

From *Man Wen Lao Tang* to *Chiu Man-chou Tang*

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As historical sources on the rise of the Ch'ing Dynasty, there are the *Shih lu* 實錄 (Veritable Records) and other books compiled by its own court historians, in addition to many contemporary Ming Chinese and Korean documents. It goes without saying that *Man Wen Lao Tang* 滿文老檔 is the one of primary importance among them. Recently, moreover, its original form has been published in reproduction and made accessible for scholarly use under the title *Chiu Man-chou Tang* 舊滿洲檔. The appearance of this precious collection of historical documents has made it possible for the study of the history of the rise of the Ch'ing Dynasty to make great strides. It has been now more than seventy years since the discovery of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, and ten years since the publication of *Chiu Man-chou Tang*. Let us here examine the two books in relation to the history of studies on them.

1. Discovery of *Man Wen Lao Tang*

In July, 1905, when the Russo-Japanese War was drawing to its close, Torajirō Naitō 內藤虎次郎, pen-name Konan 湖南, then commentator for the Osaka *Asahi Shimbun*, visited Manchuria in the capacity of a part-time employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, and spent more than four months till November searching for historic remains and documents. *Man Wen Lao Tang* was discovered by him on that occasion. The diary of that travel written by himself survives today under the title *Yūshin Daisan Ki* 游清第三記¹⁾. According to it, he started the survey of the Mukden Palaces on August 24th, and entered Ch'ung Mo Ko 崇謨閣 for the first time on 27th. He writes under the latter date:

“Visited the palaces and saw the *Shih lu* and the *Chan t'u* 戰圖 in Ch'ung Mo Ko, and also Ch'ing Ning Kung and other buildings. In Ch'ung Mo Ko are old archival volumes 舊檔冊 which quote letters mentioning Chin Kuo Han 金國汗 and others.”²⁾

He makes no mention of *Man Wen Lao Tang* which was stored in Ch'ung Mo Ko. Further, he writes under the date of 30th:

“Again saw the *Shih lu*, the *Chan t'u* and old archival volumes in Ch'ung Mo Ko.”³⁾

Thus he continued studying the same documents at the building. The *Shih lu* means the Veritable Records of the Ch'ing emperors, and the *Chan t'u* is *Man-chou Shih Lu* with illustrations. The old archival volumes, which is said to quote letters mentioning Chin Kuo Han is apparently in Chinese, most probably the so-called *Han Wen Chiu Tang* 漢文舊檔 including *Ko Hsiang Kao Pu* 各項稿簿, *Tsou Shu Kao* 奏疏稿, *Ch'ao-hsien Kuo Lai Shu Pu* 朝鮮國來書簿, and so on.⁴⁾ This diary ends in the middle of the travel after the entry of September 13th, before which no indication is given that he visited Ch'ung Mo Ko any more time. The diary starts again on November 5th, the date on which Naitō left Mukden to travel to Fu-shun and Yung-ling. On 17th he returned to Mukden and spent the next day paying courtesy visits and taking care of official procedures. On 19th he left for Peking. The present writer had been of opinion that the discovery of *Man Wen Lao Tang* took place in the period the diary of which is missing. In the recently published collection of Naitō's letters is found a picture postcard addressed to Kenzō Tomioka 富岡謙三 and dated October 11th of the same year, saying:

“I am greatly shocked by the discovery of Manchu records of the reigns of T'ai-tsu 太祖 and T'ai-tsung 太宗 in more than two-hundred volumes.”⁵⁾

This is the earliest report on the discovery of *Man Wen Lao Tang*. On that journey Naitō sent frequent picture postcards to Tomioka, then living in Kyoto. Of those the postcard immediately preceding the one of October 11th is dated September 28th. It is thus determined that *Man Wen Lao Tang* was discovered after September 28th and by October 11th, probably in the first decade of October.

After coming home from the half-year-long journey in January, 1906, Naitō contributed to *Waseda Bungaku*'s June issue of that year an article titled “Hōten Kyūden nite mitaru tosho” 奉天宮殿にて見たる圖書 (Books found in the Mukden Palaces), in which he mentioned *Man Wen Lao Tang*. The book is described by him as follows:

“That this building (Ch'ung Mo Ko) stores *Lao Tang* is mentioned in *Sheng-ching tien chih pei k'ao* 盛京典制備考, and *Sheng-ching t'ung chien* 盛京通鑑 even notes the number of its bundles, fourteen. Yet I was shocked, upon actually inspecting it, to find that it is totally in Manchu and in almost three-hundred volumes of finely prepared copies. The book's title, which is in Manchu, is *Tonggi fuka sindaha hergen i dangse*, meaning a record written in letters with dots and circles. Its title alone does not reveal what the book contains. When the bundles were opened,

there were legends such as:

The first bundle of T'ien-ming 天命, the old records with dots and circles, three cases and twenty-two fascicles in all, from the year of *ting wei* of T'ai-tsu till the sixth year of T'ien-ming.

Six bundles including this contained records of the reign of T'ai-tsu. Eight bundles belonged to the reign of T'ai-tsung, of which I actually saw:

The first bundle of Ch'ung-te 崇德, the old records with dots and circles, three cases and eighteen fascicles in all, from the first year of Ch'ung-te till the sixth month."⁶⁾

It is true that *Sheng-ching tien chih pei k'ao*, Vol. 1, under the heading "Stored in the Palace Buildings" 殿閣尊藏, states that *Lao Tang* volumes 老檔冊 are stored in the upper storey of Ch'ung Mo Ko, and *Sheng-ching t'ung chien*, Vol. 5, under the heading "Matters for which the Nei Wu Fu is responsible" 內務府應辦事宜, says that fourteen bundles of *Lao Tang* 老檔十四包 are stored in the same place. Even today *Sheng-ching t'ung chien* is available in printed form only in the third volume of *Manmō Sōsho* 滿蒙叢書, which Naitō himself edited and published later.⁷⁾ It is really remarkable that he was so meticulously prepared to study such sources at such an early date. However that may be, the passage quoted above was the one that introduced *Man Wen Lao Tang* to the world for the very first time. Nevertheless, it gives us an impression that the *Lao Tang* edition in letters with dots and circles numbered six and eight bundles for T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung respectively, fourteen bundles in all. This is not accurate. After the passage quoted above, Naitō writes about the dotted and undotted Manchu alphabets, with a reference to "*Tonggi fuka aku hergen i dangse*, that is, the archival records without dots or circles", indicating that he had seen also the undotted edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang* at the time of his inspection in Mukden. Actually, however, the dotted edition consists of three and four bundles for T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung respectively, seven bundles in all; the fourteen bundles that he enumerates include the undotted edition. The number of the volumes, nearly three-hundred in all, is also inaccurate, for both the dotted and undotted editions consist of one-hundred eighty volumes each. Probably he had not had time to examine all the bundles in more details. Still he described the content of *Man Wen Lao Tang* and very accurately pointed out its important historical value as follows:

"It is in parts written in the form of diary, recording even the minutest details, and seems to contain facts that are not found in the *Shih lu*. . . . Though it seems to be an important historical source even better than the *Shih lu*, it was so voluminous that I had to give up the idea of copying it. Yet I believe that it will be an indispensable work to copy

the book without fail ahead of anything else, whenever a chance for that comes, for the sake of the study of the history of the Ch'ing Dynasty."

We cannot help but be impressed by Naitō's keen insight. The title *Man Wen Lao Tang*, now universally accepted to mean the book specifically, was given by Naitō for the first time in the article. The original text is written throughout in the Manchu alphabet only, with titles *Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse* and *Tongki fuka akū hergen i dangse* for the dotted and undotted editions respectively, and there are no Chinese titles whatsoever.

Later, in 1912, *Man Wen Lao Tang* was brought over to Japan in the form of photographs. In March of that year, Naitō, who had been appointed professor at the Imperial Kyoto University by then, again visited Mukden, and cooperated with Tōru Haneda 羽田亨, a lecturer who arrived a little later, in photographing the entire dotted edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, for which work they spent the days between April 12th and 25th in the Mukden Palaces. As there existed no microfilming technology in those days, they had to use dry plates that had to be exchanged in the darkroom after every shot, and to continue working with poor facilities and under bad conditions. The hardships that they had to endure are reported on in details in Naitō's "Hōten hōsho dan" 奉天訪書談, published in *Chūō Kōron*, No. 283, October, 1912,⁸⁾ and Haneda's "Shiryō shūshūka to shite no Naitō Hakushi" 史料蒐集家としての内藤博士, a tribute to the memory of Naitō in *Shinagaku*, Vol. 7, No. 3, July, 1934.⁹⁾ According to Naitō himself, the primary purpose of the 1912 journey to Mukden was the photographing of *Man Wen Lao Tang* and *Shih Lu Chan T'u* 實錄戰圖, that is, *Man-chou Shih Lu*. The work was successfully completed on *Man Wen Lao Tang*, but permission to photograph could not be obtained for *Man-chou Shih Lu*, while he photographed the object of a secondary purpose, *Wu T'i Ch'ing Wen Chien* 五體清文鑑 in its entirety.

The 4,300 dry plates on which Naitō and Haneda had photographed the edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang* in letters with dots and circles in Ch'ung Mo Ko of the Mukden Palaces, were brought back to Kyoto together with the 5,300 plates of *Wu T'i Ch'ing Wen Chien*. This time Naitō, who had himself worked to photograph *Man Wen Lao Tang* in its entirety, grasped the true features of the book much better than the last time. He gives accurate accounts in "Hōten hōsho dan" on such points that *Man Wen Lao Tang* is a Ch'ien-lung edition and copy of Manchu diaries from the times of the Ch'ing emperors T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung, that it exists in two editions, one written in dotted and the other in undotted letters, that the two editions consist of 180 volumes each, of which 81 are for T'ai-tsu, 61 for the T'ien-t'ung years and 38 for the Ch'ung-te years of T'ai-tsung, in sixteen cases that are in turn in seven bundles. Soon afterwards Naitō published an article titled "Shinchō kaikokuki no shiryō" 清朝開國期の史料 in *Geibun*, Year 3,

No. 12, December 1912, in which he gave an even more detailed description of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, with a full quotation of the legends on the labels on every case and volume.¹⁰⁾ He said at the end of that article as follows:

“This record (*Man Wen Lao Tang*), which was discovered for the first time seven years ago, has only in this year been photographed on more than 4,000 plates altogether and made accessible for the students of the Ch'ing Dynasty. The photographs, which are now being put in order, will be complete in not a distant future and ready for free use by the scholars.”

Soon printing was completed and the photographs were bound to make 36 albums. They seem to have been completed sometime in the first half of the following year, 1913, at the latest.¹¹⁾ The albums, consisting of 16 for T'ai-tsu, 12 for the T'ien-ts'ung and 8 for the Ch'ung-te years of T'ai-tsung, have on their backs the title “*Man Wen Lao Tang/Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse*” in Manchu and Chinese in white letters, under which are indicated the contents like “T'ai-tsu 1-5”, “T'ai-tsung 1-5”, “Ch'ung-te 1-5”, etc, in gold letters. The photographs are mounted one on each page. Sets of these albums are now found in the Library of the Faculty of Letters, the Kyoto University, and the General Library of the Tokyo University.¹²⁾

2. Translations of *Man Wen Lao Tang*

It was to make use of *Man Wen Lao Tang* as an important historical source for the study of the history of the Ch'ing Dynasty that Torajirō Naitō was obliged to take so much trouble in photographing it. As soon as he was appointed professor at the Imperial Kyoto University in 1907, he began to lecture on the history of the Ch'ing Dynasty, which he continued year after year until 1913.¹³⁾ His lectures were centered on the period previous to the Manchus' conquest of China, indicating his strong interest in the early history of the dynasty. He says in “Hōten hōsho dan”, on *Man Wen Lao Tang*, “It might take me four or five years before I am able to publish the results of my study of these old documents,” and “I will not be able to have read through them all and learn their contents before I spend four or five years studying them.”¹⁴⁾ Those words indicate that, at the time when he had freshly brought the photographs back, he intended to spend four or five years deciphering them. He had already been studying Manchu on his own since ten years earlier. Later, in 1924, he wrote himself:

“Ever since Meiji 35 (1902) when I had a chance to take a look at the Tripitakas in Huang Ssu and other monasteries, I felt a need of the knowledge of Mongolian and Manchu. Thereafter I searched for and

purchased books and dictionaries on the two languages in Peking and studied them all by myself, so that I was able by that time (of the 1905 journey in Manchuria) to comprehend their grammars more or less. . . ."¹⁵⁾

Thus it was because he had mastered Manchu that he became aware of the important value of *Man Wen Lao Tang* as a historical source as soon as he came across it in 1905. As already mentioned before, in his "Shinchō kaikokuki no shiryō", he gives a table of content of *Man Wen Lao Tang* case by case and volume by volume.¹⁶⁾ For example:

T'ai-tsu, Case 1: Four fascicles, the years from *ting wei* to *i mao* (i.e., from Wan-li 35 to 43 of the Ming)

Fascicle 1: The years from *ting wei* to *keng hsü*.

T'ai-tsu, Case 10: Nine fascicles, record without dates written in the T'ien-ming years of Emperor T'ai-tsu.

Fascicle 79: Record of clans and camps without dates (i.e., table of clan registers).

T'ai-tsung, Case 2: Seven fascicles, from the first month to the twelfth month of T'ien-ts'ung 2 (Ch'ung-cheng 1 of the Ming).

Fascicle 11: Matters concerning Mao Wen-lung.

According to Shunjū Imanishi's 今西春秋 study, the explanations are based on the Manchu legends written on the label slips that are pasted on the covers of the cases and volumes of the original *Man Wen Lao Tang*.¹⁷⁾ The labels are not found among the prints in the albums at the Kyoto University and the Tokyo University. Their plates, numbering 182 in total, are still kept at the Kyoto University, but are said to be incomplete and of poor resolution frequently.¹⁸⁾ So it seems that the explanations in Manchu were either translated at the time of photographing or copied in their original form somehow. The words in the parentheses are new additions by Naitō. The label on T'ai-tsung Fascicle 11 reads in the original: "*sure han i jai aniya mao wen lung sei baci benjihe bithe ninggun hacin*" (six letters that have been sent hither from the place of Mao Wen-lung and others in the second year of Sure Han, i.e., T'ien-ts'ung). Compared to this, "matters concerning to Mao Wen-lung" is a little too terse. Yet it must be acknowledged that the explanations were the very first attempt at translating *Man Wen Lao Tang* into Japanese. It is not clear how far Naitō's translation of the text into Japanese proceeded.¹⁹⁾ Subjects of his lectures at the Kyoto University after 1915 increasingly emphasized history of Chinese antiquity, historiography and modern age, showing a shift in his interest to earlier history of China.²⁰⁾ It is possible that he no longer had time for translation of *Man Wen Lao Tang*.

In the meanwhile, in China, the same edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang*

in Ch'ung Mo Ko was translated into Chinese by Chin Liang 金梁, a Manchu bannerman. He says in the preface to his *Man-chou Lao Tang Pi Lu* 滿洲老檔祕錄:

"The former palaces in Mukden store *Man-chou Lao Tang* in 179 volumes. . . . The original is in Manchu in its form without dots or circles. The letters resemble Mongolian and are dissimilar to the Manchu alphabet in common use, making it extremely difficult to translate. After having troubled the hands of more than ten scholars learned in Manchu and Chinese and spending as long as two years, the manuscript is now complete at last, in an edition of one-hundred volumes. As it is too voluminous and not easy to publish, its important parts have been selected and given the title *Man-chou Lao Tang Pi Lu*, or, *Man-chou Pi Tang* 滿洲祕檔, to be printed first. This is less than the one-twentieth of the whole book. . . . Kua-pu Lao-jen 瓜圃老人 Chin Liang, in the mid-autumn of the *wu wu* year."²¹⁾

Wu wu is 1918. According to the preface, the Chinese translation was prepared from the undotted edition taking two years with the cooperation of more than ten men. This seems to mean that the translation work was done between 1916 and 1918.²²⁾ Though the Chinese translation was complete, allegedly, it was so voluminous that only one-twentieth of its contents was selected for publication. For some reason, it was not printed right away. Chin Liang says in a postscript to the preface of 1918 quoted above:

"The manuscript was completed in the autumn of *wu wu*, and now is given to the printers at last. It has already been more than ten years. The complete *Lao Tang* in one-hundred volumes exists in another copy. Master Hsü Tung-hai 徐東海 and Chao Tz'u-shuai 趙次帥 at different times asked for the manuscript, which they planned to publish for me but nothing came of it for a long time. I have no strength left either and do not know in what days this wish of mine will at last be realized. I write this at the time of woodblock-carving to commemorate the years. At the times when I return to the old palaces of Mukden and climb Ch'ung Mo Ko to reverently look at the original *Lao Tang*, I feel as if it were generations ago. In the autumn of *chi ssu*, Hsi-hou 息侯 Chin Liang notes again."

Chi ssu is 1929, when at last *Man-chou Lao Tang Pi Lu* was published in two parts and bound in Chinese format in two volumes. Hsü Tung-hai, mentioned in the postscript, is Hsü Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌 who was Governor-General of Manchuria in the last days of the Ch'ing Dynasty and early President of the Republic of China, and Chao Tz'u-shuai is Chao Erh-hsün

趙爾巽, another late-Ch'ing Governor-General of Manchuria and President of the Ch'ing Shih Kuan (Ch'ing History Office) in the early Republican period. It is said that Chin Liang's translation work of *Man Wen Lao Tang* was done under the protection of Hsü Shih-ch'ang, who paid all the expenses.²³⁾

In 1933, Chin Liang reissued *Man-chou Lao Tang Pi Lu* under the new title *Man-chou Pi Tang*. This time he replaced the 1929 postscript to the preface with a new one which ends "At the end of *kuei yu*, Hsi-hou Chin Liang notes again." *Kuei yu* is 1933. The new postscript says that the earlier edition had sold out soon but many people wanted to read it still, making it necessary to publish it again. The new edition is not divided into parts but bound in one volume of Western format. Its contents are almost identical to the first edition, except that the last entry in Part 1 of the first edition, "Seven items of taxation levied", is replaced with "The Grand Queen immolates herself at the last command" and the last entry in Part 2, "T'ai-tsung reads the history of Shih-tsung of the Chin" is cut out. It is incomprehensible why he bothered to make such trifle alterations in the new edition.

As Chin Liang's words, "The complete *Lao Tang*, in one-hundred volumes, exists in another copy; unfortunately it is too voluminous to be printed at once," in the 1933 postscript indicates, he had finished translating the entire *Man Wen Lao Tang*. The manuscript was finally purchased by the Palace Museum, Peking. The circumstances are described in the editor's introduction to "Han i *Man-chou Lao Tang shih ling*" 漢譯滿洲老檔拾零 published in *Ku Kung Chou K'an*, No. 245, May 13th, 1933, as follows:

"The manuscript of the translation in the former possession of Chin Liang, had been completed in the autumn of *wu wu* but only two volumes of it were printed in the autumn of *chi ssu*, and the unpublished parts were often lost. Mr. Chang P'u-ch'üan 張溥泉, Director of our Museum, purchased for two-hundred dollars its remaining manuscript at a bookstore at Shen-yang. It consists of archives in twenty-four volumes, oaths of officials in one volume and banner records in one volume. By his favor our Weekly is now able to publish it. Following the chronological order of the accounts, those hitherto unpublished are selected and printed in the following, as a present to those who write history."

Chin Liang's postscript of 1933, which was written more than half a year later than this introduction, seems to imply that the secondary copy of the Chinese translation of *Man Wen Lao Tang* was still in his possession. What the Palace Museum purchased was a manuscript a considerable portion of which had been lost according to the introduction. It is possible that the latter was the remainder of the original copy. The Palace Museum thus began to serialize Chin Liang's Chinese translation on *Ku Kung Chou K'an*, a periodical published twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, under the

title "Han i *Man-chou Lao Tang* shih ling." Being a series of booklets each number of which contained only four pages, it could devote only small spaces to the selections, but never failed to feature the latter from No. 245 through No. 459, June 1st, 1935, over two years on end. The text follows the chronological order starting on the year of *i mao* (1615), the eleventh month, and ending on Ch'ung-te I (1636), the tenth month. Though it is a selection, it thus represents the most parts of the original *Man Wen Lao Tang*.

Chin Liang's postscript of 1918 says that his Chinese translation of *Man Wen Lao Tang* was based on the undotted edition of the original. The editor of *Ku Kung Chou K'an* believed him and said, too:

"The text on which Mr. Chin based his translation has discrepancies with the *Lao Tang* in thirty-two volumes formerly in the possession of Nei Ko Ta K'u 內閣大庫, but both are written with letters without dots or circles, sometimes mixing in the Mongolian alphabet."²⁴⁾

It is highly questionable, however, if Chin Liang was saying the truth. In the first place, he does not even mention the existence of the dotted and circled edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang*. Moreover, he pretends as if his alleged original text of the undotted *Man Wen Lao Tang* were not the finely copied Ch'ien-lung edition stored in Ch'ung Mo Ko but *Yüan Tang* 原檔 discovered only long afterwards. He must have made use of the dotted edition but lied about it on purpose. Anyway, Chin Liang's Chinese translation has already been well-known as an extremely sloppy one. As Shunjū Imanishi says, it is "an irresponsible translation, in which difficult passages are either skipped or glossed over. It cannot serve any use whatsoever."²⁵⁾ Chin Yü-fu 金毓黻, too, quoting the words of one Chao Shih-min 趙時敏, reports that Chin Liang did not engage himself in the translation work but hired a few men who had poor knowledge of the Manchu language, and that whenever they came across similar accounts in *Huang Ch'ing K'ai Kuo Fang Lüeh* 皇清開國方略, *Tung Hua Lu* 東華錄, and other books, they substituted the Chinese quotations, with changes here and there, for translation of the original text.²⁶⁾ Indeed such places are found in Chin Liang's translation not infrequently. In addition to all that, he even dared to insert at will passages that do not occur in *Man Wen Lao Tang* at all, adopting them from other books.²⁷⁾

There seems to have been another man who, independent of Chin Liang, translated *Man Wen Lao Tang* into Chinese. In 1963 the present author visited the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A., and studied a collection of Manchu books in the office of Prof. F. W. Cleaves. There was found a set of manuscript copies consisting of ten volumes in Manchu and ten volumes in Chinese. The Chinese text turned out to be a translation of *Man Wen Lao Tang*. The Manchu text is copied in cursive

hand in seven lines on each page that is printed with a red frame, and titled on the first line in each volume *Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse*. This Manchu text is a copy of the dotted and circled edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, Vols. T'ai-tsu 1 through 10, covering the years between *ting wei* (1607) and T'ien-ming 4 (1619), the sixth month. The Chinese text is copied in eight lines on each page lined vertically in red. No title is given in the first line of each volume, but it is a Chinese translation of the Manchu text, though it is not that of Chin Liang as a glance makes it clear. Let us quote, as a sample, the famous passage in which is given the account of Nurhaci's getting rid of his younger brother, Šurgaci, found in Vol. 1, with punctuations not in the original added anew.

上之弟舒爾哈齊貝勒爲同父同母所生之弟，因其爲弟兄，凡國中一均珍寶臣僕，同一擅授，故將國中一切，皆同一予給，弟貝勒臨陣，見其善而未行，大國存立之道，言其善而未綏，無以爲才，旣無才又無能，凡物同一給養，如此給養，而弟貝勒猶不厭足，無日不致怨於兄，兄皇曰，弟之所生之道，皆出自國人，非吾父擅授之國人也，兄自予之國人耳，因此以責其非，而弟貝勒末言，此生何惜，寧死耳，如此擅授國人，乃棄兄離國，前往他部，別居他屯，上怒，己酉年，上五十一歲，弟貝勒四十六歲三月十三日，將所給弟貝勒之國人及諸物，概行收取，使其獨身自立，因弟貝勒不聽諫勸，遂殺族子阿薩布，又將蒙古大臣烏勒昆縛繫於樹下，磊柴草焚殺之，使弟貝勒羞愧，獨身自立之後，弟貝勒自責於己，以兄皇如此之優養，而反欲另居，實我之過也，遂退歸，上將前所取之國人，仍欲本年復皆給還，弟貝勒不思逸居乃天恩之所賜，猶以兄皇之優養爲不足，因於辛亥年八月十九日薨，年四十八歲。

Compared with the original, this Chinese translation, with the exception of a few errors, can be said faithful to the former.²⁸⁾ The passage has been translated also in Chin Liang's *Man-chou Lao Tang Pi Lu*, Part 1, under the heading "T'ai-tsu reproaches his younger brother" as follows:

貝勒舒爾哈齊者上之同母弟也，上篤念手足之誼，遇之優厚，服御玩好悉擬宸居，然猶不自厭足，臨陣退縮，時有怨言，上乃責之曰，弟之所以資生，一絲一縷，罔不出自國人，即罔不出自我，而弟反有怨我之意何也，舒爾哈齊終不悟，出語人曰，大丈夫豈惜一死，而以資生所出羈束我哉，遂出奔他部居焉，上怒，三月十三日，籍收舒爾哈齊家產，殺族子阿薩布，焚殺蒙古大臣烏勒昆，使舒爾哈齊離群索居，俾知媿悔，舒爾哈齊果媿悔來歸，上以所籍收之產返之，然舒爾哈齊仍懷缺望，越二年，辛亥八月十九日，遂抑鬱而卒，年四十有八。

Of the two translations, the former runs to 347 characters while the latter to only 208, the former being larger by half in quantity and much better in quality. Even from this example only, we may safely judge the respective values of the two translations. There is no way, however, to determine who copied the original and translated it into Chinese where and when. Prof. Cleaves himself says that it was between 1938 and 1940 that he was in Peking purchasing Manchu books. It seems certain, therefore, the Chinese translation had been made sometime before that period.

Chin Yü-fu says:

"More than ten years ago I was in Shen-yang and met there one Mr. Wen 文 whose personal name I have forgotten. He was daily in the old Palaces translating *Lao Tang*. I borrowed and copied the manuscript of his translation of the parts covering the period from the third month of T'ai-tsu's year of *ting wei* to the seventh month of T'ien-ming 4. Even when I took flight southward from the disturbance and finally entered Szechwan, the manuscript copy was in my baggage. Then I included it in *Tung Pei Wen Hsien Ts'ung Shu* 東北文獻叢書 and gave over to the printers, amounting to twenty-five pages of about ten-thousand characters."²⁹⁾

As the article that contains this account is dated at the end "first drawn up in May of [Min-kuo] 36 (1947)," it seems that a Manchu by the surname of Wen was translating *Man Wen Lao Tang* in the old Palaces at Shen-yang (Mukden) around 1935. The translation, which covered the period from the third month of T'ai-tsu's year of *ting wei* to the seventh month of T'ien-ming 4, must have corresponded to Vols. T'ai-tsu 1 through 11 of *Man Wen Lao Tang*. Though it is only one volume larger in quantity than the Chinese translation in the Cleaves collection, it is an entirely different one. Let us now quote, as an example, from the *Tung Pei Wen Hsien Ts'ung Shu* text, the translation of the passage on the downfall of Šurgaci in the following:³⁰⁾

太祖弟舒爾哈齊貝勒爲太祖同母弟也，篤念手足之情，待遇優厚，服御玩好悉擬宸居，然尤不自厭足，臨陣退縮不前，時有怨言，太祖乃責之曰，弟之所以資生，一絲一縷，罔不出自我，而弟反有怨我之意何也，舒爾哈齊終不悟，出語人曰，大丈夫豈惜一死，而以資生所出羈我哉，遂出奔他部居焉，太祖聞之震怒，三月十三日，籍收舒爾哈齊家產，殺之子阿薩布，焚殺蒙古大臣烏勒昆，使舒爾哈齊離群索居，俾知愧悔，舒爾哈齊果愧悔來歸，即以所籍收之產返之，然舒爾哈齊仍懷缺望，越二年，辛亥八月十九日薨卒，年四十有八。

The changing of the lines upon the word "T'ai-tsu" in the original has been eliminated and punctuations added anew here. When we compare this Chinese translation to Chin Liang's, we find that, although there are some minute differences between them, such as the former substituting "T'ai-tsu" for the latter's "*shang* 上" (His Majesty) and a few changes besides, the former has been definitely derived from the latter. In other parts, too, this Chinese translation is extremely abridged and sloppy, often copying word for word from the Chinese text of *Man-chou Shih Lu*; not only that, it even dares to quote *Man-chou Shih Lu*'s accounts of the incidents that are not found in the original *Man Wen Lao Tang*, pretending as if they actually occur in the latter.³¹⁾ This Chinese translation, too, like Chin Liang's, is unfit to be used as a historical source.

In Japan, translation of *Man Wen Lao Tang* was begun in the second half of the 1920's, later than Chin Liang's Chinese one. The first one to

work on the text was Katsuji Fujioka 藤岡勝二, a linguist who was then Professor at the Imperial Tokyo University. He devoted the last ten years of his life solely to this translation work. He transcribed the Manchu text into the Latin alphabet, using the photographs of *Man Wen Lao Tang* in the albums in the possession of the Library of the Tokyo University and those in the holding of the Toyo Bunko, and then translated it into Japanese.³²⁾ The photographs of *Man Wen Lao Tang* at the Toyo Bunko had been newly printed from the plates kept at the Kyoto University around 1930, together with those of *Wu T'i Ch'ing Wen Chien*. The Toyo Bunko print was still fresh at the time when Fujioka made use of them, probably more legible than the ones at the Library of the Tokyo University. Tadasu Fujioka, the son, remembers:

“My father, who had been away in Europe and America at the time of the Kanto Earthquake, lost important notes that were in his office. After having spent five or six years to restore them after his return, only then he was able to totally devote himself to a complete translation of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, for which he had planned for so long. I still recall the picture of my father working under the considerably severe pains of a case of neuralgia sometime later, around 1928 or 1929.”³³⁾

Though Fujioka may have begun to plan to translate *Man Wen Lao Tang* much earlier, it was only in the second half of the 1920's that he actually started his work. Within a few years his translation was complete except for some spots left blank. On the last page of his translation is written: “The second round of corrections has been completed on the day of the proclamation of the establishment of a new state in Manchuria and Mongolia, February 18th, Shōwa 7 (1932).” Soon afterwards he was felled by an illness, but continued correcting the manuscript in his sick bed until he died in February 1935. The manuscript, which he left unfinished, was then edited by Shirō Hattori 服部四郎, one of his students, and published, in an offset printed form from the original, by the Iwanami Bookstore in 1939. Unfinished and often difficult to read because of erasures and additions, it nevertheless had a great significance as it made *Man Wen Lao Tang* widely accessible in an almost complete Japanese translation in a printed form. It should be pointed out, however, that Fujioka, being a linguist, left something to be desired concerning the knowledge of history highly necessary for sufficiently deciphering the original text which is filled with graphic descriptions of historical events. At any rate, with the appearance of this translation, Japanese specialists of Asian history, too, began to make use of it for their study.³⁴⁾

Also among those who had studied under Torajirō Naitō at the Kyoto University, there appeared men to translate *Man Wen Lao Tang* and use

it as a source for their study of history. The first of them was Hajime Oshibuchi 鴛淵一, whose first attempt was the article "Shurugachi no shi" 舒爾哈齊の死, published in 1932.³⁵⁾ In the following year he published another article of the same style, titled "Chuen no shi" 褚英の死, which was subtitled "Mambun Rōtō kenkyū no hito koma" 滿文老檔研究の一齣.³⁶⁾ Ever since Oshibuchi and his student Shigeki Toda 戸田茂喜 continued publishing articles based on *Man Wen Lao Tang* one after another,³⁷⁾ until they jointly brought out "Mambun Rōtō hōbun yakukō (1)" 滿文老檔邦文譯稿 (一) in 1937.³⁸⁾ The latter, a Japanese translation of Vol. T'ai-tsu 1 of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, has an introduction that says: "We have now as an experiment translated Vol. T'ai-tsu 1 and published it in this number. We are planning to continue publishing the translations at a rate of one volume or two a number hereafter, until some goodly number of volumes is reached." For some reason, however, the subsequent volumes were never again published, leaving the undertaking a one-shot attempt.

Tōru Haneda, now Professor at the Kyoto University, also planned in the second half of the 1930's to have *Man Wen Lao Tang* translated into Japanese, and his two students, Shunjū Imanishi and Taisuke Mitamura 三田村泰助 were entrusted with the actual work. Imanishi visited Peking in 1938, where he studied the texts of *Man Wen Lao Tang* in the possession of the Palace Museum and worked to translate them until he completed the work. The results of his work were serialized in *Shokō*, a monthly magazine published by the Dairen Library of the South Manchuria Railway Company, for six numbers from Vol. 15, No. 11, November 1943, to Vol. 16, No. 5, December 1944. Then the magazine had to stop publication when the War situation deteriorated for Japan, causing the series also to end after Vol. T'ai-tsu 15. The text on which Imanishi based his translation is the dotted and circled edition in the possession of the Palace Museum Archives in Peking, not the Ch'ung Mo Ko edition in the Mukden Palaces from which other translations are derived. His translation, titled "Man Wa taishō Mambun Rōtō" 滿和對照滿文老檔, is also different from earlier ones in that it gives the original Manchu text in Latin transcription in addition to the Japanese rendering. The Manchu original, however, got only so far as Vol. T'ai-tsu 10, printed in No. 4 of the series which appeared in *Shokō*, Vol. 16, No. 2, and was lacking for Vols. 11 through 15 of the original. It must have been hardly possible for the magazine to print it in the last days of the War. Mitamura, too, recognized the importance of *Man Wen Lao Tang* early, and in his article "Tenmei kengen no nenji ni tsuite: Taiso Mambun Rōtō no ichi kōsatsu" 天命建元の年次に就て——太祖滿文老檔の一考察, published in 1935, he made a full use of its part on Nurhaci's reign as a historical source,³⁹⁾ and did the same in another, titled "Manju Koku seiritsu katei no ichi kōsatsu" 滿珠國成立過程の一考察, published in the following year.⁴⁰⁾ Thereafter he divided the T'ai-tsu volumes half and half with Imanishi, the

former taking it on himself to translate the first half.⁴¹⁾ Mitamura gave a word-for-word Japanese translation to the Manchu original, which he compared to the Manchu texts of *Man-chou Shih Lu* and *Ch'ing T'ai Tsu Shih Lu* 清太祖實錄. The results of his work were published in several installments from 1957 to 1962. Vols. T'ai-tsu 1 and 2 of *Man Wen Lao Tang* were collated against *Man-chou Shih Lu*⁴²⁾; Vols. 3, 6, 7 and 8 were collated against the Manchu *Ch'ing T'ai Tsu Wu Huang Ti Shih Lu* 清太祖武皇帝實錄 now in the possession of the Central Library, Taipei, with a table of discrepancies with *Man-chou Shih Lu*⁴³⁾; and Vol. 4 was collated against the Manchu *Ch'ing T'ai Tsu Wu Huang Ti Shih Lu* now in the possession of the Peking Library.⁴⁴⁾

The Manchu Language Study Group, which originated in the Department of Asian History, the Tokyo University, soon after the War, began learning the language under the guidance of Minoru Gō 江實. Then it developed into a Seminar on Manchu History, whose members undertook to translate and annotate *Man Wen Lao Tang*. Its membership, which varied somewhat depending on the times, included Nobuo Kanda 神田信夫, Yoshiji Okamoto 岡本敬二, Jōhei Shimada 嶋田襄平, Minobu Honda 本田實信, Jun Matsumura 松村潤, Hidehiro Okada 岡田英弘 and Hideo Ishibashi 石橋秀雄. The text they used was a set of new prints made from the dry plates of the dotted and circled Mukden edition preserved at the Kyoto University. The first volume of their annotated translation was published by the Toyo Bunko as its Publication Series C, No. 12, in 1955. The subsequent volumes continued appearing at an almost constant rate of one every year, until Vol. VII completed them in 1963. The seven volumes contain as many as 3,000 printed pages. The first three volumes cover the reign of T'ai-tsu, while Vols. IV and V contain the T'ien-ts'ung years and Vols. VI and VII the year of Ch'ung-te 1 of T'ai-tsung. The original text in Manchu is given in Latin transcription, accompanied by an interlinear, word-for-word translation and a freer translation in Japanese. At the ends of Vols. III and VII are appended notes and indices of personal and place names occurring in the parts concerning the reigns of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung respectively. Only with the completion of this annotated Japanese translation, *Man Wen Lao Tang* became easily accessible for the scholars who wished to make use of it in original Manchu and a modern language in its entirety.

3. Emergence of *Chiu Man-chou Tang*

Man Wen Lao Tang is a compilation in the Ch'ien-lung years, in the second half of the eighteenth century, and not a collection of original documents dating back to the early seventeenth century. For a long time after the discovery of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, nothing was known about the sources on which it was based, until they were discovered in the old Palaces in

Peking in the 1930s.

The Forbidden City of Peking was the residence of P'u-i, ex-Emperor Hsüan-t'ung, who had been allowed to live there on the basis of the Conditions of Preferential Treatment granted by the Government of the Republic of China on his abdication. In 1924 he was expelled from there by Warlord Feng Yü-hsiang. In the following year, the Forbidden City was turned into a Palace Museum. At first the Museum established a Department of Documents in its Library to collect and catalogue archival records. At the reorganization of 1929, the Department became the Archives, independent of the Library.⁴⁵⁾ The Archives began cataloguing the official documents from the Ch'ing Nei Ko Ta K'u in January, 1931. Among the documents were discovered copies of the dotted and undotted editions of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, each in 180 volumes, and their drafts.⁴⁶⁾ These had been copied before the completion of the Ch'ung Mo Ko editions of Mukden.⁴⁷⁾ Then in February of the same year, the original documents, which had formed the basis for *Man Wen Lao Tang*, were also discovered among the same documents from Nei Ko Ta K'u.⁴⁸⁾ Those volumes have been commonly known as *Man Wen Yüan Tang* 滿文原檔. Further, in September, 1935, among the fragmentary documents in Nei Ko Ta K'u were found old records in Manchu in three volumes that belonged to the same category as *Man Wen Yüan Tang*.⁴⁹⁾

As soon as *Man Wen Yüan Tang* was discovered, it was announced publicly. Two photographic plates of *Yüan Tang* were published in *Wen Hsien Ts'ung Pien* 文獻叢編, No. 10, April 1931, a monthly organ of the Palace Museum Archives.⁵⁰⁾ A brief explanation accompanying the plates said that thirty-two volumes of them had been found while the documents in the Eastern Storehouse of Nei Ko were being catalogued. Then Hsieh Kuo-cheng 謝國楨 published two more photographic plates of *Yüan Tang* at the head of his *Ch'ing K'ai Kuo Shih Liao K'ao* 清開國史料考, published by the National Peiping Library in May of the same year.⁵¹⁾ In the Supplement at the end of his book, Hsieh gave a description of the newly-discovered volumes under the title *T'ien Ming T'ien Ts'ung Chao Man Wen Tang Ts'e* 天命天聰朝滿文檔冊, reporting that they numbered thirty-one in volumes, of which nine were found in one box and twenty-two in another. The accurate number of the volumes is thirty-seven. The six or seven volumes missing in those early reports must have been either not yet found or still uncatalogued. The two plates of *Man Wen Yüan Tang* published by Hsieh Kuo-cheng were reproduced also in *Kuo Li Pei-p'ing T'u Shu Kuan Kuan K'an* 國立北平圖書館館刊, Vol. 5, No. 6, November-December, 1931. In Japan, too, Shunjū Imanishi published in his article, "Shin Sanchō Jitsuroku no hensan(ge)" 清三朝實錄の編纂(下)⁵²⁾ a plate of the tracing of *Yüan Tang* which Feng K'uan 奉寬 had sent from Peking to Mamoru Yamamoto 山本守 in Kyoto, in October, 1935.⁵³⁾ Thus *Man Wen Yüan Tang*, though limited to a few pages in photographic reproduction, began to emerge in its actual shape in

the 1930s. Recently Taisuke Mitamura drew our attention to a "Yüan Tang" mentioned by Torajirō Naitō, and identified it with *Man Wen Yüan Tang*.⁵⁴⁾ Naitō, upon publishing his old article, "Shinchō kaikokuki no shiryō", anew in *Dokushi Sōroku* 讀史叢錄, had added a postscript to it with the date of December, 1928, saying:

"In Taishō 6 (1917), when I, through the kindness of Mr. Chao Erh-sün, took a look at the historical materials in the Ch'ing Shih Kuan, I was able to see the *Yüan Tang* of *Man Wen Lao Tang* still in preservation. In recent years, however, historical materials often disappear from the Ch'ing Shih Kuan and are put on sale in the market. Witnessing such a situation, I cannot be sure if that *Yüan Tang* is still preserved today."⁵⁵⁾

Unfortunately Naitō's account is too brief to learn anything concrete from. The Nationalist Government, which took over the Palace Museum in 1928, immediately took over the Ch'ing Shih Kuan, too.⁵⁶⁾ It is possible, therefore, that *Yüan Tang* was then transferred from the Ch'ing Shih Kuan to the Nei Ko Ta K'u collection in the Archives.

The Manchurian Incident broke out in September of 1931, the year of the discovery of *Man Wen Yüan Tang* in the Forbidden City of Peking, and Sino-Japanese relations became extremely tense. Fearing an invasion of Peking by the Japanese Army, the Palace Museum transferred its precious cultural treasures to Shanghai between February and May of 1933. The move has been commonly known as "nan ch'ien" 南遷 (Refuge in the South). Both *Man Wen Yüan Tang* and *Man Wen Lao Tang* moved southward at that time. With the situation more or less getting back to normal, they were transferred back from Shanghai to Peking in May, 1935. "Wen Hsien Kuan ta shih piao" 文獻館大事表 in *Wen Hsien Lun Ts'ung* 文獻論叢 says under the date of May, 1935:

"*Man Wen Lao Tang* was transported from the Shanghai storehouse to Peiping for cataloguing."

The name *Man Wen Lao Tang* includes here also *Man Wen Yüan Tang*. At the Palace Museum in those days people used to make a distinction between them by calling the former "Ch'ung ch'ao pen" 重鈔本 and the latter "Yüan Tang."⁵⁷⁾ In August of the same year Hajime Oshibuchi, who had chanced to be in Peking, actually saw *Yüan Tang* at the Palace Museum.⁵⁸⁾ After only a short while, however, *Yüan Tang* was again sent to Shanghai in February, 1936. "Wen Hsien Kuan ta shih piao" says under the date of that month:

"The originals of *Man Wen Lao Tang* were transported back to the Shanghai storehouse."

It was *Man Wen Yüan Tang*, not *Man Wen Lao Tang*, that moved south at that time. The three archival volumes in Manchu newly discovered in the preceding year also seem to have been sent along to Shanghai together with *Man Wen Yüan Tang* on that occasion. According to Na Chih-liang's 那志良 report, eight boxes of *Lao Man Wen Tang* 老滿文檔 were transported from Shanghai to Peking in May, 1935, and one box of the same was transported from Peking back to Shanghai.⁵⁹⁾ The seven boxes in balance, which must account for *Man Wen Lao Tang* left behind in Peking, could have contained something more. Anyway, since there were no more occasion thereafter on which boxes containing the cultural treasures of the Palace Museum were carried south, the newly-discovered three archival volumes in Manchu must have been transferred to Shanghai also in February, 1936. Also in March of the same year, an archival volume in Manchu containing historical accounts of the year of Ch'ung-te 3 (1638) was discovered in the Nei Ko Ta K'u collection at the Palace Museum in Peking.⁶⁰⁾ In 1938 Shunjū Imanishi photographed the blueprint copy of that volume kept at the Manchu-Mongolian Materials Room in the Peking Library, and subsequently brought the photographs back to Japan. According to Imanishi, the original had already moved south and nobody knew its whereabouts by the time of his visit.⁶¹⁾ The fate of this particular volume still remains unknown today.

The cultural treasures of the Palace Museum that had moved from Peking to Shanghai were again transferred to a newly-built storehouse in Nanking, the capital of the Republic of China then, starting at the end of 1936. In July of the following year, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident triggered an all-out war between China and Japan. As fightings spread, the cultural treasures of the Palace Museum were moved from Nanking deeper and deeper into the Western parts of China. After Japan was defeated by the Allies, all the cultural treasures returned to Nanking at last by the end of 1947. Soon afterwards, however, the internal war between the Nationalists and the Communists intensified. When the Communist Army was about to conquer all of China, the Nationalist Government transported the cultural treasures of the Palace Museum from Nanking to Taiwan in three installments, from December 1948 till February 1949. They were at first stored at Pei-kou 北溝, Wu-feng 霧峯, on the outskirts of Taichung City. Then in 1965 they were moved to the newly-built Palace Museum at Wai-shuang-ch'i 外雙溪, Shih-lin 士林, on the outskirts of Taipei City. It has been only in the last ten years or so since settling in Taipei that the new Palace Museum is able to put on exhibitions or catalogue its books and documents and make them accessible for the public. After all, the cultural treasures of the Archives transferred to Taiwan numbered only 204 boxes, too much less

than the 3,766 boxes that had been sent from Peking to Shanghai.⁶²⁾ On top of that, there was no way of knowing for the outsiders how cataloguing was proceeding in Taichung. Thus we did not know if *Man Wen Yüan Tang* had reached Taiwan for a long time.

Then in September, 1962, it was found out by Guwanglu 廣祿, a Sibe man from Ili, Sinkiang, who was teaching the Manchu language at the National Taiwan University, Taipei, and Li Hsüeh-chih 李學智 who had studied Manchu under him, that *Man Wen Yüan Tang* was safe in the possession of the Palace Museum at Taichung. Keeping the fact as a secret for the time, Li went to Taichung to take photographs of it in December, 1962, finishing the work in January, 1963.⁶³⁾ Guwanglu and Li studied the text through the photographs, until they published the results of their work in the form of a long article, "Lao Man Wen Yüan Tang yü Man Wen Lao Tang chih pi chiao yen chiu" 老滿文原檔與滿文老檔之比較研究, accompanied by 150 photographic plates of *Yüan Tang*.⁶⁴⁾ It was really a dramatic development that so many pages of *Man Wen Yüan Tang*, of which only a few had been published earlier, became available for our examination in a photographic form. Thereafter, the Palace Museum, Taipei, began preparing to publish the 37 volumes of *Man Wen Yüan Tang* and the three volumes discovered later together, 40 volumes in all, in a complete photographic reproduction. It was finally published in 1969 under the title *Chiu Man-chou Tang* in ten volumes containing more than 5,400 pages. The printing leaves something to be desired technically, such as lack of graduation in the shades of ink, little clue to the quality of paper, and occurrence of unclearly printed pages. Still the publication of *Chiu Man-chou Tang* was a truly epoch-making event in the history of Manchu studies for it afforded us for the first time means to scrutinize *Man Wen Yüan Tang* in its complete form.

Earlier, soon after the discovery of *Man Wen Yüan Tang* in February, 1931, its studies were initiated at the Palace Museum Archives. At the end of that year, Li Te-ch'i 李德啓 published an article titled "Man-chou wen tzu chih lai yüan chi ch'i yen pien" 滿洲文字之來源及其演變, in which he reproduced two pages from *Yüan Tang* and transcribed their Manchu text with the Latin alphabet, along with a word-for-word Chinese translation.⁶⁵⁾ Though only two pages, this was the very first instance of Chinese translation of *Yüan Tang*. As to be discerned from the title of his article, Li Te-ch'i was more interested in the changes the Manchu alphabet had undergone rather than in what the text actually told. Upon the discovery of twenty-six pieces of wooden tablets inscribed with Manchu and dated Ch'ung-te 1 (1636) in the Nei Ko Ta K'u collection in November, 1934, Li published a booklet titled *A-chi-ko Lüeh Ming Shih Chien chih Man Wen Mu P'ai* 阿濟格略明事件之滿文木牌 from the Archives in May of the following year, in which he reproduced the inscriptions of all the tablets photographically, transcribed

the text with the Latin alphabet and gave a word-for-word Chinese translation. The discovery of those tablets had aroused interest in the forms of the Manchu alphabet at the Archives.⁶⁶⁾ As the result of that, *Man Wen Yüan Tang* and *Man Wen Lao Tang* were brought back to Peking from Shanghai in May, 1935, as already mentioned. In "Cheng li Nei Ko Ta K'u Man Wen Lao Tang yüan ch'i yü chi hua" 整理內閣大庫滿文老檔緣起與計劃, in *Wen Hsien T'e K'an* 文獻特刊 which was published to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Palace Museum in October, 1935, was announced the following research plans for *Man Wen Yüan Tang*: that *Yüan Tang* would be collated against the *Ch'ung ch'ao pen* and put in order with the goal of preparing a complete table of contents and a concordance of the two; that earlier forms of the Manchu alphabet would be delineated on comparison of its forms in the two sources with a view to compile a supplement to *Tongki fuka akū hergen i bithe*, a dictionary of the undotted Manchu alphabet edited in the Ch'ien-lung times; that each entry in *Yüan Tang* would be given a heading so that a detailed subject index will be possible, while those important entries not found in the Veritable Records and other sources would be selected for translation to form an anthology of them. The comparison of *Yüan Tang* with the Ch'ien-lung edition was started in August of the same year.⁶⁷⁾ Oshibuchi, who visited the Archives about that time, reported: "At present the finely copied edition of the undotted *Lao Tang* is being compared and collated (against *Yüan Tang*) by Mr. Li (Te-ch'i) himself."⁶⁸⁾ His work appears to have progressed steadily, as is shown by *Wen Hsien Lun Ts'ung*, published on the eleventh anniversary of the Palace Museum in 1936, in which appeared such articles as Li Te-ch'i, "Man Wen Lao Tang chih wen tzu chi shih liao" 滿文老檔之文字及史料 and Chang Yü-ch'üan 張玉全, "Shu Man Wen Lao Tang" 述滿文老檔. In their articles, Li discussed the forms of the old Manchu alphabet, the name of the Kingdom "*Manju*" and the title "*han*", while Chang treated the relationship between the Manchu and Mongolian alphabets and examined the nature of the Ch'ien-lung edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang*. Thus 1935 was the year in which the study of *Man Wen Yüan Tang* had started in earnest. Unfortunately *Yüan Tang* had to be sent back to Shanghai before any more progress could be made, as mentioned earlier. Ever since thereafter, until the rediscovery of *Man Wen Yüan Tang* in 1962, all studies on it had to be discontinued because of the wars. In Japan, Taisuke Mitamura was the earliest scholar who took notice of the Chinese publications concerning *Man Wen Yüan Tang*, and quoted them in writing his article "Mambun Taiso Rōtō no hensan" 滿文太祖老檔の編纂 in 1943.⁶⁹⁾

Guwanglu and Li Hsüeh-chih, who had rediscovered *Man Wen Yüan Tang* in 1962, never stopped their research work until they published in 1965 "Lao Man Wen Yüan Tang yü Man Wen Lao Tang chih pi chiao yen chiu" as mentioned before. The article transcribes a considerable quantity

of the original text into the Latin alphabet and translates it into Chinese, while describing the text as a whole and more or less clarifying its relation to *Man Wen Lao Tang*. In that respect the article has a great significance. The two then worked on the edition of a *Ch'ing T'ai Tsu Chao Man Wen Yüan Tang* 清太祖朝滿文原檔 series, of which Vol. 1, containing the text of "Huang Tzu Tang" 荒字檔 in *Man Wen Yüan Tang* and its translation with notes, was published by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, in March, 1970, followed by a Vol. 2, containing the same of "Tse Tzu Tang" 昺字檔, in September, 1971. In each of the volumes the original text is given in Latin transcription, accompanied by word-for-word and free translations in Chinese, together with notes and indices of personal and place names at the end. In the meanwhile, the Palace Museum, Taipei, published *Chiu Man-chou Tang* in 1969 and printed at the head of its first volume an introduction, written by Ch'en Chieh-hsien 陳捷先, Professor at the National Taiwan University, and titled "Chiu Man-chou Tang shu lüeh" 舊滿洲檔述略. Then the Museum published in January, 1977, Vol. 1 of T'ai-tsung's reign of *Chiu Man-chou Tang I Chu* 舊滿洲檔譯註, authored by Chang Wei 張葦, a staff member at the Museum's Department of Books and Documents. This contains the Manchu text in Latin transcription and its Chinese translation of all the documents published in *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, Vol. 6. The documents run to 494 pages all told, divided into "T'ien Tzu Tang" 天字檔, "Sui Tzu Tang" 歲字檔, "Jun Tzu Tang" 閏字檔, "Yang Tzu Tang" 陽字檔, "Ch'iu Tzu Tang" 秋字檔 and "Tiao Tzu Tang" 調字檔, and covering a period from the New Year's month of T'ien-ts'ung 1 (1627) to the second month of T'ien-ts'ung 4 (1630).

In Japan, Nobuo Kanda, Jun Matsumura and Hidehiro Okada, who had for the first time seen *Man Wen Yüan Tang* at the Palace Museum, Taipei, in August, 1966, carried on its study and published *Chiu Man Chou Tang: 'The Old Manchu Archives', The Ninth Year of T'ien-ts'ung (1635/6)* from the Toyo Bunko, of which Vol. 1 appeared in 1972 and Vol. 2 in 1975. This contained the Latinized text with translation and notes of the so-called *T'ien-ts'ung Chiu Nien Tang* 天聰九年檔, one of the archival volumes discovered in 1935 and reproduced in *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, Vol. 9, in 556 pages in all. The *T'ien-ts'ung Chiu Nien Tang* is of a similar nature to *Man Wen Yüan Tang*, and therefore should have been included in *Man Wen Lao Tang* when the latter was compiled in the Ch'ien-lung years, but had probably not been located at that time, for the latter completely lacks accounts of the year, T'ien-ts'ung 9. *T'ien-ts'ung Chiu Nien Tang* covers the year completely from the New Year's month to the twelfth month. What is more, the year immediately preceded the one in which T'ai-tsung was proclaimed Emperor of the Great Ch'ing and introduced the reign era Ch'ung-te, and many other historically important events took place. Such was the reason why the three undertook to translate and annotate the

volume before any other. The format in which their *Chiu Man Chou Tang* was brought out was the same as that of the earlier *Tongki Fuka Sindaha Hergen i Dangse*, in that the former transcribed the original text with the Latin alphabet with two kinds of Japanese translations, adding notes and indices of personal and place names at the end. The three, with the cooperation of Yoshio Hosoya 細谷良夫, prepared and published *Mambun Rōtō Kyū Manshū Tō Taishōhyō: Taisō Chō* 滿文老檔·舊滿洲檔對照表 太宗朝 in 1978 as a groundwork for the study of *Chiu Man-chou Tang*.⁷⁰⁾ The booklet shows, for every entry in the Toyo Bunko edition of *Tongki Fuka Sindaha Hergen i Dangse*, Part II., T'ai-tsung, where to locate it in the Taipei edition of *Chiu Man-chou Tang*. Apart from them, Mitamura compared the texts of *Man Wen Lao Tang*, Vols. T'ai-tsu 1 and 2 with that of "Huang Tzu Tang" in *Chiu Man-chou Tang* and translated them into Japanese word-for-word.⁷¹⁾ Thus in the ten years since the publication of *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, there have appeared studies and translations of parts of it, and the work goes on in many quarters.

NOTES

- 1) *Naitō Konan Zenshū*, Vol. 6.
- 2) *Op. cit.*, p. 386.
- 3) *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*
- 4) *Yūshin Daisan Ki* was first published in *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1957. This text is accompanied by a commentary by Boshin Naitō, who notes that the "old archival volumes" were "in Chinese", which is correct. The text of the diary in *Zenshū* does not carry the commentary.
- 5) *Naitō Konan Zenshū*, Vol. 14, p. 413, "Letters", No. 122.
- 6) *Op. cit.*, Vol. 12, p. 34.
- 7) The edition in *Chin Tai Chung Kuo Shih Liao Ts'ung K'an*, No. 6, Wen Hai Publishing Company, Taipei, is a photographic reproduction of the *Manmō Sōsho* edition. The Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, has in its possession a manuscript copy of *Sheng ching chiang chün ying pan shih chi lüeh*, in 8 chapters in 8 volumes. In its chap. 1, under the heading of "Items stored in the Palace buildings" is mentioned the existence of "fourteen bundles of *Lao Tang*."
- 8) *Naitō Konan Zenshū*, Vol. 12. *Hōten Hōsho Nikki*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, is the diary of this travel, which records meticulously how many shots were made on what day.
- 9) *Haneda Hakushi Shigaku Rombun Shū*, Vol. 2, "Languages and Religion."
- 10) *Naitō Konan Zenshū*, Vol. 7.
- 11) In the postscript to Naitō's letter to Iwakichi Inaba dated December 21st, 1912 (*op. cit.*, Vol. 14, p. 494, "Letters", No. 356) he says "*Man Wen Lao Tang* will be completed by about February next spring," though it may have been delayed somewhat. The albums in the possession of the Library of the Faculty of Letters, the Kyoto University, are stamped with the date of accession, July 10th, 1913.
- 12) According to what Sei Wada reports in his preface to *Tongki Fuka Sindaha Hergen i Dangse: 'The Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty', 1607-1637 A.D.*, Vol. I: T'ai-tsu 1, translated and annotated by the members of the Seminar on Manchu History, The Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, 1955, the albums now in the possession of the General Library of the Tokyo University originally belonged to the Hakusan Kokusui Bunko collection of the Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Company, though

they are not stamped with the seal of that collection which is often found on other books. Judged from the Library's accession number B68939, they appear to have been acquired in either 1935 or 1936. Since it was about 1915 that the South Manchuria Railway Company donated books and specimens for reference to the Tokyo University according to Kenjirō Yamakawa's preface to *Man Sen Chiri Rekishi Kenkyū Hōkoku*, No. 1, some unknown reasons must have delayed the albums' registration.

- 13) *Naitō Konan Zenshū*, Vol. 14, pp. 664-5, Chronology.
- 14) *Op. cit.*, Vol. 12, pp. 299, 303-4.
- 15) *Op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 429. Similar circumstances are reported in the words of Kenkichi Naitō and Taisuke Mitamura spoken at a round-table talk, whose record was published under the title "Sengaku o kataru: Naitō Konan Hakushi" in *Tōhōgaku*, No. 47, 1974.
- 16) *Op. cit.*, Vol. 7, pp. 330, 335, 336.
- 17) Shunjū Imanishi, "Mambun Rōtō no mokuji," *Tōhōgaku Kiyō*, No. 1, 1959.
- 18) Shunjū Imanishi, "MANJU zakki," *Chōsen Gakuhō*, No. 51, 1965.
- 19) In 1930, in a letter to Chin Hsi-hou (Chin Liang) Naitō wrote: "Your younger brother (Naitō) in the past photographed this book (*Man Wen Lao Tang*) completely but his translation work is not yet completed." *Op. cit.*, Vol. 14, p. 265.
- 20) *Op. cit.*, Vol. 14, pp. 665-8, Chronology.
- 21) This preface was published in print even before the publication of *Man-chou Lao Tang Pi Lu*. It is found in *Kua Pu Ts'ung K'an Hsü Lu* edited by Chin Liang himself and published around 1924.
- 22) Chin Yü-fu, "Man Wen Lao Tang k'ao", *Kuo Li Shen-yang Po Wu Yüan Ch'ou Pei Wei Yüan Hui Hui K'an*, No. 1, p. 3, 1947, suspects that Chin Liang, at the time when he was ts'ung-pan at the Feng-t'ien Ch'i Wu Ch'u, must have ordered his subordinates with some knowledge of Manchu to translate the text into Chinese.
- 23) Sei Wada, Preface, *Tongki Fuka Sindaha Hergen i Dangse*, Vol. I, Toyo Bunko. Shunjū Imanishi, "Sütoku sannen bun Gentō ni tsuite", *Tōhōgaku Kiyō*, No. 1, p. 96, 1959.
- 24) *Ku Kung Chou K'an*, No. 245, 1933.
- 25) Shunjū Imanishi, *op. cit.*
- 26) Chin Yü-fu, *op. cit.*
- 27) For example, the entry "The Grand Queen immolates herself at the last command" which Chin Liang added to the new *Man-chou Pi Tang* edition, p. 109, is an almost complete quotation from the K'ang-hsi edition of *Ch'ing T'ai Tsu Shih Lu*, Vol. 10, T'ien-ming 11/8/keng hsü. It does not occur in *Man Wen Lao Tang* at all.
- 28) For example, it mistranslates "ulkun monggo gebungge amban" (a chieftain by the name of Ulkun Monggo) as if he were a Mongolian chieftain by the name of Ulkun.
- 29) Chin Yü-fu, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 30) According to *Chung Kuo Ts'ung Shu Tsung Lu* edited by the Shanghai Library, I, p. 674, this series was edited by the Institute of Humanities of the Tung-pei University and published lithographically in 1942.
- 31) An example is the passage in which six sons of Šurgaci are enumerated in Vol. 3. For corresponding passage, see Shunjū Imanishi, *Man Wa Taiyaku Manshū Jitsuroku*, p. 106.
- 32) Shirō Hattori and other editors say in the preface to Fujioka's *Man Wen Lao Tang*: "He completed translating the dotted and circled edition of *Man Wen Lao Tang* in the possession of the Imperial Tokyo University into Japan. . . ." Tadasu Fujioka says in his postscript to the same translation: around 1932 his father "again regularly visited the Toyo Bunko carrying a portable typewriter along, and concentrated on Latin transcription of the original text of *Man Wen Lao Tang*. . ." This seems to indicate that Fujioka first used the Tokyo University album and then switched to the Toyo Bunko prints.
- 34) Takeo Abe, "Hakki Manshū niru no kenkyū", later included in *Shindaishi no Kenkyū*, began appearing in 1941 and was based on Fujioka's translation. Yoshiyuki Sutō, *Shindai Manshū Tochi Seisaku no Kenkyū*, published in 1944, too, made use of his translation.

- 35) *Shirin*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1932.
- 36) *Shirin*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1933.
- 37) Examples are: Oshibuchi, "Shinchō kichi ni kansuru Mambun Rōtō no kiji", *Shirin*, Vol. 23, Nos. 1 and 2, 1938; Oshibuchi and Toda, "Shin no Taiso no shichisō nōkon ni tsuite," *Shigaku Kenkyū*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1935; Toda, "Shin Taiso no tojō sen'i mondai," *Shigaku Kenkyū*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Vol. 9, No. 2, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2, 1937-8; etc.
- 38) *Shigaku Kenkyū*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1937.
- 39) *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1935.
- 40) *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1936. Also included in *Shinchō Zenshi no Kenkyū*.
- 41) Taisuke Mitamura, "Mambun Taiso Rōtō to Manshū Jitsuroku to no taikō narabi ni yaku". *Ajia Gengo Kenkyū*, No. 7, 1955, Introduction.
- 42) *Op. cit.*
- 43) Taisuke Mitamura, "Mambun Taiso Rōtō to Shin Taiso Jitsuroku to no taikō", *Ritsumeikan Bungaku*, Nos. 150-151, 161, 162, 163, 1957-8. Mitamura calls the Manchu *Ch'ing T'ai Tsu Shih Lu* "Kokkai-bon" (National Diet edition), because he used the microfilm prepared from the original then kept at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., U.S.A., and sent to the National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan. The original is now in the possession of the Central Library, Taipei.
- 44) *Op. cit.*, No. 200, 1962.
- 45) Na Chih-liang, *Ku Kung Po Wu Yüan San Shih Nien chih Ching Kuo*, pp. 69-78, says that the Palace Museum Organization Act was promulgated in October, 1928, and that the personnel matters in the branches were decided on in March, 1929. "Wen Hsien Kuan ta shih piao" in *Wen Hsien Lun Ts'ung* also says, under the date of March, 1929: "The Museum was reorganized, and the Department of Precedents (Chang Ku Pu) was changed into the Archives (Wen Hsien Kuan)." The reorganization must have taken place at that time. According to "Ta shih piao", the Department of Documents (Wen Hsien Pu) had been changed into the Department of Precedents in November, 1927.
- 46) In *Nei Ko Chiu Tang Chi K'an*, Vol. 1, "Shu lu", Fang Su-sheng says:
 "The miscellaneous records listed in the present issue include: The finely copied edition of the dotted *Lao Tang*, five bundles, twenty-six cases, one-hundred eighty fascicles; The finely copied edition of the undotted *Lao Tang*, five bundles, twenty-six cases, one-hundred eighty fascicles; The draft copies of the dotted and undotted *Lao Tang*, five bundles, fifty-two cases in all.
 These records are all kept at the Archives. The draft copies are written in cursive hand on sheets of Hsüan chih paper without frames, and their covers and cases are made of yellow paper. The fine copies are written on sheets of Pang chih paper of Ching Hsien, with vermilion frames, in square hand, and their covers and cases are all done with yellow silk."
 He does not say when they were discovered.
- 47) According to Shunjū Imanishi, the Peking edition was completed in the autumn of Ch'ien-lung 43 (1778) and the Mukden edition, either at the end of Ch'ien-lung 44 (1779) or early in 45 (1780). Cf. "Mambun Rōtō no jūshō nenji", *Tōhōgaku Kiyō*, No. 1.
- 48) "Wen Hsien Kuan ta shih piao" says, under the date of February, 1931: "Among the Nei Ko Ta K'u documents were discovered *Man Wen Lao Tang* predating the Ch'ing conquest of China and *T'ai Tsu Wu Huang Ti Shih Lu*." It is clear that the former means *Man Wen Yüan Tang*. The discovery is said to have taken place in March in the explanation of the plates published in *Wen Hsien Ts'ung Pien*, No. 10, April, 1931. Here February is adopted as a more accurate date following "Ta shih piao", in which events are arranged in chronological order by years and months.
- 49) "Wen Hsien Kuan ta shih piao" says, under the date of September, 1935: "In the Nei Ko Ta K'u collection were discovered three volumes of *Man Wen Lao Tang*."
- 50) Plate 1 corresponds to *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, Vol. 6, p. 2276, and Plate 2, to Vol. 5, p. 1673.

- 51) They correspond to *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, Vol. 5, pp. 1747 and 1816.
- 52) *Shirin*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1935.
- 53) It corresponds to *Chiu Man-chou Tang*, Vol. 10, p. 4801.
- 54) Taisuke Mitamura, "Mambun Taiso Rôtô to Shin Taiso Jitsuroku to no taikô", *Ritsumeikan Bungaku*, Nos. 329-330, 1972.
- 55) *Naitô Konan Zenshû*, Vol. 7, p. 344. A similar account occurs in Note 6, "Hôten Kyûden nite mitaru tosho", *Mokuto Shotan*. Cf. *Naitô Konan Zenshû*, Vol. 12, p. 41.
- 56) Na Chih-liang, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
- 57) "Cheng li Nei Ko Ta K'u Man Wen Lao Tang chih yüan ch'i yü chi hua", *Wen Hsien T'ê K'an*, p. 31, written in 1935, says: "Man Wen Yüan Tang and the Ch'ung ch'ao pen have already been transported back to Peiping."
- 58) Hajime Oshibuchi, "Tabi no shûkaku," *Tôyôshi Kenkyû*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1936.
- 59) Na Chih-liang, *op. cit.*, p. 155; *Ku Kung Ssu Shih Nien*, p. 78.
- 60) "Wen Hsien Kuan ta shih piao" says under the date of March, 1936: "In the Nei Ko Ta K'u collection was discovered a volume of the Manchu record of Ch'ung-te 3."
- 61) Shunjû Imanishi, "Sûtoku sannen bun Mambun Gentô ni tsuite", *Tôhögaku Kiyô*, No. 1, p. 97, 1959. It is not clear when this record moved south. It has not been found at the Palace Museum, Taipei, until today. It should be doubted whether the record had really moved south.
- 62) Na Chih-liang, *Ku Kung Ssu Shih Nien*, p. 120. There he says that 3,773 boxes were carried south, adopting the number at the time of the first transfer. Seven boxes, as mentioned above, should be subtracted from the number, to make it 3,766.
- 63) Guwanglu, Li Hsüeh-chih, *Ch'ing T'ai Tsu Lao Man Wen Yüan Tang (I)*. Preface, pp. 6-7.
- 64) *Chung Kuo Tung Ya Hsüeh Shu Yen Chiu Chi Hua Wei Yüan Hui Nien Pao*, No. 4, 1965. This article was critically reviewed by Nobuo Kanda in *Tôyô Gakuhô*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 1966.
- 65) *Kuo Li Pei P'ing T'u Shu Kuan Kuan K'an*, Vol. 5, No. 6, 1931.
- 66) Two more pieces of such wooden tablets, dated Ch'ung-te 3 (1638), were discovered in the summer of 1935. The fact was reported in "Wen Hsien Kuan erh shih ssu nien pa yüeh kung tso pao kao," *Wen Hsien Ts'ung Pien*, No. 30, 1935. For these tablets, see Jun Matsumura, "Sûtoku sannen no Mambun mokuhai ni tsuite", *Wada Hakushi Koki Kinen Tôyôshi Ronsô*, 1961.
- 67) "Wen Hsien Kuan ta shih piao" says under the date of August, 1935: "The collation of *Man Wen Lao Tang* was started."
- 68) See Note 58.
- 69) *Shinchô Zenshi no Kenkyû*. This article appeared only in 1950, in *Haneda Hakushi Shôju Kinen Tôyôshi Ronsô*, publication of which had been greatly delayed by the deterioration of economic situation in the last days of the War and thereafter.
- 70) Published as a Special Number of *Yûboku Shakaishi Tankyû* in Tokyo, 1978.
- 71) Taisuke Mitamura, "Mambun Taiso Rôtô to Shin Taiso Jitsuroku to no taikô", *Ritsumeikan Bungaku*, Nos. 329-330, 1972.