomas R. Gottschang, "Economic Change, Disasters, and Migration: The Historical Case of Manchuria," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 35, no.3 (1987): 484-5. Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 53.
[13] Robert Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970), 18-26.
[14] Ibid., 20.

(长春府) in 1889. Within Changchun Prefecture, Nong'an County (農安縣) was established in 1889, Changling County (长岭嶺縣) in 1907, and Dehui County (德惠縣) in 1910. In Heilongjiang, three independent subprefectures (直隸廳) were established to govern Chinese people who had reclaimed land in the Dörbed banner: Dalai independent Subprefecture (大赉直隸廳) (1904), Zhaozhou Independent Subprefecture (肇州直隸廳) (1906), and Anda Independent Subprefecture (安達直隸廳) (1906). There were two prefectures under the jurisdiction of Shengjing General, Changtu Prefecture (昌圖府) (1877) in the Khorchin left banners and Taonan Prefecture (洮南府) (1904) in the Khorchin right banners. In Changtu Prefecture, there were three counties and one department: Fenghua County (奉化縣) (1877), Huaide County (懷德縣) (1886), Kangping County (康平縣) (1880), and Liaoyuan Department (遼源州) (1902). Five counties were established in Taonan Prefecture: Jing'an County (靖安縣) (1904), Kaitong County (開通縣) (1904), Anguang County (安廣縣) (1905), Liquan County (醴泉縣) (1909), and Zhendong County (鎮東縣) (1910). Zhangwu County (彰武縣), which was established in 1902 and administered by the prefect of Xinmin Prefecture (新民府) in Shengjing, was another county located in the Khorchin left banner.[15] In sum, between the 1870s and 1910s, the Qing established three prefectures, one department, three independent subprefectures, and twelve counties in the Jirim League.

But it would be an exaggeration to claim that the Jirim league was completely sinicized by the late nineteenth century. In 1907, Xu Shichang (徐世昌 1855–1939), Governor General of the Three Eastern Provinces, stated that "less than forty per cent of the wasteland was reclaimed, although provincial governors consistently brought wasteland under cultivation."[16] What Xu referred to was the whole area of the reclaimed lands in Manchuria, of which the Jirim League was only a part. That is to say large areas of the Jirim League were maintained under Mongol influence, despite the advance of Chinese cultivators.

The Chinese-Mongol relations differed between and within banners. While some banners welcomed Chinese immigrants, others resented them. The first Chinese administration was established in the front Gorlos banner. Later, most Chinese prefectures and counties (two prefectures and ten counties) were established in the Khorchin tribe. The

[15] See *DCBGS.*
[16] Xu Shichang 徐世昌, "Dongsansheng zongdu fuzou Neimenggu kenwu qingxing bing yuchou banfa zhe 東三省總督覆奏內蒙古墾務情形並預籌辦法折," 1907, JC 10-1-10691, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

Taonan Prefecture in the Khorchin tribe was the largest Chinese prefecture in the Jirim League. However, there were fewer Chinese administrations in the Jalaid, Dörbed, and rear Gorlos banners than the Khorchin tribe. In the banners which had accepted Chinese cultivators earlier, such as the front Gorlos and Khorchin left wing rear banners, Chinese and Mongols lived together and shared many similarities in dress, diet, accommodation, and transportation.[17] In the Jalaid banner, however, the Mongols and Chinese peasants restricted their activities to two designated regions.[18] Likewise, in the Khorchin right wing rear banner, after Chinese immigrants entered, the *jasagh* and other Mongols moved north.[19] In these cases, although land reclamation was allowed, few Jirim Mongols abandoned their life style.

After Chinese civil administrations were established in the Jirim league, the Qing announced that "civil government is responsible for managing administrative and judicial affairs, while *jasaghs* are in charge of [Mongolian] banner affairs and training soldiers to guard the borderlands."[20] This institutional change in the late nineteenth century increased the Jirim league's geopolitical significance. The Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese peoples and cultures were no longer segregated, and the Manchu rulers maintained their reign over the Jirim Mongols through joint Mongol-Chinese administration. However, the influence of the early Qing's segregation policy was evident up to the early twentieth century, which impeded the integration of Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese cultures in the Jirim League.

Languages in the Everyday life of the Jirim Mongols

The early Qing's language policy towards the Jirim Mongols had two main components: prohibiting the use of Chinese and promoting the learning of Tibetan. As the late Qing government loosened the ban on Chinese immigration to Manchuria and Mongolia, the linguistic situation in some banners changed, particularly those banners which had been exposed to Chinese cultivators for long periods of time. In these banners, the Mongols who lived with Chinese were able to speak Chinese and communicate with Chinese people. According to the *Report of the Investigation on the Ten Mongolian Banners in the Jirim League* (hereafter: the *Report*), in the Khorchin left wing rear banner, "most Mongols read

[17] *DCBGS*, 48-53, 146-9.
[18] Ibid., 100-1.
[19] Ibid., 81.
[20] Xu Shichang, "Dongsansheng zongdu deng zou diaocha Dongsansheng ge mengqi qingxing chouni biantong banfa zhe 東三省總督等奏調查東三省各蒙旗情形籌擬變通辦法摺," 1909, JC 10-1-1067, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

Chinese books."[21] Likewise, in the front Gorlos banner, "people read Chinese books in villages, as the banner is located near [Chinese] counties and prefectures and has implemented an opening policy early."[22]

However, the ability to speak and read Chinese was not widespread in the Jirim League. According to the *Report*, in the Dörbed banner, "most Mongols do not read. People rarely read Chinese books. Few people read Mongolian books as well."[23] The situation was the same in the rear Gorlos banner.[24] In the Khorchin right wing front banner, although some Mongols learnt to read Mongolian, none of them understood spoken or written Chinese.[25] In the early twentieth century, the Jalaid banner still "forbade the Mongols from reading Chinese books. [The banner] regarded those who read Chinese in other banners as evil and isolated them from the area where the [Jalaid] Mongols gathered."[26]

It can be seen from the *Report* that whilst some Mongols used Chinese in their everyday life, most Jirim Mongols retained the ability to speak Mongolian and usually learnt to read Tibetan. In many banners, the early Qing's multilingual policy was still influential in the late Qing period. The Chinese cultivators' growing influence within the league did not naturally result in Chinese becoming the region's dominant language and closer Mongol-Chinese relations. In the Khorchin tribe, as Lattimore argues, "having known much less of the old, spontaneous and profitable form of colonization, and much more of the modern, exploitational and bitterly resented form, the Khorchin Mongols are violently anti-Chinese and intensely nationalistic in feeling."[27] Zhu Qiqian, the Director of the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs in the Three Eastern Provinces, believed that "the government did not make any progress in assimilating the Mongols, and the boundary between the Mongolian and Chinese people still existed. … The Mongolian people blamed the Qing officials for their situation."[28]

Languages in Administrative Affairs in the Late Qing Period

[21] Ibid., 52-3.
[22] Xu Shichang, "Dongsansheng zongdu deng zou diaocha Dongsansheng ge mengqi qingxing chouni biantong banfa zhe," 148-9.
[23] *DCBGS*, 124-5.
[24] Ibid., 167.
[25] Ibid., 81-2.
[26] Ibid., 101-2.
[27] Lattimore, *The Mongols in Manchuria,* 201.
[28] Zhu Qiqian 朱启钤, "Menggu zhi kunruo jiuyi 蒙古之困弱久矣," 1909, in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian* 东三省蒙务公牍汇编, ed. Zhu Qiqian (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005), 21-2.

After Chinese administrations were established in the league, many Chinese officials, who were unable to speak or read Mongolian, managed local affairs. In this section, I will discuss how the Chinese officials' growing influence within the league complicated local administrative affairs, and how the local officials' attitude towards Qing multilingualism changed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By exploring a few cases about the use of language in administrative affairs, this section will show that Qing officials considered the polyglot reality an obstacle to the Qing administration in the Jirim league.

When Chinese administrations were first established in the Jirim league, officials oversaw the activities of Chinese immigrants in the league, such as land reclamation, commerce, and transportation. Although the *jasaghs* still managed Mongolian affairs, improved communication between Chinese immigrants and Mongolian residents blurred the boundaries between the responsibilities of Mongol *jasaghs* and Chinese officials. The Qing Dynasty clarified the responsibilities of Chinese and Mongolian officials after the system of governance of Manchuria was transformed from a military to a civil one in 1907. Despite this, Chinese officials were responsible for settling a great number of administrative, commercial, and judicial cases involving the Jirim Mongols and Chinese immigrants.

Chinese officials found it difficult to resolve these types of cases. This was because Mongols did not understand Chinese and Chinese officials rarely spoke Mongolian, which made communication difficult. In 1909, the county magistrate of Kangping explained how the language barrier between Chinese and Mongolian created problems for local governments. In the report, he stated that:

> "The civil and criminal cases [handled by Kangping County] usually happen in three Mongolian banners [the three Khorchin left wing banners], which make these cases more difficult to handle than those in other counties. It is extremely difficult to handle the cases involving Chinese and Mongol parties, because [Chinese officials] do not understand spoken and written Mongolian. … There are over twenty cases that have not been concluded since 1893. … Many documents must be transmitted [between Kangping County and a Mongolian banner] before a suspect can be sent to the county under escort. When he arrives, however, no one understands the documents written in Mongolian. According to the regulation, the county will request Changtu Prefecture to

help translate these documents, which takes as long as two or three months, or at least one or two months. This is because [Changtu Prefecture] will order translators in the three Mongolian banners to translate these files. I notice that these banners do not work jointly. … Delays are therefore frequent. Due to the lack of a policy on award and penalty for translators, there is no guarantee that [translators] will not abuse their power. It is therefore difficult to tell whether translations conform to original texts."[29]

The magistrate explained that the Mongolian-Chinese language barrier obstructed the exercise of judicial power in Kangping County. It took the governing body a long time to translate official documents. Moreover, Chinese officials were unable to tell whether these translations were accurate, and retranslations caused further delays.[30] But Taonan Prefecture did not experience such serious problems as Kangping County, "although there have been difficulties and misunderstandings when hearing Mongolian cases, meeting with Mongolian officials, and handling relations with Mongolian banners."[31]

Such language barriers also prevented local civil governments from understanding the situation in Mongolian banners. In 1909, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs in the Three Eastern Provinces required the Jirim *jasaghs* to fill in a form which asked for basic information about Mongolian banners, such as the number of households, bureaucracy, and natural conditions. The Bureau was particularly concerned that "few Mongols understand Chinese. Moreover, only a very limited number of people understand Mongolian."[32] The Bureau took low literacy, the Monglian-Chinese language barrier, and slow transportation into consideration when dealing with the Jirim League, and extended the deadline to return completed forms twice.[33] Language barriers also concerned the Bureau when it prepared to map the Jirim League. Since the Bureau found that it did not have any detailed map of the Jirim League, the Bureau sent a map to all of the banners and ordered them to add Mongolian

[29] "Dufuxian zha ju Kangpingxian chengqing sihou mengqi gaiyong menghan gongwen bing zhengdun yanjienei mengqi gexiang xinzheng 督府憲札據康平縣呈請嗣後蒙旗改用蒙漢公文並整頓延界內蒙旗各項新政," 1909, JC10-1-786, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Sun Baojin 孫葆瑨, "Taonanfu zhifu wei cheng shangshu 洮南府知府為呈上述," 1910, JC 10-1-786, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[32] Xiliang, "Xiliang zi Lifanbu 錫良諮理藩部," 1909, JC 10-1-249, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[33] Ibid.

names to villages, mountains, rivers, and desert in empty areas and write a short illustration only in Mongolian, which the Bureau would later translate into Chinese.[34]

Without effective communication, Mongol *jasaghs* and Chinese officials did not build mutual trust, although they governed the Jirim league jointly. *Jasaghs* were concerned about the rapidly growing power of Chinese officials in the league. The *jasagh* of the Khorchin right wing centre banner rejected the Bureau's investigation into households, as he suspected that Chinese officials would increase land taxes and infringe upon his role as *jasagh* of the banner.[35] Meanwhile, Chinese officials doubted the *jasagh*'s ability to handle banner affairs, especially when it came to financial issues. When the leader of the League requested a loan of 150,000 silver teals from the Daqing Bank (大清銀行),[36] Ye Dakuang (叶大匡 ?–1918), a first-rank commissioner in the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs, was concerned that "[*jasaghs*] would be deceived by their subordinates and waste the funds, which would incur more debts."[37] After more than thirty years of land reclamation, Chinese officials were concerned that they had not established total control over all of the Jirim Mongols. As Xu Shichang stated,

> "The people in charge of land reclamation only aim to raise funds for governments. They do not do anything else after measuring the land and announcing the price. They even deceive Mongols and embezzle funds. … They never study the rise and fall of land reclamation affairs, the support and opposition of the Mongolian people, and local geographical conditions."[38]

Xiheng (Siheng 錫恆 ?–1910), grand minister superintendent of Kobdo (科布多辦事大臣), summarized the administrative situation in eastern Mongolia, stating that "we are concerned about the poor administration in eastern Mongolia, rather than the absence of people to administrate."[39]

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[34] "Dongsansheng yutu mengqi diming duoque qingchi tianzhu you 東三省輿圖蒙旗地名多缺請飭填註由," 1909, JC 10-1-6198, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[35] "Diaocha mengqi hukou zhangcheng 調查蒙旗戶口章程," 1909, JC 10-1-861, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[36] "Zhelimumeng mengzhang yaoqiu jieyin shiwuwan liang 哲里木盟盟長要求借銀十五萬兩," 1909, JC 10-1-1069, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[37] "Ye Dakuang fu shangwen 葉大匡覆上文," 1909, JC 10-1-1069, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[38] Xu Shichang, "Dongsansheng zongdu fuzou neimenggu kenwu qingxing bing yuchou banfa zhe."
[39] Xiheng 錫恆, "Kebuduo banshidachen Xiheng zou zunzhi fuchen Altay qingxing ji chouni banfa zhe 科布多辦事大臣錫恆奏遵旨覆陳阿爾泰情形及籌擬辦法折," 1907, in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian,* 236-42.

As the above cases show, Qing officials no longer conceived language pluralism, of which Manchu and Mongolian linguistic distinctiveness was an important part, as an effective strategy to maintain Manchu reign over the Jirim people. Instead, local officials believed that language barriers obstructed the exercise of judicial power, delayed routine administrative affairs, and fostered hostility between the Jirim Mongols and Han Chinese. In this context, Qing officials emphasized the importance of the communicative function of a language rather than its ritual and religious significance. Yu Sixing (于駟興 1875–?), the supervisor of Harbin Bureau of Foreign Relations (哈爾濱交涉局總辦), stated that "the Mongols do not know what reading means. They go to [Tibetan Buddhist] temples and become lamas from an early age. They regard this as learning to read."[40] As seen from Yu's statement, Tibetan, which was important for sustaining Manchu reign in the spiritual realm, was considered backward and unnecessary under the Chinese administrative regime. By contrast, the Qing government considered learning to read Chinese, the language that was excluded from the Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan language regime, the only way to become literate.

Learning Local Languages: Russia and Japan in the Jirim League

Qing officials had a deeper concern over the diversity of rule when they noticed the increasing influence of Russia and Japan in the Jirim League. Japan occupied the Liaodong peninsula in Manchuria during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895, but returned it to the Qing after Russia, France, and Germany intervened. In December 1895, Russia established the Russo-Chinese Bank (華俄銀行), which exploited the tensions Russia's expansion created in Manchuria to its benefit. In 1896, the Qing allowed Russia to extend the Trans-Siberian railway across Manchuria to Vladivostok, which is known as the Chinese Eastern Railway (東清鐵路) (Fig. 2.3).[41] This railway traversed the southeast part of the Jirim League, mainly the Dörbed and Gorlos banners (Fig. 2.4). When the Boxer Rebellion spread to Manchuria in 1900, Russia further expanded its influence in the region by dispatching troops to exterminate the Boxers. "At Newchwang [新昌] the Russian flag was hoisted and a

[40] Yu Sixing 于駟興, "Harbin jiaosheju zongban Yu Sixing shang Fengtian xingsheng gongshu jingying mengwu bing 哈尔滨交涉局总办于駟興上奉天行省公署经营蒙务禀," in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian,* 220-2.

[41] Harold G. Parlett, *A Brief Account of Diplomatic Events in Manchuria* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1929), 8. Victor Zatsepine, *Beyond the Amur: Frontier Encounters between China and Russia, 1850-1930* (University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 100-17.

Russian administration established."[42] Almost at the same time as Japan and Britain formed an alliance in 1902, Russia and China signed an agreement to evacuate Manchuria and return the region to China. According to this agreement, Russia was to complete the evacuation in eighteen months, divided into three six-month periods. Before the end of the second stage, the Russo-Japanese war broke out in February 1904.

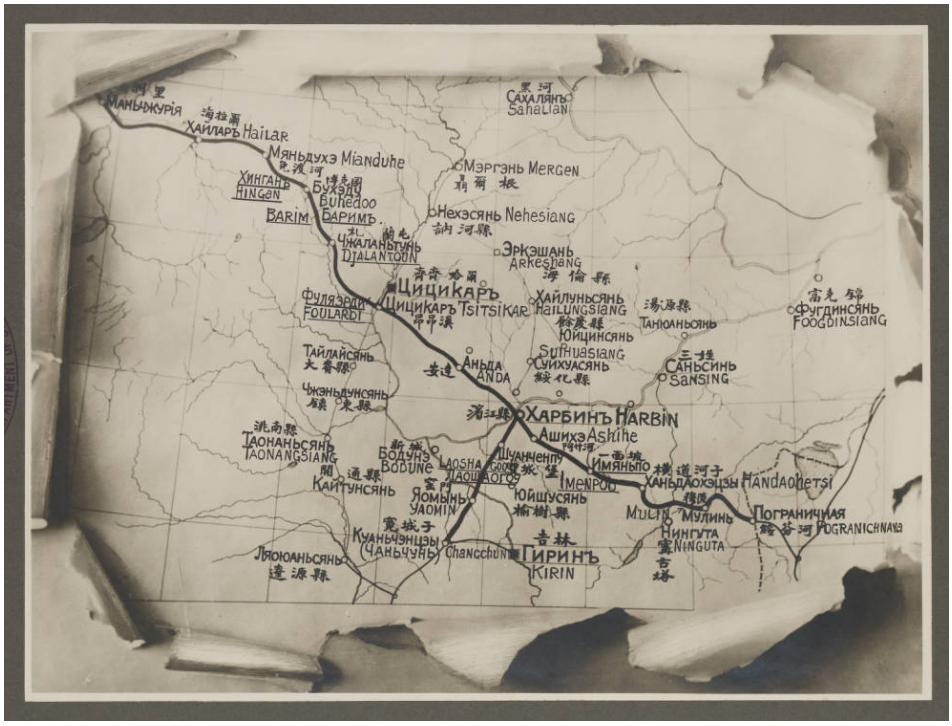


Fig. 2.3 Chinese Eastern Railway: Map of the Railroad from Manchuria to Pogranichnaya. Reproduced from *Views of the Chinese Eastern Railway: An Album, 1903-1919*. Central University Libraries, Southern Methodist University. http://digitalcollections.smu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/eaa/id/1554/rec/45

[42] Parlett, *A Brief Account of Diplomatic Events in Manchuria*, 12.

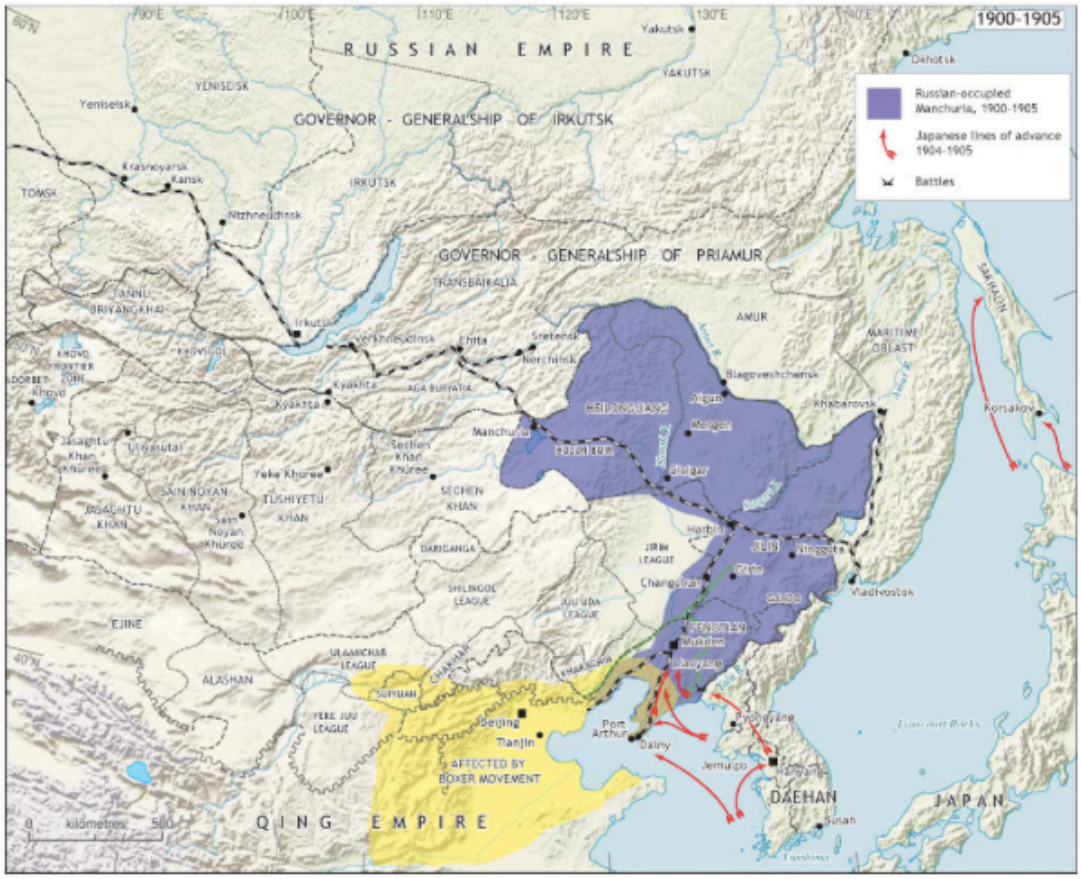


Fig. 2.4. Russian-occupied Manchuria, 1900-1905.

Reproduced from Narangoa Li and Robert Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Northeast Asia, 1590-2010: Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, East Siberia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 153.

The Russo-Japanese War marked an increase of Russian and Japanese influence in Manchuria and Mongolia. Russian and Japanese "travellers," who were usually military officers or investigators, collected information for military campaigns and economic supplies and purchased military supplies from local residents.[43] The Russian consul armed the Khorchin right wing front banner with more than one thousand handguns.[44] Russia and Japan also recruited local residents as temporary soldiers, particularly local bandits who owned military equipment and had combat experience.[45] Japan became the most influential power in

[43] "Zhi Rehe dutong Beiyang dachen Zhili dutong dian 致熱河都統北洋大臣直隸都統電," 1905, in *Qingdai Junjichu dianbaodang huibian* 清代军机处电报档汇编, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2005), vol. 39, No. 519, 318.
[44] *DCBGS*, 77.
[45] "Wubiaoti 無標題," 1904, in *Qingdai Junjichu dianbaodang huibian*, No. 1119, 384. "Wubiaoti 無標題," 1904, in *Qingdai Junjichu dianbaodang huibian*, No. 1152, 397.

Manchuria after it won the war in 1905. In 1906, the South Manchuria Railway Company (南滿洲鐵道株式會社, hereafter: the SMR) took over the southern branch of the former Russian railway from Changchun to Lüshun (旅順).[46] But Russia still retained its power and influence in Mongolia and northern Manchuria. Russia and Japan established special agents and offices in Harbin and Changchun respectively to handle Mongolian affairs. In this section, I will discuss how Russia and Japan trained professional Mongolian and Manchu language speakers to support their expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia.

Learning Manchuria's Local Languages: Russia

From the seventeenth century, Russia maintained a close relationship with the Qing Empire.[47] The conclusion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) and the Treaty of Kiakhta (1727), which ensured Russia's neutrality in Qing-Mongol relations, allowed the early Qing emperors to solve the problem of Oirat Mongols and extend Manchu rule into Central Asia.[48] The Kangxi and Yongzheng emperors granted Russia privileges that were not given to other foreign countries.[49] However, the Qing and Russian Empires needed intermediaries to overcome the language barrier when they first contacted each other. Latin and Mongolian interpreters played a crucial role when the two sides negotiated the Treaty of Nerchinsk.[50] The Treaty was signed in Latin, with translations into Manchu and Russian. The three versions differed in many ways with regard to territorial terms,[51] but both sides agreed that the version signed in Latin was the authoritative one. After the Treaty was signed, the Qing fostered Russian language studies in Beijing whilst Russia promoted the learning of the Qing's languages. From the early Qing period, Russian affairs were managed by the Lifanyuan and it became a Qing tradition to use Manchu when handling Russian affairs.

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[46] Ramon H. Myers, "Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria: The South Manchuria Railway Company, 1906-1933," in *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937,* eds. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 101-32. Felix Patrikeeff and Harold Shukman, *Railways and the Russo-Japanese War: Transporting War* (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2007), 92-109. Y. Tak Matsusaka, "Japan's South Manchurian Railway Company in Northeast China, 1906-34," in *Manchurian Railways and the Opening of China: An International History,* eds. Bruce Elleman and Stephen Kotkin (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 37-58.

[47] Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, "Russia's Special Position in China during the Early Ch'ing Period," *Slavic Review* 23, no.4 (1964): 696-9. Tatiana A. Pang, "The 'Russian Company' in the Manchu Banner Organization," *Central Asiatic Journal* 43, no.1 (1964): 132-9. He Qiutao 何秋濤, *Shuofang beicheng* 朔方備乘 [1881] (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1995), J. 47, 1b-2b, 4b.

[48] Hsu, "Russia's Special Position in China during the Early Ch'ing Period," 692.

[49] Ibid., 691.

[50] Meng Suu-ming, "The E-lo-ssu kuan (Russian Hostel) in Peking," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1960-61 (23): 40. *SZRHDSL*, J. 61, 4a. Peter Perdue, "Boundaries and Trade in the Early Modern World: Negotiations at Nerchinsk and Beijing," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 3 (2010): 342-3.

[51] V. S. Frank, "The Territorial Terms of the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk, 1689," *Pacific Historical Review* 16, no. 3 (1947): 265-70

Since Russia was adjacent to Manchuria and Mongolia, Manchu and Mongolian languages was useful to Russia for handling borderland and frontier affairs. From the eighteenth century, both the Qing and Russia endorsed learning Manchu and Mongolian.

In 1708, the Kangxi emperor ordered the Grand Secretariat to establish the Eluosi wenguan (俄羅斯文館, the Russian school), which was under the joint supervision of the Lifanyuan and the Grand Secretariat.[52] The Eluosi wenguan was responsible for training Russian translators until 1863 when it was incorporated into the Tongwenguan (同文館, School of Foreign Languages) in Beijing. According to the Kangxi emperor's instruction to Maci (馬齊 1652–1739), the Grand Secretary, the first round of enrolment was open to Mongolian bannermen only. The Kangxi emperor ordered Maci to investigate whether there were any Mongolian bannermen who would like to learn Russian.[53] Later, Maci opened the enrolment to Manchu and Chinese bannermen.[54] Thirteen days later, sixty-eight bannermen were registered as students in the Russian School.[55] All students took monthly, quarterly, and annual examinations, during which they did a Manchu-Russian translation. Every five years, they took a general examination. Those who passed this examination would be appointed by the Lifanyuan or by the Offices of generals stationed in frontiers, where a knowledge of Russian was necessary.[56] However, George Timkowsky, who visited Beijing during the 1820s, reported that the teaching of the Eluosi wenguan was not as satisfactory as that in the early Qing period. Meng Suu-ming cites a few examples mentioned by Timkowsky:

> "In translations made by its students from Manchu into Russia, he found in the very first lines that the simplest rules of grammar had not been observed. The Russian letters delivered by the ecclesiastical mission to the Peking government were brought privately to Sipakov, a member of the mission, to be translated into Manchu, and in like manner, the Chinese message addressed to the Russian Senate, written in Mongolian, was also brought to Sipakov to be translated into Russian."[57]

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[52] Zhang Yuquan 张玉全, "Eluosiguan shimoji 俄罗斯馆始末记," *Wenxian zhuankan* 文献专刊, no.1 (1944): 49-50.
[53] Ibid., 49-50.
[54] Zhang, "Eluosiguan shimoji," 49-50.
[55] Rabin Pavel, "Qingchao Eluosi wenguan (shiba shiji- shijiu shiji zhongye) 清朝俄罗斯文馆 （十八世纪-十九世纪中叶）," *Lishi dang'an* 历史档案, no.1 (2011): 52.
[56] George Timkowsky, *Travels of the Russian Mission Through Mongolia to China and Residence in Peking in the Years 1820-1821.* Vol. I (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1827), 369.
[57] Suu-ming Meng, "The E-lo-ssu kuan (Russian Hostel) in Peking," 44.

In Russia, Mongolian language teaching began earlier than Chinese. In 1702, Peter I (1672-1725) established a school for Mongolian language instruction in Moscow.[58] "Platkovskii [Archimandrite Antonii (Platkovskii), head of the second Russian spiritual mission (1729-1735) in Beijing] … started a school of the Mongol language at Irkutsk in 1725 with twenty-five students."[59] After the conclusion of the Treaty of Kiakhta, Russia launched its first Ecclesiastical Mission to Beijing. Between 1729 and 1859, there were thirteen such missions. The Treaty also allowed Russian students to learn Manchu and Chinese in Beijing.[60] In 1728, the Qing established an Eluosi xue (俄羅斯學, the Russian Academy) at the Imperial Academy (國子監), where Russian students learnt the two languages.[61] The Qing subsidized Russian students' travelling and living expenses and required all students to wear Qing clothes supplied by the Lifanyuan.[62] Some of these students went on to become the earliest Russian Sinologists and the first generation of professors of Sinology in Russian universities. Meng Ssu-ming comments on the result of the Eluosi xue in the Imperial Academy, as follows:

> "The Mongol prince at Urga was much surprised to hear how well the Russian students conversed with him in Manchu after a few years stay in Beijing, and the masters of the Russian Language School (vide infra) in Peking often asked the assistance of Russian students in making certain official translations. The role played by Russian language students in Sino-Russian relations was prominent in later years: both the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 and the Treaty of Peking in 1860, between China and Russia, were rendered into Chinese by the Russian translators, Huang-ming 晃明 and Ming-ch'ang 明長 respectively, both of whom had been educated at the E-lo-suu hsüeh."[63]

In the nineteenth century, Manchu was used in many treaties signed between Russia and the Qing (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Languages used in Qing-Russian treaties in the nineteenth century[64]

Year	Treaty	Languages

[58] Meng, "The E-lo-ssu kuan (Russian Hostel) in Peking," 35.
[59] Ibid. cf. Gaston Cahen, *Histoire des Relations de la Russie avec la Chine* (Anastic ed., Peking, 1941), 254-5.
[60] *SZXHDSL*. J. 60. 23a.
[61] Meng, "The E-lo-ssu kuan (Russian Hostel) in Peking," 35.
[62] Ibid., 37-8.
[63] Ibid., 39.
[64] Qian Xun 钱恂, *Zhong'e jieyue kanzhu* 中俄界约勘注 (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1894, reprinted in 1963).

1858	Treaty of Aigun 璦琿條約	Manchu, Mongolian, and Russian
1860	Convention of Beijing 北京條約	Manchu, Chinese, and Russian
1861	Eastern Border Settlement 中俄勘分東界約記	Manchu and Russian (Translated into Chinese in 1882)
1864	Northwestern Border Settlement 中俄勘分西北界約記	Manchu and Russian
1882	Treaty of Kashgar Eastern Border 喀什噶爾界約	Manchu and Russian
1882	Treaty of Kashgar Northwestern Border 續勘喀什噶爾界約	Manchu and Russian
1883	Treaty of Kobdo Border 科布多界約	Manchu and Russian
1883	Treaty of Tarbagatai Border 塔爾巴哈台界約	Manchu and Russian
1886	Aigun Eastern Border Resettlement 中俄琿春東界約	Manchu, Chinese, and Russian

The above table shows that Manchu was more frequently employed in Qing-Russian treaties than Chinese. The Qing Empire did not translate Manchu into Chinese until the 1850s. After the 1860s, sometimes, both Chinese and Manchu were used.

The Northwestern Border Settlement (1864) stated that "geographical names should be written in both Manchu and Russian. Subsequent affairs could be conducted in either Mongolian or Manchu."[65] The Treaty of Kobdo Border (1883) also stated that "geographical names should be written in Manchu and Russian."[66] In September 1869, the Zongli Yamen stated that the Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Chahar Generals who had previously used Manchu in official documents should write memorials in Chinese.[67] However, Eugene De Butzow, the

[65] Ibid., 59.
[66] Ibid., 83.
[67] "Zixing ge jiangjun dachen deng sihou benyamen xingwen xu jianyong hanzi yimian chiwu you 咨行各將軍大臣等嗣後本衙門行文須兼用漢字以免遲誤由," September 21, 1869, 01-17-036-01-001, Zongli geguo shiwu yamen quanzong 總理

Russian envoy, found it inconvenient for the Russian side that local officials in Manchuria used Chinese. In September 1870, Butzow requested that local officials in Manchuria should continue to use Manchu in official documents, because there was no Russian-Chinese translator in Irkutsk.[68] Four days later, the Zongli Yamen responded to this request:

> "According to the twelfth article in our treaty with Russia, treaties between the two countries should be written in Russian, Manchu, and Chinese. The Manchu version is the authoritative one. All affairs should be conducted by following the articles written in Manchu. The Russian envoy [Eugene De Butzow]'s request that local officials used Manchu in documents does not violate the [above] rule in the treaty. Therefore, the [Jilin and Heilongjiang] Generals should use Manchu in documents regarding Russian affairs."[69]

As a consequence, many official documents regarding Russian affairs, such as memorials, reports, and statements that were submitted to Beijing by local officials in the borderlands, were originally written in Manchu and then translated into Chinese by *bithesi* and *zhongshu* in Beijing. Official documents were often accompanied by a note which said that the main body of the text was *qingzi hanyi* (清字漢譯, translated into Chinese from Manchu).[70]

After 1821, an increasing number of non-ecclesiastical and professional Russians, including linguists, doctors, and artists, travelled to Beijing.[71] From the mid-nineteenth century, close Qing-Russian relations made it necessary to train more specialists who could understand Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian. In 1807, the Kazan University established the Oriental Faculty which included the departments of Arabic and Persian languages, Turkic and Tartar languages, and Mongolian.[72] The Kazan University founded Departments of Chinese and Manchu in 1837 and 1844 respectively.[73] "In 1855, before the Oriental Faculty of the

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各國事務衙門全總, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.

[68] "Hanshu sihou dongjie guanyuan zhuanxing Eguo gongwen qiyong qingwenzi you 函述嗣後東界官員專行俄國公文祈用清文字由," September 23, 1870, 01-17-036-01-002, Zongli geguo shiwu yamen quanzong, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.

[69] "Sihou yu Eguo bianjieguan xingwen jinyong manwen you 嗣後與俄國邊界官行文僅用滿文由," September 27, 1870, 01-17-036-01-004, Zongli geguo shiwu yamen quanzong, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.

[70] Guo Tingyi 郭廷以, ed., *Siguo xindang Eguo juan* 四国新档·俄国卷 (Taibei: zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1966).

[71] J. Gershevitch, "A Pioneer of Russian Sinology: K. A. Skachkov (1821-1883)," *Asian Affairs* 4, no.1 (1973): 46.

[72] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxian qingbao zhongxin 中国社会科学院文献情报中心, *E Su zhongguoxue shouce* 俄苏中国学手册, Vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1986): 105.

[73] Ibid. T. A. Pang, "A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia (First Part: Up to 1920)," 127.

Kazan' University was closed, there were only twenty-four students five of them studying Chinese and Manchu."[74] Vasily Paviovich Vasilyev (1818–1900) was a student at the Mongolian section of the Faculty between 1834 and 1837, after which he spent ten years in China as a member of the Twelfth Orthodox Mission (1840–1849).[75] The Chinese-Manchu faculty appointed Vasilyev as a language instructor after he returned to Russia.[76]

In 1855, the Faculty of Chinese and Manchu was transferred to St. Petersburg University.[77] Vasilyev moved to St. Petersburg where he headed the Department of Chinese Philology.[78] In 1864, the Faculty became the Faculty of Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian. Students had to learn Chinese and either Manchu or Mongolian.[79] From then onwards, Vasilyev also lectured on the Manchu language. He compiled the first Manchu textbook in Russia, *The Manchu Reader* (1863). The book introduced different styles of Manchu and included examples selected from *Tanggū meyen* (清話百條, *The Hundred Chapters*), *Cing wen ki meng bithe* (清文啟蒙, *The Manchu Language Primer*), and diplomatic and official documents of the Russian embassies.[80] Vasilyev also compiled *The Manchu-Russian Dictionary* (1866) which "contains the most frequently used words of Manchu lexicon, gives exact meanings of the words."[81] For a long period time, Russia was able to learn Manchu only through the Reader and the dictionary.[82] Between 1887 and 1900, there were twenty-six graduates, all of whom worked for Russian institutions in the Qing Empire or taught in universities after graduation.[83]

While these faculties in universities paid more attention to academic research, the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok, which was established in 1899, trained interpreters who served in Russia's military and economic missions in northeastern China. The Institute had four faculties, the Chinese-Manchu, the Chinese-Japanese, the Chinese-Korean, and the

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[74] T. A. Pang, "A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia (First Part: Up to 1920)," 128. cf. Bartol'd, V.: Polnoe sobranie sočinenija, Vol. IX, Moscow, 1977, p. 8.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxian qingbao zhongxin, *E Su zhongguoxue shouce*, 106. Pang, "A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia," 128.
[78] T. A. Pang, "A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia (First Part: Up to 1920)," 128.
[79] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxian qingbao zhongxin, *E Su zhongguoxue shouce*, 106-7.
[80] T.A. Pang, "A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia," 129.
[81] Ibid., 129. cf., Paškov, B.: Vklad russkich učen.ch v izučenie man čžurskogo jazyka i pis'mennosti, in *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta vostokovedenija XVIII, Ja-zykoznanie*, Moscow, 1956, p. 9.
[82] Ibid., 129.
[83] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxian qingbao zhongxin, *E Su zhongguoxue shouce*, 106-7.

Chinese-Mongolian Faculties, among which the Chinese-Manchu faculty was the largest.[84] As T.A. Pang quotes, Aleksei Matveevich Pozdneev (1851–1920), the first director of the Institute, said in his opening speech,

> "The Oriental Institute whose aim is to prepare students for the service in the administrative and commercial or industrial institutions of the East-Asian Russia and adjoining countries, now is the unique Institute not only in Russia, but in whole Europe. To satisfy this goal, the teaching of the oriental languages in it should have practical features, and besides, the students should be acquainted with the natural features and economic life as well as with legal relations of different countries of the East Asia."[85]

Many graduates from the above institutes had visited Manchuria and Mongolia or worked in these regions as interpreters, investigators, and officers. For example, Nikolai Nikolaevich Krotkov (1869–1919), who graduated from St. Petersburg University in 1894, worked as secretary of the Russian consulates in Jilin, Qiqihar, and Yining (伊寧) and as the Russian consul at Urumqi and Yili until 1911.[86] Pozdneev conducted research in Mongolia between 1876 and 1878, and 1892 and 1893.[87] Russia's Sinology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not confined to Chinese studies, but focused on Manchu and Mongolian languages as well. As P. E. Skačkov states, "Russian sinology is characterized by the equal significance of the Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian languages from the very start … In fact, research in Manchu studies, for example, played a big role during the first states of the establishment of sinology [in Russia]."[88]

Learning Manchuria's Local Languages in Japan

The earliest Japanese publication about the Manchu language was *A Study of the Manchu Language* (满文考) by Ogyū Sorai (荻生徂徠 1666–1728).[89] Although Ogyū Sorai studied the importance of Manchu in his work, he probably did not understand Manchu.[90] According to Toru Haneda (羽田亨 1882–1955), who published the Manchu-Japanese

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[84] Pang, "A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia," 133.
[85] Ibid., 132-3, cf. Izvestija Vostočnogo Instituta, Vol. 2, issue 1 (Vladivostok, 1900), 4.
[86] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxian qingbao zhongxin, *E Su zhongguoxue shouce*, 53-4. Tong Keli 佟克力, "Eluosi manxue xuezhe yu manxue yanjiu 俄罗斯满学学者与满学研究," *Manyu yanjiu* 42, no. 1 (2006): 137.
[87] Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxian qingbao zhongxin, *E Su zhongguoxue shouce*, 70-1.
[88] Pang, "A Historical Sketch of the Study and Teaching of the Manchu Language in Russia," 123, cf. Skačkov, P. E.: Očerki istorii russkogo kitaevedenija (Moscow, 1977), 285.
[89] Yan Shaodang 严绍璗, *Riben Zhongguoxue shi* 日本中国学史 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), 553.
[90] Ibid.

dictionary (滿和辭典) in 1937, the origin of Manchu studies in Japan was related to Russia. He stated in the preface to the dictionary that:

> "Studies on the Manchu language in Japan began in 1804 when a Russian envoy presented his credential written in Japanese, Russian, and Manchu. In 1808, the Tokugawa shogunate [德川幕府 1600–1868] ordered Takahashi Kageyasu (1785–1829) to translate Manchu [into Japanese], which was the beginning of Manchu studies in Japan. Takahashi Kageyasu published *The Phonology of Manchu* [滿文輯韻] and *An Enlarged Edition of the Phonology of Manchu* [增訂滿文輯韻]. The shogunate also ordered translators in Nagasaki to translate Manchu into Chinese and compile dictionaries. However, it did not develop well. Until 1855, only a few works were published including *The Japanese Illustration of the Manchu Dictionary* [清文鑑和解], also known as *The Translation of The Manchu Dictionary* [翻譯清文鑑], and *The Translation of The Collection of Manchu Vocabularies* [翻譯滿語彙編]. The dictionaries that were planned to be published were not finished."[91]

Unlike Russia, which had a tradition to study and use Manchu and Mongolian languages when conducting Qing-Russian relations, the learning of Manchu and Mongolian in Japan did not have a clear political purpose until the late nineteenth century.

From the 1890s onwards, studies on Manchuria were closely related to Japan's military activities. After the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, the Japanese Army General Staff Office (陸軍参謀本部) dispatched officers to map Manchuria. In 1906, the SMR was established in Manchuria, the "lifeline" of Japan. In Manchuria and Mongolia, the SMR not only managed the railways, harbours, and mines according to the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905), but also conducted research and supported and established education and cultural facilities.[92] In 1908, the East Asian Association (東洋協會) established the Department of Academic Research, which promoted the study of history, languages, customs, politics, and economy of Asian countries and ethnic groups.[93] Between 1894 and 1911, particularly after the Russo-Japanese War, these organizations produced many publications on Manchuria's geography, history,

[91] Tōru Haneda, 滿和辭典 (Kyōto: Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Man-Mō Chōsakai, 1937), Preface.
[92] John Young, *The Research Activities of the South Manchurian Railway Company, 1907-1945: A History and Bibliography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).
[93] Li Qing 李庆, *Riben hanxueshi: qiyuan he queli* 日本汉学史：起源和确立, Vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai waiyu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 391.

and ethnography. These works included *Maps of East Asia* (東亞與地圖 from 1894) and *A Survey of Mongolia* (蒙古誌 1894) by the Japanese Army General Staff Office and *A Survey of Eastern Mongolia* (東部蒙古誌 1908) by the Kanto government (關東都督府).[94]

After 1905, more Japanese historians travelled to Manchuria and Mongolia, whose fieldwork contributed to the development of Manchu and Mongolian studies in Japan in the early twentieth century. In 1905, Naitō Torajirō (内藤虎次郎 1866–1934), also commonly known as Naitō Konan (内藤湖南), a Japanese Sinologist and historian, travelled to Fengtian to research Manchurian history. In October 1905, he found over two hundred documents written in Manchu, which was the *Old Manchu Archives*. He took thousands of photos of the *Old Manchu Archives* and the *Imperially Commissioned Dictionary of Manchu in Five Scripts*, which provided Japanese soldiers with important primary sources.[95] He also collected a copy of *The Secret History of the Mongols* (蒙古秘史), which was given to him as a present by Wen Tingshi (文廷式 1856–1904).[96] Naka Michiyo (那珂通世 1851–1908) studied this copy of *The Secret History of the Mongols* possessed by Naitō Konan, and published *Chingisu kan jitsuroku* (*The Veritable Record of Chinggist Khan*) in 1907. Naka Michiyo's work is a Japanese translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols* "on the basis of both the sectional summaries and the Chinese-transcribed Mongolian text,"[97] which laid the foundation for Mongol studies in Japan. Shiratori Kurakichi (白鳥庫吉 1865-1942) travelled to Manchuria and Korea to study their history and languages. Based on Shiratori Kurakichi's suggestion, Japan's Department of Academic Research was established within the East Asian Association under Shiratori's leadership. In the early twentieth century, Shiratori Kurakichi supervised many investigations and publications on Manchuria and Mongolia. In the twentieth century, Japanese scholars used his collection of Manchu and Mongolian materials to conduct research on Manchuria and Mongolia.[98]

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[94] Yan, *Riben Zhongguoxue shi,* 559. Zhang Mingjie 张明杰, "Jindai Ribenren shehua bianjiang diaocha jiqi wenxian 近代日本人涉华边疆调查及其文献," *Guoji hanxue* 国际汉学 6, no. 1 (2016). Yoshihiro Kawachi, "Riben guanyu Dongbeiya yanjiu chengguo xuanbian- guanyu manxue yanjiu lunwen mulu 日本关于东北亚研究成果选编——关于满学研究论文目录," trans. Zhao Aping 赵阿平 and Yang Huibin 杨惠滨, *Manyu yanjiu*, no.1 (2000): 98-111, no.2 (2000): 81-95, no.1 (2001): 108-14, no.1 (2002): 120-5.
[95] Li, *Riben hanxueshi: qiyuan he queli*, 382-3.
[96] Ibid.
[97] William Hung, "The Transmission of the Book Known as The Secret History of The Mongols," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14, no. 3/4 (1951): 446.
[98] Li, *Riben hanxueshi: qiyuan he queli*, 489.

It was in this period that Manchu and Mongolian studies became a new and more important part of Sinology in Japan.[99] These studies were not just works of academic. They also helped the Japanese government expand its influence in Manchuria. Japan trained interpreters to conduct investigations and handle administrative affairs in Manchuria. In the Japanese Office of Mongolian Affairs in Changchun, there were "approximately eighty military students who disguised themselves and learnt the Mongolian language."[100] Moreover, by developing Manchu and Mongol studies, as well as studies on Xinjiang, Tibet, and Korea, Japan sought to replace the traditional Sinology with tōyōshi (東洋史). This was closely related to Japan's aspiration to compete with European powers and the rise of Pan-Asianism in the twentieth century.[101] In Ge Zhaoguang's (葛兆光) study of Chinese studies in Japan, he states that "Japanese enthusiasm to conduct research about Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang, Tibet, and Korea was a feature of modern scholarship in academic history. In political history, their enthusiasm was the foundation for the restoration of 'the new order of East Asia' and 'the new world of East Asia' in political history."[102] Although Japanese politicians and scholars debated this idea between the 1920s and 1940s, particularly during the establishment of Manchukuo,[103] it had its origin in the 1900s.

The Practice of Russia and Japan's Language Skills in Manchuria and the Response of Qing Officials

Colleges and language schools in Japan and Russia trained a large number of investigators, interpreters, and military officers to communicate in Mongolian. After graduation, they came to Manchuria and expanded Russia and Japan's influence within the Jirim League.

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[99] He Changqun 贺昌群, "Riben xueshujie zhi zhinaxue yanjiu 日本学术界之支那学研究," in *Hechangqun wenji* 贺昌群文集, vol. 1 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003): 447. Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Zhaizi Zhongguo: chongjian youguan Zhongguo de lishi lunshu* 宅兹中国：重建有关中国的历史论述 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 381.

[100] Zhu Qiqian, "Mengwuju duban zicheng Dongshansheng dufu qing zaizou qingkuan bing chouyi tieluwen 蒙務局督辦咨呈東三省督撫請再奏請款並籌議鐵路文," 1908, in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 60-62.

[101] Ge, *Zhaizi zhongguo,* 396, cf. "东洋史上ょり观たる明治时代の发展,"in 桑原骘藏全集, Vol. 1, 551-563. "我が国に於ける满蒙史研究の发达," in 东亚史论薮, 241-68.

[102] Ibid., 406.

[103] Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2004), 89-130. Yi Xiong, *Representing Empire: Japanese Colonial Literature in Taiwan and Manchuria* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003). Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999).

Due to their good grasp of Mongolian, Russian and Japanese officials established close relationships with Mongol princes. Russia's Mongolian Affairs Office in Harbin "established a hotel for Mongol guests. When Inner and Outer Mongolian princes passed [Harbin] by railway, Russian officials went out of their way to establish cordial relations with Mongol princes and manage debt negotiations."[104] In 1905, Russia loaned 200,000 rubles to the Khorchin right wing front banner and another 90,000 rubles in 1906. The banner agreed to repay the debt by mortgaging all of its cattle and by granting Russia the right to railway and mineral resources. All of these affairs were conducted in Mongolian and Russian. In 1905, the *jasagh* of the banner went to Harbin to visit the Russian command and expressed his desire to form an alliance with Russia. The Russian emperor bestowed the *jasagh* Russian court dress in the same year.[105] Russian soldiers were also based in the prince mansion of the banner.[106]

Zhu Qiqian came to Taonan Prefecture to investigate this case when the banner could not repay the Russian debt in 1907 and asked the Qing government for a favour.[107] When Zhu looked into this case, he repeatedly expressed his concern that the Mongols were at a disadvantage when dealing with Russia. Zhu noticed that Russia used both "ruble" (盧布) and "tael" (兩) in the contract with the Mongols, but the *jasagh* did not understand the difference between these two measuring units.[108] Zhu also noticed that the contract written in Russian stated that "if the Mongolian banner cannot repay the debt by the deadline, Russia can dispatch soldiers to seal off the prince mansion."[109] However, the Mongolian version did not include this article. When Zhu investigated this discrepency, he noticed that the Japanese side attempted to approach the *jasagh* too when the banner was in Russia's debt. Zhu stated that Japanese, most of whom were military students, dressed like Mongols and learnt the

[104] Zhu, "Mengwuju duban zicheng dongshansheng dufu qing zaizou qingkuan bing chouyi tieluwen," 60-2.
[105] *DCBGS*, 76-7.
[106] Sun Baojin 孫葆瑨, "Taonanfu zhifu Sunbaojin shang Fengtian xingsheng gongshu Zhasake tujunwang Wutai sizhai ezhai yi quanqi dichan diya chengwen 洮南府知府孫葆瑨上奉天行省公署扎薩克圖郡王烏泰私債俄債以全旗地產抵押呈文," 1908, in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 154-6.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Zhu Qiqian, "Mengwuju duban zicheng Fengtian xingsheng gongshu chafu Zhasake tujunwang Wutai sijie ezhai zhuoni banfa wen 蒙務局督辦咨呈奉天行省公署查覆扎薩克圖郡王烏泰私借俄債酌擬辦法文," 1908, *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian,* 156-68.
[109] Ibid.

Mongolian language.[110] They gave a warm reception to the *jasagh* when he travelled across Manchuria.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Qing government became concerned that Russian and Japanese powers had infiltrated the Jirim league. Sun Baojin (孫葆瑨 1862–?), Magistrate of Taonan Prefecture, suggested that "foreign powers are covetously eyeing our territory and seeking more interests. If we scold Mongolian banners too severely and take actions in haste, I am afraid that they may be desperate and take risks [forming an alliance with Russia or Japan]."[111] In an effort to deter the Khorchin right wing front banner from forming alliances with Russia or Japan, the Qing agreed to repay the debt which the banner owed Russia. In 1910, the Fengtian provincial government raised a loan from the Daqing Bank (大清银行) that was worth 400,000 taels of silver, gave it to the Khorchin right wing front banner, and secured on land rent, the gains from land reclamation in the north mountain, railways, and mineral resources in the banner.[112] The contract was written in Mongolian and Chinese. The Qing hoped that it could demonstrate its power and paternalism towards the other Jirim banners by repaying the banner's debt. As Sun Baojin stated, "our Dynasty will not suffer any loss. This will also be a starting point for restoring the reign over all Mongolian banners."[113]

Even so, Chinese officials found it difficult to deal with legal cases involving Mongolian, Russian, and Japanese parties because Russian and Japanese officials had a greater understanding of Mongolian and Manchu than their Chinese counterparts. This can be seen from a report regarding the *Regulations for Mongolian-Russo Relations* (蒙俄交涉章程) written by the Bureau for Railway in Mongolian Banners (蒙古各旗鐵路交涉局). The report stated that "Russians have been working on making contact with Mongol banners for more than a year … especially in the banners located near Russia. … The outsiders do not know their methods of contact … [due to] the language barrier and the uncertain whereabouts of

[110] Ibid.
[111] Sun, "Taonanfu zhifu Sunbaojin shang Fengtian xingsheng gongshu Zhasaketujunwang Wutai sizhai ezhai yi quanqi dichan diya chengwen," 154-6.
[112] "Fengtian xingsheng Daqing zongyinhang Zhasaketuwangqi dingli jiekuan hetong 奉天行省大清總銀行扎薩克圖王旗訂立借款合同," in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 190-1.
[113] Sun, "Taonanfu zhifu Sunbaojin shang Fengtian xingsheng gongshu Zhasake tujunwang Wutai sizhai ezhai yi quanqi dichan diya chengwen," 154-6.

Russians and Mongols."[114] In 1911, the Fengtian Office of Foreign Affairs (奉天交涉司) reported another case about Russo-Mongol commercial disputes to Governor General Zhao Erxun (赵尔巽 1844–1927). A Russian accused a Mongol from the Khorchin right wing middle banner of not delivering cattle to the Russian buyer after being paid. The Office found it difficult to handle the case, as the Mongol businessman neither spoke nor read Chinese.[115] However, the Office noticed that a Russian interpreter had assisted in this commercial transaction.[116]

According to the archives of the Fengtian provincial government, this case was not the only instance where Chinese officials felt that they could not prevent Russia and Japan from expanding their influence within the Jirim League. Having an understanding of Mongolian made travelling to the League much easier for Russian and Japanese officials. After the Russo-Japanese War, Russian and Japanese "travellers" in the Jirim league who spoke Mongolian continued to threaten Qing interests. According to the investigation conducted by the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs of the Three Eastern Provinces between 1910 and 1911,

> "Russian businessmen are mainly based in Taonan Prefecture and travellers can be found in the Khorchin right wing banners and the three Mongolian banners in Heilongjiang. Japanese businessman are primarily in Liaoyuan and Faku (法庫), while travellers can be found in the Khorchin left wing banners and the front Gorlos banner."[117]

After the Qing prohibited foreigners from mapping and conducting investigations in Manchuria in 1909,[118] most Russian and Japanese visitors used disguises and false identities to hide from the authorities and therefore continue their research.[119] In 1911, the temporary magistrate of Liaoyuan Prefecture noticed that "among thirty-six Japanese travellers, only

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[114] Menggu tielu ju 蒙古鐵路局, "Guanyu Menggu geqi teilu jiaoshe anjian fu Hua E dingding jianzao tielu hetong shisan tiao 關於蒙古各旗鐵路交涉案件附華俄訂定建造鐵路合同十三條," 1906, JC 10-1-2403, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[115] "Fengtian jiaoshesi chengqing chuanpai Tushiyetu mengren tuoqian Eren gouniukuan laifan shi zi jundubutang zha 奉天交涉司呈請傳派圖什業圖蒙人拖欠俄人購牛款來犯事咨軍督部堂札," JC 10-1-20263, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[116] Ibid.
[117] *DCBGS*, 25.
[118] "Riben you baiyuren fenfu mengdi cehui ditu bingyou zhuanren fu gemengqi gouchuan shangren ji Waijiaobu yu riling jiaoshe jingguo qingxingjuan fu riren cehuiyuan renshu lujun cehuiguan mingdan 日本有百餘人分赴蒙地測繪地圖並有專人赴各蒙旗勾串商人及外交部與日領交涉經過情形卷附日人測會員人數陸軍測繪官名單," JC 10-1-1876, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[119] *DCBGS*, 25.

fourteen of them use names that are identical to their names on their passports."[120] A report regarding Japanese "visitors" in Manchuria provides more information:

> "There are eight classes, each consisting of approximately two hundred graduates. Class One is investigating in Korea, Class Two in the South Sea, and Class Three in the Three Eastern Provinces and Mongolia. The locations of other classes are not clear. More than eighty persons are mapping Mongolia. They have finished sixty per cent of the area of the Jirim League and will return during spring and summer next year. All of the leaders were military officers during the Russo-Japanese War, who use false names. For example, a colonel [大佐] uses the identity of principal of East Asian Measurement School. He is called 'supervisor' [總辦] by other Japanese. One senior captain uses the identity of a medical doctor. Some senior captains are called 'assistants' by others."[121]

Similar cases could also be found on the Russian side. For example, Smolini Rogoff (斯莫力尼國夫), an interpreter of Russian Chamber of Commerce in Harbin, was a high-rank officer in the Russian Army, who was proficient in Chinese and knew Mongolian.[122] Han Wenda (韓文達), who used to be a Mongolian translator for the Qing government but then submitted to Russia, was also a battalion commander in charge of 2,500 Kazakh soldiers.[123]

As seen from these cases, Russian and Japanese officers who had a good command of Mongolian conducted academic research, bought military supplies, and pursued economic opportunities. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Jirim Mongols' military power, particularly the Mongol cavalry, was still important for the Qing Empire. The best known among the Jirim Mongol soldiers and generals was Senge Rinchen (in Manchu: Senggerincin 僧格林沁 ?–1865), the *jasagh* of the Khorchin left wing rear banner between 1825 and 1865. In 1857, Senge Rinchen was appointed as an Imperial Commissioner (欽差大臣) to supervise the building of the defence system in Tianjin. He fought against British and French troops in Tianjin during the Second Opium War (1856–1860), helped the Qing suppress the Taiping (1850–1864) and Nian (1851–1868) rebellions, and died during the Battle of Gaolou Fort (高

[120] "Riben you baiyuren fenfu mengdi cehui ditu bingyou zhuanren fugemengqi gouchuan shangren ji Waijiaobu yu riling jiaoshe jingguo qingxingjuan fu riren cehuiyuan renshu lujun cehuiguan mingdan."
[121] Ibid.
[122] *DCBGS*, 143.
[123] Ibid.

樓寨之戰) in 1865.[124] After Senge Rinchen's death, however, the Jirim Mongols did not play an important role in Qing military affairs. Yao Xiguang (姚錫光 1857–?) stated in his memorial to the Guangxu emperor that "the Mongols have changed from fierce warriors who had followed the dragon [the Qing] and established a great enterprise to dogs and sheep that are only able to keep watch at night."[125]

The growing influence of Russia and Japan threatened the Qing Empire's security. The Jirim League was an essential defensive measure which preserved the sacred homeland of the Manchus and defended the Qing's territories south of the Great Wall. The league's geopolitical importance for supporting Manchu reign in the early Qing period was extended to an international realm in the nineteenth century. In this context, Qing officials subsequenty recognized that foreign intervention could weaken the Qing's hold over the Jirim League and thus threaten the Qing's territorial integrity.

Conclusion

Located at the intersection of Manchuria, Mongolia, and the central plain, the Jirim league was the region where the language policy of segmentation and integration was implemented to the greatest extent. Manchu and Mongolian remained the two official languages of the League as they had been since the seventeenth century. The Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan language regime in the Jirim League created a large number of monolingual Mongols who spoke Mongolian in their daily life and learnt Tibetan in lama temples.

The flow of Chinese immigrants into Manchuria extended the Chinese language to the Jirim banners, which complicated the polyglot reality. The growing Chinese power undermined the balance of segmentation and integration maintained by the early Qing language regime. In this context, Qing officials considered the early Qing's language regime obstructed the exercise of Qing power in judicial, administrative, and commercial affairs.

The expansion of Russia and Japan further shifted the balance of segmentation and integration in the Jirim League. By training officials to speak local languages, Russia and

[124] Guojia qingshi bianzhuan weiyuanhui 国家清史编撰委员会, *Ke'erqin junwang cangdang* 科尔沁郡王藏档 (Jinan: Qilushushe, 2014). Zhao Erxun 赵尔巽, *Qingshigao* 清史稿, Liezhuan 列传 191. J. 404. Senggelinqin 僧格林沁.
[125] Yao Xiguang 姚锡光, "Xiguang qingjian dayuan zhuanban Neimeng kenwu zhe 錫光請揀大員專辦內蒙墾務折," 1907, in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 25-6.

Japan developed close commercial, financial, and military relations with the Jirim Mongols. Facing the fluidity of languages and powers, Qing officials found it difficult to handle Russo-Mongolian and Japanese-Mongolian relations. The influence of Russia and Japan made the Mongolian-Chinese barrier an international issue in the early twentieth century. The early Qing's policy of language segregation not only separated Mongols and Chinese but also drove some Jirim Mongols to the Russian and Japanese sides.

In the early twentieth century, the Qing Dynasty considered that language pluralism impeded its administration and weakened its authority among the Mongols. Moreover, as seen from the reports of local officials, they tended to blame the Jirim Mongols for their inability to speak and read Chinese. They prioritized the communicative function of a language over its ritual and religious significance. These concerns impelled the Qing Empire to reform its traditional multilingual policy in the Jirim League. The Qing Empire's effort to construct a new language regime, which derived from and led to the change of the power relations in Manchuria, will be discussed in the following two chapters.

Chapter 3

Teaching Chinese in the Jirim League:

The Literacy Question at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Facing the fluidity and intertwining of languages and powers in Manchuria, Governor General Xiliang issued an official letter to the ten banners of the Jirim League to encourage learning and industry (札哲里木盟十旗興學勸業文) in 1909.[1] This policy has usually been studied as "national language education (國語教育)" and a language contest which Chinese won over Manchu and Mongolian.[2] This perspective, however, oversimplifies the Qing Empire's conception of language and power in the waves of reforms in the late nineteenth century. In order to place the Qing's language policy towards the Jirim League into a wider context, we have to look at the evolution of language ideologies in other parts of the Qing Empire and the world. The next two chapters will discuss how the Qing Empire's idea of language and literacy changed in the global context of language reform and in the context of educational and constitutional reforms in Qing China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They will also discuss how the Qing Empire implemented this subtly revised policy in the Jirim League.

This chapter will focus on the origin of teaching the Chinese language in the Jirim League in the early twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century, particularly after China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, a heated debate took place in Qing China about the Chinese language. The central questions included why should the state create a literate and educated populace? How would improved popular literacy facilitate Qing China's self-strengthening and political reforms? What script and language should people learn to read? I will revisit the intellectual discussion on literacy and language at the turn of the twentieth century. I will discuss how the Qing Empire's understanding of literacy and language changed and its political and social implications for the Jirim Mongols.

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[1] Xiliang 錫良, "Zha Zhelimumeng shiqi xingxue quanye wen 札哲里木盟十旗興學勸業文," JC 10-1-18189, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

[2] Yu Fengchun 于逢春 and Liu Min 刘民, "Wanqing zhengfu dui Mengguzu de guoyu jiaoyu zhengce 晚清政府对蒙古族的国语教育政策," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中国边疆史地研究 18, no. 2 (2008): 67-77. Cai Fenglin 蔡风林, "Qingmo Mengguzu jiaoyu 清末蒙古族教育," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 3 (1992): 82-5. Yu Fengchun 于逢春, *Zhongguo guomin guojia gouzhu yu guomin tonghe zhi lichen – yi' ershi shiji shangbanye dongbei bianjiang minzu guomin jiaoyu weizhu* 中国国民国家构筑与国民同和之历程——以 20 世纪上半叶东北边疆民族国民教育为主 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006).

I will argue that with the rise of a global concern about literacy, Chinese linguists, scholars, reformers, and the Qing government conceived the Chinese language as a valuable tool to empower the most people to strengthen Qing China and to mobilize the Chinese to participate in constitutional reform. The promotion of Chinese learning was not simply a linguistic choice between Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian. Rather, the policy demonstrated a proclamation of the superiority of literacy over illiteracy, a deconstruction of the traditional Manchu-Mongol relations under universal emperorship, and an attempt to integrate the Jirim Mongols into the Chinese populace under a constitutional regime.

I will begin with Xiliang's official letter and discuss how local officials introduced the idea of improving Chinese literacy to the Jirim Mongols. Then, I will situate Xiliang's policy in the context of educational and constitutional reforms in Qing China. I will explore how Chinese scholars conceptualised popular literacy and how they sought to improve literacy by creating a phonetic script that followed European and Japanese models. By looking into the circulation of several language proposals, I will explain how the Qing government gradually adopted the idea that an improvement of literacy was important for educational and constitutional reform. After this, the chapter will return to the Jirim League and discuss how Xiliang's language policy was related to the Qing government's constitutional plan in the Jirim League.

Xiliang's Official Letter

At the beginning of Governor General Xiliang's letter, Xiliang explained that the situation that the Jirim Mongols faced in the early twentieth century was different from the past. Xiliang stated that "The Mongols established their state based on nomadism. … The Mongols have been renowned for military achievements. It has been a Mongol characteristic that generals and soldiers greatly contributed to the construction of our dynasty."[3] After this, Xiliang explained that the past tradition of nomadism and martial spirit had contradicted the Qing Empire's most recent vision of strengthening the country and reforming the people. Xiliang stated that:

> "Nowadays, everything in the world is in competition, such as transportation, academia, knowledge, agriculture, industry, and business. This is an era where the strong survive

[3] Xiliang, "Zha Zhelimumeng shiqi xingxue quanye wen."

and the weak will be eliminated. Without rearranging industries and fostering education, [our country] cannot find a position in the contemporary world. … people cannot be self-supporting if they do not have general knowledge [普通智識]. Those who are self-supporting will not be deceived by others. People are not able to obtain general knowledge unless they learn to read."[4]

Xiliang considered literacy as an essential skill for the Jirim Mongols to attend schools, develop vocational skills, and engage with the world. All of these were regarded as the foundation for reforming Mongol society. Xiliang summarized Jirim Mongols' inability to read:

"Fewer than one or two per cent of people can read. [Most people] read neither Chinese nor Mongolian. Those who study in lama temples read only scriptures besides learning Sanskrit. They do not read Chinese or Mongolian. All of these block Mongols' knowledge, result in decadent customs and difficult livelihoods, and cause the Mongols become poorer and poorer everyday. … Many hereditary *taijis* do not read Mongolian, let alone Chinese. We can infer that *taijis*' subordinates cannot read any language either."[5]

Taking into consideration the strategic location of the Jirim League and the increasing influence of Japan and Russia, Xiliang stated that "we cannot strengthen our capacity or protect our territory unless we encourage learning and develop industry."[6] Xiliang therefore suggested establishing local schools in each banner to promote mass literacy (excluding females) and looked for a language reader suitable for the Jirim Mongols.

In China proper, the official Chinese language reader in schools was *The Up-to-date National Language Reader for Lower Primary Schools* (最新初等小學國文教科書) which was written by Zhuang Yu (庄俞 1878–1940) and Jiang Weiqiao (蔣維喬 1873–1958) in 1905. Zhuang and Jiang stated in the preface that the purpose of this book was to "provide everyone basic moral values and knowledge and enable them to learn about important thoughts of ancient sages and academics, arts, and skills of all countries in the world."[7] This

[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, *Zuixin chudeng xiaoxue guowen jiaokeshu* (最新初等小學國文教科書)

book as well as many Chinese language readers touched on a wide range of topics, such as science, history, geography, and civics.[8] These Chinese language readers included the newest terms concerning every subject at the time and reflected the most recent findings of scholars. In 1907, Rongde (Ungde 榮德), honorary supervisor of the Fengtian Mongolian Language School (奉天蒙文學堂榮譽監督), adopted Zhuang and Jiang's work as the textbook for the School because "old textbooks … do not introduce the most recent science and the newest terms."[9] Xiliang agreed that "the textbook edited by the Fengtian Mongolian Language School, which has been approved by the Ministry of Education, is suitable for [Mongol students]."[10] From then onwards, Zhuang and Jiang's language reader became the official textbook in the Jirim League.

Yu Fengchun (于逢春), Liu Min (刘民), and Cai Fenglin's (蔡凤林) work define the effort to improve Chinese literacy in the Jirim League as the beginning of national language education in the northeastern borderlands.[11] However, the policy's dimensions, causes, and consequences are less than clear. As the official letter shows, encouraging the Jirim Mongols to learn to read Chinese was associated with reforming Mongol society and changing the way to exercise Qing power over the Mongols rather than simply prioritizing Chinese over Manchu and Mongolian.

The Literacy Question in the West and China

The concern about poor literacy and the effort to improve literacy, as seen in Xiliang's official letter, was a global phenomenon. In the early nineteenth century, it was still a prevalent idea in western Europe that educating lower classes would create potential rebels who might disrupt the social order and render loyal subordinates disobedient.[12] Education was thus implemented within a limited scale in order to guarantee social stability. Likewise,

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(Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1905), Preface.

[8] Peter Zarrow, *Educating China: Knowledge, Society, and Textbooks in a Modernizing World, 1902-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 58.

[9] Rongde 榮德, "Xu 序," in *Manmenghan hebi jiaokeshu* 滿蒙漢合璧教科書 (hereafter: *MMHHBJKS*), Zhuang Yu and Jiang Weiqiao, trans., Rongde (1909), 5a, b.

[10] Xiliang, "Zha Zhelimumeng shiqi xingxue quanye wen."

[11] Yu and Liu, "Wanqing zhengfu dui Mengguzu de guoyu jiaoyu zhengce", 67-77. Cai, "Qingmo Mengguzu jiaoyu," 82-5. Yu, *Zhongguo guomin guojia gouzhu yu guomin tonghe zhi lichen – yi ershi shiji shangbanye dongbei bianjiang minzu guomin jiaoyu weizhu*, 76-98.

[12] Mary Jo Maynes, *Schooling in Western Europe: A Social History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 33-4, 54. Harvey J. Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City* (New York, Sam Francisco, London: Academic Press, 1979), 22. Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 41-2.

in late imperial China, literacy was strictly limited within the elites and bureaucrats in order to maintain the Qing's control over a large number of peasants who could become potential threats to the government.[13] But by the 1830s, as Harvey Graff argues, opposition to the universal education of the masses had largely vanished, in particular in Anglo-America and western Europe, despite different nature of the opposition.[14] The early nineteenth-century fear about the potential threat of the educated lower classes had largely gone. Rather, elites, bureaucrats, and governments believed that the masses should be educated.

England in the mid-nineteenth century witnessed a rise in literacy thanks to increased government investment in elementary schools and the growing willingness of the working classes to send their children to attend schools.[15] The Education Act of 1870 (the Forster Act) introduced compulsory education to England, which supplemented the church schools.[16] Nineteenth-century Germany, in particular Prussia, was exemplary in terms of universal education and literacy. The literacy rate of Prussia in 1871 reached 85% to 90%, which made Prussia the most literate place in Europe.[17] Meiji Japan, as Koji Taira argues, "started out with literacy rates which were 35% for men and 8% for women, and … closed the era with 75% for men and 68% for women."[18] The institutionalization and nationalization of a modern educational system and the introduction of compulsory education (a four-year system in 1886 and a six-year one in 1907) contributed to the rise of literacy figures for Meiji Japan.[19]

The surge of literacy in Europe and Japan, which happened simultaneously with the industrialization and modernization of European and Japanese society, attracted the attention of Chinese reformers and linguists, in particular after Qing China's humiliating defeat against Japan in 1895. Chinese elites believed that the ability to read was a decisive factor for

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[13] Alexander Woodside, "Real and Imagined Communities in the Chinese Struggle for Literacy," in *Education and Modernization: The Chinese Experience*, ed. Ruth Hayhoe (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992), 29-30.
[14] Harvey J. Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City* (New York, Sam Francisco, London: Academic Press, 1979), 22.
[15] Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 13-5. Victor E. Neuberg, *Popular Education in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Woburn Press, 1971). Roger Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy in England, 1750-1850," in *Literacy and Social Development in the West*, ed. Harvey Graff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 201-13.
[16] Elizabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 14.
[17] Harvey J. Graff, *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 286.
[18] Koji Taira, "Education and Literacy in Meiji Japan: An Interpretation," *Explorations in Economic History* 8, no. 4 (1971): 387.
[19] Richard Rubinger, "Literacy East and West: Europe and Japan in the Nineteenth Century," in *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World VII: Language, Literacy, and Writing*, eds. Umesao Tadao et al. (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1992), 87.

modernization and social changes in western society. Kang Youwei (康有為 1858–1927) and Liang Qichao (梁啟超 1873–1929), who later played key roles in the Hundred Days Reform of 1898, urged the nurturing of a knowledgeable and virtuous citizenry and encouraged the expansion of the people's intelligence (開民智).[20] In contrast to the dissemination of *guanyin* among officials in Fujian and Guangdong in the early Qing period and the establishment of specialist language and technology schools for elites during the self-strengthening movement from the 1860s to the early 1890s, Kang and Liang argued for mass education and improving popular literacy.

Many Chinese scholars evaluated popular literacy in late Qing China. Wang Zhao (王照 1859–1933), the author of *Phonetic Spelling of Mandarin* (官話合聲字母 1900), stated that "among one hundred people, we can hardly find one who can thoroughly understand an article."[21] Lao Naixuan (勞乃宣 1843–1921) explained that "in some villages, no one can read. Although in some regions one or two can read, they, sometimes, happened to be the scum of a village."[22] Of all Chinese linguists and reformers in the late Qing period, Liang Qichao made the most optimistic estimate that the literacy rate in late Qing China was between 20% and 30%.[23]

Chinese scholars compared popular literacy in late Qing China with Japan and European countries. Liang Qichao believed that "among one hundred people, in Germany and America approximately ninety-six to ninety-seven can read; in Japan, approximately eighty out of one hundred people can read."[24] After 1895, first-hand experiences of Japan's high literacy rate left an impression on more Chinese linguists. In 1904, the Office of Education in Zhili (直隸學務處) stated in an official document that "even peddlers and carriers can read books and newspapers in Japan."[25]

Chinese intellectuals usually used approximate numbers such as "a few", "several", or "three or four," or used the examples of peddlers, carriers, women, and children in their

[20] Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 22.
[21] Wang Zhao 王照, *Guanhua hesheng zimu* 官話合聲字母 (1900), 2nd preface.
[22] Lao Naixuan 劳乃宣, "Jincheng Jianzipulu zhe 进程简字谱录摺," in *Qingmo wenzi gaige wenji* 清末文字改革文集, ed. Wenzi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社 (Beijing: Wenzi gaige chubanshe, 1980), 79.
[23] Ni Haishu 倪海曙 *Qingmo hanyu pinyin yundong biannianshi* 清末汉语拼音运动编年史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1897), 62.
[24] Liang Qichao 梁啟超, "Shenshi yuanyin xu 盛世元音序," in Shen Xue 瀋學, *Shengshi yuanyin* 盛世元音 (1896).
[25] "Zhili xuewuchu fuwen 直隶学务处覆文," in *Qingmo wenzi gaige wenji*, 43.

evaluation of literacy rate in late Qing China. Modern studies on literacy, however, emphasize the diversity of literacy skills. They distinguished between full literacy, functional literacy, and maintenance literacy, as shown in Rawski, Alexander Woodside, Benjamin Elman, and Elizabeth Kaske's works.[26] Late Qing Chinese scholars, however, generally argued that popular literacy in China was extremely low in comparison with Japan and some European countries. They were not interested in discussing which category of literacy their estimate fell.

Chinese scholars did not aim to measure literacy in Qing China, Meiji Japan, and Europe but were preoccupied with an idea that poor literacy impeded China's self-strengthening and reforms. As seen in Xiliang's official letter, he sought to improve the Jirim Mongols' ability to read so as to open their mind and restore their power. But recent scholarship, such as Graff's study on the history of literacy, argues that there has been a pervasive literacy myth – literacy creates a knowledgeable and rational populace, facilitates modernization, and contributes to morality and social order.[27] Graff argues that the role of literacy can only be studied in specific social contexts.[28] The following sections will focus on Chinese scholars, officials, and government's conception of literacy and its dimensions. I will discuss how this conception of literacy engaged with reforms in the late Qing period and impacted the Qing Empire's language regime in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Mass Literacy, Universal Education, and Self-strengthening

After the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, and the outburst of Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria in 1904, a deeper sense of crisis spread among scholars and officials. In 1898 and 1901, the Qing court embarked on two significant reforms: the Hundred Day Reform (June 11–September 21, 1898) and the New Policies (1901–1911), which covered the last years of the Qing Dynasty and witnessed a wide change of official and intellectual attitudes towards literacy and

[26] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 34. Woodside, "Real and Imagined Communities in the Chinese Struggle for Literacy," 26-7. Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2000), xxx-xxxi, 240-50. Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979), 10-17.
[27] Graff, *The Literacy Myth.*
[28] Ibid., 22-9.

education. As Kaske argues, "education was the central battleground for all debates on both language and literature (often the definition of 'literature' was identical with that of written language) taking place during these periods."[29]

Between 1892 and 1911, Chines linguists proposed some thirty language plans to make learning to read easier and to improve popular literacy (Appendix 3.1).[30] These schemes created phonetic scripts which were used alone or alongside Chinese characters in order to make Chinese learning easier. Script reform from the 1890s is in general called "the movement to romanize of Chinese characters (切音運動)" and "the movement to simplify Chinese characters (簡字運動)" by Li Jinxi,[31] "the movement to romanize Chinese characters (切音字運動)" by Ni Haishu,[32] and "alphabetization" by DeFrancis and Kaske.[33]

The Literacy Concern of Chinese Linguists

The assumption that only improving literacy could strengthen Qing China motived many Chinese linguists' efforts to create an easier script for the ordinary people to learn. They considered that a phonetic script, which linked a character's sound with its shape, would make learning to read easier. Europeans first introduced this idea to China. In the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries arrived in China and found that written Chinese, which they believed was an ideographic script, was more difficult than the phonetic writing of Indo-European languages. After the Opium War (1839-1842), more European missionaries, merchants, and diplomats came to Southeast China, where people spoke dialects, such as Cantonese, Hakka, and the Min and Wu dialects. Between 1851 and 1866, many missionaries published Chinese books on topics such as sacred scriptures, hymns, and geography, using a phonetic script based on a dialect.[34] In the second half of the nineteenth century, discussions about phonetic and ideographic scripts extended to industrial, commercial, and technical fields. When Pierre Henri Stanislas d'Escayrac de Lauture (1822-1868), a French linguist and geographer, studied how to transmit Chinese characters via the telegraph, he suggested that

[29] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education*, xvi.
[30] Ni, *Qingmo hanyupinyin yundong biannianshi*, 9-12.
[31] Li Jinxi 黎錦熙, *Guoyu yundong shigang* 國語運動史綱 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), 2-3.
[32] Ni, *Qingmo hanyupinyin yundong biannianshi*, 59-60.
[33] John DeFrancis, *Nationalism and Language Reform in China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950). Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 93.
[34] Alexander Wylie, *Memoirs of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867).

an alphabetic language would be more convenient to decode and transmit messages, which would also facilitate commercial communication and enhance the political unity of a country.[35] In the printing industry in the late nineteenth century, there were also discussions about the advantage of alphabetic languages over Chinese characters.[36]

Lu Zhuangzhang (盧戇章 1854–1928) was the first Chinese linguist to publish a plan to romanize Chinese. In the 1880s, Lu Zhuangzhang lived in Xiamen, one of the five ports opened to foreign trade. Lu assisted John Macgowan (1835–1922), a British missionary, in compiling the *English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect* (1883).[37] In the dictionary, each English word was followed by Chinese characters and the Xiamen dialect that was transcribed into Roman letters.[38] Through these experiences, Lu obtained a knowledge of Indo-European languages and phonetic scripts.

In 1892, Lu published *Being Clear at a Glance* (一目了然初階 1892), in which he used fifty-five Roman letters to transcribe some Fujian dialects. Of the fifty-five letters, "thirty-six are for the Xiamen dialect, thirty-eight letters for the Zhangzhou [漳州] dialect, and forty-five letters for the Quanzhou [泉州] dialect. Besides, ten letters are used for Shantou [汕頭] and Fuzhou dialects and some regions' general pronunciations [總腔], including Guangdong, Shanghai, Shandong, and Beijing."[39] The fifty-five letters Lu used in his work included fifteen lowercase Latin letters – a, b, c, d, e, h, k, m, n, o, r, u, v, w, and x – three capital ones – L, R, and G – and seventeen variants of Latin letters (Figure 3.1).[40] According to Lu, these letters were used either alone or jointly with others, with texts written from left to right. For instance, in the second passage *Falling into Water* (跌落水 Figure 3.1), 水 (water), the third character, was written as lu, a combination two letters, l and u, with a sign of tone.

[35] Pierre Henri Stanislas d'Escayrac de Lauture, *On the Telegraphic Transmission of the Chinese Characters* (Paris: E. Bière, Rue Saint-Honoré, 1862), 13.
[36] Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925).
[37] Lu Zhuangzhang 盧戇章, *Yimuliaoran chujie* 一目了然初階 (1892), 1a.
[38] Rev. J. Macgowan, *English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect* (London: Trubner & Co., 1883).
[39] Lu, *Yimuliaoran chujie*, 69.
[40] Lu, "xiefa 寫法," in *Yimuliaoran chujie*.

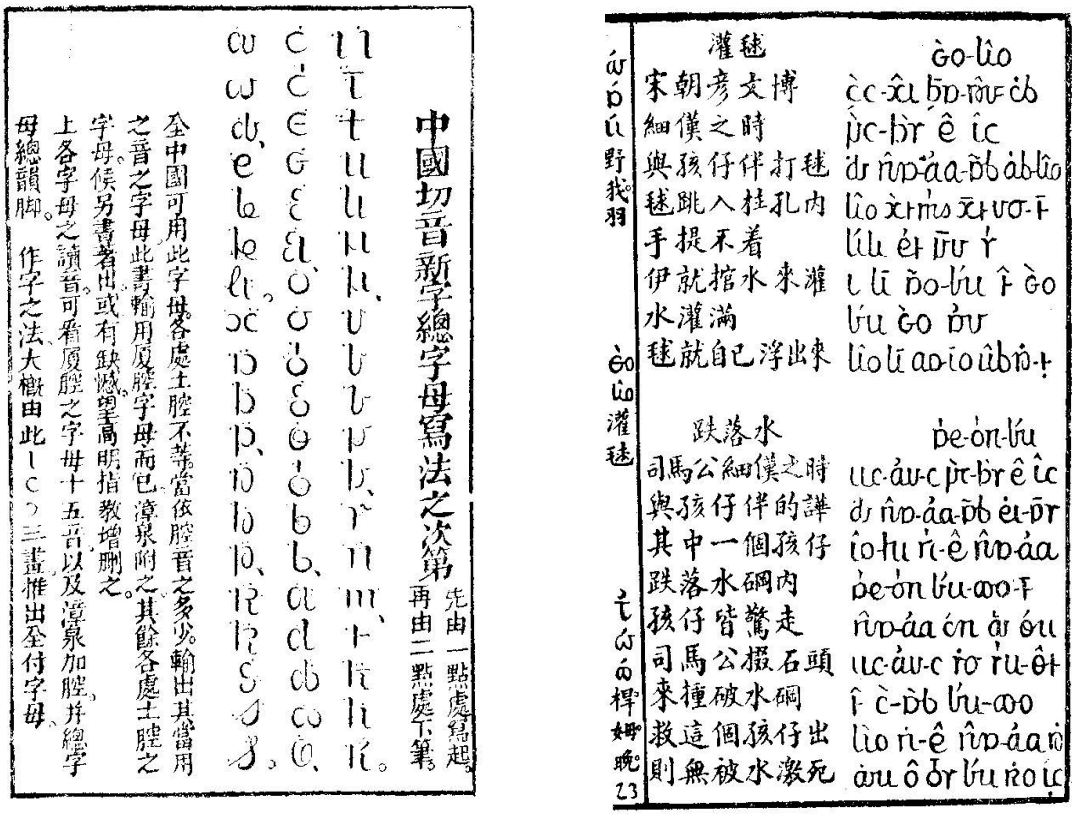


Fig. 3.1 Sequence of Letters in Lu Zhuang's work (left); Two texts selected from Lu Zhuangzhang's work (right). Reproduced from Lu Zhuangzhang, *Yimuliaoran chujie* (一目了然初階 *Being Clear at a Glance*), 1892.

In the preface to *Being Clear at a Glance*, Lu stated that "in civilized European countries and America, all males and females above ten years old can read, even those who live in remote and poor regions."[41] Lu attributed high popular literacy in these countries to the phonetic scripts they used. As Lu stated,

> "Today, all countries, except China, use phonetic scripts that include some twenty or thirty letters. Britain and America use twenty-six letters, Germany, France, and the Netherlands use twenty-five, Myanmar use thirty-six, and Italy and some six and seven countries in Western Asia use twenty-two."[42]

Lu further explained how such a script would help strengthen a country's power:

> "A country's wealth and power is based on [the development of] science. The foundation for the development of science is that all people are eager to learn and act

[41] Lu, *Yimuliaoran chujie*, 2b.
[42] Ibid.

> rationally. The foundation for this is the creation of a phonetic script. This will unify the spoken and written languages, and make the script easier. A phonetic script will make people able to read by themselves after learning letters and the phonetic rule. … An easier script will make learning to read and write easier so that people will save tens of years. If people spend these years on studying mathematics, physics, chemistry, and other subjects, our country will be wealthy and strong."[43]

Lu's argument established a relation between script, literacy, and the strengthening of a country. According to Lu, an easier script would improve popular literacy because it would make learning to read easier and save illiterate learners much time. After popular literacy was improved, a literate and educated populace could contribute to a country's prosperity, because an ability to read would help them gain specific knowledge that was useful for strengthening a country's power, such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry as mentioned by Lu.

Before 1895, Lu was the only Chinese linguist who proposed to romanize Chinese characters. It was Qing China's defeat against Japan in 1895 that led more Chinese scholars to bring the literacy question and script reform into the debates on the reasons why China fell behind Japan. From then onwards, an increasing number of Chinese linguists travelled to Japan and introduced the Japanese model of script reform to China.

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japanese views on language and writing were strongly influenced by European intellectual currents. From the 1860s, Japan initiated the translation of European language ideas into realistic plans. Hirai Masao summarizes that there were more than 343 schemes to reform the Japanese language in the Meiji period (1868–1912).[44] In 1866, Maejima Hisoka (前島密 1835–1919) proposed a petition calling for the replacement of *kanji* (a system of Japanese writing using Chinese characters) by *kana* (a system of syllabic writing used for Japanese, including *hiragana* and *katakana*), which marked the beginning of the rise of the idea that written Japanese was heavily burdened by *kanji*.[45] Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉 1835–1901) suggested limiting the number of *kanji* in

[43] Lu, *Yimuliaoran chujie*, 2a, b.
[44] Patrick Heinrich, *The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity* (Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 2012), 11. cf., Masao Hirai, *History of Problems of the National Language and Script* (Kokugo kokuji mondai no rekishi, 1998), 477-97.
[45] Nanette Twine, "Toward Simplicity: Script Reform Movement in the Meiji Period," *Monumenta nipponica* 38, no. 2

use in order to make reading and writing easier in *Moji on Oshie* (文字之教 *On Characters* 1873).[46] A two-volume dictionary containing the most often used *kanji* was compiled in 1872 under the instruction of Ōki Takatō (大木喬任 1832–1899), Minister of Education.[47] After that, more scholars called for replacing *kanji* with a phonetic script. Maejima Hisoka advocated the use of *kana* instead of *kanji* in both official documents and private texts so that they would be accessible to the ordinary people. He also suggested that the learning of *kanji* was a waste of time and a hindrance to the spread of education.[48] Between 1882 and 1883, with the aim to free Japanese people from learning a cumbersome foreign writing system, several *kana* clubs were established.[49] Concurrently with the *kana* movement, the movement for replacing *kanji* with *rōmaji* (Roman letters) developed. From 1884, *rōmaji* clubs were established, in which most members had a command of foreign languages. The supporters of *rōmaji*, such as Nambu Yoshikazu (1840–1917), the first Japanese who advocated the exclusive use of Roman letters, and Terao Hisashi (寺尾寿 1855–1923) who was chief astronomer at the University of Tokyo Observatory, aimed to use the western alphabet to romanize Japanese.[50] In short, with the concern of broadening readership and introducing hitherto unfamiliar western concepts, Japanese linguists proposed new scripts, compiled dictionaries, and published newspapers in new scripts, such as the *all-kana* writing, *rōmaji* and reducing *kanji*. They intended to spread education in as simple a script as possible through denouncing Chinese influence.[51]

Wang Zhao's work, *Phonetic Spelling of Mandarin*, was an example of following the Japanese model of script reform. Wang created an easier script by using Chinese character strokes, which were similar to Japanese *kana* writing. Wang selected twelve strokes from twelve Chinese characters to symbolize vowel sounds (Figure 3.4). For example, Wang used "一" which was selected from "哀" to represent the vowel sound *ai*.[52] Likewise, Wang selected a part of a character, which was composed of two to four strokes, to represent a

(1983): 117.
[46] Ibid., 118.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., 118-20.
[49] Twine, "Toward Simplicity: Script Reform Movement in the Meiji Period," 121-2.
[50] Ibid., 125-8.
[51] Related research includes: Christopher Seeley, *A History of Writing in Japan* (Leiden, New York, København and Koln: E. J. Brill, 1991). Yeounsak Lee, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, trans. Maki Hirano Hubbard (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996). Heinrich, *The Making of Monolingual Japan.*
[52] Wang, *Guanhua hesheng zimu*, 10.

consonant (Figure 3.4). For example, "二" from "租" represented the consonant *zu*; "干" from "辭" signified *c*.[53] In this way, three to five strokes would be enough to write a Chinese character. Wang's work was the most widespread one among all language proposals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between 1900 and 1911, 60,000 copies of Wang's work were published and disseminated in thirteen Chinese provinces.[54]

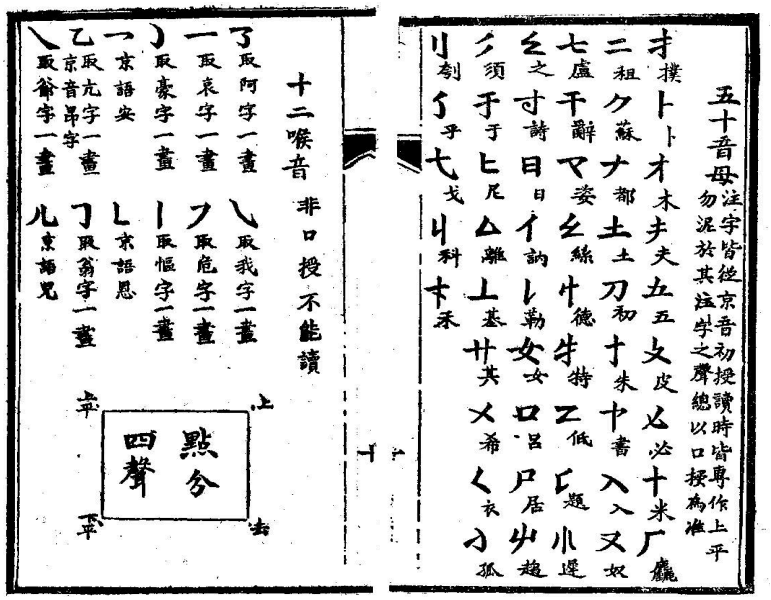


Fig. 3.4 Twelve vowels and fifty consonants in

Reproduced from Wang Zhao's *Guanhua hesheng zimu* (1892)

Wang Zhao published eight elementary-level textbooks and journals that were written in colloquial styles by using the alphabet he created, such as *Commands to Soldiers* (對兵說話), *Zoology* (動物學), and a journal *Everyone Can Read* (人人能看書). Wang explained that he reproduced only elementary-level books, because "according to Bismarck, it was primary school teachers that helped Japan defeat China and Germany defeat France'.[55] Wang made a comparison between the time needed to learn ideographic and phonetic scripts. According to Wang, "[in a traditional way,] it takes at least two to three years to learn *The Four Books* in school. … However, learning letters is much easier. Three or five days will be enough for smart students. For slow learners, it will take fewer than ten days. Therefore, students need only ten days to become prepared to read *The Four Books.*"[56]

[53] Ibid.
[54] Ni, *Qingmo hanyu pinyin yundong bianmian shi*, 80.
[55] Ibid., 82.
[56] Wang Zhao, "Chu zimushu de yuangu," 36-7.

Chinese linguists in the late Qing period pointed out two reasons why the Chinese script resulted in poor literacy. It took several years for students to become qualified to receive junior or senior education, as most students could read only several hundred characters after learning for one or two years in traditional private schools. Besides, most families could not afford tuition and many students dropped out of school before graduation.[57] Late Qing linguists therefore thought that the Chinese language created a barrier between both the rich and the poor and the literate and the illiterate. Only those who were well versed in classical Chinese could succeed in imperial examinations. As Elman argues, a mastery of the classical language created linguistic, social, and economic barriers between the classical literate and illiterate in late imperial China.[58] Fairbank also comments on the relationship between Chinese writing system and social structure of Chinese community:

> "The Chinese writing system was not a convenient device lying ready at hand for every schoolboy to pick up and use as he prepared to meet life's problems. It was itself one of life's problems. If little Lao-san could not find the time for long-continued study of it, he was forever barred from social advancement. Thus the Chinese written language, rather than an open door through which China's peasantry could find truth and light, was a heavy barrier pressing against any upward advance and requiring real effort to overcome – a hindrance, not a help to learning."[59]

In short, Chinese linguists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries believed that China's "overcomplicated" language created discrepancies in Chinese society and prevented most people from advancing the Qing. Therefore, they created an easier script, which they thought would improve popular literacy and produce an educated and strong populace, to empower the Qing Empire to compete with Japan and Europe. As Shen Xue (瀋學), the author of *Phonetics of the Great Era* (盛世元音 1896), expressed:

> "In Europe, a high literacy rate ensures that people are mostly educated, and therefore, the leadership and the rank and the file are of one mind. All the people will strive for

[57] Ni, *Qingmo hanyu pinyin yundong bianmian shi*, 86.
[58] Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, xxx-xxxi, 240-50. Benjamin A. Elman, *Classicism Politics and Kinship: The Changzhou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1990), 22-5, 52-9.
[59] John K. Fairbank, *United States and China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), 43.

prosperity and power together. Russia and Japan romanized their scripts. This has facilitated the translation of western written works to educate national citizens."[60]

Nevertheless, as seen from Appendix 3.1, at first these proposals rarely obtained government approval and sponsorship when individual linguists put them forward. The diversity of the proposals showed a debatable question that whether and which of these pronunciations and written forms of Chinese should be circulated among ordinary Chinese people. Even within the reformist circles, not everyone agreed with the assumption that a phonetic script that followed Indo-European and Japanese examples would facilitate popular literacy and China's development.[61] I will then discuss how the Qing government's attitudes towards language proposals changed.

From the Gongche Shangshu Movement to the Hundred-Day Reform (1895–1898)

After the Sino-Japanese War, Kang Youwei initiated the Gongche Shangshu Movement (公車上書) in 1895. Gongche, literally public vehicle, referred to civil service candidates from various provinces. In April 1895, more than one thousand civil service candidates led by Kang signed a ten-thousand-word petition, which emphasized a lack of schools in China and called for universal education.[62] Liang Qichao, Kang Youwei, and Zhang Zhidong (張之洞 1837–1909) all stressed the importance of learning from Japan's translation of western books and conducting reform in China.[63] In Liang Qichao's *Shiwu bao* (時務報, Chinese Progress), a reform journal, Liang exclaimed the importance of enlarging the people's intelligence through extending general education from specialized experts to peasants and common people.[64] For the brief period between June and September in 1898, reformers gained the Guangxu emperor's support and implemented a series of policies to reform education, such as the establishment of modern schools and the promotion of overseas study.[65] But as Kaske argues, "nationwide compulsory education or the state-sponsored mass literacy was not yet in the field of vision of the Qing central government."[66] During the

[60] Shen, *Shengshi yuanyin*, 2a.
[61] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 123-31.
[62] Kang Youwei 康有為, "Gongche shangshu 公車上書," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao* 中国近代教育史资料, ed. Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu press, 1985), Vol. 3, 909.
[63] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 78-84. William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 135.
[64] Bailey, *Reform the People,* 22.
[65] Ibid., 24-6.
[66] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 84.

Hundred-Day Reform in 1898, the Qing government's policy on educational reform focused on the civil examination system, in particular the abolishment of the eight-legged essay.[67]

But during the Hundred-Day Reform in 1898, Chinese linguists for the first time requested government approval for their language proposals and emphasized the importance of a phonetic script for improving literacy. Lin Lucun (林辂存 1879–1919) submitted a statement to the Censorate (都察院) stating that

> "Our country's characters are the most complicated and difficult. Therefore it is hard to learn to read [Chinese] and there is no way to open people's mind. There are many talents in Europe, because European languages are easy to learn. Since European languages are written in letters in a phonetic form, it is not difficult to disseminate these languages and people could learn it by themselves quickly."[68]

Therefore, Lin recommended Lu Zhuangzhang's work, *Being Clear at First Glance*, because "it took people [in Xiamen] only half a year to be able to write down what they want to say."[69] In Lin's statement, he also mentioned the contribution Li Jiesan (力捷三), Shen Xue, Wang Bingyao (王炳耀) and Cai Xiyong (蔡錫勇 1850–1897) had made to create an easier script. Lin further suggested that

> "[We] correct Lu Zhuangzhang's new writing system based on the Fuzhou dialect and adapt it to the pronunciation of Mandarin in the capital and then disseminate it across the empire. [In this way,] people in all regions where his majesty's soul reaches, such as those in Mongolia, Tibet, Qinghai, Yili, and islands in the south sea, will be able to write in the same script, speak in the same pronunciation."[70]

Lin's memorial took not only various dialects but also other non-Chinese languages into consideration, which was one of the first attempts to reform Qing multilingualism and unify various languages at that time.

Six days later, the Grand Secretariat received the emperor's instruction to "order the Zongli Yamen to thoroughly review the book written by Lu Zhuangzhang and submit a

[67] Ibid., 84-90.
[68] Lin Lucun 林辂存, "Shang duchayuan shu 上都察院書," in *Qingmo wenzi gaige wenji*, 17-8.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

report".[71] However, no further response came after the crackdown of the Hundred-Day Reform. The Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) and conservatives overthrew all the achievements, except for the Imperial College, in the coup d'état in 1898.

Language Policy in the Early Era of the New Policy (1901–1904)

In September 1901, the Boxer Protocol (辛醜條約) was signed between the Qing court and the Eight-Nation Alliance. In the same year, the Empress Dowager Cixi issued an edict demanding governor generals and provincial governors to submit proposals for conducting reform, which initiated the New Policies (新政).[72] "To strengthen the country and benefit the people (強國利民)" became a major concern of the New Policies.[73]

The desperate need to save the Qing monarchy placed educational reform on a new platform. In 1902 and 1904, the Ministry of Education promulgated two *Regulations of Schools* (學堂章程) so as to establish a universal educational system. The 1902 scheme (壬寅學制) was devised by Zhang Baixi (張百熙 1847–1907), Director of Studies of the Imperial Capital University (京師大學堂).[74] The 1904 scheme (癸卯學制) was developed by Rongqing (榮慶 1859–1917) and Zhang Zhidong in collaboration with Zhang Baixi.[75] Compared to the earlier educational system that aimed at training specialist officials and experts, the 1902 and 1904 schemes provided general education to a broader populace and emphasized the importance of education for maintaining a livelihood.[76]

One of the expected achievements of the lower primary school was to "create an increasing number of literate citizens."[77] In the lower primary school curriculum, the Chinese language (中國文字) was taught four hours per week. The aim was to let students "know the most-often used characters in everyday life and understand simple and easy readings."[78] Meanwhile, the 1904 Regulations for Schools emphasized the Confucian Classics in order to preserve the "national essence (國粹)". It required students to spend a substantial part of their

[71] Ni, *Qingmo hanyu pinyin yundong bianmian shi*, 66.
[72] Bailey, *Reform the People,* 26.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Zhang Baixi 張百熙, "Jincheng xuetang zhangcheng zhe 進呈學堂章程摺," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao*, 194-7.
[75] Zhang Baixi, Rongqing 榮慶, and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, "Xuewu gangyao 學務綱要," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao,* 197-217.
[76] Bailey, *Reform the People,* 34.
[77] "Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng 奏定初等小學堂章程," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao,* 411.
[78] Ibid., 415, 417-20.

time in reading Classics (讀經).[79] With a prevalence of the Confucian Classics, this educational system did not comprise Japanese and Chinese linguists' ideas of improving popular literacy through teaching a simpler script. As Kaske argues, the educational system of 1904, which was "a hybrid between the Japanese school system and Chinese conservative beliefs,"[80] did not lead to a broad literate citizenry.

The Abolishment of Civil Examinations in 1905

Despite the promulgation of the 1904 educational system, succeeding in the civil examinations was still considered the fundamental way to enter officialdom and therefore a limited number of people financially sponsored new-style schools.[81] But the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria and the growth of revolutionaries within and outside Qing China demonstrated to the Qing court its pressing need to save the falling Qing monarchy. Japan's victory over Russia drew the attention of officials and scholars again to Meiji Japan which had promoted universal education to strengthen Japan in the late nineteenth century. In September 1905, the court issued an edict announcing the discontinuance of the old civil examination system from 1906 and thus removed an obstacle to the development of universal education and modern schools.[82]

After the abolishment of the civil examinations, the Ministry of Education (學部) was established to manage educational affairs in December.[83] In contrast to the Regulations for Schools drafted by Zhang Zhidong, the Ministry of Education implemented cautious reforms to improve popular literacy.[84] In 1905, Lu Zhuangzhang returned to Beijing and submitted his work to the Ministry again. The Ministry forwarded Lu's proposal to the Department of Translation Studies (譯學館) for review. Although the Department rejected Lu's proposal, the critique written by the Department showed the government's changing attitude towards script reform and popular literacy:

> "The degree of difficulty of a language is directly proportional to the spread of education. If it is difficult to learn, people will be indolent. By contrast, if it is easy to

[79] Zhang, Rongqing, and Zhang, "Xuewu gangyao," 197-217.
[80] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 250-72.
[81] Wolfgang Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 69.
[82] Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System*, 71.
[83] "Zhengwuchu zouqing teshe xuebu," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao*, 270-3.
[84] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 273-8.

learn, education will naturally spread. In recent years, the Japanese Education Committee [日本教育會] proposed to reform its language several times. The Committee has even proposed to eliminate Chinese characters and use *kana* or Roman letters only to make learning to read easier and spread education."[85]

As seen from the above text, the Ministry accepted the idea that some kind of script reform could facilitate universal education. The Ministry also cited the Japanese example to demonstrate the practicality of creating a phonetic script for written languages in East Asia.

The Ministry then explained its view about whether script reform would ruin China's cultural heritage, which was also the concern of many conservatives at that time:

"Chinese characters are the origin of our national essence and the root of culture. … However, the use of Chinese characters in elementary education may result in a threat that people study hard with few results and that people know [the language] but cannot master. Therefore, we have no alternative but to create a phonetic script by following examples of the state script [國書, the Manchu language] and European languages and to use the phonetic script along with traditional characters."[86]

According to the Ministry, Chinese characters maintained an important position in China's culture, but a phonetic script would provide a functional method to assist students in learning to read. The Ministry thus agreed with the idea of creating a new phonetic script, using either Roman letters or Japanese *kana*. The Ministry also cited the example of Manchu to justify its argument that a phonetic script would not ruin Qing China's culture. But the Ministry also emphasized that the new script must be easier, elegant, and popular in order to unite dialects and spread education.[87] The Ministry thought Lu's proposal failed to meet these criteria because of "an incomplete set of consonants, no entering-tone for vowels, and an absurd writing style."[88]

Educational reform between 1895 and 1905 demonstrated a gradual reorientation of official thinking on language, education, and the strengthening of China. The aim of education changed from training official candidates to educating the ordinary people.

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[85] Li Jinxi 黎錦熙, *Guoyuxue jiangyi* 國語學講義 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), 9.
[86] Li, *Guoyuxue jiangyi*, 9-10.
[87] Ibid., 10.
[88] Ibid., 11.

Literacy was no longer a privilege of the elites but a desirable skill for the common people. In revising the Regulations of Schools, the Qing government eventually adopted the idea that improved popular literacy and universal education would create an educated populace who could contribute to the strengthening of China. Despite this, the effort to improve the Mongols' ability to read Chinese did not become widespread in the Jirim League until 1909. We may wonder what aspirations finally drove the Qing government and local officials to encourage the Mongols to learn Chinese in schools.

Popular Literacy and Constitutional Reform: A New Urgency (1906-1911)

In September 1906, the Qing Dynasty issued an edict to institute a constitutional monarchy.[89] Convening provincial assemblies and implementing local self-government were two important parts of constitutional reform, which were officially promulgated in July 1908.[90] The Principles for the Constitution (憲法大綱 1908) declared that "people who are illiterate do not have the right to vote."[91] In contrast to the possession of wealth, literacy was a crucial criterion to which no exception was made.[92] In the List of Annual Tasks attached to the Principles of Constitution, the Ministry of Education was required to compile Basic Literacy Readers (簡易識字課本) and establish Basic Literacy Schools (簡易識字學塾) in order to enable more people to be eligible to vote.[93] According to the List, the Ministry of Education aimed at increasing China's literacy rate to 1% by 1914, to 2% by 1915, and to 5% by 1916, although no clear definition was given in this document.[94] With an improvement in popular literacy, the List foresaw local self-government in cities and towns by 1913 and in departments, prefectures, and counties by 1914.[95] From then onwards, heated debates on improving popular literacy took place among Chinese linguists, local educators, and the government. This section will examine the circulation of Lao Naixuan (勞乃宣 1843–1921)'s

[89] "Xuanbu yubei lixian xianxing liding guanzhi yu 宣布預備立憲先行釐定官制諭," in *Qingmo choubei lixian dang'an shiliao* 清末筹备立宪档案史料, ed. Gugong bowuyuan Mingqing dang'anbu 故宫博物院明清档案部 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 43-4.
[90] "Xianzheng bianchaguan Zizhengyuan huizou xianfa dagang ji yiyuanfa xuanjufa yaoling ji zhunian choubei shiyi zhe fu qingdan er 憲政編查館資政院會奏憲法大綱及議院法選舉法要領及逐年籌備事宜摺附清單二," 1908, in *Qingmo choubei lixian dang'an shiliao*, 54-61,
[91] Ibid., 60.
[92] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 278.
[93] "Xianzheng bianchaguan Zizhengyuan huizou xianfa dagang ji yiyuanfa xuanjufa yaoling ji zhunian choubei shiyi zhe fu qingdan er," 61-7.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.

proposal and discuss how the literacy question won a new urgency in the context of constitutional reform.

On August 10, 1908, Lao Naixuan submitted *A Table of Simplified Characters* (簡字譜錄 1905/1906) to the Ministry of Education.[96] Meanwhile, Lao promoted a new definition of literacy. People who read the "simplified characters" were also considered literate and eligible to vote. Lao also proposed that "official announcements and legal documents should use 'simplified characters' so that everyone can understand them."[97] Lao envisioned that more people would be engaged in politics and policy-making by learning the simplified characters he created. However, Lao did not receive a reply from the Ministry.

On December 28, 1909, Lao presented another memorial in which he reiterated that "the aim of constitutional preparation is to govern [a county] by uniting the wisdom of all the people under the heaven. … The spread of education and local self-government is the most important part of constitutional preparation."[98] Lao emphasized that people's participation in politics, which was based on an improvement of popular literacy, was the aim of instituting a constitutional monarchy. Council elections held in several provinces between 1907 and 1908 showed that an extremely limited number of people were qualified to become voters.[99] The low electoral basis, which resulted from a strict criterion of literacy, became the central concern of Lao Naixuan as well as many reformers and the Qing government.

The *Basic Literacy Reader* (簡易識字讀本 1909) compiled by the Ministry of Education was taught in basic literacy schools.[100] But Lao suggested that this elementary-level textbook which included 1,600 characters was still too difficult for students to learn within one year. Lao explained that it would be impossible for the poor in rural areas to "waste" one year in learning this book, because they had to work to earn their own living.[101] Moreover, Lao pointed out that this elementary-level textbook was designed only for children,

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[96] Lao Naixuan 勞乃宣, "Laonaixuan jincheng jianzi pulu zhe 勞乃宣進呈簡字譜錄摺," 1908, in *Guoyuxue jiangyi* (xia), 1-5.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Lao Naixuan 勞乃宣, "Zouqing fushe jianzike bing biantong difang zizhi xuanmi zige you 奏請附設簡字科並變通地方自治選民資格由," 1909, No. 181625, Taipei National Palace Museum.
[99] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 276-7. Roger R. Thompson, *China's Local Councils in the Age of Constitutional Reform, 1898-1911* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 139-40. Shen Huaiyu 瀋懷玉, "Qingmo difang zizhi zhi mengya 1898-1908 清末地方自治之萌芽 1898-1908," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究資料集刊 9 (1980): 305-8.
[100] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 285.
[101] Lao, "Zouqing fushe jianzike bing biantong difang zizhi xuanmi zige you."

the number of whom was "approximately 20% of adults."[102] As for adults who had not received education, "only one or two among one thousand people can learn to read one thousand characters and understand their meanings."[103]

Lao thus thought it necessary to revise the regulation regarding learning to read and the eligibility to vote.[104] Lao suggested "adding a subject – 'simplified characters [簡字]' – in the schools where basic reading skills are taught. All the people who can read simplified characters should be eligible to vote in local elections."[105] Lao thought that the phonetic writing system he created, which constituted fifty consonants, twelve vowels, and four tones based on *guanyin* in Beijing, would help people learn to read in several days or two to three months for slow learners.[106]

Whilst Lao argued for the importance of teaching "simplified characters," he did not advocate the abolishment of Chinese characters and classical Chinese. Rather, he emphasized that "simplified characters" was a supplement subject for those who could not learn to read Chinese characters in a traditional way and this subject would not replace the compulsory course that taught Chinese characters.[107] While the Principles of Constitution required full literacy in the classical language (識文意), local self-government institutions formulated this requirement, as Kaske notes, "in more general terms as 'shi wenzi 識文字,' which did not necessarily imply full writing ability in the elevated styles of the classical language."[108] By disseminating "simplified characters," Lao intended to combat illiteracy and enable more people to participate in self-government rather than achieving the final goal of promoting Confucius or western learning.

In 1910, the Qing established the Political Advisory Board (諮議局), which acted as a temporary national assembly. Lao became a member of the Board and obtained the support of several other members to continuously promote his plan which the Ministry of Education had not accepted yet. In 1908, the Qing government envisioned the completion of all the preparatory tasks for constitutionalism by 1913. The literacy question thus won a new

[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 278.

urgency. In a petition submitted by Jiang Qian (江謙 1876–1942) to the Board in 1910, he emphasized that "since the government has decreased the time for constitutional preparation to three years, all preparatory tasks have to be completed ahead of time."[109] Thirty-two members of the Board co-signed Jiang's statement and urged the Ministry of Education to reconsider proposals for romanizing Chinese.

In the same year, Lao's proposal received the endorsement from Cheng Xianjia (程先甲 1871–1932) and many other members in the Board. In 1910, Cheng submitted a statement regarding the urgency of make learning to read easier in order to hold election. Cheng depicted what he saw when he supervised elections in Yangzhou (揚州), Tongzhou (通州), and Jiangning (江寧):

> "When a province holds an election, all commoners have to vote, who, however, are mostly illiterate. When they intend to vote for a person, they cannot read or write his surname and given name. Therefore, they have to practice writing the name at home for several days. When they arrive at a poll station, they hold a brush with a trembling hand and spent one hour on writing down three characters. This is what I see when I supervise elections. … When [I] conducted a census in person in some villages, rumours circulated widely. Some said that I was there to tax wealthy families or enlist soldiers. Others even said that I would use live people's souls to establish a foreign bridge. Consequently, there were several cases of destroying schools and beating officials in Yangzhou, Tongzhou, and Jiangning."[110]

As Cheng believed that such chaos in implementing constitutional reform was caused primarily by low literacy, he proposed that Schools for Simplified Characters and Mandarin (官話簡字學校) should be established in all provincial capitals by 1911 and then every prefecture, department, county, village, town, wharf, and factory. Those who did not graduate from these schools would be deprived of the qualification of being citizens.[111] Forty-five members co-signed Cheng's statement.

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[109] Jiang Qian 江謙, "Zizhengyuan yiyuan Jiang Qian zhiwen Xuebu fennian chouban guoyu jiaoyu shuotie 資政院議員江謙質問學部分年籌辦國語教育說帖," in *Guoyuxue jiangyi* (xia), 6.

[110] Cheng Xianjia 程先甲 et al., "Jiangning Cheng Xianjia deng chenqing Zizhengyuan tiyi biantong xuebu choubei qingdan guanhua xiuxisuo banfa yongjianzi jiaoshou guanhua shuotie 江寧程先甲等陳請資政院提議變通學部籌備清單官話傳習所辦法用簡字教授官話說帖," in *Guoyuxue jiangyi* (xia), 8.

[111] Cheng Xianjia et al., "Jiangning Cheng Xianjia deng chenqing Zizhengyuan tiyi biantong xuebu choubei qingdan

Shortly after Cheng submitted his statement, Yan Fu (严复 1854–1921) submitted one in which he drew attention to non-Han people in the Qing Empire. Yan suggested that "phonetic symbols … are important for educating the Mongols, Tibetans, Dzunghars, and Muslims."[112] Yan's statement passed with a majority in the Board. In July 1911, the Resolution on National Language (統一國語辦法案), which was passed in the Central Education Committee Conference (中央教育會議) organized by the Ministry of Education, finally confirmed the necessity of phonetic symbols for improving literacy. Moreover, the term "national language" was eventually fixed by the Resolution. The Resolution stated five standards for creating phonetic symbols: "accurate and complete, complying with general rule, simple, elegant, and easy to write."[113] The Resolution also required that these phonetic symbols should be first disseminated in provinces on trial and subject to revision upon receiving feedbacks.[114]

The ability to achieve literacy, either full literacy as required by the Principles of Constitution or partial literacy as required by local self-government institutions, was an urgent need under the Qing Empire's tight schedule for constitutional preparation. After Lao Naixuan submitted his statement to the Political Advisory Board in 1908, the Board received more similar statements. These statements, petitions, and bills engaged the literacy and language question directly with constitutional reform. Linguists, reformers, and the Ministry of Education constructed language as a valuable tool to mobilize the most people who were the basis of implementing local self-government. Teaching Chinese in whatever scripts, framed by constitutional reform designed to affect the most people, aimed to expand the electorate and to eventually transform the emperor's subjects into the citizens of a constitutional monarchy.

Incorporating the Jirim Mongols under a Constitutional Regime

It was in the context of constitutional reform that Xiliang and local officials realized the urgency to disseminate Chinese in the Jirim League. In 1907, the Qing changed the

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guanhua xiuxisuo banfa yongjianzi jiaoshou guanhua shuotie," 9-10.

[112] Yan Fu 嚴復, "Zizhengyuan teren guyuan Yan Fu shencha caiyong yinbiao shiban guoyu jiaoyu an baogao 資政院特任股員嚴復審查採用音標試辦國語教育案報告," in *Guoyuxue jiangyi* (xia), 12.

[113] "Xuebu zhongyang jiaoyu huiyi yijue tongyi guoyu banfa' an 學部中央教育會議議決統一國語辦法案," in *Qingmo wenzi gaige wenji*, 143-4.

[114] Ibid.

Manchurian military divisions, which were established in 1646 (Mukden 盛京), 1653 (Girin Ula 吉林), and 1683 (Sahaliyan Ula 黑龍江), to three civil provincial administrations and the policy of local self-government was accordingly implemented in Fengtian, Jilin, and Heilongjiang. The regulation that those who did not read Chinese were not eligible to vote spurred local officials to foster learning to read Chinese among non-native speakers so that elections could be held in due time.

In 1911, Zhou Shumo (周樹模 1860–1925), the Heilongjiang provincial governor, reported the annual plan for constitutional preparation. In the report, Zhou raised a question concerning the eligibility to vote of people who read only Manchu or Mongolian but not Chinese. The Department of Constitutional Preparation (憲政籌備館) replied that "those who read only Manchu and Mongolian in Heilongjiang cannot be regarded as literate and therefore they are not eligible to vote."[115] The Department's reply reflected the Qing's assertion of the importance of Chinese for conducting constitutional reform and nurturing citizens even in multilingual northeastern borderlands.

The Qing's policy of encouraging the Jirim Mongols to learn to read Chinese fundamentally transformed the way in which the Jirim Mongols communicated with Qing officials and Manchu emperors. Under a constitutional regime, the Jirim Mongols, like their Chinese counterparts, were granted equal rights to participate in local self-government. This offered ordinary Mongols – but only those who could read Chinese – an opportunity to express their political opinions within a constitutional framework. As Philip Khun defines it, "constitutional" refers to "a set of concerns about the legitimate ordering of public life."[116] Through teaching Chinese to the Jirim Mongols, Qing emperors constructed a new channel for communications between lower and upper levels, which broadened political participation and fundamentally transformed the exercise of Manchu power in the Jirim League. As chapter 2 discussed, Manchurian local officials considered Mongolian-Chinese language

[115] Zhou Shumo 周樹模, "Wei Heilongjiang shengqi mengren bushi hanwenzhe yingfou yi shiwen yilun zhi Xianzheng bianchaguan dianbaogao 為黑龍江省旗蒙人不識漢文者應否以識文議論事致憲政編查館電報稿," 1911, 09-01-02-0021-015, First Historical Archives of China. Zhou shumo, "Wei Heilongjiangsheng dongnan qihan zaju geshu nengshi manmengwenzi renshu yi chi diaocha xuanju zige shi lingbiao huibao shi zhi Xianzheng bianchaguan dianbao 為黑龍江東南旗漢雜居各屬能識滿蒙文字人數已飭調查選舉資格時另表匯報事致憲政編查館電報," 1911, 09-01-02-0021-019, First Historical Archives of China.

[116] Philip A. Khun, *Origins of the Modern Chinese State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 2.

barriers impeded Chinese administration in the Jirim League. The policy of disseminating Chinese removed not only the language barrier but also the barrier to political participation.

This policy further changed the Mongols' position in the Qing Empire and the Manchu-Mongol-Chinese relations. The conquest generation of the Manchus, as Xiliang stated, regarded the martial spirit and strength of the Mongols as a valuable characteristic. By contrast, Manchu and Mongol conquerors perceived the literary and scholarly emphasis of Chinese culture as emasculating, vulnerable, and fragile. The contrast between Han Chinese and nomadic Mongols backed a conceptual contrast between civil and military culture.[117] To maintain the Manchu rule over a multi-ethnic empire, Qing emperors gave greater attention to martial spirit, which they associated with the nomadic and military culture of Inner Asia in order to prevent their Inner Asian subjects from orbiting Chinese civilization.[118] Such dichotomy between literary virtue and martial spirit laid the foundation for the Mongols' relative independent position in the Qing Empire and their special relation with the Manchus.

However, Xiliang's official letter suggests that the Qing Empire shifted its intense focus from the Jirim Mongols' nomadic and martial characteristics to their ability to read. Literacy was not naturally acquired without much conscious effort. Rather, discipline and practice was involved in the acquisition of literacy.[119] By associating an improvement of popular literacy with compulsory schooling and constitutional reform, the Qing Empire transformed the segregation between Mongols and Chinese into an integration of various peoples. In this context, the Jirim Mongols no longer possessed a special position in correlation to their contribution to the founding of the Qing Empire. Instead of a group that was equally important as, or slightly more important than, the Chinese population, the Jirim Mongols were reconstituted within a broader definition of Chinese citizenship under the constitutional regime.

This language policy, which aimed at dissolving Mongol-Chinese boundaries and acculturating and politicizing the Jirim Mongols, was similar to how colonial empires

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[117] Angelika C. Messener, "Transforming Chinese Hearts, Minds, and Bodies in the Names of Progress, Civility, and Civilization," in *Civilizing Emotions: Contents in Nineteenth Century Asia and Europe*, eds. Margrit Pernau, Helge Jordheim, and Orit Bashkin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 232-50, 236-7.
[118] Perdue, "*China Marches West",* 89-107.
[119] David Cressy, *Literacy and The Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 19.

conceived their domains, one nation at their core being modern and civilized whereas other domains were backward and barbaric.[120] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the proclamation of the superiority of (Western) civilization over indigenous cultures sustained colonial rule across the globe, from British India to Spanish and Portuguese Latin America.[121] This imperialist claim to civilization and the rhetoric of "civilization" versus "barbarism" found its echoes among Manchurian local officials in the early twentieth century.

Manchurian local officials discussed the Jirim situation in the context of the expansion of colonial empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They called on the Qing court to learn from the "civilizing missions" of modern colonial empires. Sun Baojin suggested the primary strategy was to "restrain and tie down/indirect rule [羈縻]" the Jirim Mongols, which Sun considered to be similar to Britain's India policy and Japan's policy towards Korea.[122] Sun believed that national language education fostered by Japanese colonists in Taiwan a good example of this. In Sun's opinion, "in Taiwan, Japan first established national language schools, which Japanese people learnt the Taiwanese language and Taiwan people learnt Japanese. Since they could communicate in their languages, it is easy for them to have [friendly] feelings and easy [for Japanese] to cultivate [Taiwanese] people."[123] Sun therefore reinforced the importance of learning Chinese. Cheng Dequan (程德全 1860–1930), the Heilongjiang provincial governor, also suggested following the successful examples of colonial empires, such as British India, French Vietnam, and Japanese Taiwan.[124] Cheng further proposed to establish a Ministry of Colonial Affairs (殖務部) to manage local affairs of the Three Eastern Provinces, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Xinjiang, Yili, and Tibet.[125]

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[120] Kenneth Pomeranz, "Empire and 'Civilizing' Missions, Past and Present," *Daedalus* 134, no. 2 (2005): 35.
[121] Mohinder Singh, "Spectres of the West: Negotiating a Civilizational Figure in Hindi," in *Civilizing Emotions: Contents in Nineteenth Century Asia and Europe*, eds. Margrit Pernau, Helge Jordheim, and Orit (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 188.
[122] Sun Baojin 孫葆瑨, "Taonanfu zhifu Sun Baojin shang Mengwuju duban jingying taomeng shuotie 洮南府知府孫葆瑨上蒙務局督辦經營洮蒙說帖," in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 223.
[123] Ibid., 227.
[124] Cheng Dequan 程德全, "Qian shu Heilongjiang xunfu Cheng Dequan zunzhi yifu tongchou xibei quanju zhuoni biantong banfa zhe 前署黑龍江巡撫程德全遵旨議覆統籌西北全局酌擬變通辦法摺," in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 257.
[125] Cheng Dequan, "Qian shu Heilongjiang xunfu Cheng Dequan zunzhi yifu tongchou xibei quanju zhuoni biantong banfa zhe," 257.

This civilizing mission transformed the characteristics of Manchu reign. Through local self-government, the Qing Empire replaced its flexible and resilient reign over a great variety of peoples with an integrated and rather rigid constitutional regime. Although the Qing Empire still recognized the distinctiveness of Inner Asian peoples, the empire prioritized integration over diversity. Equally important imperial subjects were transformed into an integrated group under a constitutional monarchy. The political position of diverse peoples was defined in terms of their equal right to participate in self-government instead of their relation with Manchu emperorship. A culturally and politically united Qing China, rather than an empire of differences became the aim of Manchu rulership. The policy of disseminating Chinese in the Jirim League demonstrated a concern about power relations and the exercise of Manchu power beyond language and literacy. The policy aimed at deconstructing traditional Manchu-Mongol allies, dissolving Mongol-Chinese boundaries, and demonstrating an attempt to construct new Manchu-Mongol-Chinese relations under a Manchu constitutional monarchy.

Conclusion

From the 1890s onwards, Chinese linguists and politicians adopted the European and Japanese idea that popular literacy played a crucial role in the transformation of traditional society. In contrast to the early Qing's policy of disseminating *guanyin* among officials in Fujian and Guangdong, the late Qing Empire's policy aimed at improving mass literacy. After the two-decade long debate on language and literacy in the context of political reforms, the Qing court eventually agreed that creating a literate populace with the assistance of an easier phonetic script would strengthen and reform Qing China.

As chapter 1 discussed, the illiteracy of the Mongols in Chinese was valued and preserved by the Qing Empire in order to maintain the distinctiveness of the Mongols and their loyalty to the Manchu emperors. From the late 1890s, the increasing emphasis on the association between popular literacy, the Qing's self-strengthening, and constitutional reform provided the Chinese language with a function that Manchu and Mongolian did not possessed. Illiteracy (in Chinese) was considered the root of Qing China's backwardness in comparison with Europe and Japan. The Qing Empire expected improved literacy to drive the educated populace to contribute vitally to strengthening Qing China. Therefore, as chapter 2 shows,

local officials in Manchuria no longer regarded the Jirim Mongols' rejection of learning to read Chinese and their patronage of Tibetan Buddhism as the preservation of nomadic culture and martial spirit. Rather, local officials attributed the loss of power of the Jirim Mongols to their inability to read and their devotion to Tibetan Buddhism. In this context, the promotion of Chinese learning was not just a challenge to Mongols' native linguistic habits but also to their cultural tradition, political position, and power in the Qing Empire.

The promotion of Chinese in the Jirim League was associated with the Qing Empire's need for reforming and controlling Mongol society under a constitutional monarchy. Teaching Chinese was not just a strategy to bridge the Mongolian-Chinese language barriers but also a broader Qing scheme to reform and politicize the Mongols in a Chinese way. This language policy fundamentally changed the way in which the Jirim Mongols communicated with the Manchu emperors. The Qing government redefined and disciplined the Jirim Mongols, who used to be imperial subjects, as modern nationals like Chinese people under a Manchu constitutional monarchy. Through this, the Qing Empire sought to prevent the Jirim League from becoming "a problem in the heart of the Three Eastern Provinces and a tool manipulated by foreigners [namely Russia and Japan]."[126]

[126] Xu Shichang 徐世昌, "Dongsansheng zongdu huizou kaocha mengwu qingxing bing nipai dayuan duban zhe 東三省督撫會奏考察蒙務情形並擬派大員督辦摺)," in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 30.

Appendix 1

Table 3.1: Proposals about Phonetic Writing Discussed in Chapter 3 (1892-1911)[127]

Author	**Year**	**Book Title**	**Phonetic standard**	**Written form**	**Dissemination**
Lu Zhuangzhang 盧戇章	1892	*Clear at First Glance* (一目了然初階 Yimuliaoran chujie) *New Characters for Beginners* (新字初階 Xinzi chujie)	The Xiamen, Zhangzhou, and Quanzhou dialects.	Roman letters and variants	By the author. Lin Lucun (林輅存) submitted Lu's proposal to the Censorate in 1898.
Cai Xiyong 蔡錫勇	1896	*Using Shorthand to Convey Pronunciation* (傳音快字 Chuanyin kuaizi)	*guanhua*	Shorthand	By the author. Mentioned in Lin's report.
Shen Xue 瀋學	1896	*Phonetics of the Great Era* (盛世元音 Shengshi yuanyin)	*guanhua*	Shorthand	By the author. Mentioned in Lin's report.
Li Jiesan 力捷三	1896	*Shorthand for the Fuzhou Dialect* (閩音快字 Minyin kuaizi)	The Fuzhou dialect	Shorthand	Mentioned in Lin's report.
Wang Bingyao 王炳耀	1897	*Table of The Phonetic Alphabet* (拼音字譜 Pinyin zipu)	Mainly Cantonese	Shorthand (with transliteration in Roman letters)	By the author. Mentioned in Lin's report.
Wang Zhao	1900	*Joint Guanhua*	*guanhua*	Chinese character	60,000 copies were published.

[127] Ni, *Qingmo hanyu pinyin yundong biannianshi.*

		Alphabet (官話合聲字母 Guanhua hesheng zimu)		Strokes (radicals)	Between 1900 and 1911, the book was disseminated in thirteen Chinese provinces.
Tian Tingjun 田廷俊	1901	*Rhymed Formula to Substitute Characters with Numbers* (數目代字訣 Shumu daizi jue)	The Hubei dialect	Numbers	By the author.
Li Jiesan	1902	*Self-taught Phonetic Writing* for *Guanhua* (無師自通切音官話字書 Wushizitong qieyin guanhua zishu)	*guanhua*	Shorthand	-
Chen Qiu 陳虯	1903	*Collection of Phonetic Writing for the Ou Dialect* (歐文音匯 Ouwen yinhui)	The Wenzhou dialect	Chinese character strokes (similar to tadpole characters)	By the author. The book was disseminated in local schools.
Lao Naixuan 勞乃宣	1905 - 1906	*A Revised and Enlarged Edition of the Table of the Joint Phonetic Simplified Characters* (增訂合聲簡字譜 zengding hesheng jianzipu) *A Revised Edition of the Table of the*	The Nanjing, Suzhou, and Fuzhou dialects, and Cantonese. (A dialect edition of Wang Zhao's proposal)	Chinese character strokes	Between 1906 and 1911, the book was disseminated in schools in South China. Lao and Wang's proposals were called *guanhua jianzi*

		Simplified Joint Phonetic Characters (重訂合聲簡字譜 Chongding hesheng jianzipu) *Comprehensive Table of Simplified Characters* (簡字全譜 Jianzi Quanpu)			(官話簡字 guanhua and simplified/simple characters). Lao and Wang requested government approved their projects, but they were turned down.
Lu Zhuangzhang	1906	*Phonetic Writing for the Chinese Alphabet in the Beijing Dialect* (中國字母北京切音教科書 Zhongguo zimu Beijing qieyin jiaokeshu) *One Volume Edition of Phonetic Writing for Chinese Alphabet in the Beijing Dialect* (中國字母北京切音合訂 Zhongguo zimu Beijing qieyin heding)	*guanhua*, the Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, and Fuzhou dialects, and Cantonese	Chinese character strokes (with a transcription in Roman letters)	Lu failed to obtain government sponsorship and therefore disseminated this plan in his hometown.
Zhu Wenxiong 朱文雄	1906	*New Alphabet of Jiangsu* (江蘇新字母 Jiangsu xinzimu)	The Suzhou dialect and *guanhua*	Roman letters and variants	
Tian Tingjun	1906	*Rhymed Formula of Substituting Characters by*	The Hubei dialect	Chinese character strokes	By the author.

		Phonetic Writing (拼音代字訣 Pinyin daizi jue) *New Method to Correct Pronunciation* (正音新法 Zhengyin xinfa)		(with a transcription in Roman letters)	

Chapter 4

Literate in What Language:

The Origin of the Trilingual Policy towards the Jirim League

The history of language in Manchuria in the last two decades of the Qing Dynasty has often been studied in the context of Chinese nationalist movements. While the promotion of a Chinese national language is taken for granted in this context, few works have discussed how the Qing Empire implemented this nascent "national" language policy in polyglot borderlands and how this linguistic practice revised the imperial hierarchy of languages which had been rooted in local people's multilingual life. In this chapter, I will discuss how the Qing Empire revised its multilingual policy in the Jirim League and how the Qing handled the relations between different languages.

I will argue that the Qing established a trilingual educational system in order to improve literacy in the Jirim League rather than promoting a simple transformation from multilingualism to Chinese monolingualism. Whilst the Qing Empire sought to politicise the Mongols by fostering Chinese learning, the Qing underscored the importance of learning Manchu and Mongolian, because they remained to be *gurun-i šunggiya* (國粹, national essence) of the Qing Empire and would help students learn Chinese. Despite the 1907 edict of dissolving the Manchu-Han boundaries (平滿漢畛域), the Qing's trilingual policy demonstrated that polyglot characteristics were maintained in the Jirim League. Under the revised trilingual policy, the importance of Manchu and Mongolian was manifested in their supportive role of promoting Chinese learning and improving popular literacy. In constrast to the multilingual regime which distinguished the Mongols from Han Chinese people as proclaimed by the early Qing emperors, the revised regime aimed at facilitating Mongolian-Chinese communications and cultivating the Mongols in a Chinese way.

I will first discuss how the Qing Empire maintained the distinctive role of Manchu and Mongolian as *gurun-i šunggiya* in the Jirim League. Through this, I will explore the various meanings of *guoyu* in the trilingual context of the Jirim League. I will then examine the practical importance of Mongolian as the Jirim Mongols' native language and that of Manchu as an intermediate language between Mongolian and Chinese. The Qing Empire and local

officials in Manchuria attached great importance to Manchu and Mongolian because the two languages were thought to make learning to read Chinese easier for the ordinary Mongols, most of whom were unable to speak or read Chinese at the time. By looking into the problem of translation and mistranslation in the Manchu text, I will also discuss whether and how Manchu helped Mongol students understand Chinese. Finally, I will examine how the Qing Empire implemented the trilingual policy in Manchuria in order to train qualified candidates who could develop Manchu and Mongolian studies and handle borderland affairs.

Which *guoyu* and Whose National Essence: The Manchu and Mongolian Languages in the Trilingual Textbook

Under Xiliang's order, the language reader written by Zhuang and Jiang became the official Chinese language reader for the Jirim Mongols. Yet Chinese was not the only language that Jirim Mongols were required to learn. Between 1907 and 1909, Rongde translated the Chinese language reader into Manchu and Mongolian. Rongde produced a ten-volume trilingual textbook titled *Manju monggo nikan ilan acangga šu-i tacibure hacin-i bithe* in Manchu, *Manju mongγol kitad γurban neičetü udq-a yin surγaqu jüil ün bičig* in Mongolian, and 滿蒙漢三文合璧教科書 in Chinese (*The Manchu-Mongol-Chinese Trilingual Textbook*). Xiliang spoke highly of Rongde's work and envisioned a trilingual education for the Jirim Mongols which aimed to improve literacy in Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese. While emphasizing the textbook's importance for educating the Mongols in a Chinese way as chapter 3 discussed, Xiliang elucidated another reason for distributing the textbook. He stated that "[I] worry that the Manchu and Mongolian languages are declining. [This book] will preserve the national essence [*gurun-i šunggiya* 國粹]."[1] By national essence, Xiliang referred to the Manchu and Mongolian languages instead of Chinese. So we may wonder which language was the actual *guoyu* and *guocui* in the Jirim League and how the Qing resolved the tension between various *guoyu* and *guocui* in a multilingual context.

Manchu and Mongolian: Guoyu Revisited

When Chinese linguists romanized, simplified, and standardized the Chinese script by following European and Japanese examples, an idea of formulating a Chinese national

[1] Xiliang 錫良, "Xu 序," in *Manmenghan hebi jiaokeshu* 滿蒙漢合璧教科書 (hereafter: *MMHHBJKS*), Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, trans., Rongde 榮德 (1909), 7b, 8a.

language emerged. As aforementioned, Lin Lucun suggested the unification of Chinese and non-Chinese languages in his statement in 1898, although he did not use the term "national language." In 1902, Wu Rulun (吳汝倫 1840–1903), Director of Studies at the Imperial College, was the first to introduce the Japanese idea of *kokugo* (national language) to China and to suggest the creation of Chinese national language (國語).[2] By making learning to read easier and improving literacy, Chinese scholars sought to develop Chinese into a language that was similar to Japanese in Meiji Japan and German in nineteenth-century Prussia.

In the syllabuses of elementary schools in the Jirim League and of Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria, classes teaching Chinese were named *guowen* (國文, national language) or *zhongguo wenxue* (中國文學, Chinese literature),[3] which was the same as in schools in Chinese provinces. However, the term "national language" was not universally used. The senior elementary school curriculum of 1904 considered the unification of languages as one aim of teaching *guanhua*.[4] At other occasions Qing officials frequently used *hanyu* (漢語) or *hanwen* (漢文) to refer to Chinese. For example, in his preface to the trilingual textbook, Xiliang stated that "it has been a long time that the Mongols have not read books written in *hanwen*."[5] As seen in previous chapters, local officials frequently used *hanwen* instead of *guowen* to refer to Chinese in government documents in Manchuria.[6]

Qing officials still used *guoyu*, *guowen*, or *guoshu* referring to Manchu as they did in the early Qing period. In the 1890s, the Jingzhou (荊州) Garrison in Hubei reprinted twelve Manchu reference books in order to provide guidance for scholars and officials for reading and writing standard Manchu, which was regarded as a resurgence in Manchu publication.[7] In the preface to the reprinted *Manju gisun-i uheri isabuha bithe* (清文總匯, *The Comprehensive Manchu Dictionary* 1897), Zhikuan (Gjykuwan 志寬) and Peikuan

[2] Elizabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 135.
[3] Dongsansheng mengwuju 東三省蒙務局, *Zhelimumeng shiqi diaocha baogaoshu* (hereafter: *DCBGS*) 哲里木盟十旗调查报告书 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, reprinted in 2014), 36-7. Pufu 普福, "Wei gengzao qusui diyiji xuesheng lüli fenshubiao shi gei jilin tixueshi cao guangzhen wen 為更造去歲第一級學生履歷分數表事給吉林提學使曹廣楨文," April 30, 1910, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dang'an shiliao xuanbian* 吉林省档案馆藏清代档案史料选编, ed. Jilinsheng dang'anguan 吉林省档案馆 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe), vol. 20. 417-8, 421-2.
[4] "Zouding gaodeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng 奏定高等小學堂章程," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao* 中国近代教育史资料, ed. Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu press, 1985), Vol. 2, 431.
[5] Xiliang, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 1a.
[6] Ye Dakuang 葉大匡, "Dufuxian zha ju Kangping xian chengqing sihou mengqi gaiyong menghan gongwen bing zhengdun yanjie nei mengqi gexiang xinzheng 督府憲札據康平縣呈請嗣後蒙旗改用蒙漢公文並整頓延界內蒙旗各項新政," 1909, JC10-1-786, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[7] Huang Runhua 黄润华, "Manwen guanke tushu shulun 满文官刻图书述论," *Wenxian 文献* no.4 (1996): 178-201.

(Peikuwan 培寬), two language instructors in the Jingzhou Garrison who initiated and led the reproduction of Manchu reference books, explained that they reprinted these books in order to preserve the state script (冀存國書).[8] In 1904, the same year when the Ministry of Education promulgated the Regulations for Schools, in which *guoyu* was a compulsory course for schools at all levels, Yude (Ioide 裕德 ?–1905) and other members of Hanlin Academy memorialized the Guangxu emperor requesting the establishment of a Manchu Translation School (滿洲翻譯學堂) to "attach greater importance to the state script and strengthen the foundation [of the Dynasty]. … [because] all the countries regard the Manchu language as the foundation of our court."[9]

Some Chinese linguists and reformists who worked on creating a Chinese national language from the 1890s, also agreed with the Qing court that Manchu remained *guoyu* of the Qing Dynasty. They referred to Manchu examples to support their argument that phonetic writing was easier and more convenient than an ideographic script. Lin Lucun, who submitted a statement to the Censorate in 1898, stated that "our Dynasty grew in Manchuria and used the Manchu language. The *Imperially-sanctioned Kangxi Dictionary* [欽定康熙字典] adopted the method of phonetic spelling."[10] In the preface to the *Phonetic Spelling of Guanhua*, Wang Zhao also referred to the *Imperially Sanctioned Brief Explanation on the Initial, Final, and Tone of Chinese Characters* (御定音韻闡微), stating that his work "followed the phonetic method of the state script."[11]

In the early Qing period, Manchu scholars developed phonetics when they identified the difference between Manchu and Chinese. The Kangxi emperor ordered some Manchu scholars to study these differences and develop a new method to transcribe Chinese characters in Manchu. In 1728, the *Imperially Sanctioned Brief Explanation on the Initial, Final, and Tone of Chinese Characters* was published. Based on a comparison between phonetics of Chinese and Manchu, the book suggested a new Manchu way to transcribe

[8] Zhikuan 志寬 and Peikuan 培寬, Qingwen zonghui 清文總匯 *Manju gisun-i uheri isabuha bithe*, 1897, preface. Chunhua 春花, *Qingdai manmengwen cidian yanjiu 清代满蒙文词典研究* (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2001), 368.
[9] Yude 裕德 et al. "Zoubao shijiang Rongguang chengqing daizou wei niqing zhuanshe manzhou fanyi xuetang yi zhongyong guoshu er pei genbenshi 奏報侍講榮光呈請代奏為擬請專設滿州翻譯學堂以重用國書而培根本事," 1904, No. 162979, Taipei National Palace Museum.
[10] Lin Lucun 林辂存, "Shang Duchayuan shu 上都察院書," in *Qingmo wenzi gaige wenji* 清末文字改革文集, ed. Wenzi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社 (Beijing: Wenzi gaige chubanshe, 1980), 17-8.
[11] Wang Zhao 王照, *Guanhua hesheng zimu* 官話合聲字母 (1900).

Chinese characters. In a traditional Chinese method, a character's pronunciation was explained by a combination of two other characters – the consonant of the first character and the vowel and tone of the second character. For example, 公 (gong) was a combination of 故 (gu) and 紅 (hong), which is g-ong.[12] By contrast, the book considered the Manchu way of phonetic writing natural and direct. Unlike Chinese, Manchu was an alphabetic/syllabal language, the pronunciation and phonetic method of which was similar to Indo-European languages. This book therefore suggested illustrating the pronunciation of a Chinese character by directly combining two characters. For example, 公 (gong) was a combination of 姑 (gu) and 翁 (weng), which is *gu-weng*.[13] The book further explained that "the initial, final, and tones of a targeted character are created by the first character and end with the second one. … When reading slowly, they are two separate characters; while reading fast, they sound like one.[14] In this sense, Manchu phonological books provided useful examples for Chinese linguists in the late Qing period. As Mårten Söderblom Saarela argues, Wang Zhao's reference to Manchu was not just a political move. Rather, Wang realized that the state language offered a suitable model for romanizing Chinese characters.[15]

The aforementioned comments of Chinese linguists corresponded to some Europeans' argument that Manchu was easier for Indo-European language speakers. The European history of studying Manchu dates back to the seventeenth century. As chapter 2 discussed, Russian diplomats and linguists had a long tradition of studying Manchu. In the early Qing period, French missionaries who resided in Beijing published Manchu grammar books and dictionaries. In 1696, Jean François Gerbillon (1654–1707) published *Elementa Linguae Tartaricae* in Latin. In his work, Gerbillon used Latin letters to transcribe the Manchu language. Jean Joseph Marie Amiot (1718–1793) published the first Manchu book in French, *Grammaire Tartare Mantchou*, in 1787. Two years later, he published the first Manchu-French dictionary, *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou*, in which he stated that "the knowledge of the Manchu language gives free access to the Chinese literature of every age."[16] In the early

[12] *Yuding yinyun chanwei* 御定音韻闡微, (1728), 1b. (the *Imperially Sanctioned Brief Explanation on the Initial, Final, and Tone of Chinese Characters*)
[13] Ibid.,1b.
[14] Ibid., 1a-2a.
[15] Mårten Söderblom Saarela, "Manchu and the Study of Language in China (1607-1911)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2015), 425-6.
[16] Thomas Taylor Meadows, *Translations from the Manchu with the Original Texts* (Canton: Press of S. Wells Williams,

nineteenth century, more Manchu grammar books and dictionaries were published in French and German.[17] The first Manchu textbook in English was published in 1849, which was Thomas Taylor Meadows's *Translations from the Manchu with the Original Texts*.[18]

By transcribing Manchu in Latin letters, these works fostered an idea that Manchu was similar to the Indo-European languages and was therefore easier than Chinese for Europeans to learn. Paul Georg von Möllendorff (1847–1901), who published *A Manchu Grammar* in 1892 and whose Manchu transliteration system is still used by scholars today, considered Manchu "an alphabetic language in the European style" and "infinitely easier to learn than Chinese."[19] Möllendorff believed that learning Manchu is "a great help towards obtaining a clear insight into Chinese syntax."[20] Manchu became even more popular among Europeans because of its political status in the Qing Empire's imperial multilingual system. Charles De Harlez (1832–1899), a Belgian Orientalist, stated that "Manchu was not only the language of Manchu people, but also that of the imperial dynasty reigning in China at the time. Being the official language of the Beijing court, it was used to sign treaties with European powers."[21]

But Manchu's popularity among Europeans must not be over-exaggerated. Möllendorff thought that Manchu was helpful for those who found Chinese difficult, while unnecessary for those who had "a thorough mastery of Chinese."[22] Meadows also pointed out that after Britain and the Qing prepared the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), "the accurate knowledge of the exact meaning and force of Chinese words has been a matter of constantly increasing importance."[23] In the nineteenth century, an increasing number of Chinese grammar books and dictionaries were published in Europe.[24] It was common for Europeans to study Chinese without the assistance of Manchu.[25] Nevertheless, discussions about Manchu and Chinese

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1849), preface, 14.
[17] L. Langlès, *Alphabet Mandchou* (Paris : De l'imprimerie Impériale 1807). Afanasij Larionowitsj Leontiew, *Lettres sur la Littérature Mandchou* (Paris. Jean Pierre 1815). Abel Rémusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares,* (1820). H. Conon de la Gabelentz, *Éléments de la Grammaire Mandchoue* (Altenbourg, Comptoir de la littérature, 1832).
[18] Meadows, *Translations from the Manchu with the Original Texts,* preface.
[19] Paul Georg von Möllendorff, *Manchu Grammar with Analyzed Texts* (Shanghai: Printed at the American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1892), introduction.
[20] Möllendorff, *Manchu Grammar with Analyzed Texts*.
[21] Charles de Harlez, "Manuel de la Langue Mandchoue," *Grammaire Anthologie & Lexique* (1886): 1.
[22] Möllendorff, *Manchu Grammar with Analyzed Texts*, introduction.
[23] Meadows, *Translations from the Manchu with the Original Texts*, preface, 16.
[24] Herbert Allen Giles, *Catalogue of the Wade Collection* (Cambridge 1898). Herbert Allen Giles, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Wade Collection* (Cambridge 1915).
[25] James Legge, "Part I The Shu King, the Religious Portions of the Shih King, the Hsiao King," in *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism,* ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1879), preface.

supported Europeans' argument that an alphabetic language was easier to learn than an ideographic one.

In 1903, some students from Zhili College (直隸大學堂) wrote to Yuan Shikai (袁世凱 1859–1916), the governor general of Zhili, to convince him that the method of transcribing *guanhua* in Roman letters was similar to the method of transcribing Chinese in Manchu.[26] Through such efforts, Chinese linguists sought to gain government support by arguing that their proposals for Chinese script reform followed the example of the state language.

Teaching gurun-i šunggiya in Schools

In 1907, the Ministry of Education suggested opening a Department of Manchu and Mongolian Literature (滿蒙文學) in the Imperial College, because the original syllabus emphasized Chinese at the expense of Manchu and Mongolian. The statement of the Ministry read:

> "In accordance with the Regulations for Colleges, there are nine departments in the humanities division of the Imperial College, including Chinese and foreign history, geography, Chinese literature, English, French, Russian, German, and Japanese. However, Manchu and Mongolian is only a sub-subject under Chinese dialects in the geography department."[27]

The Ministry of Education thought the Imperial College devalued Manchu by regarding it as a Chinese dialect instead of a language that was independent from and equal with Chinese and other foreign languages. The Ministry of Education therefore suggested "establishing an independent department for teaching Manchu and Mongolian Literature."[28] Moreover, the Ministry required that this department should be "prioritized over the Department of Chinese Literature to ensure that the origin of Manchu and Mongolian and their geography and customs are better taught."[29] The Ministry approved this request a few days later. In 1908, the Manchu-Mongolian Language College (滿蒙文高等學堂) was established, the aim of which

[26] "Zhili zongdu shangshu Yuan Shikai 直隶总督上书袁世凯," 1903, in *Qingmo wenzi gaige wenji*, 35-40.
[27] Xuebu 學部, "Xuebu zouqing jiang Daxuetang zhangchengnei zengshe manmeng wenxue men 學部奏請將大學堂章程內增設滿蒙文學門," *Xuebu guanbao* 學部官報 23 (1907): 195a.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

was "to bring up versatile persons in the Manchu and Mongolian languages, to preserve national essence, and to benefit important governmental matter."[30]

The proclamation on the Manchu and Mongolian languages can also be seen in local officials' suggestions about language education in Manchuria. The Bureau of Mongolian Affairs in the Three Eastern Provinces stressed that "the Mongolian language is the national essence of the Mongols, which cannot be discarded."[31] Xiliang emphasized that if Mongol students "concentrated on learning Chinese, Mongolian will be nearly extinct."[32] In establishing the Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Jilin, the Office of Banner Affairs (旗務處) emphasized that it was necessary to preserve Manchu and Mongolian because they were the two working languages for handling Mongolian affairs and Qing-Russian affairs in Manchuria.[33]

To achieve the goals of reforming the Mongols in a Chinese way and preserving the Manchu and Mongolian *gurun-i šunggiya*, Xiliang thought that a trilingual textbook would "not only [help students] learn by analogy but also avoid being unable to attend to everything at once."[34] Xiliang then paid attention to the trilingual textbook translated by Rongde, the first four volumes of which had already been translated at that time.

Before Rongde joined the Fengtian Mongolian Language School, he was a Mongolian right-wing assistant military commander with a peacock-feathered vice commander rank (花翎副都統銜蒙古右翼協領). He acted as the first Director of Fengtian Police Station (奉天警察局總辦) in 1905. Li Maochun (李懋春) introduced Rongde's experiences in the postscript to the trilingual textbook. Li stated that Rongde had "handled civil and criminal cases, assisted high-ranking officials, and organized police and educational affairs."[35] But Zhao Erxun (趙爾巽 1844–1927), General of Shengjing, discharged Rongde from his original position for "seeing profit and forgetting morality when handling the aftermath of

[30] Xuebu, "Xuebu zisong Xianzheng bianchaguan zhun manmengwen gaodeng xuetang zisong zhangcheng wen (fu zhangcheng) 學部咨送憲政編查館准滿蒙文高等學堂咨送章程文(附章程)," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao*, vol. 3, 822.
[31] Dongsansheng mengwuju 東三省蒙務局, "Ke'erqinbu diaocha yijianshu 科爾沁部調查意見書," 1910/1911, JC-10-1-20249, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[32] Xiliang, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 4b.
[33] Liu Yanchen 刘彦辰, "Qingmo Jilin xinshi qiren xuetang ji manwen jiaoyu 清末吉林新式旗人学堂及满文教育," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中国边疆史地研究 19, no.2 (2009): 105-6.
[34] Xiliang, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 9a, 9b.
[35] Li Maochun 李懋春, "Ba 跋," in *MMHHBJKS*, 5a-6b.

Fengtian Police Station in 1905."[36] In 1906, Zhu Qiqian appointed Rongde as a translation commissioner upon the establishment of the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs. In the same year, Xiliang and Zhang Heling (張鶴齡 1867–1908), the educational commissioner of Fengtian (奉天提學), recommended him to be the Honorary Principal of Fengtian Mongolian Language School and language instructor.[37]

Rongde translated the first four volumes of *The Up-to-date National Language Reader for Lower Primary Schools* in 1907.[38] Xiliang thereby distributed them in the Jirim League and instructed Rongde to complete the translation of the other volumes. Rongde was paid thirty taels of silver per month for translating volumes Five to Ten.[39] Xiliang also memorialized the Xuantong emperor to re-bestow Rongde his original rank and Rongde regained his title in 1910. At least six other translators in the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs assisted Rongde, all of whom were Mongolian and Manchu bannermen. At least eight colleagues helped copy the trilingual textbook in a standard script.[40]

The Bureau of Mongolian Affairs fully funded the translation and publication of the trilingual textbook. In September 1909, the Bureau granted Rongde and his colleagues three thousand taels of silver.[41] In January 1910, Rongde reported that the actual expense was over 4,580 taels of silver and the Bureau asked the Office of Banner Affairs and the Office of Financial Affairs to allocate the money.[42] In the same month, Rongde requested another 16,000 taels of silver for the translation and publication of volumes Five to Ten.[43] In January 1912, the Bureau granted Rongde another 1,032 taels of silver for the publication of the trilingual textbook.[44] The above information was collected from several correspondent letters between Rongde and the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs and therefore this may not cover all the money the Bureau granted Rongde for the translation project. But it can be seen that

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[36] *Dezong jinghuangdi shilu* 德宗敬皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *DZJHDSL*), J. 550, 4a. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫.
[37] Rongde, "Xu 序," in *MMHHBJKS*, 3a-4a.
[38] Ibid., 4b-6a.
[39] Xiliang and Cheng Dequan 程德全, "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督府札蒙務局," 1909, JC 10-1-2807, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[40] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 11b, 12a.
[41] Xiliang and Cheng Dequan, "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督府札蒙務局," 1909.
[42] Ibid.
[43] "Yishu huibao 譯書匯報," 1910, No. JC 10-1-2807, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[44] "Yishu suoyong jine huibao 譯書所用金額匯報," 1911, JC. 10-1-13926, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

every time Rongde requested funds for translation and publication, the Bureau granted him the sum of money as he requested. Meanwhile, every time Rongde requested money, he submitted a detailed report stating the expenditure such as rent, salary, and the cost of papers, writing instruments, and binding.[45] These materials showed that Rongde and his colleagues did not encounter financial problems during the translation and publication of the trilingual textbook.

Between 1909 and 1910, Rongde translated volumes Five to Eight of Zhuang and Jiang's work, which became Volume Five to Ten in the trilingual textbook. The hierarchy of the three languages – Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese – can be seen from the title of the textbook, in which Rongde placed Manchu and Mongolian ahead of Chinese. Despite the agreement that improving literacy in Chinese was of great importance for cultivating the Jirim Mongols, Rongde and other officials followed the conventional Qing way, in which Manchu always came at first followed by other languages in *kamcime* writings. Similarly, in language schools in Manchuria, although Chinese class was named *guowen* class, it was put after Manchu and Mongolian classes in syllabuses and transcripts.[46]

In the multilingual context, officials and writers were always concerned with sequencing various languages in a title. From 1912, the Republican government continued to publish and distribute the trilingual textbook.[47] However, the title was changed to *Nikan manju monggo ilan acangga šu-i tacibure hacin-i bithe* in Manchu, *Kitad manju mongγol γurban neičetü udq-a yin surγaqu jüil ün bičig* in Mongolian, and 漢滿蒙三文合璧教科書 in Chinese (*The Chinese-Manchu-Mongolian Trilingual Textbook*).[48] In the republican version of the trilingual textbook, Chinese was placed at the first place, followed by Manchu and Mongolian, which indicated the changing hierarchy of languages under a new regime. Rongde revised the title in accordance with the instruction of Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培 1868-1940), the Minister of Education, that the textbook should be revised to adapt to the current

[45] "Yishu huibao," 1910.
[46] Pufu, "Wei gengzao qusui diyiji xuesheng lüli fenshubiao shi gei jilin tixueshi cao guangzhen wen," 417-8, 421-2. Liu Wentian 劉文田, "Wei baosong bennian shangxueqi liangban xuesheng kaoshi fenshubiao qing fagei xiuye wenping shi gei jilin tixueshi cao guangzhen xiangwen 為報送本年上學期兩班學生考試分數表請發給修業文憑事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," October 4, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 22, 92-9.
[47] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Jiaoyu zongzhang ziqu hanmanmeng hebiwen xiaoxue jiaokeshu yizi caiyong 教育總長諮取漢滿蒙合璧文小學教科書以資採用," 1912, JC 10-1-13926, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[48] Zhuang Yu and Jiang Weiqiao, *Hanmanmeng hebi jiaokeshu* 漢滿蒙合璧教科書, trans. Rongde. The 1912 edition, Liaoning Provincial Library.

state system."[49] Further details about the revision conducted by Rongde will be discussed later in the dissertation. But the change of the book title under Cai's instruction reflected a close relation between language and state – Manchu was placed first because of its role as the *gurun-i gisun* whilst being demeaned under the republican regime.

As Chapter 3 discussed, the Qing Empire endorsed the emerging idea of Chinese national language in the early twentieth century, although the government referred to it with various terms, such as *guanhua*, *guowen*, or *guoyu*. Kaske defines the sociolinguistic situation of Qing China as a *diglossic* linguistic culture in which there were classical Chinese language and vernaculars either as dialects or *guanhua*.[50] The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese language framework in the Jirim League supplements the *diglossic* linguistic culture defined by Kaske. Whilst disseminating the nascent Chinese national language in schools, the Qing Empire valued the Manchu and Mongolian languages which were maintained as *guoshu* and *guocui*. *Guo* represented a nascent Chinese nation when referring to the Chinese *guowen*, whereas, when referring to Manchu and Mongolian, *guo* symbolized that the Qing *gurun* claimed universal rule over various peoples and territories. As Rhoads argues in his research on Manchu-Han relations in the late Qing period,[51] the Jirim case has shown that Manchu and Mongolian distinctiveness was still noticeable, despite the Qing's proclamation on the importance for cultivating Mongols in a Chinese way. Rather than a monolingual policy in favour of Chinese, the Qing implemented a trilingual policy in which the effort to reform the Mongols and the attempt to preserve Manchu and Mongolian national essence were intertwined.

Mongolian and Manchu: Making Learning Easier

Rongde initially found it difficult to teach Chinese to Mongol students using Zhuang and Jiang's reader because of the Mongolian-Chinese language barrier. Rongde thought that the book would "open people's minds when used in the inner land [内地], whereas it would result in many [linguistic] conflicts when distributed in the outer tribes [外藩]. It will be difficult to promote education, because spoken and written languages are different [between

[49] Cai, "Jiaoyu zongzhang ziqu hanmanmeng hebiwen xiaoxue jiaokeshu yizi caiyong."
[50] Elizabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 28-40.
[51] Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

inner land and outer tribes].”[52] Rongde therefore translated the Chinese language reader into Mongolian and Manchu so that students could learn Chinese with the assistance of their native language.

Mongolian: The Native Language of the Jirim Mongols

Since few Mongols understood Chinese at the time, instructors had to explain the meaning of Chinese texts in Mongolian even in Chinese language classes. Based on the investigation on the Jirim League conducted by the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs between 1910 and 1911, the Bureau reiterated the importance of a good command of Mongolian for teaching Chinese in classes. In the *Report* concerning the Khorchin tribe, the Bureau stated that “when teaching children, it is the most important to explain [texts]. This is the case when Han Chinese people [learn Chinese], let alone Mongols. If [a language instructor] does not understand Mongolian, how can his explanation be clear?”[53] In some banners where no one spoke or read Chinese, Mongolian was of greater importance for instructing students. The Jalaid banner claimed that “how can we develop education if no one understands Chinese in our banner?”[54] As for the banners that had such situations, the Office suggested that the only way to spread education was to teach students Mongolian first, after which it would be possible for these banners to discuss how to teach Chinese and establish schools.[55]

Besides school education, Manchurian officials sought to improve popular literacy in the Jirim League through nurturing Mongols’ reading habits in their everyday life. From the 1890s, Chinese reformists made an effort to use vernacular journalism to enlighten the uneducated and to change local customs.[56] Under the New Policies, the Jilin Provincial Office also favoured the publication of newspapers that were written in the vernacular to spread knowledge among people with limited education.[57] But the provincial office soon realized the situation in the Jirim banners was different. The Office stated that “Mongolian banners have stuck to their old customs and their knowledge and minds have been blocked.

[52] Rongde, “Xu,” in *MMHHBJKS*, 8a-9b.
[53] Dongsansheng mengwuju, “Ke’erqinbu diaocha yijianshu”.
[54] *DCBGS*, 102.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education,* 101-4, 161.
[57] Jilin xingsheng gongshu 吉林行省公署, “Jilin xingsheng gongshu zhaohui Mengwuju jiangsong menghua baowen 吉林行省公署照會蒙務局檢送蒙話報文,” in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian* 东三省蒙务局公牍汇编, ed. Zhu Qiqian 朱启钤 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 218.

Moreover, the difference between [the Chinese and Mongolian] languages creates more obstructions. To open Mongols' mind and enrich their knowledge, [we] must begin with the Mongolian language."[58] In 1908, the Jilin Provincial Office suggested publishing *The Mongolian Colloquial Newspaper* (蒙話報). The Office first collected Chinese articles concerning Mongolian affairs, rewrote them in the Chinese vernacular, translated them into Mongolian, and published the Newspaper in Chinese and Mongolian.[59] Yu Sixing also proposed to publish *The Mongolian Vernacular Newspaper* (蒙文白話報) in Fengtian which, Yu believed, would became "a forerunner for developing education."[60] Likewise, between 1909 and 1911 in Tibet, "there was also an attempt to produce a Tibetan-language newspaper named *Xizang Baihua bao* (*The Tibetan Vernacular Newspaper*) [西藏白話報] sponsored by the *amban* (high official) in Lhasa."[61] In these cases, a native language was considered important and necessary to facilitate the learning of Chinese especially for those who had limited educational experience.

Manchu: An Intermediate Language Between Chinese and Mongolian

Despite an agreement on the importance of Mongolian for helping Mongol students understand Chinese, Manchurian officials thought that Mongolian itself was insufficient to achieve this goal. Zhuang and Jiang's Reader used a simple language to introduce the most recent intellectual findings and new terminologies in fields ranging from geography to law, from chemistry and mining to the way to get on in the world.[62] However, many Chinese terms, recently translated from Japanese or European languages,[63] did not have corresponding translations in Mongolian. As Rongde stated in the preface, "it is difficult to decide a [Manchu and Mongolian] translation for the terms that do not have corresponding Chinese characters [in existing reference books]."[64] Consequently, Rongde sometimes had to create new words based on his understanding of the original Chinese words. Some officials

[58] Jilin xingsheng gongshu, "Jilin xingsheng gongshu zhaohui mengwuju jiangsong menghua baowen".
[59] Ibid.
[60] Yu Sixing 于駟興, "Harbin jiaoshe zongju zongban Yu Sixing shang fengtian xingsheng gongshu jingying mengwu bing 哈爾濱交涉總局總辦于駟興上奉天行省公署經營蒙務稟," in *Dongsansheng mengwu gongdu huibian*, 222.
[61] Amy Holmes-Tagchungdarpa, "Representation of Religion in *The Tibet Mirror*: The Newspaper as Religious Object and Patterns of Continuity and Rupture in Tibetan Material Culture," in *Material Culture and Asian Religions: Text, Image, Object*, eds. Benjamin Fleming and Richard Mann (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), 77.
[62] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 6b, 7a.
[63] Lydia Liu. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-China, 1900-1937* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), 265-75.
[64] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 10b, 11a.

proposed that Manchu, as an intermediate language, would be better than Mongolian to illustrate some newly translated and complicated Chinese terms. Xiliang stated his opinion about the linguistic superiority of written Manchu over written Mongolian that "Mongolian is originally simple in its meaning and style and Mongolian fully relies on Manchu to repeatedly explain its meaning. Therefore, it is difficult to apply [Mongolian] language skills unless learning Manchu and Mongolian together."[65]

While Manchurian local officials emphasized the Mongolian origin of the Manchu language, they tended to agree that Manchu had developed during the past centuries whereas Mongolian declined. When Rongde summarized the translation work he completed, he stated that "I made a painful effort to compile this textbook, but it is a difficult task. Except for the *Collection of Mongolian Writing* [蒙文匯書], there has not been fine [Mongolian] reference books."[66] Li Maochun, who also participated in the translation and proofreading of the trilingual textbook, agreed with Rongde's opinion that there was a lack of Mongolian reference books. Moreover, Li explained in the postscript he wrote for the textbook that Manchu became more developed than Mongolian thanks to numerous translation projects launched by the Qing dynasty. According to Li,

> "Following [Nurhaci], sage emperors appointed scholar officials and established a department to translate Six Classics and various historical works. This is a clear and complete set of work. Besides, there have been private translated works generation after generation. By contrast, as for Mongolian, only the *Amplified Instructions of the Sacred Edict* has been compiled and published. [I] have not heard other publications except for the *Collection of Mongolian Writing*."[67]

Cheng Dequan also believed that Manchu was more sophisticated than Mongolian. In the preface Cheng wrote for the trilingual textbook, he stated that

> "[Mongolian] is originally simple in its meaning and style. The use of Mongolian is also limited. Manchu originated from Mongolian. However, since [our] country valued literacy and advocated the study of classic texts, all Chinese classical and historical

[65] Xiliang, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 5b, 6a.
[66] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 9b, 10a.
[67] Li, "Ba," in *MMHHBJKS*, 2b-3b.

works have been translated into [Manchu]. Since then, Manchu has been enriched and has gradually become perfect whereas Mongolian has been dying out."[68]

In short, in the three prefaces and one postscript to the trilingual textbooks, Rongde, Xiliang, Cheng Dequan, and Li Maochun asserted that Manchu was more developed than Mongolian and agreed on the idea that Manchu would thus explain Chinese terms better and clearer than Mongolian.

Government translation and publication projects, in particular those in the high Qing period, did enrich and standardize the Manchu language.[69] However, it is difficult to define a standard to evaluate linguistic sophistication and therefore impossible to justify Manchu's linguistic superiority over Mongolian. As discussed in Chapter 1, many polyglot dictionaries, in particular trilingual, quadrilingual, and quinlingual reference books, included Mongolian entries. Moreover, there were Mongolian publications in various fields, which greatly contributed to the preservation of Mongolian.[70] Throughout the Qing Dynasty, Mongolian was one of the official languages in the Lifanyuan. Chapter 2 has also shown that Mongolian remained an indispensible administrative language in the Jirim League in the early twentieth century. Although Manchu may help students understand some Chinese words that were entirely new to Mongols, which is similar to the role of Latin in linking Manchu and Russian when signing the Treaty of Nerchinsk,[71] the argument on the linguistic superiority of Manchu over Mongolian seems farfetched.

Translation and Mistranslation in Manchu

The influx of new terms in the early twentieth century made translation difficult as a result of a lack of appropriate and standardised translations in existing reference books. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this was the case for many Asian languages, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Hindi.[72] In translating the trilingual textbook, new terms

[68] Cheng Dequan, "Xu 序," in *MMHHBJKS*, 8b-9b.
[69] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987): 761-83.
[70] Bagen 巴根, "Qingdai manmeng fanyi kaolüe 清代满蒙翻译考略," *Manyu yanjiu* 满语研究 38, no.1 (2004), 41-7. Chunhua 春花, *Qingdai manmengwen cidian yanjiu* 清代满蒙文词典研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2001).
[71] V.S. Frank, "The Territorial Terms of the Sino-russian Treaty of Nerchinsk, 1689," *Pacific historical Review* 16, no.3 (1947): 265-70. Peter Perdue, "Boundaries and Trade in the Early Modern World: Negotiations at Nerchinsk and Beijing," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no.3 (2010): 341-56.
[72] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-China, 1900-1937* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995). Alexis Dudden, "Japan's Engagement with International Terms," in *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, ed. Lydia H. Liu (Durham and London: Duke University

caused a problem for Mongolian and Manchu. Rongde mentioned that he translated the trilingual textbook by obediently and strictly following *The Imperially Sanctioned Four Books and Five Classics.*[73] However, these books did not include corresponding Mongolian translation for new Chinese terms or such Manchu translation. As for Manchu translation, Rongde had to create new words as what he did when translating Chinese into Mongolian.

In a concise work on the Manchu vocabulary in the trilingual textbook, Qu Liusheng lists more than one hundred new Manchu words in various fields, including education, hygiene, politics, economics, law, the military, industry, transportation, finance, commerce, communications, science, nature, and geography.[74] For example, 電話 (telephone) was a loanword from modern Japanese and originally translated from English into Japanese by using *kanji* – 電話 (*denwa*).[75] Rongde translated 電話 into *talkiyan-i gisun*, literally meaning language in electricity. In *Han-i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe* (御製增訂清文鑒, *Imperially Commissioned Expanded and Emended Mirror of the Manchu Language* 1771), *talkiyan* 電 was explained as "*elden be talkiyan sembi* (*talkiyan* means light)."[76] In the 1771 *Mirror*, *talkiyan* was categorized into the section of *abkai hacin* (天文類, the category of astronomical phenomena) in which words about meteorological phenomena constituted an important part. Other words contained *talkiyan* included *talkiyan giltarilambi* (電光閃灼, meaning *talkiyan-i elden jerkišere be talkiyan giltarilambi sembi*, lightning blinds [someone's eyes]), *talkiyan gerilambi* (電光微閃, meaning *talkiyan-i elden gaitai gaitai sabure be talkiyan gerilambi sembi*, to lighten all of a sudden), and *talkiyan tališambi* (電光接連, meaning *si aku talkiyara be talkiyan tališambi sembi*, to lighten without obstruction).[77] In this sense, *talkiyan* referred to a meteorological phenomenon: lightening usually accompanied by a bright flash and thunder. The translation of *talkiyan-i gisun* showed that Rongde followed the meaning of individual Chinese characters and created a

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Press, 1999), 165-91.
[73] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 10a, 10b.
[74] Qu Liusheng 屈六生, "Lun qingmo manyu de fazhan – jianping manmenghan sanhe jiaokeshu (论清末满语的发展——兼评《满蒙汉三合教科书》," *Manyu yanjiu* 满语研究, no.2 (2004): 61-3.
[75] Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 297.
[76] "Yuzhi zengding qingwenjian 御製增訂清文鑒 *Han-i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun i buleku bithe*," 1771, J. 1, 17b.
[77] Ibid., J. 1, 17b, 18a.

compound Manchu word if available reference books did not provide an explanation to the original Chinese word.

Rongde rarely used Manchu transliteration to symbolize original Chinese characters. As Qu notes, the trilingual textbook created a great number of compound words.[78] In comparing these new words with those in the Sibe language, Qu finds that some of them are the same or almost the same and are still used today. For example, 原理 (principle) is *da giyan* in both Manchu and Sibe, which literally means original principle; 初級 (elementary) is *tuktan tangkan* in Manchu and *tuktan jergi* in Sibe, both of which literally mean the beginning grade or class.[79] *Tangkan* and *jergi* in Manchu have a similar meaning of grade, class, and rank.

However, some of Rongde's Manchu translation is completely different from modern Sibe and is rarely used today. For example, Rongde translated *nongye* (農業, agriculture) into *usin-i tacin*, whereas modern Sibe translation is *usin-i hethe*. *Tacin* usually refers to learning and *hethe* refers to property, possessions, and wealth. *Usin-i tacin* would be easily understood as agronomy but *usin-i hethe* would avoid such possible misunderstandings.[80] In Lesson Seventeen in Volume Seven, Rongde translated 熱帶 (Torrid Zone) into *bulukan jugūn.*[81] Rongde also used *jugūn* to refer to a climate zone when translating 溫帶 (Temperate Zones) and 寒帶 (Frigid Zones).[82] In the 1771 *Mirror*, *jugūn* was explained as *niyalmai yabure feliyehe ba be jugūn sembi* (place where travellers travelled by). The category on the street and road in the 1771 *Mirror* constituted entries about various types of roads, social infrastructure on the road, bridges, distances, and personal experience on the road.[83] All of these entries suggested that *jugūn* usually referred to a certain area of places on a micro level instead of a district on a regional, continental, or global scale. *Jugūn*, which could refer to various types of roads and streets, did not have a meaning as broad as a climate zone. Qu suggests that the Sibe translation of 帶 as *girin* is more appropriate in this sense because *girin* could refer to a larger area of place.[84]

[78] *Ciyuan* 辭源 (1932), Juan chou 醜, 63.
[79] Ibid.
[80] *Ciyuan*, Juan chou, 64.
[81] Zhang and Jiang, "Hannuan 寒暖 Šahūrun halukan," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 17.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Chen Huiying, "A Preliminary Inquiry on Section on Roads and Streets in Eighteenth-century Manchu Thesauri," *Manchu in Global History*, Conference paper (2017): 2.
[84] Qu, "Lun qingmo manyu de fazhan," 63.

The translation of *usin-i tacin* and *bulukan jugūn* both reflected the problem created by literal translation (硬譯). Although individual Chinese characters were translated into Manchu in accordance with government sanctioned reference books, the combination of these Manchu words may lose the original meaning of the Chinese text. Throughout the textbook, there were many such examples as *usin-i tacin* and *bulukan jugūn*. Qu's study is one of the few works that studied the Manchu lexicon in the early twentieth century. Whether Rongde's translation would help Mongol students understand original Chinese terms, as suggested in the prefaces and postscript of the trilingual textbook, must await further comparative research.

Apart from the above-mentioned translations which might be unclear to Mongolian students, Rongde mistranslated some words, which would certainly mislead his readers. In the preface written by Rongde, he translated *shanghai shangwu yinshuguan* (上海商務印書館, Shanghai commercial press), which published Zhuang and Jiang's language reader, into *šang hai mederi hūdai sita bithe šuwaselara kuren*.[85] In this case, Rongde, as always, translated the term with a compound noun. *šang hai* refers to shanghai; *mederi hūdai sita* literally means maritime business affairs; and *bithe šuwaselara kuren* literally means the office publishing books. The translation of *mederi hūdai sita* into maritime business affairs completely lost the meaning of the original Chinese term which refers to business affairs or simply commerce. By comparing the original Chinese texts and Rongde's Manchu translation, it can be presumed that Ronge translated the Chinese character *hai* (海) twice in *shanghai* (上海) that is *šang hai*, and then in *haishang* (海商) that is *mederi hūdai.* In this case, the Manchu translation was entirely different from what Zhuang and Jiang meant in Chinese and therefore made the assertion that Manchu translation would help explain Mongolian questionable.

Another problematic Manchu translation of Rongde was that he sometimes did not follow conventional Manchu expressions even though they were considered common and standard. In the book title *Manju monggo nikan ilan acangga šu-i tuktan tangka tacibure hacin-i bithei šutucin*, Rongde used *acangga* to refer to the Chinese word *hebi* (合璧) and

[85] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 5b.

used *šu* to refer to *wen* (文). Although *acangga* also has a meaning of "harmonious" or "matched" *he* (合) in Chinese, Qing officials and scholars usually used *kamcime* to refer to the writing style that two or more languages were used in a document or book. *šu* sometimes can be used to refer to *wen*, but more usually in a sense of "literature" and "culture" instead of "language." A more common Manchu word used to refer to *wen* in this context was *hergen* which literally means "script" or "language." In most Qing publications, *Manhan hebi* (滿漢合璧) was usually *manju nikan hergen-i kamcime araha* in Manchu. For example, *Manhan hebi sishitiao* (滿漢合璧四十條, *Forty Chapters in Manchu and Chinese*) was *manju nikan hergen-i kamcime araha dehi meyen-i bithe*; *Manhan hebi baqizhen* (滿漢合璧八旗箴, *Admonitions of the Eight Banners in Manchu and Chinese*) was *manju nikan hergen-i kamcime araha jakvn gūsai targabun*; and *Manhan hebi xingjun jilü* (滿漢合璧行軍紀律, *Marching Disciplines in Manchu and Chinese*) was *manju nikan hergen-i kamcime araha cooha yabure fafun kooli*. *Hergen-i kamcime* was a commonly used term in Qing documents, which Rongde, however, did not follow in the trilingual textbook. This may not be a problem for readers who rarely read Manchu. For those who had a command of Manchu, Rongde's writing may be unclear and weird at least at first glance.

Despite these problems, Rongde's effort to make new compound words enriched Manchu lexicon and revived Manchu linguistics when Manchu is claimed to decline. Moreover, Rongde's translation first engaged Manchu with Chinese linguistic changes, and more broadly, with political and cultural reforms in the early twentieth-century China. The problem of Manchu-Chinese translation and mistranslation in the trilingual textbook was different from the intentionally created differences between various scripts on polyglot monuments which chapter 1 discussed. Rongde's translation was fully faithful to the original Chinese texts. As for new words and concepts in the textbook, Rongde translated individual characters in accordance with the imperially sanctioned reference books and combined them to create a compound word. The problem of Manchu-Chinese translation and mistranslation was created by the difficulty to find a corresponding Manchu word for new Chinese terms in a traditional Qing reference book. Moreover, combining the translation of each Chinese character into a Manchu term sometimes betrayed Manchu grammar. Although Manchu and Chinese were used simultaneously in the textbook, sameness was prioritized over

differentness. Despite the *kamcime* characteristic, the trilingual textbook translated by Rongde highlighted language homogeneity and cultural integration. This matter will be further discussed in chapter 5.

While Mongolian would help Jirim students understand Chinese, Manchu translation, as a supplementary explanation to Mongolian, may also help students understand the original Chinese texts. Nevertheless, local officials may have over-exaggerated Manchu's superiority to Mongolian especially when they thought Mongolian was insufficient to explain Chinese texts, although Manchu had an influence on Mongolian in lexicon, grammar, and style.[86]

Manchu and Mongolian Learning in Manchuria: Training Local Officials

The Qing Empire encouraged Manchu and Mongolian learning in Manchuria because the Qing aimed to train officials who could manage borderland affairs when a good command of Manchu and Mongolian was still necessary for conducting the Jirim affairs. This section will discuss how the Qing implemented a trilingual educational policy in language schools in Manchuria.

While the Regulations for Schools promulgated by the Ministry of Education stressed the urgency of teaching standard Chinese in schools, the Ministry highlighted the importance of Manchu and Mongolian. The Ministry of Education suggested establishing a Department of Manchu and Mongolian Literature in the Imperial College not only for preserving national essence, but also for the practical reason of "complying with the court's determination to plan domestic affairs, maintain the foundation [of the dynasty], stabilize borderlands, and train talent."[87] Likewise, the Ministry established the Manchu-Mongolian Language College (滿蒙文高等學堂) in Beijing to teach officials local languages in the hope that this would help pacify borderlands.[88] As a result, the Manchu-Mongolian Language College enrolled not only Manchu and Mongolian bannermen but also Chinese students who had completed secondary schools and wished to devote themselves to studying Manchu and Mongolian and handling borderland affairs.[89]

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[86] Changshan 长山, "Qingdai manwen dui mengguwen de yingxiang (清代满文对蒙古文的影响)," *Altai Hakpo* 27 (2017): 211-25.
[87] Xuebu, "Fuzou daxuetang zengshe manmeng wenxue yimen pian 附奏大學堂增設滿蒙文學一門片," *Xuebu guanbao* 23 (1907): 195a.
[88] Ibid., 194b.
[89] Xuebu, "Zoupai manmengwen gaodeng xuetang jiandu zhe," 194b.

The linguistic situation in the Jirim League made the practical meaning of Manchu and Mongolian particularly important. Ye Dakuang (葉大匡 ?–1918), a commissioner in the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs who conducted an investigation in the Jirim League under Xiliang's instruction between 1910 and 1911, suggested that Mongolian banners needed at least another ten years to learn to read and write Mongolian-Chinese bilingual documents, as the number of officials who versed in Chinese was extremely limited.[90]

In 1907, the Lifanbu (理藩部, formerly the Lifanyuan) and the Ministry of Education jointly discussed how to implement educational reforms for non-Han Chinese groups.[91] In 1908, Mongol princes and nobles organized the Committee on Drafting the Proposal for Making Preparations for Mongol Education (籌辦蒙古教育建議案股員會) and submitted a proposal to the Lifanbu at the end of 1908. The Proposal suggested a step-by-step plan with the goal of improving popular literacy. According to the Proposal, Mongol students in junior elementary schools learnt Mongolian in the first two years and used Mongol-Chinese bilingual textbooks in the following two years. In senior elementary schools, students studied Mongolian textbooks with Chinese translation and used the same Chinese textbooks that provincial middle schools in China proper used.[92] This suggestion was finalized and applied to Tibetans and Muslims in the Regulations of Developing Education for Mongols, Tibetans, and Muslims (蒙藏回地方興學章程), which was drafted in 1910 and promulgated in 1911.[93] According to the Regulations, improving literacy in the Jirim League was a long-term project.

In view of Russia and Japan's growing influence within the Jirim League, the Bureau strove to improve spoken and written Mongolian and Manchu language skills of Chinese officials to prevent language gaps from obstructing administrative affairs. Ye Dakuang suggested that in this transition period Mongolian language schools should select thirty to forty students to attend a special training class for one year. In these classes, the students would learn to write official documents so that they could help manage Jirim administrative

[90] Ye Dakuang 葉大匡, "Kangping xian chengqing sihou mengqi gaiyong menghan gongwen bing zhengdun yanjie nei mengqi gexiang xinzheng 康平縣呈請嗣後蒙旗改用蒙漢公文並整頓延界內蒙旗各項新政," 1907, JC10-1-786, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

[91] Yu Fengchun 于逢春 and Liu Min 刘民, "Wanqing zhengfu dui mengguzu de guoyu jiaoyu zhengce 晚清政府对蒙古族的国语教育政策," 69-70.

[92] Naqinwang 那親王 et al., "Naqinwang deng tichu chouban Menggu jiaoyu yi'an 那親王等提出籌辦蒙古教育議案" 1908, *Lifanyuan Juanzong Mengqilei* 理藩院卷宗蒙旗類, J. 301, First Historical Archives of China.

[93] "Mengzanghui difang xingxue zhangcheng 蒙藏回地方興學章程," 1911, *Lifanyuan Juanzong Mengqilei,* J. 301, First Historical Archives of China.

affairs in Mongolian after graduation.[94] One month later, the Bureau of Mongolian affairs approved Ye's suggestion.[95]

For this reason, the Bureau built several Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria. In 1907, the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School (吉林滿蒙文中學堂) became independent from the Provincial Foreign Language Schools (吉林外國語學堂).[96] The aim of the school was to "train qualified personnel versed in Manchu and Mongolian, who can conduct Manchu and Mongolian studies, and who can continue their education in the Manchu-Mongolian Language College."[97] The Bureau also established the Fengtian Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School (奉天滿蒙文中學堂) for these reasons.[98] After the this school expanded, Rongde was appointed as the honorary principal as well as language instructor.[99]

As Chapter 2 discussed, local officials considered it urgent to improve local officials' command of Manchu and Mongolian under the influence of Russia and Japan. Li Maochun explained his concern in the postscript to the trilingual textbook, "schools in strong countries have recently paid more attention to foreign languages. After the Russo-Japanese War, Mongolian was added to their syllabus."[100] Thus, the Qing encouraged local officials and young students to study Manchu and Mongolian. In the context of constitutional reform, encouraging local officials to learn Manchu and Mongolian became a method to construct an effective "channel of words (言路)" between Chinese officials and Mongols. In so doing, the Qing Empire aimed at regaining its control over the Mongols and integrating the Mongols under a constitutional monarchy.

Conclusion

During the New Policies, the history of language reform in the Jirim League was far more complicated than has been suggested in studies of national language movement in

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[94] "Mengzanghui difang xingxue zhangcheng."
[95] Huang 黃, "Fu shangwen 覆上文," 1909, JC10-1-786, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[96] Liu, "Qingmo jilin xinshi qiren xuetang ji manwen jiaoyu," 103.
[97] Liu Wentian, "Wei zunzao buzhang congxin niding xuetang zhangcheng shi gei Jilin tixueshi Cao Guagnzhen xiangwen 為遵造部章從新擬定學堂章程事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," June 5, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian,* vol. 21, 304.
[98] Wang Fenglei 王风雷, "Fengtian baqi manmengwen zhongxuetang chutan 奉天八旗满蒙文中学堂初探," *Neimenggu shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban) 内蒙古师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）*39, no.1 (2007): 120.
[99] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 3a.
[100] Li, "Ba," in *MMHHBJKS*, 16a, b.

China. Rather than a simple linguistic transformation from multilingualism to monolingualism, the Qing envisioned a Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese trilingual educational system in the League. From 1909, *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* translated by Rongde became the official language reader in the Jirim League. Xiliang required the Jirim Mongols to learn Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese at the same time. The trilingual policy also applied to young students who would become prospective candidates for posts on Mongolian affairs because most Mongols remained unable to speak or read Chinese at the time. Between 1907 and 1911, several Manchu-Mongolian language schools were established and expanded in Manchuria and Beijing. Similar to the Jirim situation, the trilingual educational policy was also implemented in Mongolian banners in other regions. Yanzhi (Yanji 延祉 1848–1924) suggested establishing schools to teach Mongolian students Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese in Kulun.[101] In Kobdo, Puruan (Pušuwan 溥鐲) put forward a similar proposal concerning the establishment of an elementary school teaching Mongols the three languages together.[102] In short, the Qing Empire implemented a trilingual educational policy rather than a Chinese monolingual one in many Mongolian banners in the early twentieth century.

The Qing maintained its *tongwen* and *hebi* (*kamcime*) tradition in the Jirim League. As Chapter 1 discussed, *tongwen* in the multilingual Qing context meant using various languages simultaneously. Xiliang required the Jirim Mongols to learn Manchu and Mongolian, because these languages were *guoshu* and national essence of the Qing Empire. In the Jirim trilingual educational system, *guo* had different meanings when referring to different languages. In *guoyu* classes teaching Chinese, *guo* represented a nascent Chinese nation being forged by Chinese nationalists. When referring to Manchu and Mongolian *gurun-i šunggiya*, *guo* was the *gurun* founded by the Manchus, in which Mongol martial spirit and religious culture was valued by Qing emperors. The maintenance of Manchu and Mongolian in the trilingual system reflected the Qing's hesitance to completely sinicize the Jirim Mongols as it would eradicate Mongolian distinctiveness under Manchu reign, although the 1907 edict of

[101] Yanzhi 延祉, "Zou Yanzhi deng qingshe mengyang xuetang zhuanxi manmenghan yuyan wenzi you 奏延祉等請設蒙養學堂專習滿蒙漢語言文字由," 1908, No. 165833, Taipei National Palace Museum.
[102] Puruan 溥鐲, "Tianshe manmengyang xiaoxuetang you 添設滿蒙養小學堂由," 1908, No. 175182, Taipei National Palace Museum.

dissolving Manchu-Han ethnic boundaries was an agreement between Chinese reformists and the Manchu court.[103]

In the trilingual educational system, the symbolic roles of Manchu and Mongolian underscored their indispensible positions in the Qing hierarchy of languages. But the two languages became important in the Jirim League particularly when more people mastered them. Local officials could communicate with local Mongols so that they would be better at handling Mongolian affairs. It would be easier for Mongol commoners to learn to read Chinese because the two languages would help explain new Chinese terms that were unfamiliar to the Jirim Mongols. The significance of Manchu and Mongolian was manifested in their supportive role for the promotion of Chinese. Facilitating Manchu and Mongolian learning among local officials was also part of the scheme to construct an effective channel of words and therefore to integrate the Mongols into a constitutional China. In this way, the preservation of Manchu and Mongolian *guoyu* was intertwined with the goal of promoting Chinese *guowen* in the Jirim League

[103] Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*.

Chapter 5

The Reimagining of China and the World in the Trilingual Textbook

Leading students to learn to read is the primary purpose of a language reader, but not the only one. Messages conveyed via easy characters, simple sentences, and short passages in these books are important too. Elementary language readers taught in Ming and Qing schooling, such as *The Three Character Classics*, *The Hundred Names*, *The Thousand Character Article*, and *The Four Books* and *Five Classics*, transmitted Confucian moral values in order to prepare prospective candidates for officialdom.[1] Under the 1902 Regulations for Elementary Schools, official textbooks not only, as Elizabeth Kaske argues, put an emphasis on Confucius classics,[2] but also contained many western elements, which helped students understand concepts such as nation, citizenry, and the geography and history of China in a global context.[3] Rongde stated in the preface to *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* that "this textbook briefly introduces astronomy, geography, zoology, botany, mining, chemistry, law, politics, economy and so on. The book also collects materials and writes about the way to get on in the world and everything needed for leading a life."[4] The trilingual textbook thus served to reconstruct the Mongols' vision of China, the world, and social life as well as teaching them reading, although the description of geography, history, and other subjects was not as specific and complex as other specialized textbooks.

While textbooks reflected the most recent intellectual and social transformations, they generally represented a "mainstream reformist" perspective, because they tended to exclude the most radical and conservative views.[5] The ideas conveyed through the official trilingual textbook therefore reflected a compromise between the Manchu court and Chinese reformists. In this chapter, in discussing the language and content of *The Manchu-Mongol-Chinese Trilingual Textbook*, I will address the question of how the textbook reimagined Qing China

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[1] Alexander Woodside, "Real and Imagined Continuities in the Chinese Struggle for Literacy," in *Education and Modernization: The Chinese Experience*, ed. Ruth Hayhoe (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992), 30-8. Limin Bai, *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2005). Peter Zarrow, *Educating China: Knowledge, Society and Textbooks in a Modernizing World, 1902-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 41-3.
[2] Elizabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008).
[3] Zarrow, *Educating China.*
[4] Rongde 榮德, "Xu 序," in *ManMengHan hebi jiaokeshu* 滿蒙漢合璧教科書 (hereafter: *MMHHBJKS*), Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, trans., Rongde (1909), 6b-7a.
[5] Zarrow, *Educating China,* 7-8.

and the world, and conveyed complex concepts and values, such as nationhood, sovereignty, and patriotism, in simple Manchu in the early twentieth century. I will first discuss how the trilingual textbook redefined China in space and relocated its centre and periphery. I will then explain how Zhuang Yu and Jiang Weiqiao rewrote China's past and revised Qing historiography concerning the diversity of territories and peoples. Finally, I will examine how Zhuang and Jiang reimagined the world and contextualized China in the world.

I will argue that *The Manchu-Mongol-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* promoted a story of China as an individual and integrated state among others, to which it must catch up in an increasingly globalized world. This revised Qing historiography concerning the diversity of territories and peoples under universal Manchu emperorship. From a China proper-centred perspective, Zhuang Yu and Jiang Weiqiao reconstructed an image of a territorially integrated China, in which Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet tightly surrounded China proper. Moreover, Zhuang and Jiang constantly spotlighted the differences between Qing China and western countries and defined "progress" in world history from a European perspective. Based on this, I will also investigate the significance of Manchu in the late Qing period as an independent research topic beyond its archival value and argue that Manchu was not only a linguistic carrier but also a set of cultural and social item with power.

Construction of Space: Centre and Periphery in China

As a subject, geography provides students with a sense of space and concretizes the abstract idea of space. According to the Regulations for Elementary Primary Schools, a principal aim of geography in elementary education was to nurture patriotism among young students through familiarizing them with the environment in which they lived and explaining China's contemporary situation.[6] This section will discuss how the textbook reconstructed the Mongols' spatial understanding of China and its centre and periphery. In Lesson Two and Three in Volume Six, Zhuang and Jiang established students' general view of their country through an introduction to China's territorial composition. The texts read:

"Lesson Two: … China proper [中國本部] consists of eighteen provinces, with a pleasant climate and fertile soil. Three great rivers, the Yellow River, the Yangtze River,

[6] "Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng 奏定初等小學堂章程," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao* 中国近代教育史资料, ed. Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu press, 1985), Vol. 3, 411.

and the West River traverse China proper. It is the wealthiest and the most populous region in the world.

Lesson Three: Continued. Manchuria [滿洲], located to the northeast of China proper, is divided into three provinces. It has a cold climate, but much forest and animal husbandry. It is rich in mineral resources, which is a significant source of interest. Mongolia, with many deserts and few natural resources, is located to the north of China proper. Qinghai is situated to the west of China proper. There are numerous high mountains and great lakes, where the Yellow River and the Yangtze River originate. To the southwest of Qinghai is Tibet, where there are mountains after mountains and the terrain is uniquely high. Xinjiang is located to the northwest of Qinghai. Although it has recently been transformed to a province, it is a scarcely populated area and cannot compare with China proper."[7]

Zhuang and Jiang conceived Qing China as a single state constituting China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Qinghai, and Xinjiang. Geographically, their conception of China was not a complete break with the Qing but rather the same as that of the Qing Empire. Unlike revolutionaries, such as Zhang Taiyan (章太炎 1868–1936), who legitimized only Han people's position in China while despising non-Han peoples, Zhuang and Jiang's description conveyed Kang Youwei's idea of "great nationalism (大民族主義)" that implied all peoples living in Qing China were Chinese people and belonged to a single China without distinction.[8] Another lesson titled "China (*Dulimbai gurun* 中國)" explicitly stated that "We are the Chinese, and why should we not love China? (*Meni dulimbai gurun-i niyalma ohu manggi, aiku dulimbai gurun be hairarakuci ombini.*)"[9] This simple, direct, and clear statement reflected one of the textbook's major themes that Mongols, who were target readers of this trilingual book, and other non-Han Chinese peoples were all people of China (*dulimbai gurun-i niyalma* 中國之人) and they should thus love China.[10]

As the above texts show, Rongde translated *woguo* [我國] and *zhongguo* [中國] into *musei gurun* and *dulimbai gurun* in Manchu. In Qing documents, *gurun* had varying

[7] Zhuang and Jiang, "Woguo jiangyu 我國疆域 Musei gurun-i jase jecen," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 2 and Lesson 3.
[8] Kang Youwei 康有为, *Datongshu* 大同书 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009).
[9] Zhuang and Jiang, "Zhongguo 中國 Dulimbai gurun," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 4, Lesson 23.
[10] Gang Zhao, "Reinventing China: Imperial Qing Ideology and the Rise of Modern Chinese National Identity in the Early Twentieth Century," *Modern China* 32, no.1 (2006): 17-8.

meanings in different contexts. In the Chinese version of the *Manchu Veritable Records*, *gurun* was translated into *guo* when referring to "nation" or "political federation."[11] Based on a study on the use of *gurun* in early Qing documents, Elliot points out that *gurun* modified with *musei* typically "denoted the nation as an object of loyalty or dispenser of beneficence; depending on the context, this corresponded to its collective, dynastic, or frequently, its ethnic aspect."[12] After 1644, Manchu emperors referred to Qing China by using *dulimbai gurun*, literarily the central state, instead of *nikan gurun* (literally the Han state) that was used to refer to *zhongguo* under Ming rule before the Manchus entered China proper.[13] With the Qing Empire's territorial expansion, the conception of *dulimbai gurun* evolved into a multi-ethnic one under Manchu reign. As for the Mongols, who were hitherto *monggo gurun-i niyalma* (people of the Mongol state) in Qing documents prior to the 1630s, were consistently referred to as *dulimbai gurun-i niyalma* in the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the Treaty of Kiakhta, and the Code of the Lifanyuan.[14] Based on a multi-ethnic understanding of Qing China as the use of *gurun* in Qing official documents showed, Gang Zhao argues that Chinese reformists' conception of China in the early twentieth century originated from this imperial Qing view.[15]

The multi-ethnic view popularized in the trilingual textbook, however, was not a simple equation between the Qing and China as Gang Zhao argues. After the Qing Empire expanded its territory to the north and west, Qing emperors envisioned the territory under all-encompassing Manchu emperorship as made up of "inner land (内地)" and "outer tribes (外藩)." "Inner land" referred to the eighteen Chinese provinces south of the Great Wall and "outer tribes" constituted the territories the Qing conquered and incorporated into the empire, such as Inner and Outer Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet. Accordingly, in Manchu, *dorgi ba* referred to "inner land" and *tulergi goro* referred to "outer tribes." As aforementioned, the Lifanyuan was *tulergi golo be dasara jurgan*. At the same time, the Qing Empire emphasized the unification of "inner land" and "outer tribes" by using *neiwai yijia* (内外一家) or

[11] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manzhou yuanliu kao and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no.4 (1987): 767.
[12] Mark Elliot, "Manchu (Re)Definitions of the Nation in the Early Qing," in *Indiana East Asian Working Paper Series on Language and Politics in Modern China*, eds. Jeffrey Wasserstrom and Sue Tuohy, 74.
[13] Zhao, "Reinventing China," 6-10.
[14] Ibid., 12-4. Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 208. Mark C. Elliot, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 503.
[15] Zhao, "Reinventing China," 8.

zhongwai yijia (中外一家), literally "interior and exterior as one family," in official documents.[16]

In the Chinese version of the textbook, Zhuang and Jiang used *benbu* (本部), literally the original part of China, to refer to the "inner land" of the Qing Empire (*Musei gurun-i tesu harangga ba juwan jakūn yabure golo obume dendehabi* 我國本部分十八行省, China proper consists of eighteen provinces). Rongde translated *benbu* into *tesu harangga ba*, literally the original/native area of China, instead of *dorgi ba*, which the Qing usually used when referring to inner land. In the preface to the trilingual textbook written by Rongde himself, he used *neidi* and *waifan* in Chinese and *dorgi ba* and *tulergi aiman* in Manchu when referring to "inner land" and "outer tribes."[17] *Aiman* is a literary translation of the Chinese character "*fan*." For example, the *Imperially Commissioned Genealogical Tables and Biographies of the Princes of the Mongols and Muslims of the Outer Tribes* (外藩蒙古回部王公表傳) is *Hesei toktobuha tulergi monggo hoise aiman-i wang gung sai iletun ulabun* in Manchu. However, the Qing usually used *tulergi golo* when generally referring to "outer tribes." The use of *aiman* instead of *golo* suggested that Rongde wrote the preface first in Chinese and then translated it into Manchu. This was the same as the way in which Rongde produced the Manchu script of the trilingual textbook – a literary translation based on the original Chinese texts written by Zhuang and Jiang.

The use of *benbu* as well as the Manchu translation *tesu harangga ba*, which rarely appeared in Qing official documents, was a hybrid of Western conception of China and Chinese nationalism. China proper has been a troublesome toponym in modern and contemporary China.[18] Scholars hold different opinions over the origin of "China proper." Prior to the seventeenth century, Europeans first used "China proper" as a geographic concept.[19] In the following centuries, Europeans developed this geographic idea in ethnical,

[16] Mark C. Elliot and Ning Chia, "The Qing Hunt at Mulan," in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, 76-7.
[17] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 8b, 9a.
[18] Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, "'Zhongguo benbu' yiming jiying feiqi '中國本部'一名亟應廢棄," *Yishi bao* 益世報, January 1, 1939. Ma Rong 马戎, "Ruhe renshi 'minzu' he 'Zhonghua minzu' – huigu 1939nian guanyu 'Zhonghua minzu shiyige" de taolun 如何认识'民族'和'中华民族'——回顾 1939 年关于'中华民族是一个'的讨论," *Zhongnan minzu daxue xuebao* 中南民族大学学报 32, no. 5, (2012): 1-12. Chen Bo 陈波, "Riben mingzhi shidai de Zhongguo benbu gainian 日本明治时代的中国本部概念," *Xueshu yuekan* 学术月刊 48, no.7 (2016): 157-73.
[19] Chen Bo 陈波, "Zhongguo benbu gainian de qiyuan yu jiangou - 1550 niandai zhi 1795nian 中国本部概念的起源于建构——1550 年代至 1795 年," *Xueshu yuekan,* no.4 (2017): 146, 153-4.

racial, and political dimensions to emphasize the boundary between the region inhabited primarily by Han Chinese and those by other groups.[20] It is believed that in 1795 William Winterbotham first used "China proper," "Chinese Tartary," and "States Tributary to China" in English to introduce the three parts of Chinese territory.[21] Some Chinese scholars believe that the European use of "China proper" was a misconception of the territorial, ethnical, and cultural image of China.[22] Chen Bo (陈波) argues that this was an understanding of China's history under the European "nation-state" framework.[23] In the nineteenth century, Japanese scholars, officials, and the public called China by using "Shina" and justified it by referring to its European origin.[24] "China proper," a European concept, was translated into 支那本國, 支那本部, and 支那本土 and widely used in textbooks, dictionaries, gazetteers, and academic works by the 1890s.[25]

The use of *benbu* by Chinese scholars began in the early twentieth century. In 1901, Liang Qichao first adopted this Japanese idea and used *zhongguo benbu* (中國本部) referring to one of the five major parts of China's territory, the other four parts of which were "Xinjiang, Qinghai and Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria [滿州]."[26] In the early twentieth century, the translation of Japanese textbooks introduced the Japanese idea of China proper into late Qing textbooks.[27] Official geography textbooks used *benbu* as a geographic concept and related it with the ethnic and racial definition of Han Chinese people who had long dominated this region.[28] Although reformists' interpretation of this geographic concept did not exclude other regions from China's territory, the literary meaning of *ben* and *proper* tended to indicate that the eighteen Chinese provinces (inner land) were the original, central, and legitimate part of China.

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[20] Zhang Dianqing 张殿清 and Zheng Chaohong 郑朝红, "Xifang hanxue zhuzuo dui Zhongguo bantu de wujie yu qujie 西方汉学著作对中国版图的误解与曲解," *Jilin daxue shehui kexue xuebao* 吉林大学社会科学出版社 54, no.5 (2014): 98-105. Chen Bo, "Zhongguo benbu gainian de qiyuan yu jiangou - 1550 niandai zhi 1795nian," 154-62.
[21] William Winterbotham, *An Historical, Geographical, and Philosophical View of the Chinese Empire* (London, 1796), 35-202.
[22] Zhang Dianqing and Zheng Chaohong, "Xifang hanxue zhuzuo dui Zhongguo bantu de wujie yu qujie," 98-105.
[23] Chen Bo, "Zhongguo benbu gainian de qiyuan yu jiangou - 1550 niandai zhi 1795nian," 146.
[24] Chen, "Riben mingzhi shidai de Zhongguo benbu gainian," 161-3.
[25] Ibid., 162-163. Joshua A. Fogel, "New Thoughts on an Old Controversy: Shina as a Toponym for China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 229 (2012): 1-25. Joshua A. Fogel, *The Cultural Dimensions of Sino-Japanese Relations: Essays on the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Armonk, N.Y; London: Sharpe, 1995).
[26] Liang Qichao 梁啟超, "Zhongguoshi xulun 中國史緒論," in *Yinbingshi heji* 飲冰室合集, Vol. 1-6, ed. Liang Qichao (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1901, reprinted in 1989), 3.
[27] Chen, "Riben mingzhi shidai de Zhongguo benbu gainian," 153-4.
[28] Zarrow, *Educating China,* 223, 227, 229.

Similarly, *manzhou* (滿洲) used by Zhuang and Jiang in the text (本部之東北曰滿洲, Manchuria is located to the northeast of China proper) and "*manju*" translated by Rongde (*tesu harangga ba-i dergi amargi be manju sembi*) were also troublesome toponyms. Elliot notes that "the word '*Manju*' never acquired a geographical sense in Manchu, nor did *Manzhou* (the Chinese pronunciation of the characters read *Manshū* in Japanese) gain acceptance as an orthodox place name in Chinese."[29] Likewise, Manchuria, the correspondent English term of *manzhou* and *manju* is also problematic in China because it is easily associated with Russian and Japanese imperialism, as aforementioned in Chapter 2. Yet the nascent territoriality of Manchuria, as Elliot argues, "received a fillip in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when colonialism and capitalism combined to create a separate geo-body on the ritual, literary, administrative, and, especially cartographic structures of Manchurian regionality built by China's Manchu rulers."[30] *Manzhou* as a toponym in Chinese became widely used in Chinese-made maps and officially sanctioned textbooks by the first decade of the 1900s.[31]

The adoption of *benbu* and *manzhou* was therefore a hybrid production of European-Japanese influence and Chinese culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The use of *benbu* and *manzhou* in the trilingual textbook reflected Zhuang and Jiang's view that China proper was the original part of China, whilst Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang were "the others," although they were all part of China's territory. Rongde's literary translation of the two terms, *tesu harangga ba* and *manju*, which was approved by Governor General Xiliang, the Ministry of Education, and the Qing court, showed that Manchu officials agreed with Chinese reformists' reimagination of China, China proper, and Manchuria. Yet how widely these terms were used in Manchu context is subject to further research. Following Zhuang and Jiang's description, this chapter will use "China proper" and "Manchuria" when referring to "inner land" and Northeast China.

In Zhuang and Jiang's account of China's territory, they introduced different regions in the sequence of China proper, Manchuria, Mongolia, Qinghai, Tibet, and Xinjiang, which

[29] Mark Elliot, "The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 3 (2000): 605.
[30] Elliot, "The Limits of Tartary," 640.
[31] Ibid., 633. Zarrow, *Educating China,* 223.

reflected a China proper-centred perspective. This perspective can also be seen in their introduction to natural and economic features of each region, in which they defined China proper as a standard and compared the other regions with it. They explained the correlation between natural conditions and the economy principally from an agricultural perspective, while they neglected the economy of other nomadic groups. From this perspective, they viewed China proper, which benefited from the most favourable climate and terrain, as the most prosperous region, while the others suffered from a weakened economy, because the cold climate made habitation difficult or there was a lack of essential resources. Through this, the trilingual textbook established a simplistic equation that China proper meant rich but the other regions meant poor and backward.

The previous Qing overview of its territory was different in officially sanctioned publications. The *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing*, the compilation of which was inaugurated in the Kangxi reign and enriched and edited in the Yongzheng, Qianlong, Jiaqing, and Guangxu reigns, established laws and regulations and formulated principles of the Qing Dynasty. The maps of the *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing* (欽定大清會典圖) showed a different direction in its sketching of the Qing territory. In the maps of the *Code*, the capital city (京師) and Zhili, the province surrounding the capital city, were introduced first. Following them, the maps shifted to Shengjing (J. 146–147), Jilin (J. 148–152), and Heilongjiang (J. 153–156). After this, the maps returned to China proper once again, continuing with Shandong (J. 157).[32] Likewise, in the illustration for the *Qing Empire's Complete Map of All under Heaven* (皇朝一統輿地全圖 1842), the location of Shengjing, which was called the retained capital (留都), was introduced following the capital city and Zhili.[33]

Rather than an entirely geographical angle, the two aforementioned officially sanctioned maps took into account the political and ritual symbolic significance of Qing capitals, both the contemporary one in Beijing and the historical one in Mukden. The geographic imagination of Manchuria's position in the Qing Empire was enriched and completed in

[32] Tuojin 托津 et al., *Qinding Daqing huidiantu* 欽定大清會典圖, The Jiaqing edition [1818], in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan sanbian* 近代中國史料叢刊三編, Vol. 71 (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1992), J. 146-157.
[33] Dong, Fangli 董方立 and Li, Zhaoluo 李兆洛, "Huangchao yitong yudi quantu 皇朝一統輿地全圖," 1842. http://digitalatlas.asdc.sinica.edu.tw/map_detail.jsp?id=A103000048

official and literary works, a prominent one of which was the *Ode to Mukden* written by the Qianlong emperor in 1743. These works not only described the distinctive environment of Manchuria that gave birth to the imperial Manchu people, but also considered this part of the enterprise to preserve the Manchus' heritage and demarcate the Qing Empire's territory.[34] Therefore, the Qing deliberately designed an imperial introduction to the empire's geographic composition in official maps, beginning with Beijing and Manchuria, and then adopting the rest of the Empire.

The emphasis on China proper can be seen in the rest of the textbook. To achieve the goal of nurturing patriotism among young students, Zhuang and Jiang introduced landscapes and cities, which they thought illustrated Chinese natural beauty and economic development in their time. They led students on a reading journey to Tianjin, Shanghai, and Hankou, to Mount Tai (泰山) in Shandong, Mount Song (嵩山) in Henan, Mount Shizhong (石鐘山) in Jiangxi, to Lake Dongting (洞庭湖) in Hunan and the Yangtze River traversing South China. Despite the wide range of sites covered by the textbook, all of them were located in China proper. By contrast the book did not mention "the White Mountain and the Black River [白山黑水]" of the Manchu ancestors in Manchuria, which were cherished as sacred sites for the Manchus in the *Ode to Mukden* and the *Researches on Manchu Origins.*[35] Moreover, the disregard for previous politically and ritually significant sites combined with an emphasis on economic prosperity. The cities covered by the textbook were mostly treaty ports and were renowned for their fast-developing industry and international commerce in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Shanghai and Hankou.[36] In the lessons concerning the Yangtze River, Lake Tai, and Lake Dongting, Zhuang and Jiang stressed the significance of the network of waters which created a fertile region in South China.[37] However, Zhuang and Jiang omitted Mukden, a city with heavy political significance, albeit less developed in commerce and industry. Neither did they discuss various memorable military sites in

[34] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "*Manzhou yuanliu kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987): 761-83. Elliot, "The Limits of Tartary," 617.
[35] Crossley, "Manzhou yuanliu kao and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," 761-83. Elliot, "The Limits of Tartary," 603-40.
[36] Zhuang and Jiang, "Shanghai 上海 Šang hai," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 5, Lesson 39. "Hankou 漢口," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 46.
[37] Zhuang and Jiang, "Changjiang 長江 Golmin ula," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 3, Lesson 36. "Taihu 太湖 Tai hū tenggin," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 22. "Dongting hu 洞庭湖 Dung ting hū tenggin," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 52.

Xinjiang, Mongolia, and Tibet, which symbolized the success of early Qing campaigns.[38] Rather, they criticized people in the borderlands for lacking the knowledge to take advantage of natural resources. The lesson titled "Mountains" reads that people in northwest China "do not know how to plant trees, avoid mining as taboo, and abandon commodities, but are worried about their poverty."[39]

This China proper-centred perspective ran through the entire textbook. Zhuang and Jiang considered China proper "the wealthiest and the most populated region in the world," while they undermined the political, ritual, and economic importance of other regions. Manchuria, a hitherto politically central region where the Jirim Mongols lived, became a peripheral one. Although the introduction of China's territorial composition was not a complete break with the Qing Empire, the textbook reorganized various regions into "China proper and its surrounding."

The Unity of China and the Chinese People in History

The geographical account of China's territory also extended to the historical realm. As required by the Ministry of Education, one of the aims of teaching history in elementary schools was to "nurture national loyalty."[40] To forge students' patriotic sentiments, Zhuang and Jiang underscored the importance of keeping the territorial unity of China in history and promoted the image of a historically united China. Then, we may wonder how Zhuang and Jiang conceived Chinese people and the relationship between Han Chinese, the majority of whom lived in China proper, and other ethnic groups in peripheral regions.

The lesson titled "The Great Wall" depicted a historically united China with the Qin unification in 221BC and underlined the importance of the Great Wall for resisting the on-going northern threats to China proper. The text reads as follows:

> "In ancient times, our state faced the threats of Huns in the north. To defend their territories, Yan [燕], Zhao [趙], and other states built city walls. … After Qin Shihuang [秦始皇] had vanquished the six states and unified China proper, he dispatched a punitive expedition of 300,000 soldiers led by General Meng Tian [蒙恬] against the Huns and defeated them completely. Then [the Qin dynasty] restored the old city walls

[38] Perdue, *China Marches West,* 409-61.
[39] Zhuang and Jiang, "Shan 山 Alin," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 5, Lesson 6.
[40] "Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng," 411.

and incorporated all of them one into one that extends more than five thousand li from the Shanhai Pass at the eastern end and to the Jiayu Pass at the western end. People call it the Great Wall, a world famous feat. Shengjing and Mongolia are outside the Great Wall and Zhili, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu provinces and so on are inside."[41]

In this lesson, the Wall was described as "a world famous feat" not just due simply to its architectural achievement but also because of its value for preserving the unity of the territory. By contrast, previous Chinese legends about the Wall usually described it as the work of a tyrant without military utility, which did not give the symbolic value that Zhuang and Jiang proclaimed in the text.[42] Moreover, in the multi-ethnic context of the Qing Empire, the image of the Wall was neither a military nor a national boundary of Han and non-Han peoples, because Manchu emperors ruled the territories on both sides and prevented conflicts between the largely agrarian Chinese people and nomadic peoples of the steppe.[43] The Mongols and Chinese were no longer adversaries under the universal reign of the Manchus. Although they maintained differences in language, religion, and the economy until the late Qing period, they generally maintained peaceful relations under Manchu reign. Unlike its Ming predecessor, the Qing Empire did not repair and rebuild deteriorating sections of the Great Wall to maintain its military function, as it had already demolished the wall between Chinese people and their opponents and incorporated all of them into a multicultural empire. The Kangxi emperor stated his confidence in the Mongols in 1721, claiming that "our Dynasty bestows favours upon the Khalkha and requires its defence in the north, which is more steadfast than the Great Wall."[44] In the history of China the Wall as rigid frontier delimitation was effective only in a restricted region in the north, while this "linear frontier" was frequently modified and obliterated in the east and west.[45] The regions on both sides of the Great Wall were a

[41] Zhuang and Jiang, "Changcheng 長城 Tumen ba i golmin hecen," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 8, Lesson 4.
[42] Arthur Waldron, *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 194-203.
[43] Nicola Di Cosmo, "From Alliance to Tutelage: A Historical Analysis of Manchu-Mongol Relations before the Qing Conquest," *Frontiers of History in China* 7, no. 2 (2012): 175-97. C.R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968). Perdue, *China Marches West,* 174-292. Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Making Mongols," In *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Eghnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, eds. Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006), 58-82.
[44] *Shengzu renhuangdi shilu* 聖祖仁皇帝實錄 (hereafter: *SZRHDSL*), J. 151, 21a, b. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會, Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫. http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html
[45] Owen Lattimore, "Origins of the Great Wall of China: A Frontier Concept in Theory and Practice," *Geographical Review*

"reservoir" where peoples and cultures usually migrated, mixed, and influenced each other.[46] In Zhuang and Jiang's account of the Great Wall, while they historicized the Wall as an image of the unity of China, they conceived the Wall as a symbol of Han Chinese hostility against northern nomads. As Frederic Wakeman puts it, "to the Chinese, the Great Wall marked the border between civilization and the barbarian borders of Huns, Turks, Khitan, and Mongols that successively threatened native dynasties."[47]

The concept of the Great Wall as an effective fortification originated in Europe in the eighteenth century. The European myth of China gave rise to the western imagination of the Wall as a world architectural and military feast and this concept of the Wall, rather than the Wall itself, engaged the European and Chinese imagination of the Wall by the end of the nineteenth century.[48] At the turn of the twentieth century, more national sentiments featured in Chinese scholars' accounts of the Wall. In the aforementioned text, by highlighting the importance of the Great Wall for keeping territorial unity in Chinese history, Zhuang and Jiang sought to emphasize that China was culturally cohesive, historically united, and clearly bounded under Han Chinese culture. Sun Yat-sen (孫中山 1866–1925) argued that the Great Wall was one of the greatest constructions in China, without which northern barbarian groups would conquer China and China would lose the power to assimilate nomads.[49] In the twentieth century, the Wall gradually became a symbol for Chinese nationalism, especially after the Sino-Japanese War broke out.[50] In addition to the Great Wall, many other stories of historical figures were turned into stories of Chinese national founders and geographical landmarks as Chinese national symbols.[51] For example, the lesson titled "Yu the Great Tames the Waters" emphasized that "it is Yu the Great's achievement in controlling the floods that made Chinese people live a peaceful life and enjoy their work."[52] Zhuang and Jiang's introduction to Qin Shihuang, as well as that in many late Qing history books, was more

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27, no.4 (1937): 530-1.
[46] Owen Lattimore, *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), 31-52.
[47] Frederic Wakeman, *The Fall of Imperial China* (New York: The Free Press, 1975), 71.
[48] Waldron, *The Great Wall of China,* 203-14.
[49] Sun Yat-sen 孫中山, *Sun Wen xueshuo* 孫文學說 (Taipei: Yuandong chubanshe, reprinted in 1957), 38-9.
[50] Arthur Waldron, "Representing China: The Great Wall and Cultural Nationalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity*, ed. Harumi Befu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 36-60.
[51] Zarrow, *Educating China,* 156-64.
[52] Zhuang and Jiang, "Yu zhishui 禹治水 Ioi muke be dasahangge," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 4, Lesson 24.

concerned with Qin Shihuang's contribution to territorial unity than morality that was emphasized by a traditional Confucian view.[53] But the conception of the Great Wall as well as other geographical and historical figures in the textbook either neglected non-Han Chinese territories or indicated a hostile relationship between "civilized" China proper and "barbarian" nomads.

This ambivalent description of multi-ethnicity and national pride can be seen in the rest of the textbook. While Zhuang and Jiang emphasized both Han and non-Han peoples were Chinese people, their conception of multi-ethnic China contained a boundary between barbarism and civilization. The lesson titled "Female Generals" highly praised Mrs. Liang, the wife of Han Shizhong (韓世忠 1089–1151), a Han Chinese general of the Song Dynasty (960–1279), who bravely fought against the Jurchens.[54] Zhuang and Jiang regarded the Song Dynasty established by Han Chinese in China proper as the legitimate party, while the Jurchens who built the Jin dynasty were barbarian intruders. Yet Qing historiography expressed an entirely different view about Song-Jin relations. It described the Jurchens as the ancestors of the Manchus, who established a great state. Nurhaci used "Jin" as the name of the Manchu state founded in 1616 by referring to the (earlier) Jin Dynasty. The Qianlong emperor clarified the lineage relation between the Manchus and Jurchens in the *Researches on Manchu Origin* to enhance Manchu identity.[55] Official Qing historiography regarded the Jurchen-Song Wars as the success of the Jurchens and a glorious part of the Manchu history.

Zhuang and Jiang showed greater tolerance for non-Chinese culture in the story about King Wuling (武灵王 340BC–295BC) of the Zhao State (赵 325BC–299BC), which introduced one of King Wuling's strategies for keeping the territorial unity: wearing the Hu attire and shooting from horseback (胡服騎射). King Wuling's son considered it impermissible for the King to "copy barbaric clothing," because it was a tradition of "the central state" to regulate society by Confucian classics, rites, and music."[56] King Wuling argued that he dressed in Hu clothes and practiced their military skills to prepare for their use in revenge for the Zhongshan State (中山), a barbaric state that previously invaded the Zhao

[53] Zarrow, *Educating China,* 172-4.
[54] Zhuang and Jiang, "Nvjiang 女將 Hehe jiyanggiyūn," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 8, Lesson 28.
[55] Crossley, "Manzhou yuanliu kao and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," 761-83
[56] Zhuang and Jiang, "Zhao Wulingwang 趙武靈王 Joo gurun-i u ling wang," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 44.

state.[57] Zhuang and Jiang then concluded the lesson by stating that "the Zhao state called out the troops to vanquish Zhongshan, seized Hu territories in the north, and raised national prestige."[58]

The lesson did not completely deny the significance of non-Chinese culture, because it had successfully protected China proper from "barbaric" invasions, which contradicted the Qing view on the relationship between the peoples of China proper and nomadic groups of the steppe. In the Qing Empire, barbarism, which was hitherto historicized as inferior to Chinese civilization in Han Chinese dynasties, was expunged from official political discourse. Manchu emperors classified all peoples into "conquerors and conquered" and maintained their differentiation in officialdom and society, which was "essential to the vitality of all Inner Asian dynasties."[59] In the Qing hierarchy, the Manchus were conquerors, and broadly speaking, including all Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese bannermen. Official writings described Mongols, particularly those from South Mongolia who submitted to Manchu rule in the early seventeenth century, as the partners of the Manchu founders of the Qing Empire.[60] Despite ethnic classification remaining a principle in the creation of the Qing hierarchy, the Qing did not promote ethnic discrimination, except for a few privileges reserved for the Manchus.[61] Non-Han Chinese features regarding rites, customs, and languages at the Qing court and in borderlands demonstrated the Qing to be an ethnically pluralist society.[62] It is the diversity of ethnicity and culture that sustained the unity of Qing territories under the universal Manchu emperorship and ensured the Mongols' loyalty to the Great Qing. Zhuang and Jiang's writing, however, raised a potential threat of disunity and disorder which was under control in the multi-ethnic context of the Qing Empire.

The lessons about the interaction between Chinese and non-Chinese underscored the significance of keeping the unity of territory in the linear development of Chinese history. However, the "China" and its people that preserved the unity of territory and created a great

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Elliot, *The Manchu Way,* 6.
[60] Di Cosmo, "From Alliance to Tutelage," 175-97.
[61] Nicola Di Cosmo, "Qing Colonial Administration in Inner Asia," *The International History Review* 20, no.2 (1998): 287-309.
[62] Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History of Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1999), 8-15.

civilization were believed to be geographically, historically, and ethnically different from the Qing Empire and its peoples. The narration of the unity of China in particular praised Chinese defence against "barbarian" groups of the steppe. This weakened the Mongolian-Chinese bond that had been preserved by Manchu emperors, when the Mongols were not well prepared for a complete break with the Great Qing of the past.

Redefining China in the World

Based on this multi-ethnic view of China, the textbook historicized China as an individual actor on the world stage and attempted to integrate Chinese history with world history. In texts covering a wide range of topics, from inanimate objects to famous figures, from everyday life to historical events, the book sought to give Chinese history a global dimension by comparing China with foreign countries, primarily European-American countries. This section will discuss how Zhuang and Jiang configured the world, how they contextualized the history of China in the world, and how they defined "progress" in world history.

In addition to familiarizing students with the environment where they live, it was an aim of teaching geography in elementary schools to "place the geography of China in the world."[63] Before the aforementioned description of the territorial composition of China, Zhuang and Jiang offered students a general overview of the Earth and then determined China's geographical place in the world. Lesson One of Volume Six titled "The General Situation of the Earth" depicted the overall picture of the surface of the Earth which constitutes five oceans and five continents.[64] After giving students a sense of the entire world, the lesson gradually narrowed students' focus to Asia, China and its neighbours, and finally each part of China. The first part of Lesson Two, "The Territory of Our Country," reads:

> "The Territory of Our Country. Our Country is located in the southeast of Asia. Our country occupies 5,400 Chinese li from south to north and 8,800 Chinese li from east to west, which constitutes ten per cent of land on the earth. [Our country] borders Siberia to the northwest and India and other countries to the southwest, connects with Vietnam

[63] Kecheng jiaoyu yanjiusuo 课程教育研究所 ed., *Ershi shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biaozhun* 二十世纪中国中小学课程标准 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), vol. 13, 3-4.
[64] Zhuang and Jiang, "Diqiu dashi 地球大勢 Na i muhaliyan i amba arbun," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 1.

and Burma to the south, and neighbours Japan across the ocean to the east. Korea is located to the northeast border of our country."[65]

In the above text, Zhuang and Jiang first determined China's location in Asia and introduced the geographical area of China in comparison to the whole world. After that, they introduced China's neighbouring countries and regions: Siberia, India, French Indo-China, Burma, Japan, and Korea. They viewed these countries, some of which used to be Qing China tributary states as independent and equal counterparts to Qing China. Unlike the imperial Qing view that stressed the Manchu emperors' rulership over all lands under Heaven, Zhuang and Jiang's writing expressed the idea that states are sovereign actors on the world stage, an idea rising in Western Europe after the emergence of the nation-state system in the mid-nineteenth century.[66] This introduction reflected a worldview based on the notion of sovereignty, which Zhuang and Jiang elucidated in Volume Nine in the lesson titled "The National Flag": "the national flag, the locus of sovereignty, represents a state. Therefore, a national flag must be raised once a state obtains new territories."[67] This simple description conveyed to students a general idea that every state had clear boundaries that cannot be infringed by other states. A systematic introduction to the theory and practice of sovereignty and international relations was delivered in specialized classes in middle and high schools.[68] In the following discussions, we will see how Zhuang and Jiang conveyed to students their worldview in simple language and through various examples accessible to young students.

In the textbook, Zhuang and Jiang underscored the global character of their writing. When they wrote about ancient Chinese innovations, such as the magnetic compass, they specifically underlined its significance for navigation when it reached Europe. "Thanks to the compass, [we] can travel across oceans without worrying about getting lost today."[69] By presenting a familiar Chinese example by framing it in a global context, the textbook promoted an idea that the history of China should not be and was not isolated from world trends. The aims of introducing "the origin of Chinese culture" and "the most recent

[65] Zhuang and Jiang, "Woguo jiangyu."
[66] Zarrow, *Educating China,* 217-8.
[67] Zhuang and Jiang, "Guoqi 國旗," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 9, Lesson 1.
[68] "Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng," 411.
[69] Zhuang and Jiang, "Zhinanzhen 指南針 Julesi jorikū," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 23.

development in the world,"[70] which was required by the Ministry of Education, were therefore integrated with each other in the textbook. This worldview writing can be seen throughout the whole textbook. For example, aside from discussing the advantages and disadvantages of various modes of transport, such as the steam engine,[71] the motor vehicle,[72] and the steamship,[73] the textbook stressed their role in connecting China and the world. "Nowadays, transportation and business across the five continents has become increasingly easy. … Without the motor vehicles and the steamship, [we] could not have achieved this success."[74] Lessons like these above topics set a global background for the textbook, through which the textbook led students to learn to read in an international context and gain an appreciation that opening to the world and connecting with other countries means progress.

In exploring common topics in everyday life, such as animals, children's games, objects of daily life, and short stories, Zhuang and Jiang wrote them with the world, mainly the western world, in mind. To take the lessons concerning everyday objects in Volume Two as an example, the textbook constantly spotlighted the differences between China and foreign countries. Lesson Two introduced writing instruments, which "were made of brush in China but of metals or graphite in foreign countries."[75] Lesson Seven titled "Clothes" discussed both Chinese and foreign styles. "Our clothes are long and large, which are thus comfortable; foreign clothes are short and small, and are therefore lightweight."[76] Lesson Thirty-five concentrated on currency. "The currency of our state is made of copper, … while some foreign currencies are made of gold [金]."[77] Rather than describing the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Empire, these basic comparisons about writing instruments, clothes, and currency neglected dissimilarities between peoples of different ethnic origins in the Qing Empire and viewed the whole empire as a homogenous state. Through this, the textbook shifted students' attention to the whole world in which Qing China was an integrated state rather than emphasizing the interior diversity of Qing peoples.

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[70] "Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng," 411.
[71] Zhuang and Jiang, "Qiji 氣機 Sukdun-i šurdere tetun," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 20 and lesson 21.
[72] Zhuang and Jiang, "Zhouche 舟車 Jahūdai sejen," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 22. "Luyun 陸運 Olhon de teoderengge," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 27.
[73] Zhuang and Jiang, "Zhouche". "Shuiyun 水運 Muke de teoderengge shuiyun," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 26.
[74] Zhuang and Jiang, "Zhouche".
[75] Zhuang and Jiang, "Bi 筆 Fi," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 2, Lesson 2.
[76] Zhuang and Jiang, "Yifu 衣服 Etuku adu," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 2, Lesson 7.
[77] Zhuang and Jiang, "Qian 錢 Jiha," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 2, Lesson 35.

Based on their description of mundane objects, Zhuang and Jiang also conveyed their ideas about these objects' advantages and disadvantages through a comparison between China and foreign countries. Following their description of clothes, Zhuang and Jiang stated the advantages of western lightweight clothes for gymnastics in schools.[78] With regard to writing instruments, they highlighted the wide usage of chalk on blackboards and slate in schools.[79] They also developed the comparison concerning objects into areas of culture. In the lesson, "The Clock," they stated that "the superiority and inferiority can be seen from the way that people use clocks."[80] Following a brief introduction to the history of how people distinguished time from earlier periods to the 1890s, Zhuang and Jiang contrasted the way British people made use of time with the Chinese way, saying

> "I have heard that British people possess the best sense of time. All of their behaviours are punctual, and therefore, they have achieved much success and do not feel weary. However, things are different in China. [We] do not have fixed time for dining, rising, and sleeping, and thus housework is in chaos. As for work, [we] are uncertain about working or not and therefore we waste our lives."[81]

Zhuang and Jiang aimed to argue for the western advantages and convince students that the differences between the advanced western style of life and the backward Chinese one resulted in their different fates. But a lack of evidence made the judgement about British punctuality and Chinese laziness less objective.

More often Zhuang and Jiang made a general comparison between "China" and "foreign countries" rather than referring to a specific country as seen in the lessons about transportation, clothes, and writing instruments. Nevertheless, the "foreign" examples they cited implied a Euro-centric perspective. For example, they emphasized the importance of James Watt's (1736–1899) steam engine for industry and transportation, which drove the Industrial Revolution beginning in Britain.[82] In the lesson titled "Clothes," below the text about foreign-style clothes, which Zhuang and Jiang considered lightweight, a figure showed a gentleman wearing Victorian style clothes, the fashion of the Victorian era in Great Britain

[78] Zhuang and Jiang, "Yifu".
[79] Zhuang and Jiang, "Bi".
[80] Zhuang and Jiang, "Shichenzhong 時辰鐘 Erileme guwendere jungken," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 6.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Zhuang and Jiang, "Qiji". "Zhouche".

from the 1830s to the 1900s. In Zhuang and Jiang's worldview, the world was divided between China and foreign countries, and European and American stories were told as models while late Qing China was usually weak and backward.[83] Their preference for western models reflected the Euro-centric view of world history, as Prasenjit Duara argues,[84] which led Chinese intellectuals to follow "advanced" foreign models, primarily Euro-American models.

At the turn of the twentieth century, in addition to learning from Europe, Chinese scholars also sought to configure the world, in which Asian peoples resisted European imperialism.[85] Zhuang and Jiang's view of the world, in which European-American countries were dominant powers while China was a weak state, can be seen in their description of China's recent history in the nineteenth century. In the introduction to major cities, they paid close attention to their recent "humiliating" situation in the late nineteenth century. For example, in "Shanghai", they lamented the loss of administrative power following their positive comment on the economic prosperity there.[86] Likewise, in "Tianjin," they spent a paragraph on describing the shamefulness of recent diplomatic history during the Boxer Rebellion after describing the success of trade. "All of the barbettes and city walls were destroyed, which cannot be reconstructed according to the treaty. How shameful!"[87] Such disappointment can also be seen in the Qing loss of control of abundant natural resources. For instance, they felt that although northwestern provinces had advantages in raising sheep, people did not make proper use of such precious resources. "Europeans often go to Gansu and other provinces to purchase wool and deliver it back to foreign countries. Moreover, they produce woollen goods and sell them back to our country to earn multiplied profits. If our country could strive for a textile industry and create fine products, how could profits drain away?"[88] Apart from warning young students of the loss of territory, administrative power,

[83] Robert J. Culp, "'Weak and Small Peoples' in a 'Europeanizing World': World History Textbooks and Chinese Intellectuals' Perspectives on Global Modernity," in *The Politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Early Republican China*, eds. Hon Tze-ki and Robert Culp (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 211-46.
[84] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).
[85] Rebecca E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002).
[86] Zhuang and Jiang, "Shanghai".
[87] Zhuang and Jiang, "Tianjin 天津 Tiyan jin ba," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 45.
[88] Zhuang and Jiang, "Mianyang 綿羊 Honin," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 7, Lesson 41.

and resources, they presented numerous harmful living styles, such as foot binding,[89] tobacco smoke,[90] and opium consumption,[91] which they believed to be the "origin of weakness"[92] in Qing China since the 1840s. In addition to familiarizing students with Qing China's most recent history, a more important purpose of writing China's loss was to help students recognize "humiliation," because Chinese people were considered "impervious to feelings of national shame."[93] Through stories of humiliation, Zhuang and Jiang emphasized that it was urgent for Chinese people to recognize national shame and bear substantial responsibility for their country's troubles caused by foreign imperialism.

Whereas politicians and scholars emphasized weakness and crisis in late Qing China, textbooks at the time highlighted the importance of rebuilding.[94] Although Zhuang and Jiang underlined the weaknesses of Qing China, they did not narrate it from an entirely negative perspective. Rather, their criticism was often accompanied by praise. In the lessons about Shanghai and Tianjin, they argued for the flourishing commerce in recent times.[95] When they criticized Qing China for losing control over its rich resources, they emphasized that China possessed abundant natural resources, some of which were strategic economic and military resources, such as coal.[96] Zhuang and Jiang wrote about the humiliating recent history of Qing China along with its glorious past, through which they depicted an originally great but now weak Qing China. The aim of learning late Qing China's recent loss and letting students have a sense of shame was to encourage students to work hard to achieve the ultimate national triumph.

Zhuang and Jiang emphasized military spirit in the textbook. Nevertheless, the military spirit advocated in the textbook contained an entirely new element to the Jirim Mongols: an integrated Chinese state to which they pledged their loyalty. The lesson titled "Profession" defined a soldier as "a person who defends the state."[97] The lesson titled "Weapons"

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[89] Zhuang and Jiang, "Chanzu zhi hai 纏足之害 Bethe bohire jobolon," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 4, Lesson 36.
[90] Zhuang and Jiang, "Yancao zhi hai 煙草之害 Dambagu orho i jobolon," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 5, Lesson 56.
[91] Zhuang and Jiang, "Yapian 鴉片 Yarsi dambagu," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 4, Lesson 35.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Paul A. Cohen, *China Unbound: Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past* (London and New York: Taylor and Francis, 2003), 148-51.
[94] Zarrow, *Educating China,* 6.
[95] Zhuang and Jiang, "Shanghai". "Tianjin".
[96] Zhuang and Jiang, "Mei 煤 Wehe yaha," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 6, Lesson 53.
[97] Zhuang and Jiang, "Zhiye 職業 Afara baita," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 2, Lesson 47.

emphasized the importance of soldiers for the survival and development of a state, saying "soldiers are the root of strengthening a state."[98] The lesson titled "Military Service" explained the relationship between "people" and "state" in military terms. "A state is founded by its people and people rely on their state to survive. People of a state have the responsibility to defend their state. Therefore, it is the duty of people to serve the army."[99] Zhuang and Jiang further stressed the power of unity in the lesson titled "Animal Tools of Self-Defence" by comparing the unity of people to that of animals, stating that "the power of an individual is insufficient, therefore [people] unite relatives to form a family, join neighbours to create a village, and unite counties to form a state."[100] In these texts, Zhuang and Jiang connected the livelihood of people with a state's fate. The use of "state" rather than "emperor," "dynasty," "eight banners," "empire," or "the Great Qing" redirected the Mongols' loyalty from the Manchu emperorship to the state. The trilingual textbook thus redefined the role of the Mongols, the servants and allies of Manchu emperors in the Great Qing, as loyal nationals in a united China.

When describing their conceptions of the state, Zhuang and Jiang did not divide people into rulers and ruled, nor did they classify them based on their ethnicities and military experience. They argued for universal military service by rhetorically asking if China implemented a conscription policy, "how will it be difficult to fight against the Great Powers?"[101] Throughout the Qing Dynasty, Manchu emperors considered the Mongols acquainted with military skills and spirit. In Cheng Dequan's words, "Mongolia rose in the Yuan Dynasty and became a strong state in the world, whose military success cannot be achieved by other states."[102] Unlike the Qing emphasis on Manchu and Mongolian military skills, Zhuang and Jiang argued that people of "our state," regardless of their ethnicity, could become a good soldier if well trained and should therefore be held respected by society. To provide a neutral description about military activities, they used "children", "classmates," and "friends" without mentioning their ethnicities, such as in the lyrics of the song of gymnastics,

[98] Zhuang and Jiang, "Bingqi 兵器 Coohai agūra," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 3, Lesson 40.
[99] Zhuang and Jiang, "Bingyi 兵役 Coohai takūran Bingqi," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 8, Lesson 26.
[100] Zhuang and Jiang, "Dongwu ziwei zhi ju 動物自衛之具 Aššara jakai beye karmara agūra," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 8, Lesson 29.
[101] Zhuang and Jiang, "Bingyi".
[102] Cheng Dequan 程德全, "Xu 序," in *MMHHBJKS*, 1a.

"fine men have high aspirations."[103] The targets of Qing military campaigns were no longer subjects. Instead, the primary task of Chinese people was to resist foreign encroachment.

To enhance students' understanding of China as a state, the textbook placed the history of China within recent world history and compared it with its European counterparts. Through describing present-day threats, as well as past glories, the textbook aimed to nourish students' confidence and consciousness of Chinese people and state. The trilingual textbook's treatment of China's place in the world promoted a story of China as one united, individual, and integrated state among others, to which it must catch up in an increasingly globalized world. This reconstructed the Mongols' view of themselves in the Qing Empire and the world, whose role changed from a privileged ethnic group in a multi-ethnic empire to nationals of a united China in a globalized world. The Mongols' military duty was accordingly transformed from supporting the Manchu emperorship in the Great Qing Empire to defending their state against foreign encroachment.

Conclusion

The trilingual textbook translated by Rongde underscored the characteristics of unity in Chinese history, which was a break with the Qing dynastic historiography that was based on multi-ethnicity. The textbook depicted China as a historically united state striving for its unity and integrity over ages from the Qin unification. Moreover, geographically and historically, the trilingual textbook reconstructed the Jirim Mongols' view of the Qing Empire from a China proper-centred perspective. The Great Qing Empire maintained its reign over the Mongols, as well as other non-Chinese people, under all-encompassing Manchu emperorship. Traditional Qing pedagogy and writing about geography and history emphasized the diversity of territories and peoples. In the trilingual textbook, however, Zhuang and Jiang considered China proper to be the origin and centre of Chinese civilization. They attached the highest value to Chinese territorial unity throughout the dynastic history of China. By contrast, Manchuria was described as an integrated but peripheral part of China, instead of the relatively independent sacred homeland of the Manchus.

[103] Zhuang and Jiang, "Ticao ge 體操歌 Beye be urebure ucun," *MMHHBJKS*, J. 2, Lesson 19.

Based on a view of China from a China proper-centred perspective, the trilingual textbook sought to change the Mongols' understanding of Qing China's place in the world. Rather than a multicultural empire composed of various peoples and their territories, Zhuang and Jiang promoted a story of China as an individual and integrated state among others, to which it must catch up. The principal actors in the textbook were not bannermen, Chinese, Manchus, or Mongols. Individual states, for example, China and Britain, replaced ethnic groups and took a central role in Zhuang and Jiang's writing. In this way, the trilingual textbook narrated the history of China in the context of world history, rather than an ethnic Manchu or dynastic history of the Qing Empire. By describing the greatness of Chinese civilization and lamenting its recent loss of territory and natural resources, Zhuang and Jiang urged all readers to pledge their loyalty to China. Although the Mongols remained ethnically distinctive, ethnic differences were subsumed to a wider identity in a united China.

Chapter 6

Trilingual Practice in the Jirim League and Manchuria

According to the record kept by the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs, between 1909 and 1911, 45,520 copies of *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* were distributed to the Jirim League and a number of Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria.[1] In this chapter, I will discuss the reception of the trilingual textbook in the Jirim League, and broadly speaking, the implementation of the trilingual educational policy in Manchuria in the early twentieth century. Qu liusheng, Li Qinpu, Lin Shih-hsuan, and Liu Yanchen briefly summarized the reception of the trilingual policy in their works about Manchu education in the early twentieth century.[2] In exploring the details about trilingual practice in the Jirim League and Manchuria, I will address the following questions: who received the trilingual textbook, how they used the books, what results they achieved, what difficulties they faced, and how they handled the difficulties. Through this, I will discuss how the revised Qing multilingualism, which embraced the preservation of Manchu and Mongolian heritage and the promotion of Chinese nationalism, affected the relationship between the Jirim Mongols and the Great Qing.

It is difficult to locate primary sources that provide information concerning the implementation of the trilingual policy, such as how teachers taught the trilingual textbook and how students digested it, because such information was closely related to students and teachers' personal experiences. But some information can be obtained from government investigation reports, gazetteers, and school documents. *The Report of the Investigation on the Ten Banners of the Jirim League* was completed between the winter of 1910 and the

[1] "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," February 23, 1909 , in Pai yiyuan Rongde bianyi mengwen jiaokeshu qingkuan dengjian 派議員榮德編譯蒙文教科書情況等件, JC10-1-2807, Liaoning Provincial Archives. Rongde 榮德, "Yishu weiyuan Rongde jinjiang yuan'an niqing fenfa gechu jiaokeshu shumu shanju qingzhe 譯書委員榮德謹將援案擬請分發各處教科書數目繕具清摺," September/October, 1911, JC 10-1-13926, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

[2] Qu Liusheng 屈六生, "Lun Qingmo manyu de fazhan – jianping manmenghan sanhe jiaokeshu 论清末满语的发展——兼评《满蒙汉三合教科书》," *Manyu yanjiu* 满语研究, no.2 (2004): 63. Liu Yanchen 刘彦辰, "Qingmo Jilin xinshi qiren xuetang ji manwen jiaoyu 清末吉林新式旗人学堂及满文教育," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中国边疆史地研究 19, no.2 (2009): 103. Lin Qinpu 李勤璞, "Manmenghan sanwen hebi jiaokeshu fanyi banxing kao shang 《满蒙汉三文合璧教科书》翻译颁行考（上）" *Manyu yanjiu* 58, no. 1 (2014): 38-42. "Manmenghan sanwen hebi jiaokeshu fanyi banxing kao xia 《满蒙汉三文合璧教科书》翻译颁行考（下）" *Manyu yanjiu* 59, no. 2 (2014), 67-74. Lin Shih-hsuan 林士鉉, "Manmenghan hebi jiaokeshu yu Qingmo menggu jiaoyu gaige chutan 滿蒙漢合璧教科書與清末蒙古教育改革初探," *Furen lishi xuebao* 輔仁歷史學報 32 (2014): 123-74.

spring of 1911 by Ye Dakuang, Cheng Hou (程厚), Guo Wentian (郭文田), and Chunde (春德), four officials who served the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs.[3] In the *Report*, Ye and the others devoted a substantial part to educational affairs, particularly the teaching and learning of the trilingual textbook (Volumes One to Four) in schools. *The Gazetteer of Education of the Jirim League* (哲里木盟教育志) provides a chronological description of education development in the Jirim league from the early seventeenth century to the late twentieth century.[4] Besides, varied school documents held and published by Jilin Provincial Archives, such as school regulations, class registers, transcripts, syllabuses, and teaching plans, most of which were submitted to the Jilin provincial governor and the commissioner of education, will show us Jilin students' school life in the early twentieth century.

I will argue that the trilingual policy had different impacts on the ten banners of the Jirim League. While some banners adopted the trilingual policy and established a new-style educational system as Chinese provinces did, the others experienced a variety of difficulties such as teacher shortages, financial problems, and the absence of a reading culture among the Mongols. Moreover, the Qing Empire's efforts to improve literacy, which was associated with the change of the administrative system in the League, aroused Jirim Mongols' hostile feelings against Chinese settlers and officials. In these banners, the real difficulty to implement the new language regime was how to transform the Mongols from a relatively independent power in the Qing Empire to an integrated part of a united China under a constitutional monarchy. By contrast, Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria demonstrated a remarkable progress in teaching Manchu and Mongolian. The Manchurian government established these schools in order to train prospective officials who could handle borderland affairs by using local languages. This helps us reconsider the role of Manchu and Mongolian in the late Qing period – their ritual and instrumental roles were not mutually exclusive but rather coexisted and sustained one another.

I will first examine the distribution of the trilingual textbook to the Jirim League and Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria. I will then compare the application of

[3] Dongsansheng mengwuju 東三省蒙務局, *Zhelimu meng shiqi diaocha baogaoshu* (hereafter: *DCBGS*) 哲里木盟十旗调查报告书 (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, reprinted in 2014).
[4] Zhelimumeng jiaoyuchu jiaoyuzhi bianzuan bangongshi 哲里木盟教育处教育志编纂办公室, *Zhelimumeng jiaoyuzhi 1636-1986* 哲里木盟教育志 1636-1986 (Tongliao: Neimenggu tongliao jiaoyu yinshuachang, 1989).

the textbook in the ten banners of the Jirim League and analyse their different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. After this, I will discuss the use of trilingual textbook in Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria and the general reception of the trilingual educational policy in Manchuria.

The Distribution of *The Trilingual Textbook*

In December 1909, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs initially distributed 4,000 copies of the first four volumes of the trilingual textbook to the Jirim League and language schools in Manchuria (see Table 6.1).[5] The Bureau also circulated 1,200 copies of Governor General Xiliang's official letter to encourage education and industry to the League and language schools in Manchuria.[6] Each Jirim banner assigned a representative of the *jasagh* to collect the books from the Bureau in Fengtian. After presenting an introduction letter issued by the banner to the Office, these representatives signed on an official notebook in Mongolian and Chinese stating the number of copies they had received.[7]

Table 6.1

The Distribution of the First Four Volumes of the Textbooks (December, 1909)[8]

	The front Gorlos banner	**Each of the other nine banners**	**(Fengtian) Mongolian Language School (蒙文學堂)**	**Manchu-Mongolian Language Teaching Institute (滿蒙文講習所)**
Each volume (copy)	100	80	120	60
Total (copy) (Four volumes in total)	400	320	480	240

[5] "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," December 4, 1909, in Pai yiyuan Rongde bianyi mengwen jiaokeshu qingkuan dengjian 派議員榮德編譯蒙文教科書情況等件, JC10-1-2807, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[6] "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," February 23, 1909.
[7] Documents on March 12, 1910 , April 24, 1910, and February 23rd, 1910, in Pai yiyuan Rongde bianyi mengwen jiaokeshu qingkuan dengjian 派議員榮德編譯蒙文教科書情況等件, JC10-1-2807, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[8] "Dufu zha mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," December 4, 1909.

The front Gorlos banner received 100 copies of each volume and in total 400 copies of the first four volumes; each of the other nine banners received 80 copies of each volume and in total 320 copies of the first four volumes. The Jirim League received in total 3,280 volumes of the first volumes (400 volumes by the front Gorlos banner and 2,880 copies by the other nine banners). The Bureau did not explain why the front Gorlos banner received eighty more copies than the other banners. It is most likely because the *jasagh* of the front Gorlos banner acted as the league leader at the time and worked in close liaison with the provincial office.[9]

The (Fengtian) Mongolian Language School and Manchu-Mongolian Language Teaching Institute requested the distribution of the trilingual textbook because they "need the textbook but cannot purchase it from anywhere."[10] The Bureau thus provided the two schools with 120 and 60 copies respectively as they had 120 and 60 students respectively.[11] Although the document above did not clarify in which province these two language schools were located, another document concerning the second-round distribution in 1910 stated that "the Fengtian Mongolian Language School continued to receive 800 copies of the textbooks,"[12] which implied that the Mongolian language school mentioned above was in Fengtian. As to several other schools that the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs did not mention their location, it is highly likely that they were all in Fengtian where the trilingual textbook was translated and first published.

Three months later, another 16,000 copies of the trilingual textbook (Volume One to Four) and 3,800 copies of Xiliang's official letter were published and distributed to the Jirim League and more language schools (see Table 6.2).[13]

Table 6.2

The Distribution of the First Four Volumes of *The Trilingual Textbook* (February 1910)[14]

	Each	**Total (copy)**	**Xiliang's**

[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," February 23, 1909.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid

	volume (copy)	(Four Volumes in total)	official letter (copy)
The Gorlos front banner	300	1,200	300
Each of the other nine banners	260	1,040	260
Fengtian Mongolian Language School	200	800	200
Fengtian Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School (滿蒙文中學堂)	200	800	200
Fengtian Weicheng Elementary School (維城小學堂)	150	600	150
Manchu Bannerman Elementary School (滿洲小學堂)	80	320	80
Mongol Bannerman Elementary School (蒙古小學堂)	40	160	40
Chinese Bannerman Elementary School (漢軍小學堂)	80	320	80
Class for the Imperial Household Department (內務府班)	40	160	40
Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School (吉林滿蒙文中學堂)	100	400	100
Heilongjiang Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School (黑龍江滿蒙文中學堂)	100	400	100
The remaining held by The Office of Mongolian Affairs		1,480	170
Total		16,000	3,800

After the second-round distribution, the Jirim League received in total 10,560 copies of the first four volumes of the trilingual textbook and 2,640 copies of Xiliang's official letter. More schools received the textbook in the second-round distribution including specialized

language schools that trained prospective translators, officials, and scholars and elementary schools for Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese bannermen. In these elementary schools, students learnt Manchu and Mongolian along with a variety of subjects, such as geography, history, mathematics etc.[15] Moreover, the distribution reached Jilin and Heilongjiang upon the request of the principals of the Manchu-Mongolian Language Schools in the two provinces.[16]

Rongde and his colleagues completed the translation and publication of Volume Five to Eight of the textbook in 1911. Between September and October of 1911, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs distributed these newly published volumes and the remaining first four volumes to the Jirim League and language schools in Manchuria (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3

The Third-round Distribution of *The Trilingual Textbook* (Sep.-Oct., 1911)[17]

	Each volume (copy)	**Total (copy) (Eight volumes in total)**
Each banner of the Jirim League	200	1,600
Fengtian Mongolian Language School	200	1,600
Fengtian Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School (滿蒙文中學堂)	120	960
Fengtian Weicheng Elementary School (維城小學堂)	150	1,200
Fengtian Elementary School for the Eight banners and the Manchu, Mongol, Chinese Imperial Household Department (奉天八旗滿蒙漢內務府小學堂)	240	1,920
Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School (吉林滿蒙文中學堂)	160	1,280
Heilongjiang Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School	160	1,280

[15] Liu, "Qingmo qiren xinshi qiren xuetang ji manwen jiaoyu," 102-9. Changshan 长山, "Qingdai manwen dui mengguwen de yingxiang (清代满文对蒙古文的影响)," *Altai Hakpo* 27 (2017): 211-25. Jilin tixue si 吉林提學司, "Wei song gaiding manmeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng shi gei Jilin quansheng Qiwuchu yiwen 為送改訂滿蒙小學堂章程事給吉林全省旗務處移文," February 1, 1909, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian* 吉林省档案馆藏清代档案史料选编, ed. Jilinsheng Dang'anguan 吉林省档案馆, vol. 13 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe), 339.
[16] "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," February 23, 1909.
[17] Rongde, "Yishu weiyuan Rongde jinjiang yuan'an niqing fenfa gechu jiaokeshu shumu shanju qingzhe".

(黑龍江滿蒙文中學堂)		
Hulunbuir Mongolian Language School (呼倫貝爾滿蒙文學堂)	80	640
The Josoto League (卓索圖盟)	80	640
Total (distributed to the above banners and schools)	-	25,520
The remaining	-	14,480
Total	-	40,000

The third-round distribution in 1911 expanded beyond Manchuria and reached the Josotu League (卓索圖盟), which was also one of the six Inner Mongolian leagues in the Qing Empire.[18] Upon hearing the distribution of the trilingual textbook to the Jirim League, the leader of the Josotu league wrote to the Bureau in April 1910 requesting tens of copies in order to "teach students in schools in our league so that [our league] will benefit from spreading education."[19] The Bureau thereby provided 100 copies of the textbook and 30 copies of Xiliang's official letter to the Josotu League. Besides, Mongolian Language School in Hulunbuir also received 80 copies of each volume of the textbook.

In summary, by the end of 1911, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs distributed in total 45,520 individual copies of the trilingual textbook to Mongolian banners and held 14,480 copies for future distribution. The total number of books received by language schools was largely based on the number of students (e.g. the case of the Fengtian Mongolian Language School) and the number requested by these schools (e.g. the case of the Jilin and Heilongjiang Manchu-Mongolian Language Schools). As to the ten banners of the Jirim League, each banner received 540 copies per volume (Volume One to Four) (the front Gorlos banner received 600 copies) and 200 copies per volume (Volumes Five to Eight). Although it could not be guaranteed that everyone in the League possessed a copy, the total number of books exceeded that of students in elementary schools (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4

A Comparison between the Number of Textbooks and Students in the Jirim League

[18] Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols in Manchuria* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935), 243-60.
[19] "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," April 5, 1910, in Pai yiyuan Rongde bianyi mengwen jiaokeshu qingkuan dengjian 派議員榮德編譯蒙文教科書情況等件, JC10-1-2807, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

	The number of textbooks (copies per volume)	The number of students
The front Gorlos banner	600 (vol. 1-4); 200 (vol. 5-8)	Elementary school: 40 students; Mongolian language school: more than 20 students; Chinese language school: 12 students; Others: some twenty schools enrolling ten to thirty students each.[20]
The rear Gorlos banner		Elementary school: 15 students; Junior and senior elementary school: 40 students; Others: private schools.[21]
The Khorchin left wing middle banner		No schools; 200 students learning at home.[22]
The Khorchin left wing front banner	540 (vol. 1-4); 200 (vol. 5-8)	Senior elementary school: 20 students; Junior elementary school: 25 students.[23]
The Khorchin left wing rear banner		Mongolian-Chinese Government Elementary School: 29 students; Public Elementary School: 56 students; Malantun Government Elementary School: 30 students; Others: private schools.[24]

[20] *DCBGS*, 148-9.
[21] Ibid., 167.
[22] Ibid., 30-1.
[23] Ibid., 36-7.
[24] Ibid., 52-3.

The Khorchin right wing middle banner	Prince-mansion Public School: 40 students; Others: private schools.[25]
The Khorchin right wing front banner	Prince-mansion Public School: 73 students; Others: private schools.[26]
The Khorchin right wing rear banner	No schools; The number of school-age children: 200; Junior elementary school in Anguang county: 50 students.[27]
The Jalaid banner	No schools.[28]
The Dörbed banner	One elementary school; The number of students: uncertain.[29]

The above information on the number of students in Jirim schools is collected from the *Report*. Most of the schools mentioned in the *Report* were located in the areas that were primarily inhabited by Mongols and where Chinese civil government had not been established. Table 6.4 shows that, the number of textbooks distributed to each banner significantly exceeded the total number of students in schools. But it is important to keep in mind several questions: whether all of these schools and students received a copy from the banner or the *jasagh*, whether the schools that received the textbook taught it, and what achievements and difficulties these schools had. The following sections will address these questions by looking into the *Report*, gazetteers, and government documents held by the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs.

Three Good Examples Described in the Report

The *Report* described three banners as outstanding examples of implementing the trilingual policy in elementary education: the front Gorlos banner, the Khorchin left wing rear

[25] Ibid., 67.
[26] Ibid., 73-4.
[27] Ibid., 81-3.
[28] Ibid., 101-2.
[29] Ibid., 124-5.

banner, and the Khorchin left wing front banner. These three banners were located in the southeast of the Jirim League and were enclosed by the Willow Palisade on the east. The front Gorlos banner was adjacent to Jilin and the two Khorchin banners were adjacent to Fengtian. This section will explore the reception of the textbook in newly established elementary schools in the three banners, and how this was described in the *Report*. I will argue that in the new *diglossic* framework, Chinese was taught for everyday use and Mongolian was added to the curriculum as a compulsory course for ritual reasons. According to the *Report*, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs recognized schools in these three banners as the three best examples of implementing trilingual education, primarily because they forstered Chinese learning.

The establishment of schools of the new style in the three banners was much earlier than the issuance of Governor General Xiliang's official letter. In accordance with the 1905 edict of "abolishing the imperial civil examination to promote the establishment of schools,"[30] these banners established new-style schools to disseminate new learning. In 1905, the Khorchin left-wing rear banner was the first that established a new-style school: the Government Mongolian-Chinese Elementary School (官立蒙漢小學堂)[31] with twenty-nine students in their ninth term by 1910.[32] Another new-style school – the Public Mongolian Elementary School (公立蒙古小學堂) – was established in the banner in 1906, which had fifty-six students in their ninth term by 1910.[33] After the *jasagh* of the front Gorlos banner visited several new-style schools in Fengtian, his banner aimed to improve the educational system by establishing one such school, which would enrol forty students and open "as soon as the construction is completed later this year [1911]."[34] The school was equipped with dormitories for teachers, staff, and students, classrooms, a dining house, and an [outdoor] playground.[35] A Two-degree Elementary School (兩等小學堂) was also established in the

[30] "Qingdi yuling ting keju yiguang xuexiao 清帝諭令停科舉以廣學校," in *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao* 中国近代教育史资料, ed. Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu press, 1985), vol. 1, 62-6.
[31] Zhelimumeng jiaoyuchu jiaoyuzhi bianzuan bangongshi, *Zhelimumeng jiaoyuzhi*, 22. However, according to *The Report of the Investigation on the Jirim League*, the Khorchin left wing rear banner established this school in 1906.
[32] *DCBGS*, 52-3.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 148-9.
[35] Ibid.

Khorchin left-wing front Banner, with twenty students in the senior elementary school and twenty-five students in the junior elementary school.[36]

The *Report* stated that the organization of these schools and the syllabus they used complied fully with the Regulations for Elementary Schools. Ye Dakuang and Chunde stated in the *Report* that the Government Mongolian-Chinese Elementary School and Public Mongolian Elementary School in the Khorchin left wing rear banner used only Ministry-approved textbooks, which, Ye and Chunde thought, was the same as schools in Chinese provinces.[37] According to Ye and Chunde's investigation, the school under construction in the front Gorlos banner proved to be another example of promoting new learning. Ye and Chunde stated that this school "offers high salaries to appoint teachers from the inner land. … [This school] teaches *guowen* [Chinese], Civics, History, Geography, Calligraphy, Mathematics, Gymnastics, and Singing."[38] Cheng Hou and Guo Wentian provided two syllabuses of the junior and senior elementary schools in the Khorchin left-wing front banner, which showed subjects, class hours, instructors, textbooks, and the progress of teaching in 1910/1911 (see Table 6.5 and 6.6).

Table 6.5 The Syllabus of the Senior Elementary School: Class One[39]

Subject	**Hours per week**	**Teacher**	**Textbook**	**Current Level**
Self-cultivation (修身)	Two	Guan (關春澤)	The book written by Jiang Zhiyou (蔣智由)	Chapter Four (completed)
Expounding Classics (講經)	Six	Guan	*The Collected Annotations of The Four Books* (四書集注)	*Mencius*
Reading Classics (讀經)	Three	Guan	*The Collected Annotations of The Four Books*	*Mencius*

[36] Ibid., 36-7.
[37] Ibid., 52-3.
[38] Ibid., 148.
[39] Ibid., 36.

National Language (國文)	Four	Mao (茅恩海)	*National Language Textbook for Senior Elementary School* (高等小學國文教科書) published by the Civilization Press	Lesson Four, Volume Two
Mongolian (蒙文)	Eight	He (何鳳山)	*The Pentaglot Dictionary* (清文鑒) and *The Trilingual National Language Textbook* (三體國文教科書)	Volume Four
History (歷史)	Two	Guan	*History Textbook for Senior Elementary School* (高等小學歷史教科書) published by the Commercial Press	Lesson Twenty, Volume One
Geography (地理)	Two	Guan	*Geography Textbook for Senior Elementary School* (高等小學地理教科書) published by the Commercial Press	Lesson Three, Volume Two
Science (理科)	One	Guan	*Physics and Chemistry Textbook for Senior Elementary School* (高等小學理化教科書) published by the Commercial Press	Lesson Thirteen, Volume One
Arithmetic (算術)	Four	Mao	*Written Calculation Textbook for Senior Elementary School* (高等小學筆算教科書) published by the	Mingfen (命分)

			Commercial Press	
Essay Writing (作文)	One	Mao	Writing Short Essays (短篇論說)	One-hundred to three-hundred characters
Calligraphy (習字)	One	Mao	Chinese: A Chinese Calligraphy Copybook; Mongolian: *The Trilingual Textbook*	-
Gymnastics (體操)	Two	Guan	Calisthenics (柔軟)	-

Table 6.6 The Syllabus of the Junior Elementary School: Class Two[40]

Subject	**Hours per week**	**Teacher**	**Textbook**	**Current Level**
Self-cultivation	One	He	*Self-cultivation Textbook for Junior Elementary School* (初等小學修身教科書) published by the Civilization Press	Lesson Twenty-five
Expounding Classics	Six	Guan	*The Collected Annotations of The Four Books*	*The Analects of Confucius*
Reading Classics	Six	Guan	*The Collected Annotations of The Four Books*	*The Analects of Confucius*
National Language	Four	Mao	*National Language Textbook for Junior Elementary School* by the Commercial Press	Volume Four (Completed)
Mongolian	Six	He	*The Pentaglot Dictionary* and *The Trilingual National Language Textbook*	Volume Four

[40] Ibid., 37.

History	Two	He	*History Textbook for Junior Elementary School* (初等小學歷史教科書) published by the Civilization Press	Section Two, Chapter Two
Geography	Two	He	*Geography Textbook for Junior Elementary School* (初等小學地理教科書) published by the Commercial Press	Lesson Twenty-eight
Physics	One	He	*Physics Textbook for Junior Elementary School* (初等小學格致教科書) published by the Civilization Press	Lesson Twenty-One
Arithmetic	Four	Mao	*Written Calculation Textbook for Junior Elementary School* (初等小學筆算教科書) published by the Commercial Press	Zhudeng (諸等)
Essay Writing	One	Mao	Writing Short Essays	One-hundred characters at most
Calligraphy	One	Mao	A Chinese Calligraphy Copybook and *The Trilingual Textbook*	-
Gymnastics	Two	Guan	Calisthenics	-

Table 6.5 and 6.6 show that the two schools did not have any individual Manchu course. Although the schools used the trilingual textbook in Mongolian Class, the *Report* did not explain whether or how Manchu texts in the textbook were taught. But students used and

learnt various forms of Chinese in different classes. In *Guowen* Class, students in both schools used the original Chinese language reader written by Zhuang Yu and Jiang Weiqiao. As Chapter 5 discussed, this textbook introduced a wide range of subjects, such as astronomy and geography, in simple and easy Chinese. The two schools also taught literary Chinese through expounding and reading *The Collected Annotations of The Four Books*. Class One spent nine hours per week on expounding and reading classics and Class Two spent twelve hours per week on learning Confucius classics. In these classes, students learnt Chinese without the support of Manchu and Mongolian. Moreover, all the other subjects, such as History, Geography, and Science, were delivered in Chinese by following Chinese textbooks published by the Commercial Press (商務印書館) and the Civilization Press (文明書局) which were two major presses in Shanghai and in South China. Chinese was not only a compulsory course but also a teaching and working language widely adopted in overall schooling.

Students in these schools, as well as those in the Khorchin left wing rear banner and the front Gorlos banner, as the *Report* shows, proved to have a good command of Chinese before they attended schools. These banners established new-style schools in accordance with the Regulations for Elementary Schools before receiving Governor General Xiliang's official letter. Students in these schools could learn and use Chinese, either colloquial or literary Chinese, without the assistance of Manchu and Mongolian.

Despite this, table 6.5 and 6.6 show that students learnt the trilingual textbook translated by Rongde in Mongolian Class and Mongolian Calligraphy Class. Moreover, students in the two schools devoted more hours to Mongolian Class than National Language Class. In Class One, students spent eight hours on Mongolian Class while four on National Language. In Class Two, students spent six hours on Mongolian and four on National Language. The teaching of the trilingual textbook in the two classes progressed at the same pace, and both classes taught Volume Four when the investigation took place and completed it by May 1911. The Khorchin left wing front banner was thereby the first that requested the distribution of subsequent volumes of the textbook.[41] What is also noteworthy is that the textbook used in

[41] "Zhelimu meng Ke'erqin Zhasake Duobaotujunwangqi cheng 哲里木盟科爾沁札薩克多寶圖郡王旗呈," April 23, 1911, in Pai yiyuan Rongde bianyi mengwen jiaokeshu qingkuan dengjian 派議員榮德編譯蒙文教科書情況等件, JC10-1-2807,

National Language Class for Class Two (see Table 6.6), was the original Chinese version of the trilingual textbook. Class Two completed four volumes when the investigation took place, which meant that national language class and Mongolian class progressed at the same pace. Although students in these classes could understand Chinese without the help of Mongolian, learning them at the same place allowed students to compare the two languages and laid a foundation for training students to conduct Mongolian-Chinese translations. However, due to the lack of sources regarding students' personal experience, it would be difficult to examine how teachers and students built connections between Chinese and Mongolian classes.

In the above three banners where Mongol students could speak and read Chinese, Mongolian was taught because Xiliang proclaimed that the Jirim Mongols must learn Mongolian in order to maintain the Mongols' national essence. As Cheng and Guo mentioned in their report that "the teaching hour of each subject [in the two elementary schools in the banner] is slightly different from what has been decided by the Ministry of Education, because Mongolian is added [as a compulsory subject]."[42] These banner taught Mongolian and Manchu under Xiliang's instruction, but these courses were a supplement to the existing Chinese educationsl system rather than helping students learn Chinese. Governor General Xiliang's instruction about developing trilingual education fostered Chinese teaching and led to a ritual and political emphasis on Mongolian. In contrast to the *diglossic* culture in the Jirim League in the early Qing period, this new language regime promoted the Chinese language learning for everyday use and Mongolian for ritual reasons.

Although the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs's investigation demonstrated a progress both in teaching Chinese and Mongolian in the aforementioned three banners, the *Report* emphasized the success of disseminating Chinese. The *Report* pointed out that a rather long history of opening to Chinese settlers fostered the influence of a sinicized lifestyle in these banners. To take the Khorchin left wing rear banner as example, the banner opened to Chinese settlers between 1812 and 1813 in the Jiaqing reign and again in the 1830s in the Daoguang reign.[43] From then onwards, several Chinese administrations were established in

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Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[42] *DCBGS*, 36.
[43] Ibid., 56-9.

the banner including Changtu Prefecture and Kangping County.[44] Lattimore recognizes the differences of the linguistic habits between the Mongols who had long lived with Chinese people and the Mongols who were segregated from Chinese in the early twentieth century. Lattimore states that "some of the Mongols in the oldest zone of Chinese penetration, in the east, have lost their language, but all Mongols to the west of the present line of Chinese colonization retain their language and a strong national consciousness."[45] In the *Report*, Ye and Chunde also emphasized the great impact of Chinese lifestyle on the Mongols whose lands had been open to Chinese reclaimers for a long time.[46] Ye and Chunde stated that

> "As for those who read Chinese books, although some of them are from poor and humble families, they know the benefit of cultivation. … People [in this banner] are delicate, pretty, and amiable who do not have any rude, stupid, and barbarous custom. Their daily life, dining, and clothes do not have Mongols' dirty habits. This is because Mongols and Chinese have long been living together and [their differences] have dissolved."[47]

In the context of educational and constitutional reform, Manchurian officials conceived Chinese lifestyle to be opening and progressive, and those who read Chinese were regarded as enlightened and knowledgeable. The Jirim Mongols living in the front Gorlos banner, the Khorchin left wing front banner, and the Khorchin left wing rear banner, who had already accepted Chinese language and culture, were therefore described as the best examples of implementing the new trilingual policy in the Jirim League, although non-Chinese languages also played a crucial role in the new *diglossic* framework.

Difficult Distribution and Poor Practice in the Jirim League

In the *Report*, the Bureau devoted a greater amount of space to describing the difficulties encountered by the other seven banners. This section will discuss how the *Report* described the reception of the trilingual textbook in the other banners and explained the reasons behind difficult distribution and poor practice. The section will show that a restricted access to trilingual education, a lack of funds, teacher shortages, and an absence of reading culture

[44] Robert Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970), 18-26.
[45] Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria,* 205.
[46] *DCBGS*, 59.
[47] Ibid., 51.

were four major problems, which, Ye and his colleagues thought, were rooted in the Jirim Mongols' lifestyle. Although we may wonder whether the *Report*'s description about the Jirim League was objective, Manchurian officials thought that, in most Jirim banners, literacy in Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese did not improve as expected. Many Mongols thought learning languages and attending schools threatened their traditional lifestyle and undermined their relatively independent position in the Qing Empire. Instead of removing the Mongolian-Chinese language barrier, the implementation of the new language regime created conflicts between the two groups in some banners.

A Restricted Access to Trilingual Education

The *Report* showed that some banners simply shelved the trilingual textbook after collecting a sufficient number of copies from the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs. The public school in the prince mansion of the Khorchin right wing front banner was an example. Otai (乌泰), the *jasagh* of the banner, claimed that "the books are too large to put on a row of *kang* [炕]. Because three or four students share one row [棹], they have to hold their books in their hands but cannot place the books flat on the desk. The books will be damaged in only a few days."[48] Consequently, students in this school learnt to read Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese still by following *The Twelve Mongolian Initials* (蒙文十二字頭), *The Three Character Classic*, and *The Four Books*.[49] The Khorchin right wing middle banner presented a similar case. Cheng and Guo stated in the *Report* that "although the trilingual textbook has been distributed to the banner, [the public school in the Prince Mansion] does not teach it. This is because the *jasagh*'s mother passed away and class will not resume in one hundred days. Besides, there are six or seven private schools, in which only the Mongolian language is taught and no one understands Chinese."[50]

Even in the three banners that had reformed their educational system, new-style schooling did not affect every resident. Despite a larger number of new-style schools in these banners than the others, a limited number of school-age children attended these schools. In the front Gorlos banner, the banner selected forty students among 2,909 eligible candidates.[51]

[48] *DCBGS*, 73-4.
[49] Ibid., 74.
[50] Ibid., 67.
[51] Ibid., 146-9.

Other school-age children either went to traditional private schools or had no access to school education.

Admission to these schools was not based on the students' merit. Enrolment was dominated by the *jasagh*, who mostly selected "talented" candidates from a pool of Mongol nobles. There were a few commoners learning in Mongolian-Chinese Government Elementary School in the Khorchin left-wing rear banner. However, this was because some young men from noble families were unwilling to attend school and therefore hired commoners to take their places.[52] The majority of Mongol commoners of the Jirim League were excluded from new-style schooling in the first decade of the 1900s.

In the areas where there existed no new-style education facility, traditional private schools played a crucial role in teaching languages. In the front Gorlos banner, approximately twenty Mongolian and Chinese language schools continued teaching Mongolian and Chinese to approximately four hundred students by following the teaching method of traditional private schools-reading and reciting.[53] The rear Gorlos banner also had private schools, which enrolled eight to ten students each and taught both Mongolian and Chinese.[54] Unlike new-style schools where official textbooks were used, these private schools taught "out-dated Mongolian textbooks" as Rongde mentioned in the preface to the trilingual textbook.[55]

In short, although the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs distributed the trilingual textbook to all the banners, some banners did not use the textbook at all. The distribution of the textbook was restricted even in the banners that were thought to be good examples of implementing the Ministry of Education and Governor General Xiliang's instructions.

Teacher Shortages

In the *Report*, Ye and his colleagues pointed out that a limited number of experienced language instructors obstructed the teaching of the textbook. Pingdebu (平德布), a Mongolian bannerman of the border white banner, was a language instructor dispatched by Heilongjiang provincial government to assist the Dörbed banner with the establishment of elementary schools. In the *Report*, Ye and Chunde commented critically on Pingdebu's

[52] Zhelimumeng jiaoyuchu jiaoyuzhi bianzuan bangongshi, *Zhelimu meng jiaoyuzhi*, 23.
[53] *DSBGS*, 148-9.
[54] Ibid., 167.
[55] Rongde, "Xu," in *MMHHBJKS*, 3a.

command of Chinese, stating that his unclear and inaccurate pronunciation would obstruct his delivery of effective lessons.[56] Pingdebu did not teach Chinese in the banner and shortly returned to Harbin.[57] Consequently, no one taught Chinese and no (new-style) school was established in the Dörbed banner when Ye and Chunde conducted their investigation in the banner.

Teacher shortage was also a problem for the banners that had developed a comprehensive plan for establishing schools. Cheng and Guo realized this problem in the public school in the prince mansion of the Khorchin right wing front banner. Seventy-three students between the ages of eleven and twenty learnt to read in this school. Cheng and Guo described how *The Three Character Classic* was taught in class, stating that "[Instructor Lai (來教習)] first teaches students how to read, and then explains texts. He reads fluently in Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese, but cannot explain texts in proper Chinese."[58]

The *Report* concerning the Khorchin tribe further pointed out that the inadequate number of language instructors was a problem not only for Chinese classes but also for Mongolian classes. As the *Report* put it,

> "Not all the people who read the Mongolian language can speak it fluently. When more people can speak it clearly [in the future], not all of them will be familiar with science. If there are such all-round persons, they will be recruited as ministers in the central government or as high provincial officials. Who will be willing to devote himself to working thousand miles distant away and earning tens of taels of gold? In this case, normal schools should be established immediately. In Fengtian, few people can speak Mongolian. If they are enrolled to normal schools and learn [the Mongolian] language in the morning and teaching methods in the afternoon, how much effort and time do we need? I am afraid that no one can teach even after several years' effort. Explanation is the most important thing when teaching children. This is the case for teaching Chinese people, let alone the Mongols. [If a teacher] does not speak Mongolian fluently, how can he clearly explain [the texts]?"[59]

[56] *DCBGS*, 125.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 73-4.
[59] Ibid.

The limitedness of Mongolian language instructors concerned the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs because most Mongols in the Jirim League who did not speak or read Chinese were unable to attend classes taught in Chinese. While written Mongolian would help students learn to read Chinese, spoken Mongolian, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs thought, would make it easier for Mongol students to follow Chinese classes and grasp the meaning of Chinese texts. This was also Rongde's aims of translating the trilingual textbook and disseminating it among the Jirim Mongols. But the problem of insufficient teachers who mastered Chinese and Mongolian impeded the progress of trilingual education in the Jirim League, particularly in the banners where few Mongols had Chinese or Mongolian learning experience.

A Lack of Funds

According to the *Report*, acute financial problems prevented many Jirim banners from creating new schools in the early twentieth century. The 300,000 taels of silver of debt the Khorchin right-wing front banner incurred from Russia, which Chapter 2 mentioned, is one such example. Likewise, the Dörbed Banner was "in debt of tens of thousands [taels of silver]."[60] Similarly, Ye and Chunde stated that "there is absolutely no way for [the Jalaid banner] to raise funds."[61]

Fund raising was also a problem for the maintenance of schools in the banners that were not experiencing a financial crisis but still facing severe problems and potential risks. In the Report regarding the Khorchin right wing rear banner, Cheng and Guo pointed out that if the banner exhausted all financial resources on the establishment of an elementary school, the school could last for only three or four years. After that, it would be extremely difficult for the banner to raise funds to support school operation.[62] Cheng and Guo therefore suggested that the goal of developing trilingual education could not be achieved unless each banner received sufficient funds and develop a long-term fund-raising plan.

Ye and his colleagues attributed some banners' achievement of establishing new-style schools largely to a good financial condition. Ye and Chunde stated that "the Khorchin left-wing rear banner does not suffer from debt. Moreover, it has never been short of funds to

[60] Ibid., 126-9.
[61] Ibid., 102.
[62] Ibid., 81-2.

launch new plans."[63] They noticed that the Government Mongolian-Chinese Elementary School in the banner and another Government Elementary School in Malan village (馬蘭屯) were fully funded by the *jasagh* of the banner. Students in the Public Mongolian Elementary School in the banner were substantially supported by the donation from the *jasagh* (833 taels of silver) and the public (729 taels of silver). Students paid only for their accommodation (695 taels per year).[64]

Ye and his colleagues elaborated most Jirim banners' financial problem in education extensively from a social-economic perspective. They suggested that land reclamation was a fundamental way for Mongolian banners to raise funds for education. The Khorchin left-wing rear banner was one of the banners that first opened to Chinese settlers in the early 1800s. Taking the Khorchin left-wing rear banner as an example, Ye and Chunde described how the banner raised revenue from farmland reclamation:

> "The banner earns its revenue primarily from land rent. … The Mongols and Chinese have been living together for a long time. The Mongols have learnt from Chinese and well understood the benefits of farmland cultivation. Not only the banner relies on land rent for its revenue, all Mongolian families in the banner, either big or small, also regard land rent and harvest as a means of making money. [The banner] has established offices and selected officials to collect tax …"[65]

According to Ye and Chunde, the Khorchin left-wing rear banner provided a model for all the Jirim banners.

Ye and his colleagues also noticed the economic division between agriculture and nomadic pastoralism in the Jirim League in the early twentieth century. The sinicized situation in the nineteenth-century Manchuria described by Robert Lee was geographically and demographically restricted.[66] By the nineteenth century, while eastern and southern Jirim League was largely cultivated and occupied, there remained enormous potential for expansion further north and west in the League.[67] Meanwhile, Ye and his colleagues stated in

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[63] Ibid., 55.
[64] Ibid., 52-3.
[65] Ibid, 53-4.
[66] Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History.*
[67] James Reardon-Anderson, "Land Use and Society in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia during the Qing Dynasty," *Environmental History* 5, no.4 (2000): 507-10.

the Report that some banners did not invest the profit obtained from land reclamation to public welfare, such as establishing schools.[68] In the case of the Khorchin right wing rear banner, Cheng and Guo proposed a method to manage profit and expenditure:

> "In the Khorchin right wing rear banner, there are only approximately two hundred school-age children, of whom only sixty to seventy per cent are talented enough to be educated. Three schools will be sufficient. Now, we may allocate 1,580 taels of silver from the 2,000 taels [donated by the *jasagh*] to reclaiming twenty fang [方] school-owned land donated by the *jasagh*. The remaining 420 taels can be used to open a school first. … When the banner earns profits [from the school-owned land], it will be able to establish another school after two years, and another one after five years. When the school-owned lands are all reclaimed, the banner will not worry about a lack of funds."[69]

Ye and his colleagues also regarded education as an exercise in land development. In the early twentieth-century Manchuria, it was a common method to develop school-owned land and use the revenue generated from land reclamation and land rent to establish schools, employ teachers, and provide students with accommodation.[70] The late Qing's two goals of establishing new-style schools and encouraging Jirim Mongols to adopt Chinese agrarian lifestyle supported each other.

However, the early Qing policy of Mongolian-Chinese segregation still had a strong influence in the Jirim League. Rather than adapting to an agrarian lifestyle, some Mongols in the Dörbed and Jalaid banners moved far away from Chinese immigrants to maintain their nomadic and pastoral tradition.[71] In the Khorchin right wing rear banner, Cheng and Guo found that tens of private schools which taught students Mongolian by using *The Three Characters Classic* and *The Thousand Characters Classic* were closed, because Mongols in the banner found it inconvenient to live with Chinese and thus moved north with their herds.[72]

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[68] *DSBGS*, 20-1.
[69] Ibid., 82.
[70] Xu Shichang 徐世昌, "Zou wei duofang chouji Heilongjiang banxue jingfei zhaonong kenhuang yangcan deng qingxing shi 奏為多方籌集黑龍江辦學經費招農墾荒養蠶等情形事," April 13, 1909, 04-01-38-0199-022, First Historical Archives of China. Xiliang, "Zou wei diaocha mengqi qingxing chouni biantong banfa shi 奏為調查蒙旗情形籌擬變通辦法事," February 13, 1910, 04-01-30-0111-019, First Historical Archives of China.
[71] *DCBGS*, 101-2, 124-5.
[72] Ibid., 81.

An Absence of Reading Culture

In the *Report*, Ye and the other investigators explained that the difficulty to implement the trilingual policy was also influenced by the way the Mongols understood learning and literacy. In the Jalaid banner, when Ye and Chunde asked the *jasagh* about the distribution of the trilingual textbook, the *jasagh* claimed that "the banner received only five copies from the Heilongjiang provincial office."[73] Ye and Chunde then asked why the banner did not establish a school. The *jasagh* asked in reply that "since no one in our banner understands Chinese, how can we develop education?"[74] As to the Jalaid banner's case, Ye and Chunde explained in the *Report* that "it is not because that the banner [intentionally] disobeys the edict and does not develop education. Different banners face different situations and therefore open schools at different times. What the [Jalaid] banner claimes is the fact."[75]

In the Jalaid banner, Ye and Chunde noted the enormous impact of the early Qing's policy of preventing the Mongols from learning Chinese. The *jasagh* of the banner still "prohibits the Mongols of his banner from reading Chinese books. As to those from other Mongolian banners living in the west of the [Jalaid] banner who used to read Chinese books, the [Jalaid] banner regards them as devils [妖異] and keeps them isolated from Jalaid Mongols' settlement in the banner."[76] The Jalaid military valued illiteracy while disparaging literacy. As Ye and Chunde put it,

> "It seems that the more [the soldiers] are conservative, stubborn, and satisfied with old customs, the more their superiors favour and trust them. If they read a few Chinese characters and understand a bit Chinese, [their superiors] will regard them as traitors to the banner, isolate them, and not employ them."[77]

When the commissioner of education in Heilongjiang dispatched an official to help the banner establish a school, "people in the banner were all astonished. … All students returned home and refused to go to school, as if [their] parents were afraid that children were imprisoned in school and were condemned without any reason."[78] As Ye and Chunde's

[73] Ibid., 101.
[74] Ibid., 102.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., 101.
[77] Ibid., 90.
[78] Ibid., 102.

description shows, the Jalaid banner still conceived the ability to read Chinese or any kind of literacy as a feature of Chinese culture which the Mongols should avoid and remain vigilant about.

The promotion of Tibetan Buddhism also had a great influence on the Jirim Mongols' understanding of reading. Ye and his colleagues thought that many Mongols devoted excessively much time to reading Buddhist sutras written in Tibetan in lama temples.[79] Yu Sixing stated in his suggestion on reforming Mongolian affairs that "Mongol people do not have an idea about reading. They go to lama temples from childhood and they call this reading. It will therefore be extremely difficult for them to develop education."[80] In Xiliang's official letter, he considered "learning Tibetan and reading sutras" one of the reasons that led to Mongols' illiteracy (in Chinese and Mongolian).[81] In late Qing officials' opinion, the meaning of reading and literacy was restricted within learning to read Chinese, Mongolian, and Manchu. While Qing emperors used to conceive learning in lama temples an important way for the Mongols to receive education, late Qing officials regarded reading in temples as backward and meaningless which obstructed the improvement of popular literacy. Ye and his colleagues thought the Khorchin left wing rear banner had a higher literacy because there were fewer lamas in the banner,[82] whilst they attributed the Dörbed banner's rather lower literacy to a great patronage of Tibetan Buddhism.[83]

Ye and his colleagues also explained that an absence of (Chinese) reading culture made it too challenging for the Jirim Mongols to complete trilingual education in accordance with the same regulation as Chinese students. Ye and his colleagues stated that

> "The Mongolian language is the Mongols' national essence, which cannot be abandoned. However, in the era of harmonious writing [书大同], [the Mongols] must learn Manchu and Chinese at the same time. It will be a demanding task for the Mongols to memorize [the vocabularies] of the three languages, not to say thoroughly understand them."[84]

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[79] Ibid., 99-102, 124-5.
[80] "Yu daosi bing 于道駟稟," October 29, 1907, in *Geyuan tiaochen mengwu qingxing* 各員條陳蒙務情形, JC10-1-5790, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[81] Xiliang 錫良, "Zha Zhelimu meng shiqi xingxue quanye wen 札哲里木盟十旗興學勸業文," JC 10-1-18189, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[82] *DCBGS*, 52.
[83] Ibid., 124.
[84] Ibid., 21.

Ye and Chunde therefore suggested that:

> "[The Jirim banners] establish private schools, in which students can read either Mongolian or Chinese. The only purpose [of these schools] is to encourage students to learn to read. When these private schools have some achievements, [we] thereby require them to read *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook*. After one or two years, [we] can then discuss how to establish schools."[85]

As seen from the *Report*, whilst three Jirim banners achieved some success in implementing the trilingual policy, most banners failed to improve literacy and foster schooling in accordance with Xiliang's instruction. However, in the context of instituting a constitutional monarchy, the Bureau's statement was significantly influenced by the Qing Empire's agenda of implementing local self-government and its urgent need to improve literacy in Chinese. Due to the lack of adequate sources with regard to Jirim Mongols' personal learning experience, the actual overall practice of trilingual education in the League remained somewhat blurred.

Despite this, the *Report* demonstrated that the Bureau was unsatisfied with most Jirim banners' progress in implementing the new language regime. In examining the diverse reception of the trilingual textbook in the ten banners of the Jirim League, Ye and his colleagues attributed the difficulty to implement the trilingual policy to teacher shortages, financial problems, and an absence of reading culture. These problems were associated with the early Qing's policy of transforming individual Mongols to loyal imperial subjects in the Qing Empire. Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, nomadism, and pastoral tradition laid the foundation for constructing and maintaining the special Manchu-Mongol relations, which granted the Mongols' a relatively independent power in the Qing Empire and segregated them from Chinese culture.

The real problem of implementing the new language regime in the League was not in applying new language methodologies, such as using Roman or Japanese writing methods and teaching Chinese with the help of Manchu and Mongolian. Instead, it was difficult to transform the economic, social, and religious tradition which historically constructed and maintained the Manchu-Mongols-Chinese power relations under universal Manchu reign. In

[85] Ibid., 102.

the context of constitutional reform, encouraging the Mongols to learn Chinese and attend school was not just an educational policy but also a preparation for changing the ruling system in the Jirim League because the Mongols could not vote in elections unless they were literate in Chinese. As seen in the cases of Jalaid and Dörbed banners, forcing the Mongols to attend schools as Chinese provinces in the inner land created Mongols' anagotism towards Chinese settlers and officials because the Mongols considered the new language policy as a threat to their tradition and power.

Implementation of the Trilingual Policy in Local Schools in Manchuria

Taken into consideration the difficulty to improve literacy in the Jirim League, the Manchurian government sought to bridge the language barrier in another way so as to maintain the Qing reign – implementing the trilingual educational policy in specialist language schools in Manchuria. As a result, new-style Manchu-Mongolian language schools were established and enlarged in Fengtian, Jilin, and Heilongjiang in the early twentieth century.[86] As discussed in Chapter 4, the goal of these schools was to prepare students who could devote themselves to Manchu and Mongolian studies and to train prospective officials who could handle borderland affairs in Manchu and Mongolian. This section will discuss the practice of the trilingual policy in language schools in Manchuria. Taking the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Senior Elementary School and Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School as two examples, this section will examine student rolls, syllabuses, teaching plans, transcripts, and exam papers between 1909 and 1911. I will argue that students in these schools demonstrated a progress in Manchu and Mongolian learning as well as in other subjects.

Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Senior Elementary School

In 1909, the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Senior Elementary School was established by merging the Jilin Manchu Government School (清文官學) and the Jilin Mongolian Government School (蒙文官學).[87] According to the Regulation of Manchu-Mongolian Elementary School (1909), the school aimed at enrolling forty students, either bannermen or

[86] Liu, "Qingmo Jilin xinshi qiren xuetang ji manwen jiaoyu," 102-3. Changshan, "Qingdai manwen dui mengguwen de yingxiang," 71. Wang Fenglei 王风雷, "Fengtian baqi manmengwen zhongxuetang chutan 奉天八旗满蒙文中学堂初探," in *Neimenggu shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehuikexue ban)* 内蒙古师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）39, no.1 (2010): 119-20.

[87] Jilin tixue si, "Wei song gaiding manmeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng shi gei Jilin quansheng Qiwuchu yiwen".

commoners, between the ages of twelve and sixteen.[88] In fact, the school enrolled forty-seven students in 1909, thirty-nine of whom were Manchu bannermen, four of whom were Mongolian bannermen, and four of whom were bannermen of garrison, which was the so-called bird musket garrison (鳥槍營).[89] These students were divided into two classes: Manchu Class and Mongolian Class. But a register of student names created at the end of the second semester of Grade One showed that only thirty-nine students were enrolled: twenty-one students in Manchu Class and eighteen students in Mongolian Class.[90] Moreover, the school adopted a more flexible policy on students' age. In Mongolian Class, nine students were at the ages between twelve and sixteen and the other nine were over sixteen, among whom the eldest student was twenty-one years old.[91] In Manchu Class, six students were between twelve and sixteen, one was below twelve, and fourteen students were above sixteen. The youngest student was eleven and the eldest was twenty-seven.[92]

According the Regulation of the School, students studied thirty-six hours per week: Civics (two hours), Classics (twelve hours), Chinese (中國文字) (four hours), Manchu or Mongolian (滿蒙文字) (eight hours), Arithmetic (three hours), Chinese history (two hours), Geography (two hours), and Gymnastics (three hours).[93] Similar to the situation of the Jirim League, although students spent more hours on learning Manchu or Mongolian than Chinese in language classes, they devoted substantially more time to attending classes delivered in Chinese. The transcript for the second semester of Grade One showed that students achieved varied levels in Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese (Table 6.7).[94]

Table 6.7 The Number of Students in Each Score Range

	Mongolian Class	**Manchu Class**

[88] Ibid.
[89] Pufu 普福, "Wei jiang suoyou helie xuesheng qizuo zhuzhi zaoju huamingqingce shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen chengwen 為將所有核列學生旗佐住址造具花名清冊事給吉林提學使曹廣楨呈文," November 3, 1909, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 16, 417-8, 421-2.
[90] Pufu, "Wei gengzao qusui diyiji xuesheng lüli fenshubiao shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen wen 為更造去歲第一級學生履歷分數表事給吉林提學使曹廣楨文," April 30, 1910, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 20, 415-6, 419-20.
[91] Pufu, "Wei jiang suoyou helie xuesheng qizuo zhuzhi zaoju huamingqingce shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen chengwen," 415-6.
[92] Pufu, "Wei jiang suoyou helie xuesheng qizuo zhuzhi zaoju huamingqingce shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen chengwen," 419-20.
[93] Jilin tixue si, "Wei song gaiding manmeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng shi gei jilin quansheng Qiwuchu yiwen."
[94] Pufu, "Wei gengzao qusui diyiji xuesheng lüli fenshubiao shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen wen," 417-8, 421-2.

	Mongolian (蒙文)	Chinese (國文)	Manchu (滿文)	Chinese
100	4	3	5	6
90-99	2	3	3	3
80-89	1	4	1	5
70-79	3	0	5	0
60-69	1	4	5	6
0-59	7	4	2	1

Table 6.7 shows that 33% of the students in Mongolian Class obtained scores above nighty in both Mongolian and Chinese finals; in Manchu Class, 38% of the students achieved scores above nighty in Manchu and 42% in Chinese. Meanwhile, in Mongolian Class, 39% of the students in Mongolian Class failed the final exam of Mongolian and 22% failed Chinese. In Manchu Class, two of the students failed the Manchu exam and one failed Chinese. Most students passed final exams, however, the transcript showed that their level of Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese dramatically varied. Taken into account students' widely variable command of the three languages, the school divided students into an elementary-level class and an intermediate-level class in 1910.[95]

In June 1910, Pufu (Pufu 普福), who was the principal of the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Senior Elementary School, submitted a teaching plan to Cao Guangzhen (曹廣楨) who was the commissioner of education. The teaching plan, drafted by Manchu language instructor Lu Shitai (廬世泰), was designed for Grade-Two Manchu Class. At the beginning of his plan, Lu explained why he found a teaching plan necessary: "it has been one semester since the school was opened. Although students have known conjunctions [连字] in Manchu Class, the level of their Chinese remains low. If [I] teach them Manchu grammar by using published books, [I am] afraid that language in these books is too difficult for them to understand."[96] By "published books," Pufu and Lu Shitai referred to several Manchu-Chinese

[95] Liu Jiayin 劉家蔭, "Wei xuesheng chengdu cenci fushi fenbie youlie fenzuo liangban biantong biye shijian shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen chengwen 為學生程度參差覆試分別優劣分作兩班變通畢業時間事給吉林提學使曹廣楨呈文," March 22, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 20, 417-8, 421-2.

[96] Pufu, "Wei anzhao xianshou gongke niding jiaoshou cao'an shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen 為按照現授功課擬定教授草案事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," May 10, 1910, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 16, 389-92.

kamcime grammar and language textbooks, such as the *Collection of Mongolian Writing* and the *Sacred Edicts*, which were commonly used in bannerman schools in the late Qing period.[97] Due to a lack of time to publish a new textbook, Lu Shitai drafted this teaching plan in accordance with the current teaching level in school.[98]

The plan constituted two parts: one for teaching the usage of *tutu seme* and the other for teaching the usage of *hede*, *hade*, and *rede*.[99] This section will take the first part as an example to explain how a Manchu class was delivered in Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Senior Elementary School in 1910. In a three-hour class (forty-five-minutes teaching per hour), Lu taught students how to use *tutu seme* as a conjunction word, how to read it, and how to use it generally, and students were required to memorize all sample sentences.[100] This class constituted five parts: Preparation, Explanation, Comparison, Summary, and Usage, which Lu called it five-part method (五段法).

In the part of preparation, an instructor began today's lesson with a short review of last lesson and a brief introduction to this lesson. In the lesson teaching *tutu seme*:

> "An instructor will first ask students the meaning of *kini* which they learnt in last lesson. Students will answer that [it means] to make someone do something; just, simply, exactly; away (mood); and would rather (mood). An instructor will then say: 'as you have understood *kini*, today [I] will teach you *tutu seme*. You should listen carefully and memorize it.'"[101]

In the second part, Explanation, an instructor would explain how to pronounce *tutu seme*, how to write it, how to write it separately as single letters: *tu*, *tu*, *se*, *me*, and its Chinese meaning: however (雖然那樣).[102] An instructor will emphasize that *tutu seme* may only be used when the meaning and tone of last sentence is completed.[103]

In the third part, Comparison, an instructor would compare two or three words with close meanings and usages. In the lesson teaching *tutu seme*, an instructor would compare *tutu*

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[97] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manchu Education," in *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, eds. Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994), 353-5.
[98] Pufu, "Wei anzhao xianshou gongke niding jiaoshou cao'an shi gei Jilin tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen."
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.

seme and *uttu seme*: the former means "however" and the latter means "although it is like this; nevertheless" (雖然這樣).[104]

In the fourth part, Summary, an instructor would instruct how to write *tutu seme* in regular script and larger regular script (大字). As for larger regular script, *tutu seme* is written in double-lined regular script.[105]

Then in the fifth part, Usage, an instructor would provide students with a sample sentence that was written in Chinese and Manchu. The Chinese sentence came at first and then Manchu. In the lesson teaching *tutu seme*, the sample sentence is "前日他行的太不是了雖然那樣其中也有個緣故"[106] in Chinese and "*cananggi ini yabuhangga ambula waka ohobi tutu seme terei dorgide inu emu turgun bi*"[107] in Manchu, which means what he did the day before yesterday was too bad, however, there is a reason for his behaviour. To teach this sentence,

> "[An instructor] will first write this sentence on the blackboard and demonstrate how to read it. Then, students will follow their instructor to read the sentence. After that, [an instructor] will ask each student to read it individually and correct anything wrong in students' pronunciation. Finally, [an instructor] will explain the sentence to his students in detail."[108]

After this, the teaching of *tutu seme* concluded. At the beginning of next lesson, which would teach *hede*, *hade*, and *rede*, students would be asked what *tutu seme* meant in Chinese and how to translate the aforementioned sample sentence from Chinese to Manchu.

As seen from this teaching plan, an instructor taught students Manchu reading, writing, and a bit listening and speaking at a senior-elementary level. Nevertheless, a Manchu class was mainly delivered in Chinese. An instructor introduced Manchu grammar points in Chinese. When explaining a sample sentence, the sentence was first given in Chinese and then translated into Manchu. In this way, an instructor kept comparing Manchu with Chinese. Lu's teaching method would thus prepare students for using Manchu in a Manchu-Chinese *kamcime* context.

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

Whilst Chinese played an important role in leading a Manchu class, an instructor focused on Manchu grammar points. In the above lesson, an instructor helped students understand *tutu seme* by explaining its usage in a sentence and comparing it with *uttu seme* in order to ensure that students understand the word's meaning and know how to use it correctly. Students learnt to read Manchu by reading individual words and short sample sentences. They practiced Manchu handwriting by copying a word in regular script or larger regular script rather than writing a sentence, a passage, or a short essay. At this stage, students focused on basic Manchu grammar points rather than reading literary texts and creative writing as they did in Chinese Class.

Between 1909 and 1911, the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Senior Elementary School taught Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese as well as other subjects. In 1911, the students enrolled in 1909 reached Grade Three. In June 1911, fifty students passed examination and assessment held by the school and continued to study in the school.[109] In August 1911, after Cao Guangzhen reviewed the transcript and exam papers submitted by the school, he found that while students in Class One got relatively good scores, the handwriting of students in Class Two were illegible and their words failed to convey the meaning.[110]

The Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School

In 1907, the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School was independent from the Jilin Provincial Foreign Languages School. Three courses – Foreign Language, Physics and Chemistry, and Law and Finance – were replaced by the Manchu and Mongolian languages (滿蒙語文).[111] Unlike the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Senior Elementary School, which divided students into Manchu Class and Mongolian Class, all the students in the middle school learnt Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, as well as other subjects. According to the 1911 Regulation of the School, the school enrolled students who achieved a level of Grade Two or Three in a senior elementary school, who had a rather good command of

[109] "Chengsong zhenbie hou liutang xuesheng wushi ming huaming nianling ce 呈送甄別後留堂學生五十名花名年齡冊," June 16, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 21, 386-9.
[110] Liu Jiayin 劉家蔭, "Wei baosong xuetang gesheng qikao xueke zongji pingjun fenshu ji shijuan shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen chengwen 為報送學堂各生期考學科總計平均分數及試卷事給吉林提學使曹廣楨呈文," August 14, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 21, 618.
[111] Liu, "Qingmo Jilin xinshi qiren xuetang ji manwen jiaoyu," 106.

Chinese, and who aged below twenty.[112] However, similar to the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Senior Elementary School, the middle school eventually implemented a rather flexible policy on students' ages.[113] The school taught twelve subjects through a five-year programme: major courses included Manchu and Mongolian, Reading and Expounding Classics, Chinese Literature, History, and Geography; general classes included Civics, Arithmetic, Nature Science (Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy etc.), Physics and Chemistry, Law and Politics, Finance, and Gymnastics.[114]

An attendance sheet for the first three months of the first semester in the third year of the Xuantong reign showed the number of each instructor's completed working hours. The Manchu instructor fulfilled three-hour teaching per week for each class and the Chinese instructor conducted five-hour teaching per week for each class, both of whom were not in absence from class for any reason.[115] The Mongolian instructor had six-hour teaching per week for each class. In the three months, he asked for leave for four hours and was absent from class for four hours, but he provided another twelve-hour teaching to make up the lessons that he missed.[116]

In 1910, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs distributed four hundred copies of the trilingual textbook (one hundred copies per volume from Volume One to Four) and one hundred copies of Governor General Xiliang's official letter upon the request of the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School.[117] In 1911, the Bureau distributed another 1,280 copies of the textbook (160 copies per volume from Volume One to Eight) to the

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[112] Liu Wentian 劉文田, "Wei zunzao buzhang congxin niding xuetang zhangcheng shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guagnzhen xiangwen 為遵造部章從新擬定學堂章程事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," June 5, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 21, 316.
[113] Liu Wentian, "Wei xuetang fenbie shengji liuji yuanyou zaoju xuesheng nianji sandai fenshu qingce shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen 為學堂分別升級留級緣由造具學生年籍三代分數清冊事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," March 12, 1910, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 16, 225-52.
[114] Liu, "Wei zunzao buzhang congxin niding xuetang zhangcheng shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guagnzhen xiangwen", 307-12.
[115] Liu Wentian, "Wei bao sanyue kaixue zhi siyuedi geke jiaoyuan shangke qingxing shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guagnzhen xiangwen 為報三月開學至四月底各科教員上課情形事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," June 13, 1911 in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 21, 414. "Wei baosong Xuantong sannian wuyuefen jiaoyuan shangke bingwu kuangke deng qingxing shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen 為報送宣統三年五月份教員上課並無曠課等情形事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," July 11, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 21, 521.
[116] Liu, "Wei bao sanyue kaixue zhi siyuedi geke jiaoyuan shangke qingxing shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guagnzhen xiangwen". "Wei baosong Xuantong sannian wuyuefen jiaoyuan shangke bingwu kuangke deng qingxing shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen."
[117] "Dufu zha Mengwuju 督撫札蒙務局," February 23, 1909.

school.[118] However, a teaching progress report for the first semester of the third year in the Xuantong reign showed that students still learnt *The Sacred Edicts* and *The Analects of Confucius* in Manchu Class and *The Sacred Edicts* in Mongolian Class.

By July 1911, the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School had two classes: twenty-seven students in Class One who completed six semesters and thirty-nine students in Class Two who completed five semesters.[119] Students were required to fulfil 516-hour learning in class per semester. Thirty-three of them attended all the classes, twenty of them were in absence from class for fewer than ten hours, five of them were in absence for between ten and twenty hours, five of them between thirty to fifty-five hours, and three of them were absent from class for more than eighty hours (one student was absent for eighty-two hours and two for ninety hours).[120] According to the transcripts of the two classes for the first semester of the third year in the Xuantong reign, in Class One each student's average score was above sixty and the school therefore awarded each of them a certificate of six-semester completion;[121] in Class Two, except Zhao Lianyuan (趙連元) who did not sit in the final exam, all the students passed and obtained a certificate of five-semester completion (Table 6.9).[122] The transcript of Class One showed that Yang Puyin (楊陰溥)'s average score was 55.5. But it seems that the school rounded up 55.5 to sixty and thus Yang also obtained a certificate of completion.[123] Although each student's average score was above sixty, their score for individual subjects varied (Table 6.8).[124]

Table 6.9

The Transcript of Class One: Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, and Average Score

Manchu (滿文)	**Mongolian (蒙文)**	**Chinese (國文)**	**Average Score (Each student's average score of all the**

[118] Rongde, "Yishu weiyuan rongde jinjiang yuan'an niqing fenfa gechu jiaokeshu shumu shanju qingzhe."
[119] Liu Wentian, "Wei baosong bennian shangxueqi liangban xuesheng kaoshi fenshubiao qing fagei xiuye wenping shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen 為報送本年上學期兩班學生考試分數表請發給修業文憑事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文," October 4, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 22, 92-9.
[120] Liu Wentian, "Wei baosong Xuantong sannian shangxueqi xuesheng shangke kuangke zongbiao shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen 為報送宣統三年上學期學生上課曠課總表事給吉林提學使曹廣楨詳文). September 30, 1911, in *Jilin sheng dang'anguancang Qingdai dangan shiliao xuanbian*, vol. 22, 73-91.
[121] Liu Wentian, "Wei baosong bennian shangxueqi liangban xuesheng kaoshi fenshubiao qing fagei xiuye wenping shi gei Jilin Tixueshi Cao Guangzhen xiangwen," 97.
[122] Ibid., 99.
[123] Ibid., 97.
[124] Ibid., 96-7.

				subjects)
100	3	3	0	0
90-99	9	8	1	0
80-89	7	12	3	9
70-79	4	4	10	9
60-69	2	0	6	8
0-59	2	0	7	1 (The school rounded up 55.5 to 60.)

Table 6.8 shows that although each student's average score was above sixty, some of them did not pass all the exams. While two students failed the Manchu exam and none of them failed Mongolian, seven failed Chinese. Three students obtained a full score in Manchu, and three in Mongolian, but none in Chinese. While most students scored over eighty in Manchu and Mongolian (nineteen students in Manchu and twenty-three students in Mongolian), four students scored over eighty in Chinese. In the sixth semester of Grade Three, students in Class One scored substantially higher in Manchu and Mongolian than in Chinese. Nevertheless, it cannot be easily concluded that students had a better command of Manchu and Mongolian than Chinese, because it is difficult to tell the level of difficulty of these exams. Principal Liu Wentian (劉文田) submitted all the exam papers to Cao Guangzhen along with the transcripts,[125] however these exam papers are not attached with the transcripts which are currently held by Jilin Provincial Archives.

The Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Senior Elementary School and the Jilin Manchu-Mongolian Language Middle School progressed well and kept a detailed and complete record of school activities. The two schools submitted school regulations, student registration books, syllabuses, teaching notes, transcripts, exam papers, and all the other school documents to the commissioner of education at the end of each semester. Jilin provincial government supported and supervised the progress of language teaching, and proved to be satisfied with the practice of the new language regime. In these schools, students learnt Manchu and Mongolian in order to further education in Manchu and Mongol studies and to handle

[125] Ibid., 93.

borderland affairs by using their language skills after graduation. Such specialist language schools fulfilled two expectations: maintaining Manchu and Mongol cultural continuity and training prospective officials. The ritual and instrumental value of the two languages thus coexisted instead of trading in for one another.

Conclusion

Between 1909 and 1911, the Bureau of Mongolian Affairs produced 60,000 copies of *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook* and distributed 45,520 individual copies of the textbook to the Jirim League and Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria. In the Jirim League, the reception of the trilingual textbook dramatically varied. Some new-style schools in the front Gorlos banner and the Khorchin left wing front and rear banners developed comprehensive plans for teaching the textbook. These banners taught students Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese as well as other subjects in accordance with Governor General Xiliang's instruction. Meanwhile, the Bureau believed that teacher shortages, an absence of reading culture, and financial problems seriously impeded the trilingual teaching and the implantation of the trilingual policy in the other seven banners.

As seen from aforementioned examples, the *Report* presented a story depicted by Manchurian officials who were responsible for improving popular literacy and implementing constitutional reform in Manchuria. But we may still wonder how the Jirim Mongols conceived the new language regime in their own historical writings and how this transformed the power relations and social organizations within the Mongolian society, which requires more work on investigating the historical documents produced by the Jirim Mongols. Despite this, the *Report* revealed Qing officials' view on multilingualism and its relation with constitutional reform in Manchuria.

In the *Report*, Ye and the other three investigators argued that the real difficulty encountered by most Jirim banners was not just a linguistic one but also one integrated with social, economic, and religious causes. Martial spirit, nomadic pastoralism, and the Mongols' patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, which created and maintained the Mongol power in the Qing Empire, became "backward" and "bad" habits that were thought to prevent the Mongols from learning to read. In the opinion of the Bureau, a successful implementation of the trilingual policy could be achieved only through the adoption of an entirely sinicized lifestyle in terms

of not only language but also the administrative regime. This was, however, not an easy and natural process. Under the agenda of instituting a constitutional monarchy, improving literacy in the Jirim League, was associated with the implementation of local self-government as in Chinese provinces. The Qing Empire considered attending school and learning Chinese, either with the help of Manchu and Mongolian or not, as a crucial procedure to dissolve Mongol-Chinese boundaries and to integrate the Mongols into the new Chinese administrative system. However, to transform Mongol characters that were historically associated with the Great Qing challenged the Mongols' power and weakened the Mongols' connection with Qing government. Consequently, in some banners, Jirim Mongols refused to attend schools. In order to maintain their distinctiveness, some Mongols lived isolated from Chinese and from the Mongols who were sinicized.

By contrast, the Manchu-Mongolian language schools in Manchuria demonstrated a remarkable progress in the implementation of the trilingual policy. Students at varying ages learnt Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, and other subjects in these schools. These schools aimed to prepare potential scholars in Manchu and Mongolian studies and to train prospective local officials who could handle borderland affairs when most Mongols could not speak or read Chinese. These schools therefore focused on written Manchu and Mongolian and in particular Manchu-Chinese and Mongolian-Chinese translation skills. Although no students completed the four- or five-year programme of these schools by 1911, the transcripts showed that many students passed final exams and obtained certificates of periodic completion. These Manchu and Mongolian language schools received full support from the Manchurian government, because the Qing strove to improve the spoken and written Mongolian and Manchu language skills of Chinese officials to prevent language gaps from obstructing administrative affairs.

The *diglossic* culture in the Jirim League suggested that Manchu and Mongolian remained ritually and instrumentally useful for ruling the Mongols, although the two languages became "minority" spoken languages given to their comparatively small number of speakers in the Qing Empire. Whilst teaching the two languages helped maintain Manchu and Mongol cultural continuity, the instrumental meaning of Manchu and Mongolian was not subsumed to their symbolic value.

Conclusion

This dissertation began with a discussion on the formation of the Qing Empire's language ideology at lower and upper levels. While Manchu emperors permitted a great variety of imperial subjects to maintain their traditional languages, a *kamcime* language regime was constructed to incorporate and hierarchize all the languages. Through this regime, Manchu emperors established and extended universal emperorship over a purposefully diverse but unifying empire. Qing multilingualism was therefore not just a natural response to the diversity of languages but also a political tool that Qing emperors constructed so as to recreate the imperial polyglot reality under Manchu reign.

So it proved in the history of language in the Jirim League. By maintaining the official use of Manchu and Mongolian, restricting the influence of Chinese, and promoting Tibetan learning in a religious context, early Qing emperors maintained the distinctive characteristic and special position of the Jirim Mongols. From the 1890s, as an intersection of Manchu, Mongol, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian powers, the Jirim League witnessed a language wrestle between these powers which strove for legitimizing, maintaining, or restoring their control over the Jirim Mongols. The Qing Empire envisioned a trilingual educational system that aimed at improving the Jirim Mongols' ability to read Manchu, Mongolian, and – most importantly – Chinese so as to incorporate them into an integrated and united Qing China under a Manchu constitutional monarchy. But the revised language regime, which sought to nurture modern Mongol citizens in China, undermined the Jirim Mongols' power and challenged their position in the traditional Manchu-Mongol relations in the Great Qing. To recreate the Mongols as modern nationals when they were not prepared to break with the Qing Empire caused disunity and disorder in the borderlands.

Language pluralism featured prominently in the construction and deconstruction of many multi-ethnic empires, such as the Qing, Ottoman, Russian, and Habsburg Empires. In this chapter, as a summary of previous chapters, I will first discuss the relation between language and power in the imperial hierarchy of languages in the Qing Empire. From a perspective of language pluralism, I will re-evaluate the dimensions of late Qing language reform which has been generally acknowledged as Chinese national language reform. In particular, I will pay attention to the significance of the New Policies that have usually been

underestimated in studies of reforms and revolutions in modern China. After this, I will shift to a wider Eurasian context. I will compare the role of language in the making and maintaining of the Qing and Ottoman Empires and its implications for the two empires' strikingly different fates in the post-empire era. Finally, I will discuss how the history of language pluralism leads us to reconsider the writing of the history of language in an era when nation-states not only play a fundamental role on the world stage but also encounter challenges from ethnic, racial, regional, and global powers.

Language and Power: Qing Multilingualism

As a conquest regime established by non-Han rulers, the issue of how non-Han cultures were to be accommodated within Chinese culture was a major theme throughout the Qing Dynasty. This question arouses debates whether the Qing Empire was an Inner Asian empire featuring distinctive Manchu characteristics or a sinicized dynasty identical to previous Han Chinese ones.[1] The use of language, particularly Manchu, has been adopted as a way to examine the nature of Qing emperorship. Multiple studies, constituting what Waley-Cohen defines as the New Qing History, have enriched our understanding of the polyglot environment of the Qing Empire, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the truth is that even in the heyday of Manchu rule, there were fewer Manchu than Chinese speakers. After the 1800s, the number of bannermen who were versed in Manchu declined. The limited number of Manchu speakers has often been interpreted as a symbol of the fading of Manchu characteristics of the Qing.

As previous chapters discussed, the significance of Manchu and other non-Chinese languages did not fully lie in their communicative function in everyday life. The construction of an imperial language regime, in which multiple languages served various political, literary, ritual, and diplomatic purposes, was an important step in the creation and maintenance of Manchu emperorship. The evolution of the Manchu language in the seventeenth century was closely tied to the early Qing emperors' political aspirations for maintaining power over the Manchu people and state. Manchu, which Nurhaci called *gurun-i gisun*, was usually called the Qing language or the state language throughout the Qing Dynasty. Rather than revealing

[1] Evelyn S. Rawski, "Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no.4 (1996): 829-50. Pingti Ho, "In Defence of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski's 'Reenvisioning the Qing'," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no.1 (1998): 123-55.

Manchu's linguistic nature, this title indicated the language's political significance for Manchus and the Qing Empire.

While the early Qing emperors encouraged the Manchus to learn Chinese, the ability to speak and read Manchu was still maintained as an essential skill that characterized the Manchus. Manchu was a confidential language between Manchu ministers and emperors in the early Qing court. By learning Manchu from an early age, Qing emperors never lost their awareness of their distinctiveness from previous Chinese emperors and the Han population. Manchu was a sacred and ritual language for the Manchus at court, imperial mausoleums, and religious sites. More important than the number of Manchu users was the context and place it was used. The use of Manchu, although not by the majority of Qing population, shaped Manchu characteristics in politics, culture, ritual, religion, and diplomacy, demarcated the Manchu ruling group from the other groups, and distinguished Manchu emperorship from previous Han Chinese ones.

As the Qing territory extended to the south, north, and west in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the use of Manchu became meaningful for maintaining Manchu power over other non-Chinese groups. In the Jirim League, where ordinary Mongols did not speak or read Manchu, the use of Manchu in official writing symbolized the League's close relation with the Manchus and its special position in the Qing Empire. In the Lifanyuan, the use of Manchu as an official language alongside Mongolian and Tibetan demonstrated the non-Han characteristics of the Qing Empire and announced the Manchu power over Inner Asian peoples.

To consolidate the Inner Asian frontiers, Qing emperors extended their bilingual Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Mongolian policies to a multilingual one. Most Qing emperors were multilingual. In addition to Manchu and Chinese, they also learnt Mongolian. The Qianlong emperor went further and learnt Tibetan and Uighur, as he himself said:

> "In 1743 I first practiced Mongolian. In 1760 after I pacified the Muslims, I acquiainted myself with Uighur (Huiyu). In 1776 after the two pacificaions of the Jinquan [rebels] I became roughly conversant in Tibetan (Fanyu). In QL 45 [Qianlong 45, or 1780] because the panchen Lama was coming to visit I also studied Tangut (Tangulayu). Thus when the rota of Mongols, Muslims and Tibetans come every year to the capital for

audience I use their own languages and do not rely on an interpreter … to express the idea of conquering by kindness."[2]

Instead of creating a homogenous language environment across the multi-ethnic empire, Qing emperors permitted and favoured the use of non-Chinese peoples' native languages including Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur in their everyday life, religious practice, and official writing. Although the Manchu emperors adopted many Han Chinese tradition in the Qing institutions, particularly the civil examinations, the implementation of such Chinese regime was rather restricted and adapted to the multi-ethnic situation of the Qing Empire. For example, while attending the civil examinations was an important means to enter Qing officialdom, the Qing held translation examinations which were open to bannermen and valued Manchu and Mongolian language skills. In particular, the Qing emperors valued the Mongols' inability to speak and read Chinese so as to maintain their distinctiveness. Through this, non-Han Chinese groups were granted a relatively independent position in the empire and were treated as equal imperial subjects as Han Chinese people.

So it proved in the history of language in the Jirim League. Mongolian was the common language, which maintained their distinctiveness in the Qing Empire. Manchu emperors prohibited the Mongols from learning Chinese in order to tame the nomadic Mongols within the special Manchu-Mongol relations under Manchu reign and to prevent them from orbiting Chinese literary culture. The promotion of Tibetan, which was associated with Qing patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, sustained the Qing control over the Mongols in a spiritual realm. The Qing Empire was thus an empire of difference, in which Manchu emperors reassured non-Han Chinese people that their distinctive characteristics would not be threatened by Chinese culture. The coexistence of diverse cultures within a flexible framework of a multicultural pluralistic society was the foundation of Manchu emperorship and the longevity of the Qing Empire.

In such a multicultural empire, to facilitate communications between the upper and lower levels and to prevent a potential threat of disunity and disorder was as important as maintaining language diversity. Qing emperors adopted all the languages as official

[2] Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 7, Cf. Yuan Hongqi, "Qianlong shiqi de gongting jieqing huodong," Gugong bowuyuan yuankan 3 (1991): 85.

languages in imperial institutions. The Qing Empire created a *kamcime* system which integrated and hierarchized various languages. By producing *kamcime* official documents, literary writing, religious texts, and epigraphs, in which Manchu was always placed ahead of the others, Manchu emperors transmitted imperial decrees to various peoples at the same time and announced their legitimate control over disparate territories. Through *kamcime* writing, Manchu emperors synchronized their reign over diverse peoples under a universal and simultaneous system.

The *kamcime* system was maintained through translation, and *bithesi* was a job peculiar to Qing governments. But such translation was not always faithful to original texts. As Perdue argues, while Manchu texts explicitly emphasized Manchu emperorship as achieved by military conquest, Chinese texts legitimized Manchu rulership by correlating military achievement with civil reign.[3] Translation accomplished by *bithesi* was not a technical process but a political operation. Through transmitting different messages to various groups, Manchu emperors aimed at flexibly exercising and maintaining their power over different groups in diverse ways.

Although the formation of the Qing Empire's language regime was rooted in the polyglot environment, the imperial hierarchy of languages was not a natural or automatic response to the language environment. Manchu emperors constructed such a language regime and intentionally associated each language with particular roles in political, religious, ethnic, and ritual aspects. The preservation of native linguistic features of diverse peoples maintained the distinctiveness of non-Han peoples and granted them a relatively independent position. Meanwhile, *kamcime* writing facilitated communications between various levels and regions so as to integrate divergent peoples under Manchu reign. As a resolution of segmentation and integration, the imperial language regime was an innovative Manchu adaptation to a universal problem of Eurasian empires and a political tool designed by Qing emperors so as to rule diverse peoples.

Rethinking Language Reform in the Late Qing Period

[3] Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 435.

As part of a wave of political reforms, language reform in late Qing China was not a purely linguistic movement. What Chinese intellectuals and the Qing government aimed at reforming was the Qing Empire's imperial language ideology and the relation between language and power that was constructed under the imperial language regime. Under the influence of European and Japanese language ideologies, Qing emperors no longer considered language a tool to segregate peoples and cultures. Instead, they perceived language as a means to integrate diverse peoples into a united China and to achieve cultural homogeneity. Improving mass literacy in Chinese was interpreted as an essential way to strengthen Qing China, to implement local self-government, and to reach the goals of constitutional reform. In the context of institutionalizing a Manchu constitutional monarchy, late Qing language reform was not just a change of script, grammar, pronunciation, and other linguistic features of the Chinese language but also a change in the imperial language regime.

As chapter 3 discussed, the Qing Empire officially promoted the Chinese language in the Jirim League, which proved a political aspiration to reshape the Manchu-Mongol relations and the Jirim Mongols' position in Qing China. Manchu emperors no longer defined the Jirim Mongols' position in the Qing Empire in terms of a special Manchu-Mongol relation. They considered the Jirim Mongols' masculinity, nomadism, and fierceness as the origin of the Mongols' barbarism and backwardness. Instead, Manchu emperors aimed at recreating Mongols, who used to be loyal subordinates, as modern citizens in an integrated Chinese state. In accordance with the Principles of Constitution, this could be achieved only by improving the Jirim Mongols' ability to read Chinese. The effort to promote Chinese was therefore not a simple linguistic contest between Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese but part of a broader Qing scheme of incorporating the Mongols into a politically homogenous China and disciplining them under a Manchu constitutional monarchy. Through this language policy, Qing emperors fundamentally changed their approach to ruling the Mongols. Officials would transmit government policies to ordinary Mongols without translation and Mongols would directly express their political opinions through local self-government which was the same as the exercise of power in Chinese provinces.

The promotion of Chinese learning did not naturally lead to the decline of Manchu and Mongolian. Although the Qing court conducted a series of reforms to retain their power in a

political wave of Chinese nationalism after 1895, the Manchu characteristic of Qing emperorship did not fade away. As Crossley suggests, anti-Manchu movements in the late nineteenth century stimulated and strengthened the Manchu awareness of their identity.[4] Rhoads's study also shows that Manchu emperors and ordinary people maintained their distinctiveness in the last decade of the Qing Dynasty.[5] During the New Policies, while Qing emperors sought to forge a modern Chinese nation, they maintained the Manchu characteristics of the constitutional monarchy. This twofold political aspiration led to a new multilingual regime in the Jirim League. While Chinese was entitled *guowen* in schools, Manchu was still *guoyu* or *gurun-i gisun* and Mongolian remained *guocui* or *gurun-i šunggiya*. In this context, *guo* had various meanings when referring to the three languages. It represented a nascent Chinese nation when referring to Chinese. When referring to Manchu and Mongolian, it symbolized the Qing *gurun*, in which the Manchus were the founders and the Manchu-Mongol relations played a pivotal role.

A more important role of Manchu and Mongolian was to help bridge the Chinese-Mongolian language barrier. The official Chinese language reader was translated into Manchu and Mongolian so as to assist Mongol students in learning Chinese. Meanwhile, Qing emperors encouraged local officials to learn Manchu and Mongolian because most Mongols could not speak Chinese. The learning of Manchu and Mongolian was a temporary policy for the transition period when the two languages were still necessary for handling Mongolian affairs. In this sense, the significance of Manchu and Mongolian more often manifested in their supportive role for the promotion of Chinese, instead of segregating Mongols from Chinese culture as proclaimed by early Qing emperors.

As seen in *The Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Trilingual Textbook*, the book promoted a story of an integrated but China proper-centred Qing China. Unlike early Qing *kamcime* writing, Rongde made every effort to faithfully follow the original Chinese texts and avoid any textual difference. However, Rongde's translation sometimes contradicted the traditional use of Manchu terms, such as *manju* (滿洲) and *dorgi ba* (內地). The two patterns of

[4] Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1991), 227-8.
[5] Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

translation demonstrated the change of Qing power and ethnic relations from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. Through various texts that expressed deliberately different meanings, early Qing emperors emphasized Manchu reign with an allusion to Chinese classics to the Chinese audience, whilst more concrete words were used in the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan writing so as to explicitly illustrate Manchu authority to Inner Asian peoples. By contrast, the trilingual textbook translated by Rongde highlighted political homogeneity, cultural integration, and territory unity by mechanically translating the Chinese texts character by character into Manchu and Mongolian. Although the simultaneous use of the three languages demonstrated the pluralistic characteristics of Qing China, sameness was prioritized over differentness and unity over diversity. Moreover, such an integrated and united image of Qing China demonstrated a centre-periphery framework that did not appear in early Qing writings. China proper was described as the centre and origin of China, whilst Manchuria, the sacred homeland of the Manchus, was historicized as a peripheral region and the Mongols who used to be the Manchus' reliable allies were depicted as intruders and outsiders.

The real difficulty of implementing the revised language regime was not just how difficult it was for the Mongols to learn Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian at the same time but also how to transform the Mongols' understanding of the three languages' functions and the power relations behind the new language regime in a constitutional context. As seen in chapter 6, when most Jirim Mongols were not prepared to break with the Great Qing, they refused to follow the new language policy and to learn to read in schools.

This helps us reconsider the New Policies, which was usually considered as a doomed failure due to the Manchu court's resistance and reluctance to conduct reforms. However, the Jirim case shows that the New Policies was more innovative than hitherto claimed in terms of new patterns of political practice, ethnic relations, and territorial integrity. The history of language reform in the Jirim League demonstrates a more complicated *diglossic* situation than Kaske describes.[6] Rather than transforming multilingualism entirely into Chinese national monolingualism, the Qing Empire subtly revised its traditional multilingual policy in the League to fulfil the goal of constitutional reform. The dissemination of Chinese was not a

[6] Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education*.

natural result of an increasing number of Chinese residents in Manchuria. Likewise, the Qing government did not aim at just preserving the Mongols' linguistic habits by teaching them Manchu and Mongolian. Instead, the revised trilingual policy was a Qing effort to integrate the Mongols into a China-proper centred China under the rule of a Manchu constitutional monarchy.

The history of language in the Jirim League traced many themes of language reform in the early republican years back to the last years of the Qing Dynasty. Although the Qing Empire did not achieve the nine-year plan of constitutional preparation by 1911, the language policy implemented by the Qing Empire during the New Policies had an enduring legacies and implications in Manchuria and China. In 1912, the republican government announced "the union of five races (五族共和)." Within the Ministry of Education, a separate Mongolian-Tibetan department was established in order to handle non-Chinese language and education affairs in the borderlands. In June 1912, Cai Yuanpei reaffirmed the importance of the trilingual textbook for educating the Mongols.[7] In February 1913, President Yuan Shikai awarded Rongde a third-class Jiahe medal (三等嘉禾章) for his extraordinary contribution to composing the trilingual textbook and facilitating education in Manchuria.[8] Rongde's colleagues, who also contributed to the translation of the trilingual textbook, Chunde (春德), Enmian (恩綿), Wenhui (文會), Zhao Hengsheng (趙恆勝), Pei Fuchen (裴福辰), Cunzhi (存智), Yongzhen (永振), and Desan (德三), were all awarded a nine-class Jiahe medal.[9] Xiliang suggested the Jirim League should continue with the textbook.[10] But Cai instructed Rongde to revise the contents that were improper under the republican regime.[11] Rongde completed the revision of the first eight volumes and the translation of the ninth and tenth volumes by December 1912.

Rongde compiled a list of errata to explain the revision made to the first eight volumes, which was included in the copy held by Liaoning Provincial Library. The revision focused on single terms instead of sentences, paragraphs, or a whole lesson. In *The Gymnastic Song* (體

[7] Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Jiaoyu zongzhang zi 教育總長諮," June, 1912, JC 10-1-13926, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[8] "Dazongtong ling 大總統令," 1912, JC 10-1-23214, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Mishu weiyuan Rongde chengsong hanmanmeng jiushi liangce jiaokeshu 秘書委員榮德呈送漢滿蒙九十兩冊教科書," December 1912, JC 10-1-23214, Liaoning Provincial Archives.
[11] Cai Yuanpei, "Jiaoyu zongzhang zi 教育總長諮," July 13, 1912, JC 10-1-13926, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

操歌 Lesson Twenty-nine, Volume Two), "the dragon banner fluttering facing the sun (龍旗向日飄)" was changed to "the red banner fluttering facing the sun (虹旗向日飄)."[12] "The former Ming (前明)" was changed to "Ming (明)", while "the Qing (清)" and "our country (我國)" were changed to "the former Qing (前清)."[13] The sequence of the three languages in the book title was switched. The textbook was titled *The Chinese-Manchu-Mongolian Trilingual Textbook*. Rongde revised these details to ensure that the textbook would adapt to the "current state system"[14] in accordance with Cai's instruction. The revision, mostly for political reasons, attempted to delegitimize the Qing government and Manchu emperors. With such efforts, the Republican government rebuilt Manchu, Mongolian, Muslim, and Tibetan identities within the frame of a Chinese nation-state.

Multilingualism and Power in the Ottoman Empire

Many Eurasian empires were multilingual. To maintain Ottoman reign over divergent peoples and territories, the Ottoman Empire constructed a language regime that featured flexibility and diversity. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire adopted Ottoman Turkish, an artificial literary language with a mix of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, as the official language. Therefore, similar to the Qing Empire, the Ottoman Empire relied on translation to facilitate communications between ordinary people and imperial officials. However, the Qing and Ottoman language regimes were different in terms of the use of the administrative official language and translation practice at the lower- and upper-level governments across the empire. This section will investigate the similarities and differences between Qing and Ottoman multilingualism and discuss their implications for the exercise of universal power in the two empires.

The Formation of Ottoman Multilingualism

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Osman (1258–1326), the founder of the Ottoman Dynasty, extended the Ottoman frontiers towards the Byzantine Empire (330AD–1453). In the second half of the fourteenth century, the Ottomans conquered Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Thessaly and imposed vassal status on Byzantium, Serbia,

[12] Rongde 榮德, "Jiaokanbiao 校勘表," in Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, *Hanmanmeng hebi jiaokeshu* 漢滿蒙合璧教科書, Rongde trans. (1912), Liaoning Provincial Library.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Cai, "Jiaoyu zongzhang zi 教育總長諮," July 13, 1912.

Walachia, and much of the Peloponnese. In 1453, Mehmed II "the Conqueror" (1342–1481) defeated Byzantium and seized Constantinople. After Serbia and the Peloponnese were annexed, the Ottomans acquired Epiros, Albania, Bosnia, Hercegovina, and much of Croatia. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire extended over Europe, Asia, and Africa and comprised twenty-nine provinces, three principalities, and numerous vassal states.[15]

The expansion of the Ottoman Empire incorporated a linguistically and religiously heterogeneous population under Ottoman reign. The major ethnic groups included Albanians, Arabs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Kurds, Serbs, Turks, and Vlachs.[16] But traditional Ottoman society was primarily organized under a religious order. Society was generally divided between Muslims, who played the dominant role by virtue of the Ottoman state's Islamic ideology, and non-Muslims. Non-Muslim groups included Christians, Armenians, Jewish, Roman Catholics, Assyrians, and other Christian groups.[17] Religious affiliation often fused with and transcended ethnicity when creating group identities. For instance, an ethnic Albanian could be a member of the Muslim, Greek Orthodox, or Roman Catholic community.[18]

Some writers compared the polyglot reality in the Ottoman Empire to the biblical story of the Tower of Babel.[19] In addition to Turkish, the language of the ruling Muslims, other major spoken languages in the Ottoman Empire included Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Ladino, Serbian, Syriac, Albanian, Kurdish, Romanian, and numerous Caucasian tongues.[20] Despite the great variety of spoken languages, as Johann Strauss argues, "relatively few were written (or printed) until the 19th century. Those were then basically Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Greek, Armenian and Hebrew."[21]

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[15] Lars Johanson, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe: The Ottoman Empire," in *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe: A Comprehensive Guide*, eds. Bernd Kortmann and Johan van der Auwera (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 729-30.
[16] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 25.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Mehmet Darakcioglu, "Rebuilding the Tower of Babel: Language Divide, Employment of Translators, and the Translation Bureau in the Ottoman Empire" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2010), 18.
[20] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 32.
[21] Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 1 (2013): 40.

Similar to the Qing and many other empires, the Ottoman Empire located the multilingual policy at the centre of its rule. Conquered peoples were allowed to speak and write their native languages. Based on the distinctive ethnicities and religions of the conquered peoples, the Ottoman Empire established a *millet* system (*Osmanlı barışı*, Pax Ottomana). *Millet*, meaning "nation" in Turkish, explains the simultaneous and harmonious coexistence of various nations under the imperial Ottoman rule.[22] As Karen Barkey describes,

> "The millet system, a loose administrative set of central-local arrangements, was a script for multireligious rule, although it was neither fully codified nor comparable across communities. It started with the regularization of state-Orthodox Christian relations and became a normative and practical instrument of rule. The Ottomans had several goals: to ensure the loyalty of a growing Christian community with important economic skills, to increase legibility and order, and to enable the administration to run smoothly and taxes to flow to the center while also reinforcing the wedge between the Orthodox and Catholic worlds of Europe. In addition to the Muslims, three non-Muslim millets – Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish – were organized around their dominant religious institutions, with the understanding that religious institutions would define and delimit collective life."[23]

Within the *millet* system, peoples who possessed different ethno-religious characteristics had the freedom to use their traditional languages and scripts. For example, vernacular Turkish was the *lingua franca* in the areas heavily populated by Turks; in Bosnia, Serbian Orthodox and Catholic converts spoke Serbo-Croatian; and Arabic, as the language of the Qur'an, was taught in Muslim schools throughout the empire.[24] Moreover, not just language but also script distinguished peoples according to ethnicity and religion.[25] For instance, Turkish-speaking Christians used various scripts in writing, such as Syriac, Greek, Armenian, Judeo, and Cyrillic letters, as shown in Syro-Turkish, Cyrillic-Turkish, Hebrew-Turkish,

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[22] Yelda Saydam, "Language Use in the Ottoman Empire and Its Problems (1299-1923)" (MPhil diss., the University of Johannesburg), 58. Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 12.
[23] Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 130.
[24] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 34-5.
[25] Evangelia Balta, "Setting Sail, Again," in *Between Religion and Language: Turkish Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, eds., Evangelia Belta and Mehmet Ölmez, (İstanbul: Eren, 2011), 8. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 426.

Armenio-Turkish and Karamanlidika literature.[26] Literature of the Muslims in Bosnia, Albania, and in the Greek lands used Arabic alphabet, while Arabic-speaking Christians kept using *karshuni* for a long time before switching to the Arabic letters.[27] Jewish writers used Hebrew although their native language was (Judeao-) Spanish, Greek or something else.[28] More specifically, Sephardic Jews used the Hebrew based *rashi*-script when writing their vernacular Spanish.[29] Within the *millet* system, different religious groups were allowed to use their languages freely in literary production, worship, and education, which was similar to the Manchu court's policy that non-Chinese peoples were permitted to use their sacred language during religious practice.

Ottoman and Qing emperors constructed and maintained their rule over constantly expanding and largely segmented territories. Unlike nation-states, empires like the Roman, Habsburg, and Russian Empires demonstrated little interest in constructing a uniform and homogenous collective identity. Throughout the Qing Dynasty, the Manchus did not force Chinese to learn Manchu. Likewise, the Ottomans did not impose Turkish over the conquered peoples. Based on the diversity of languages, ethnicities, religions, and cultures, the imperial courts maintained segmented rule over territories and peoples. The Ottoman Empire was "a haven of relative peace, security and tolerance which the Ottomans offered not just to Muslims but also to Christian and Jewish subjects for their would-be universal empire."[30] Moreover, the diversity of rule, which was not just a response to the multi-ethnic reality but also a political tool devised by the imperial court, recreated the empire's pluralistic characteristics. It was such diverse, flexible, and resilient features of the Qing and Ottoman imperial rule that made and maintained empires. As Karen Barkey argues, "many traditional empires were political formations, systems of rule that lasted a long time mostly due to their flexibility and capacity to adapt and innovate."[31]

The Making of Ottoman Turkish

[26] Evangelia Belta and Mehmet Ölmez eds., *Between Religion and Language: Turkish Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire* (İstanbul: Eren, 2011).
[27] Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)," 41.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 13.
[31] Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 3.

While the pluralistic characteristic accommodate a great variety of peoples and cultures within an empire, such diversity posed a potential threat of disunity and disorder. In the Ottoman Empire, while the millet system produced religious universality, the system also created local parochialism.[32] With the expansion of Ottoman territories and the incorporation of more languages into their empire, Ottoman authorities faced the same problem that confronted Manchu emperors from the late nineteenth century: how to balance diversity and unity and how to establish effective channels of communication between the imperial power and peoples who spoke diverse languages. As a solution, while the imperial court permitted people to use any language in religious practice, ritual ceremonies, and everyday life, only Ottoman Turkish, the official and administrative language of the empire, could be used when communicating with the government.

Ottoman Turkish (*Osmanlıca*), which belongs to the Oghuz or southwestern branch of the Turkish language family, had been established since the fourteenth century.[33] From the thirteenth century, Turkish was used as a written language in small principalities and continued in Bursa and Edirne – the first Ottoman capitals.[34] After Turkish-speaking people entered Constantinople in 1453, new linguistic varieties were added to Turkish, which became the foundation of Ottoman Turkish.[35] Between the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the language was heavily influenced by Arabic and Persian elements, which continued to be used until the nineteenth century.[36] The foreign elements that affected the formation of the written Ottoman Turkish included not only words but also grammatical rules that were not used in ordinary people's daily language.[37] As Lars Johanson defines it, Ottoman Turkish, which was often called "eloquent (*fasih*) Turkish," was "a Turkish variety with a genuinely Turkic grammatical structure, but written in Arabic script and over-loaded with Arabic-Persian lexical borrowings symbolizing the high status of the language of the Empire."

[32] Kemal H. Karpet, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in *Christians and Jews*, ed. Braude and Lewis, 147.
[33] Johanson, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe," 731.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid. Yelda Saydam, "Language Use in the Ottoman Empire and Its Problems (1299-1923)" (MPhil diss., the University of Johannesburg), 43-4.
[37] Saydam, "Language Use in the Ottoman Empire and Its Problems (1299-1923)," 43, cf. A.B.Ercilasun, (Turkish History from Beginning to Twentieth Century), 463.

As the evolution of the Manchu language in the early Qing period and Chinese language reform in the late Qing period, the formation of Ottoman Turkish had political as well as linguistic dimensions. Ottoman Turkish was the written medium of the Ottoman Empire's administration and literature. The language was commonly used among Ottoman intellectuals and officials. The Ottoman ruling elite was "completely conversant with the High Islamic cultural tradition, including being at home in the Turkish language (for which a knowledge of Arabic and Persian was also necessary) and conforming in public to the conventional manners and customs for which that speech was a vehicle."[38] While Ottoman scholars were committed to the use of the high variety of Ottoman Turkish, they "showed little interests in documentation and cultivation of Turkish, except for its Arabic-Persian components."[39] The Ottomans thought that Persian and Arabic elements would "adorn and beautify its messages and to challenge and uplift its audiences."[40] The sophisticated vocabulary and grammar of Ottoman Turkish thus became a symbol that manifested the status and knowledge of the ruling elite, while the plain Turkish was a simple communicative tool for the common people. As Geoffrey Lewis describes, "the mixture of Turkish, Arabic and Persian, which Turks call Osmanlıca and called in English Ottoman, was an administrative and literary language, and ordinary people must have been at a loss when they come into contact with officials."[41]

The role of Ottoman Turkish, which was "unintelligible to the Turkish peasant and illiterate townsman,"[42] was similar to medieval Latin to the layman in Europe and classical Chinese to the uneducated in China. As an ornamented and artificial language, Ottoman Turkish thus separated the general population from the elite. Moreover, Ottoman Turkish, as the imperial court's language, had a position similar to the Manchu language in the Qing Empire, which separated the common people from palace elites. Qing emperors conceived the Manchu language as a court language used by the Manchus who constituted a large proportion of Qing officials and as an administrative language used by Manchu ministers when handling non-Chinese affairs. Likewise, Ottoman Turkish in the Ottoman court was a

[38] Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 60.
[39] Johanson, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe," 731.
[40] Linda T. Darling, "Ottoman Turkish: Written Language and Scribal Practice, 13th to 20th Centuries," in *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order*, eds. Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway (Philadelphia: University Museum Publications, 2012), 172.
[41] Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*, (Oxford: Oxford University Pres, 1999), 8.
[42] Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (Jerusalem, 1954), 9-10.

language of rule, which was indispensable in conducting administrative affairs throughout the empire. Although both languages were not common spoken languages in ordinary people's everyday life, they played a political role in maintaining Manchu and Ottoman reign over the two multi-ethnic empires. Ottoman Turkish was not just a linguistic product of the language contact between the three languages. As a language that segregated the general population from intellectuals and elites at court, Ottoman Turkish symbolized and recreated social discrepancies in the empire.

The use of Ottoman Turkish maintained and recreated this social divide by incorporating Persian and Arabic elements, because they were considered more prestigious, elegant, and refined than rough Turkish.[43] As aforementioned, Ottoman elites thought that the incorporation of Persian and Arabic would improve the Turkish language. While such preference for Persian and Arabic was not only, as Frank Tachau argues, "a result of the dominance of Islamic culture in the Empire," the priority of Persian and Arabic over Turkish underlined Islamic culture's position in the Ottoman Empire. This was similar to the role of Manchu, which manifested the Manchu nature of the Qing Empire.

Qing emperors preserved the Manchu language while promoting Chinese literary culture. So did the Ottomans. They did not replace the Turkish language with Persian and Arabic. While incorporating prestigious Persian and Arabic elements into the Turkish language, the Ottomans, as Linda Darling argues, "were proud of their Turkish tribal heritage and anxious to proclaim their distinctiveness from the other powers of the region."[44] Ottoman Turkish, as a mixture of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish demonstrated an Ottoman polyglot characteristic similar to the Qing Empire's *kamcime* or *tongwen* culture, which were both rooted in the two empire's multi-ethnic nature. As shown in the history of Ottoman Turkish from the fourteenth century, the formation of Ottoman Turkish reflected the pluralistic and integrated characteristics of the Ottoman power that was expanding over Europe, Asia, and Africa. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ottoman Turkish, as "the ornate language of the court," signaled "the Ottoman's status as a world power."[45]

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[43] Frank Tachau, "Language and Politics: Turkish Language Reform," *The Review of Politics* 6: 193. Darling, "Ottoman Turkish: Written Language and Scribal Practice, 13th to 20th Centuries," 172-3, 175.
[44] Darling, "Ottoman Turkish: Written Language and Scribal Practice, 13th to 20th Centuries," 175.
[45] Ibid., 172.

However, the Ottoman and Qing polyglot situations were different with regard to the use of the official administrative language. Ottoman Turkish was the only official language used at both upper- and lower-level governments. By contrast, Qing local governments, especially those situated in the borderlands, adopted local people's native languages, such as Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan, as official languages. Such differences led to different translation practice in the two empires, which further influenced the two empire's fates in the early twentieth century.

Translators in the Ottoman Empire

Ottoman authorities depended on translators in local administrations, who were called provincial court translators (*eyalet divanı tercümanları*), for facilitating communication with imperial subjects who were non-Turkish speakers inhabiting peripheral regions.[46] Provincial court translators, who were recruited from amongst the local population, had different titles based on the regions and peoples they served.[47] For example, in Arabic-speaking areas, the translators were referred to as *Arab tercümanı* (the translators for Arabs), whilst in Damascus they were called *Şam Sarayı tercümanı* (the translator of the palace of Damascus).[48] In addition to oral and textual translation, provincial court translators also assisted Ottoman authorities in governing local peoples in other respects, such as local taxation and legal proceedings.[49]

Legal court translators (*mahkeme tercümanı*) provided another channel of communication between Ottoman authorities and imperial subjects.[50] They were responsible for interpreting between judges and applicants in *Shari'a courts* (*kadı mahkemeleri*), where legal proceedings were conducted in the Turkish language.[51] In a multilingual context, the two kinds of translators facilitated communications between Ottoman administration and subjects and therefore contributed to the functioning of the Ottoman *millet* system.

Similar to the Qing Empire, which employed official translators and produced *kamcime* writing rather than creating a monolingual empire, the Ottoman Empire relied on translators,

[46] Mehmet Darakcioglu, "Rebuilding the Tower of Babel: Language Divide, Employment of Translators, and the Translation Bureau in the Ottoman Empire," 22.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., 23-4.
[50] Ibid., 25-6.
[51] Ibid.

for maintaining multilingual emperorship over peoples who possessed diverse linguistic features. However, translation happened at different stages in the two empires. As chapter 1 discussed, *bithesi* in the Qing Empire, who undertook translation jobs and produced *kamcime* writing, worked at both lower- and upper-level governments, especially at upper-level governments in Beijing. This is because most ministers and officials in charge of non-Chinese affairs, for example those working in the Lifanyuan, were Manchu and Mongol bannermen, who had a good command of one or more non-Chinese languages. They could handle local affairs that involved non-Chinese imperial subjects by using their native languages. Therefore, *bithesi* more often translated for ministers and emperors in Beijing than for local officials and imperial subjects. *Bithesi*'s work constituted a channel between Qing authorities at various levels and in different regions rather than between authorities and subjects.

By contrast, in the Ottoman Empire, the majority of translators, who conducted oral and textual translation for local people and administrations, worked at the provincial level. There were also translators at the imperial court, whose responsibility, however, was primarily translating diplomatic documents instead of domestic ones. The Translation Bureau, which was established in the mid-nineteenth century and later became a subdivision of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry, were mainly responsible for "translating foreign documents and conducting the correspondence of the Ottoman government in foreign languages, primarily French."[52] The Bureau also provided Ottoman officials with European language training, in particular French. Apart from French, the Translation Bureau employed translators for Arabic, English, German, Greek, and Persian.[53] Besides, some of these translators translated documents written in Romanian, Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Urdu.[54] In short, the Ottoman Empire coped with the multilingual internal environment by the employment of translators at the provincial level, whereas the translators at the imperial court and the Translation Bureau were responsible primarily for translation in diplomatic affairs. Translation between Ottoman authorities and imperial subjects was completed within lower-level governments, while the upper-level governments handled only documents written in the Ottoman Turkish.

[52] Ibid., 107.
[53] Ibid., 186-91.
[54] Ibid., 194-201.

The formats of translated work produced by Qing and Ottoman translators were also different. Qing *bithesi* produced *kamcime* writing, in which various languages were written vertically line by line. *Kamcime* writing was a common pattern for not only government documents but also inscriptions on monuments, religious texts, and literary publications. Through institutionalizing *kamcime* writing, Qing emperors demonstrated the all-encompassing characteristics of the empire under Manchu emperorship. However, Ottoman translators more usually translated one language, for example from Arabic to Ottoman Turkish, rather than producing documents written simultaneously in various languages. This was because the imperial court accepted only documents written in Ottoman Turkish.

In the Post-Empire Era: Legacies and Implications

After the Qing Empire collapsed in 1912, the republican and communist government inherited most of the territories of the Qing Empire after wars and diplomatic negotiations throughout the twentieth century. By contrast, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, numerous nation-states were established in the former Ottoman territory. As Perdue notes, "despite the collapse of both empires at the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman realms were reorganized into nation-states, while nearly all of the Qing empire was reconstituted under a single nationalist regime."[55] The two empires strikingly different fates in the post-empire era can be viewed from their language regimes, which demonstrated pluralistic characteristics but in different ways.

Although both Manchu and Ottoman rulers promoted language pluralism, they organized and hierarchized languages in different ways. Unlike the Qing Empire, while the Ottoman Empire adopted a resilient language policy at the lower level and favoured the diversity of native languages of imperial subjects, the upper-level language policy was a rather monolingual one – only Ottoman Turkish was to be used by imperial officials. The Ottoman language regime thus created multiple one-way contacts between Ottoman Turkish and the other languages in an official context. In contrast to the Qing *kamcime* system in which *bithesi* facilitated communications between Qing governments at various levels and in different regions, Ottoman imperial translators constituted a channel between local people

[55] Peter Perdue, "Empire and Nation in Comparative Perspective: Frontier Administration in Eighteenth-Century China," *Shared Histories of Modernity, China, India and the Ottoman Empire*, eds., Huri Islamoğlu and Peter Perdue (London, New York, New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), 21-45.

and administrations only at the provincial level. The Ottoman Empire integrated imperial administrations at various levels by adopting Ottoman Turkish as the only official language. However, the segmented peoples and cultures at the lower level were not as integrated as those in the Qing Empire. The connection between Ottoman emperors and imperial subjects were not as strong as that in the Qing Empire.

In the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire declined gradually and multiple new countries emerged from the former Ottoman territories. Greece declared independence in 1829. After the Russian-Turkish war between 1877 and 1878, the Ottoman Empire recognized the independence of Serbia, Romania, Montenegro, and Bulgaria. Cyprus became a British protectorate in 1878 and British sovereignty was acknowledged at the end of World War I. Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed into the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1908. During the Balkan wars between 1912 and 1913, the Ottoman Empire lost most of its Balkan territories. World War I eventually led to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman government gave up its control over Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and many territories in North Africa and the Middle East. Under the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the Republic of Turkey was recognized as the successor state of the Ottoman Empire, and the republic was officially proclaimed on October 19, 1923.[56]

These independent states no longer used Ottoman Turkish as the official language. For example, Greek became the official language in Greece; Serbian in Serbia; Romanian in Romania; Montenegrin in Montenegro; Bulgarian in Bulgaria; Greek and Turkish in Cyprus; Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Turkey, the government-inspired Turkish national language reform, which was implemented from 1930, sought to eliminate "the Arabic and Persian grammatical features and the many thousands of Arabic and Persian borrowings that had long been part of the language."[57] Ottoman Turkish, an invented intellectual tradition which did not penetrate below the upper classes, soon lost its influence in Ottoman territories and failed to unify divergent peoples.

The language regime of the Qing Empire was different from the Ottoman Empire and had different implications. By adopting the native languages of Inner Asian peoples as

[56] See Johanson, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe," 730.
[57] Lewis, *The Catastrophic Success*, 2.

official administrative languages, the Manchu reign was directly connected with the conquered who inhabited the borderlands and frontiers. The pluralistic characteristic of the Qing Empire's language regime can be seen not only from the Inner Asian peoples' life engaged with everyday pursuits but also within the upper-level government in the capital. Qing emperors thus constructed a strong and stable relation between the imperial court in Beijing and the borderlands. However, the promotion of Chinese among the Mongols in the late Qing period, which was associated with the change of Qing administrations in Mongolia and undermined Mongols' relatively independent power, caused disunity in the northern borderlands. Shortly after 1912, Mongolia, formerly Outer Mongolia under Manchu reign, declared independence and established a *de facto* independent state from the Republic of China in 1921. In 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic came under the control of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, most parts of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet were reconstituted in contemporary China, although Chinese government had lost its control over some territories, such as Manchukuo (1932-1945). Under the republican and communist regimes, the Chinese language was the official national language and Mandarin Chinese was promoted so as to unify various dialects. Throughout the twentieth century, both republican and communist government endeavored to improve mass literacy (in Chinese) and promoted the unification of dialects among the ordinary people regardless of their ethnicities.

But language pluralism has not been entirely replaced by a standardized and unified national language regime in the former Qing and Ottoman territories. In the national era, Qing and Ottoman multilingualism still manifested itself in the ethnic, religious, and intellectual aspects of China and the independent states established in the former Ottoman Empire. In the following section, I will discuss the shadow of multilingualism and whether national language should dominate the writing of the history of language in a post-empire era.

Writing a National History of Language

From the late nineteenth century, the nationalist discourse focusing on Chinese national identity, in which the emergence of Chinese national language was constructed as a valuable tool to achieve territorial unity and cultural integrity, directly affected the writing of the history of language. In the twentieth century, with the rise of an academic interest in

historicizing China, primarily Han Chinese people, in a national framework, Chinese intellectuals rewrote the history of language in China from a similar perspective.

In 1934, Li Jinxi wrote a history of national language movement in China, in which he discarded the framework of languages that was hitherto constructed by polyglot dynasties and empires.[58] In the same year, Luo Changpei (羅常培) published *A History of Alphabet of Standard Chinese Pronunciation* (國音字母演進史), in which he discussed the evolution of the phonetic symbols for Chinese national language.[59] Between the 1940s and 1950s, Ni Haishu published on the romanization of Chinese, in which they historicized Lu Zhuangzhang and other linguists' effort to Romanize Chinese in the late Qing period as the origin of national language movement in China.[60] In 1956, Wenzi gaige chubanshe (文字改革出版社 Script Reform Press) was established in Beijing, which reprinted a large number of language proposals Chinese linguists put forward for constructing Chinese national language through reforming the script, pronunciation, writing, style, and grammar between the 1890s and 1940s. As shown in these twentieth-century works, the writing of the history of language orbits the idea of national language whilst undermining the implication of multilingualism.

The history of language in the Jirim League proves that the language turn in borderlands was not a simple transformation from multilingualism to national monolingualism. The polyglot reality of the late Qing Empire and its strategic role of maintaining the Qing integrity suggest that it is a foregone conclusion that the republic and communist China would adopt a single standard national language when transforming to a modern nation-state in the multilingual context. After the collapse of the Qing Empire, language pluralism continued to characterize the Manchurian borderlands and remained a concern of the post-1911 governments, which aimed at legitimizing and maintaining their governance over Manchuria. As aforementioned, the early republican government devised a national language policy towards borderlands under the legacies and implications of Qing multilingualism. The Ministry of Education of the Republic of China promoted Chinese national language in

[58] Li Jinxi 黎錦熙, *Guoyu yundong shigang* 國語運動史綱 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934).
[59] Luo Changpei 羅常培, *Guoyin zimu yanjin shi* 國音字母演進史 (Beijing: shangwu yinshuguan, 1934).
[60] Ni Haishu 倪海曙, *Qingmo hanyu pinyin yundong biannianshi* 清末汉语拼音运动编年史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1959).

Manchuria while approving the continued use of a revised edition of the trilingual textbook translated by Rongde.

The expansion of Japanese imperialism and colonialism in the 1930s highlighted the complexity of the multilingual environment in Manchuria. To establish Manchukuo (1932-1945) as a great harmonized East Asian state, Japan constructed a new hierarchy of languages and implemented a multilingual policy in education. There were five major languages in Manchukuo including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, and Russian. It is worthwhile to notice that there was also a *manyu* (滿語) in Manchukuo. However, the *manyu* of Manchukuo was the Chinese language instead of Manchu. The *man* (滿) in *manyu* represented the state of Manchukuo rather than the empire established by the Manchus. *Man* was similar to the symbolic role of *qing* in *qingyu* and *guo* in *guoyu*, which emphasized the political nature of a language over its natural linguistic feature. Up until at least 1934, the Manchukuo government regarded the Chinese language or *manyu* as national language and the Japanese language was treated as a foreign language in higher normal schools. Moreover, Japanese was not even a compulsory subject for students in public schools.

From 1937, the Manchukuo government made greater efforts to deconstruct the existing language regime in Manchuria and to construct a new language hierarchy in which Japanese was prioritized over the others. Japanese was promoted as the most important language to study, whereas Chinese and Mongolian were downgraded to the status of secondary languages. Accordingly, the number of hours devoted to studying Japanese at school was extended while the hours for studying the other languages were decreased.[61] From then onwards, Chinese elites who were fluent in Japanese were given preference for higher-rank positions.[62]

The language regime of Manchukuo devised by the Japanese authority demonstrates multiple political aspirations of Japan. Through the multilingual policy, which constituted five major languages, the Manchukuo government proclaimed the great variety of peoples, ethnicities, and cultures within a harmonious state. The creation of *manyu*, literally the language of Manchukuo, located all these peoples within a new imagined Manchukuo

[61] Zhelimumeng jiaoyuchu jiaoyuzhi bianzuan bangongshi 哲里木盟教育处教育志编纂办公室, *Zhelimu meng jiaoyuzhi 1636-1986* 哲里木盟教育志 1636-1986 (Tongliao: Neimenggu tongliao jiaoyu yinshuachang, 1989), 63-78.
[62] Ibid.

identity. Meanwhile, prioritizing Japanese over the other languages placed the peoples within Japan's Great East Asian Empire that was maintained under the dominant power of Japan. However, as Li Narangoa argues, such a contradictory aspiration of Japan, whether to nurture good citizens of Manchukuo or loyal subordinates of a greater Japanese empire, led to the failure of Japanese educational policies to make a harmonious multilingual society in Manchukuo.[63]

The Republic of China regained its authority in language planning for a short time after 1945 and endeavoured to eliminate the influence of Japan in Manchuria. From 1949, the communist government implemented the most thorough national language policy in Manchuria. All of the Manchus, Mongols, Koreans, Chinese, and other groups were required to learn Mandarin Chinese in school and use Mandarin Chinese in their daily life.

The tension between national and ethnic languages never disappeared. Multilingualism consistently competes with various local realities of national language. Uradyn Bulag shows the Mongols' linguistic anxiety and their controversial efforts to revitalize their language in a "racialized 'Chinese nation'" that is in transition "from a multinational 'state' to a multiethnic 'nation.'"[64] The understanding and explanation of complex notions of nationality and ethnicity is still significant for legitimizing contemporary Chinese governmental policies in the borderlands.[65] Multilingualism persists in contemporary Manchuria. While some may be endangered, the continued use of a wide assortment of languages, including Chinese, Russian, Japanese, Manchu, Mongolian, Korean, Dagur, Khamnigan, Ewenki, Nanai, Buryat, Oirat, and Manchurian Kirghiz maintain Manchuria as a polyglot region today.[66] From the 1990s, the government supports the saving of ethnic languages, particularly the endangered ones. Nowadays, Mongolian students receive bilingual Mongolian-Chinese education in school. An increasing number of Manchus have organized classes to learn the Manchu language together. Some Manchu ethnic schools teach the Manchu language and history alongside Mandarin Chinese teaching.

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[63] Narangoa Li, "Educating Mongols and Making 'Citizens' of Manchukuo," *Inner Asia* 3, no. 2 (2000): 101-26.
[64] Uradyn E. Bulag, "Mongolian Ethnicity and Linguistic Anxiety in China," *American Anthropologist* 105, no. 4 (2003): 753, 762.
[65] Elena Barabantseva, "From the Language of Class to the Rhetoric of Development: Discourses of 'Nationality' and 'Ethnicity' in China," *Journal of Contemporary China* 56, no. 17 (2008): 565-89.
[66] Juha Janhunen, "The Languages of Manchuria in Today's China," *Senri Ethnological Studies* 44 (1997): 123-46.

The complexity of the history of language in the Qing Empire found its echoes in the decline of other empires. During the decline of the Ottoman Empire, multilingualism became one of the targets of the Kemalist revolution (1918-1927). Although nationalists sought to denounce the influence of Ottoman Turkish, the Ottoman literati continued to use an Ottoman language that was a mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkic as it "had enabled them to build an instrument with a conceptual sophistication above the 'rough' Turkish of the poorer classes and Turkmen tribes."[67] Moreover, the unified language movement created confusion and identity issues for those who had previously inhabited a diverse range of linguistic groups. This made it complicated to evaluate the result, which Geoffrey Lewis aptly summarizes as "a catastrophic success."[68]

Millions of native speakers of Turkish can be found in other countries that formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, such as in Cyprus, Kosovo, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and Serbia.[69] In 1924, under the agreement to transfer minority populations between Turkey and the Balkan states based on religion, "almost all Greek- or Turkish-speaking native Orthodox Christians of Central Anatolia, Ionia, Bithynia, Pontus, Eastern Thrace, and some other regions were forced to leave their homelands."[70] In the post-empire era in the former Ottoman territories, although these governments sought to strengthen cultural integration within their national states by constructing a national language regime, linguistic homogeneity was never achieved throughout the twentieth century.

Besides the fall of traditional empires such as those of the Ottomans, Russians and Austro-Hungarians, new empires in the colonial and semi-colonial worlds were established with their own relationships to language. In these new empires, intra-empire linguistic interpretations, adaptations, translations and rejections continued, and affected literary creations, identities, regional contestations and national appeals. These imperial legacies are visible in the contemporary world. To take the British and French colonial empires in Africa as examples, while colonial forces began to leave after the Second World War, their

[67] Serif Mardin, "The Ottoman Empire," in *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-building: the Soviet Union and Russian, Ottoman and Habsburg Empires*, eds., Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colo.: Westview press, 1997), 119.
[68] Lewis, *The Catastrophic Success,* 2-4.
[69] Johanson, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe," 733.
[70] Ibid., 734.

languages remained widely used within their former colonies. The Spanish and Portuguese languages have also enjoyed a similar post-colonial durability in South America.

Political borders are rarely stable, nor are linguistic boundaries. In fact, large areas of our contemporary world are habitually bi- or multilingual. More minority languages have recently been recognized and studied in areas where a dominant language exists, such as Quebecois in Canada, Welsh in Britain, Irish in Ireland, and Austronesian languages in the Pacific area. From a global perspective, English is becoming a world language in the fields of academia, business and media across nation-states. These examples all demonstrate, as Stephen May argues that, "the emphasis on cultural and linguistic homogeneity within nation-states and the attendant hierarchizing of language are neither inevitable nor inviolate."[71] In light of the linguistic communications that took place in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, we may question the extent to which national languages dominate the historiography of world history. The borderlands, which are characterized by the fluidity of peoples, languages, and cultures, largely inherit and retain the language pluralism of multi-cultural empires. Such complex borderlands which associate languages with various powers behind them will direct our writing of the history of language to encapsulate more diverse and dynamic perspectives.

[71] Stephen May, *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Language* (New York, London: Routledge, 2012), 7.

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Riben you baiyuren fenfu mengdi cehui ditu bing you zhuanren fu gemengqi gouchuan shangren ji Waijiaobu yu Riling jiaoshe jingguo qingxing juan 日本有百餘人分赴蒙地測繪地圖並有專人赴各蒙旗勾串商人及外交部與日領交涉經過情形卷，附日人測繪員人數陸軍測繪官名單等件. (Documents concerning the surveying and mapping of Mongolia by hundreds of Japanese, the collusion between Japanese and merchants in Mongolian banners, and the negotiation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Consul, attached with the number of Japanese cartographers and the name list of Japanese officers). JC 10-1-1876.

Yishu weiyuan Rongde jinjiang yuan'an niqing fenfa gechu jiaokeshu shumu shanju qingzhe deng jian 譯書委員榮德謹將援案擬請分發各處教科書數目繕具清折等件 (Documents concerning the number of textbooks distributed to schools as being planned by translator Rongde). JC 10-1-13926

Zhelimumeng diaochabiao deng jian 哲里木盟調查表等件 (Documents concerning the investigation form for the Jirim League), JC 10-1-249.

Zhelimumeng mengzhang yaoqiu jieyin shiwuwanliang deng jian 哲里木盟盟長要求借銀十五萬兩等件 (Documents concerning the request of the leader of the Jirim League for borrowing 150,000 taels of silver). JC 10-1-1069.

Taibei Gugong bowuyuan 台北故宫博物院 (Taipei National Palace Museum)

Qingdai gongzhongdang zouzhe ji Junjichudang zhejian 清代宫中檔奏摺及軍機處檔摺件 (Qing palace memorials and archives of the Grand Council).

Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆 (The First Historical Archives of China)

Gongzhong dang'an quanzong 宫中档案全宗 (Complete collection of palace memorials). 04

Xianzheng bianchaguan quanzong 宪政编查馆全宗 (Complete collection of the Commission to Draw up Regulations for Constitutional Government). 09

Zhongyan yanjiuyuan Jindaishi yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所 (Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica)

Zongli geguo shiwu yamen quanzong 總理各國事務衙門全總 (Documents of the Zongli Yamen). 01.

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Wanqing qikan quanwen shujuku (1833-1911) 晚清期刊全文數據庫 (1833-1911) (The Late Qing Dynasty Periodical Full-text Database 1833-1911). http://dbnav.lib.pku.edu.cn/node/11839

Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 and Hanguo guoshi bianzuan weiyuanhui 韓國國史編纂委員會. Ming shilu, Chaoxian wangchao shilu, Qing shilu ziliaoku 明實錄朝鮮王朝實錄清實錄資料庫 (The Veritable Records of the Ming, Joseon, and Qing Dynasties Database). http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mql/login.html

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