

# Present State of Preservation of Manchu Literature

By Nobuo KANDA

The Manchu language was spoken by the Manchus, the ruling group in Ch'ing China, and retained its position as the most important official language throughout the Dynasty. As is generally known, the Manchus fell more and more under the cultural influence of China and began to speak and write only in Chinese. Yet their government never ceased to produce an infinitely vast mass of documents and files in Manchu, and many books were compiled both in manuscript and printed forms. The various kinds of Manchu literature survive in a wide distribution in Mainland China, Taiwan, Outer Mongolia, Japan, and countries in Europe and America. It is especially remarkable how many Manchu books are found in the holdings of European and American libraries and universities. Until recent times Westerners were traditionally deeply interested in the Manchu language, and from the earliest days of their contact with China used to collect materials written in it, probably because their vanguards—missionaries and others—would often learn Manchu first and become well-versed in it.

Even now it is not always easy for us to know where Manchu books are to be found and in what amount. Bibliographies of Manchu literature have been published by A. Wylie,<sup>(1)</sup> P. G. von Möllendorff,<sup>(2)</sup> B. Laufer,<sup>(3)</sup> A. V. Grebenshchikov,<sup>(4)</sup> W. Kotwicz<sup>(5)</sup> and others, and the work of W. Fuchs is bibliographically the most complete.<sup>(6)</sup> More recently J. Ikegami has written on the Manchu books he saw in Europe.<sup>(7)</sup>

(1) A. Wylie: *Translation of the Ts'ing Wan K'e Mung*. Shanghai, 1855.

(2) P. G. von Möllendorff: "Essay on Manchu Literature" (*JNCBRAS* Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1890, pp. 1-45).

(3) B. Laufer: "Skizze der Manjurischen Literatur" (*Keleti Szemle*, Vol IX, 1908, pp. 1-53).

(4) A. B. Grebenshchikov: *Kratii ocheraztsov' Man'chzhurskoi Literatury*. Vladivostok', 1909.

(5) W. Kotwicz: "Sur le besoin d'une bibliographie complète de la littérature mandchoue" (*Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, VI, 1928, pp. 61-75).

(6) W. Fuchs: *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*. Tokyo, 1936. Abbrev. *Beiträge* in this article.

—: "Neue Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur" (*Monumenta Serica*, Vol. XI, 1942, pp. 1-37). Abbrev. *Neue Beiträge* in this article.

(7) J. Ikegami 池上二良: ヨーロッパにある満洲語文獻について Manchu Materials in European Libraries (*Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報 Vol. 45, No. 3, 1962, pp. 105-121).

—: Supplement to *op. cit.* (*Tōyō Gakuhō* Vol. 47, No. 3, 1964, pp. 144-146).

Apart from such general bibliographies, several libraries also have published lists of their Manchu collections. The union catalogue of the Manchu materials at the Peiping Library and the Palace Museum Library of China, compiled by Li Te-ch'i, still remains the most exhaustive work of its kind, which anyone must consult who is searching for Manchu books.<sup>(8)</sup> The Manchu palace print editions kept at the National Mukden Library are listed in another catalogue.<sup>(9)</sup> Japan has three great collections of Manchu books, each of them with a catalogue published. The first of them, the catalogue of Manchu books at the Osaka Foreign Language School (now Osaka University of Foreign Studies), appeared in 1932,<sup>(10)</sup> and the other two, those of the Tenri Library<sup>(11)</sup> and the Toyo Bunko,<sup>(12)</sup> followed it. In Outer Mongolia, the National Library of Ulan Bator has recently published a catalogue of Manchu books in its possession.<sup>(13)</sup> In Russia, Dorji Banzarov compiled earlier a catalogue of Manchu books kept at the Asiatic Museum, Imperial Academy of Sciences.<sup>(14)</sup> Another catalogue listing Manchu manuscripts at the same establishment, now called Institut Narodov Azii, Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., has recently been published.<sup>(15)</sup> The catalogue of the Wade Collection, University of Cambridge, contains a section for Manchu books.<sup>(16)</sup> There are other catalogues of Chinese books which register Manchu books as well.<sup>(17)</sup>

I made a series of on-the-spot surveys of Manchu literature at various

- 
- (8) Li Te-ch'i 李德啓, ed.: 國立北平圖書館故宮博物院圖書館滿文書籍聯合目錄 *Union Catalogue of Manchu books in the National Library of Peiping and the Library of Palace Museum*. Peiping, 1933.
- (9) 國立奉天圖書館殿本書目. Mukden, 1934.
- (10) K. Watanabe 渡部薫太郎, ed.: 增訂滿洲語圖書目錄 (亞細亞研究 *Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*, No. 3, Osaka, 1932).
- (11) 滿文書籍集 *Collection of Manchu Books* (天理圖書館善本寫真集 *Tenri Central Library Photo Series*, No. 6, 1955). The 138 titles listed in this catalogue are but a small part of the Manchu collection of this library, which is said to have as many as three-hundred and several score titles.
- (12) N. Poppe, L. Hurvitz, H. Okada: *Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Toyo Bunko*. Tokyo-Seattle, 1964.
- (13) L. Misig: *Ulaḡan Baḡatur qota-daki ulus-un nom-un sang-un manju nom-un kōmür-gen-dür bayıḡ-a manju nom-un ʔarčar*. Ulan Bator, 1959.
- (14) D. Banzarov: "Katalog knigam i rukopisiam na Manchzhurskom Iazyke, nakhodia-shchimsia v Aziatskom Museie Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk" (*Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de l'Academie de Sciences*, V, Nos. 5-6, 1848, pp. 82-92). Included in a recently published collection of Banzarov's works, *Sobraniie Sochinenii*, Moskva, 1955, pp. 112-128.
- (15) M. P. Volkova: *Opisaniiie Man'chzhurskikh Rukopisei Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR*. Moskva, 1965.
- (16) H. A. Giles: *A Catalogue of the Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. 1898.
- (17) For example, some Manchu books, including rare ones, are listed in the catalogues of Chinese books of such Japanese libraries famous for their Chinese collections as the Naikaku Bunko, the Seikadō Bunko, and the Kyōto Daigaku Jimbunkagaku Kenkyūsho.

American and West European libraries and universities between May, 1963, and March, 1964. Also, since 1962 I have made three visits to the Academia Sinica and the Palace Museum in Taiwan to study Manchu materials there. Most of those Manchu books have never been listed in any published catalogues. True, there are countries I have never been to, and I am aware of the possibility that I might have overlooked some collections and items. Still I feel that my observations should be of some help to the students of Manchu, and will proceed to describe what I have discovered.

## II

The whereabouts of Manchu books in the United States have not yet been given a general description, save for very brief lists published by two or three libraries. Only an outline of their distribution can be found in the joint work by T. H. Tsien and G. R. Nunn done more than ten years ago, which counts them in volume numbers.<sup>(18)</sup>

The collecting of Manchu books by Americans, as also of Chinese books, was begun in this century, much later than Europeans. All of the present collections of Manchu books in the United States were raised in the turbulent period around the fall of the Ch'ing Dynasty and the rise of the Republican China. The moment the Dynasty fell, Manchu books lost their practical value. Also, the declining Manchu court and aristocrats sold their libraries in a great mass. Because of the situation at that time, the American library Manchu collections consist mostly of relatively new prints of a common variety as well as of luxury volumes such as palace manuscripts and palace print editions formerly owned by the Imperial family and Manchu noblemen, which were readily to be acquired then. In this regard the American collections resemble that of the Toyo Bunko, which acquired most of its Manchu holdings at about the same time.

The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., noted for its very large Chinese collection, also owns a considerable number of Manchu books, probably about 200 items, though I cannot be too sure about the number because the library's title index cards are rather incomplete as far as Manchu books are concerned, and because I could not spare enough time for investigating them during my stay there. Conspicuous among them are such relatively rare multi-volume palace prints as the Shun-chih edition of *Hūng u i oyonggo tacihiyan* (*Ch'ing-wen Ming Hung-wu yao-hsün* 清文明洪武要訓), *Jakūn gūsai tung jy sucungga weilehe bithe* (*Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih ch'u-chi* 八旗通志初集), the Ch'ien-lung editions of *Hesei toktobuha daicing gurun i uheri kooli bithe* (*Ch'in-ting Ta Ch'ing hui-tien* 欽定大清會典), *Hesei toktobuha daicing gurun i uheri kooli i kooli hacin bithe* (*Ch'in-ting Ta Ch'ing hui-tien tse-li* 欽定大清

(18) T. H. Tsien, G. R. Nunn: "Far Eastern Resources in American Libraries" (*Library Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1959, pp. 27-42).

會典則例),<sup>(19)</sup> etc. There are also beautifully made handwritten copies, apparently palace manuscripts, such as *Han i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun i buleku bithe* | *Yü-chih tseng-ting Ch'ing-wen-chien* 御製增訂清文鑑,<sup>(20)</sup> incomplete sets of *Dorolon i jurgan i kooli hacin i bithe* (*Li-pu tse-li* 禮部則例),<sup>(21)</sup> *Hesei toktobuha hafan i jurgan i nikan hafan be sindara kooli* (*Ch'in-ting li-pu ch'üan-hsüan han-kuan tse-li* 欽定吏部銓選漢官則例), *Wecen i baita be aliha yamun i kooli hacin i bithe* (*T'ai-ch'ang-ssu tse-li* 太常寺則例),<sup>(22)</sup> all in Manchu only. Another rare specimen is part of the Kuang-hsü edition of *Hesei toktobuha daicing gurun i uheri kooli i baita hacin bithe* (*Ch'in-ting Ta Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 欽定大清會典事例), (chapters 1156–1169, *Pu-chün t'ung-ling* 步軍統領 in t'ao 135 and chapter 566, *Ping-pu* 兵部), altogether 13 volumes. It is known that only the K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung editions of the Manchu *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien* were printed in xylograph and the Chia-ch'ing editions of Manchu *Hui-tien* and *Hui-tien shih-li* remained in manuscript copies,<sup>(23)</sup> while the Kuang-hsü edition has not been mentioned by anyone so far. Other fragments of the same *Hui-tien shih-li* extant in Europe shall be discussed later.

As for heretofore unknown items in the Manchu collection of the Library of Congress, one is a Manchu-Chinese xylograph with only a Chinese title: *Ch'ing-yü ts'ai-chiu* 清語採舊. It is a booklet consisting of only 51 leaves, without any date or preface, except for three lines on the title page in Chinese: *Ch'ang-pai-shan Cho-chia shih Chao-ch'eng chu* 長白山卓佳氏兆成著 *Ch'ing-yü ts'ai-chiu* 清語採舊 *Man-han hua-t'iao* 滿漢話條. The contents are mostly moral precepts. A handwritten copy of *Buyenin be selabure uyun maktacun i šutucin* | *I-ch'ing chiu-tsan* 怡情九贊, consisting of one volume each of Manchu and Chinese texts, collects Chinese eulogies to nine things with Manchu translation, beautifully prepared with illustrations in colors. One

(19) In this article the Chinese titles of the Manchu books are given in parentheses if they do not actually appear in the originals.

(20) I did not have enough time to compare it with the palace print of *Yü-chih tseng-ting Ch'ing-wen-chien* minutely enough to decide whether there are significant differences. The preface bearing the date of the twenty-second day of the sixth month of K'ang-hsi 47, placed at the beginning of the whole book, originally a preface to *Han i araha manju gisun i buleku bithe* (*Yü-chih Ch'ing-wen-chien* 御製清文鑑), is in this palace manuscript copied as it is in the original and corrected here and there on yellow slips pasted on the page. The corrections are: *šutucin* for *sioi*; *sunja nomun, duin bithe* for *sunja ging sy šu bithe*; *hešen hergen i bithe* for *g'ang mu*; and *jijungge nomun de* for *i ging bithede*. The palace print adopts all those corrections, a proof of the precedence of the manuscript edition.

(21) The t'ao of this copy bears a Chinese legend: *Shih-lu-kuan man-meng ho-pi ch'ao-ho-lu* 實錄館滿蒙合璧朝賀錄. Actually this is chap. 1–10 of *Li-pu tse-li* 禮部則例, parts concerning *I-chih ch'ing-li-ssu* 儀制清吏司, *Ch'ao-ho t'ung-chih* 朝賀通制.

(22) Two of the three volumes make up chap. 24, with the same contents but different in the lengths of each line. The other volume is chap. 25.

(23) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 15.

cannot help feeling that we have here a sample of the elegant life led by the Bannermen.

The largest collection of Manchu books in the United States is at the Harvard-Yenching Institute, nearly one half of which belongs to the Cleaves Collection to be discussed later. The rest, numbering about 170 titles, are already classified in neat order.<sup>(24)</sup> Despite the large number, they contain many duplicates of such common texts as *Ch'ing-wen hui-shu* 清文彙書, *Ch'ing-wen pu-hui* 清文補彙, *Ch'ing-yü chai-ch'ao* 清語摘鈔, etc., and other kinds of books not too rare. Among them, however, is a copy of the first recension of *Manju gisun be niyeceme isabuha bithe* / *Ch'ing-wen pu-hui* 清文補彙, which registers less words than the usual editions and has at the end of the 8th *chüan* the following legend in two lines: *tz'u shu tsai liu-li-ch'ang hsi-men nei wen-tiao-tsao-chai k'o-tzu-p'u pien chih* 此書在琉璃廠西門內問彫藻齋刻字鋪便知. The Tenri Library of Japan has another copy of this relatively rare recension. Other more or less little known xylographs from the first half of the nineteenth century at the Harvard-Yenching Institute include the Manchu-Chinese *Coohei fafun dehi meyen i bithe* / *Chün-ling ssu-shih-tse* 軍令四十則 printed in the mid-autumn month of Tao-kuang 13, *Manju nikan hergen i kamciha araha cooha yabure fafun bithe* / *Man-han ho-pi hsing-chün chi-lü* 滿漢合璧行軍紀律 and *Teisu teisu sain be kicebure dehi ujui bithe* / *Ko hsün fen i mien shan ssu-shih-t'ou* 各循分以勉善四十頭 printed in the eighth month of Tao-kuang 12. They have been described by W. Fuchs elsewhere.<sup>(25)</sup> Also relatively rare are *Gabtan i jorin, morin tuwaha nirugan de araha gisun be amala ejehe* / *She-ti fu kuan-ma t'u-shuo* 射的附觀馬圖說 and *Jiha efire be targabure juwan hacin* / *Chieh-tu shih-tiao* 戒賭十條.<sup>(26)</sup> Among printed editions, there is a rare kind of calendar, which is not the usual *Shih-hsien-shu* 時憲書 but a *Chi-cheng shih-hsien-shu* 七政時憲書, from the third and fourth years of Yung-cheng. Both lacks title slips, but in the one for Yung-cheng 3 the first line of the first page reads: *Daicing gurun i hūwaliyasun tob i ilaci aniya, niohon meihe, nadan dasan i hetu undu siyeo usihai du, sunja usihai somire sabure ton* (*Ta Ch'ing Yung-cheng san-nien sui tzu i-ssu ch'i-cheng ching-wei hsiu-tu wu-hsing fu-chien mu-lu* 大清雍正三年歲次乙巳七

(24) K. Yamamoto 山本謙吾: 在米滿洲語關係書目資料 (*Gengo Kenkyū* 言語研究, Nos. 22-23, 1953, pp. 117-120) lists 28 titles, but they are only a part of the collection.

(25) Fuchs: *Beiträge*, pp. 11, 19. Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, has one copy each of *Manju nikan hergen i kamciha araha cooha yabure fafun bithe* and *Teisu teisu sain be kicebure dehi ujui bithe*.

(26) *Gabtan i jorin* is listed in Fuchs: *Beiträge*, pp. 20-21; *Toyo Bunko Catalogue*, p. 283, No. 477; Misig, *op. cit.*, p. 172, No. 84. *Jiha efire be targabure juwan hacin* here is the same edition with preface dated the New-Year's month of Chia-ch'ing 3, or 1798, as the one listed in Fuchs: *Beiträge*, p. 32. Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, also has a copy of it. *Chieh-tu shih-tse* 戒賭十則 in the Wade Collection, Cambridge, has a legend at its end to the effect that it was re-published by Suljangga, Commander of Canton, in the sixth month of Tao-kuang 16.

政經緯宿度五星伏見目錄).<sup>(27)</sup> There are interesting handwritten copies of Manchu archives. For example, the one tentatively entitled *Ti-ssu chia-la tang-tse'e* 第四甲喇檔冊 is all in Manchu only and dates from the 28th year of Tao-kuang, and another with the title *Fu-te tsou-che-tang* 富德奏摺檔 contains memorials both in Manchu and Chinese presented to the throne by *Ts'antsan ta-ch'en* 參贊大臣 Fude at the time of the expedition to Chin-ch'uan Kingdom in the 37th year of Ch'ien-lung.

The Cleaves Collection was still the private property of Prof. F. W. Cleaves in June, 1963, when I visited the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Prof. Cleaves was kind enough to let me make a survey of the collection, then stored in his office. Later, in 1964, the collection was transferred to the Institute. The outstanding features of the Cleaves Collection, consisting of 146 titles in all, are that it is rich in rare texts, especially manuscripts and official files, and that all are beautiful copies in excellent condition.

Among the printed books in the Cleaves Collection, there are such multi-volume palace editions as a complete set of *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien* 大清會典 and *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien tse-li* 大清會典則例 compiled in the Ch'ien-lung years. Even rarer is *Ice foloho manju i geren bithe* | *Hsin-k'o ch'ing-shu ch'üan-chi* 新刻清書全集. It was noted by W. Fuchs as early as 1942 that Prof. Cleaves had this copy; and Prof. Fuchs himself owned another copy at that time, and its contents he described in details.<sup>(28)</sup> Therefore I shall omit explanation of this text here, only calling the reader's attention to the fact that the Cleaves copy, consisting of five volumes, is so beautifully preserved that it still retains original title-pages and title slips on the cover of each volume. Another copy kept at the Keiô University, Tokyo, though complete in number of volumes, lacks title-pages and seems to have been printed a little later than the Cleaves copy, partly from different blocks.<sup>(29)</sup> Fragmentary copies are found scattered

(27) This Chinese title has been reconstructed to the K'ang-hsi 9 edition of *Ch'i-cheng shih-hsien-shu* in Chinese kept at the National Central Library, Taipei, Taiwan.

(28) Fuchs: *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 1-4.

(29) The Keiô copy has a different first volume from that of the Cleaves copy. The legend, *Ice foloho manju i geren bithe*; *T'ing-sung-lou tsang-pen hsin-k'o ch'ing-shu ch'üan-chi* 聽松樓藏本新刻清書全集, printed on the reverse side of the righthand cover in the Cleaves copy, appears in the Keiô copy on the reverse side of the lefthand cover, followed by a Chinese preface by Wang Ho-sun 汪鶴孫, an introductory by Ling Shao-wen 凌紹雯, a table of contents of *Man-han shih-lei pei-k'ao* 滿漢事類備考, and its prefatory notes, all written from left to right, then followed by *Juwan juwe uju/Shih-erh-tzu-t'ou* 十二字頭. Contrary to this, the Cleaves copy has legend, *Juwan juwe uju i bithe*; *T'ing-sung-lou tsang-pen ch'ing-shu shih-erh-tzu-t'ou* 聽松樓藏本清書十二字頭, on the reverse side of the lefthand cover, followed by the text of *Juwan juwe uju* starting on the first page counted from the lefthand cover of the book; the preface to the prefatory notes are all written from right to left, starting from the righthand cover and printed in much larger letters than in the Keiô copy, consequently occupying more pages. The Cleaves copy also has two sets of prefatory notes, one being for *Man-han pei-k'ao* 滿漢備考 contained in the second and third volumes; this is lacking in the Keiô copy.

in European and Japanese libraries, all in poorer condition than the Cleaves copy.<sup>(30)</sup>

Another Manchu print that needs to be mentioned in the Cleaves Collection is *Ioi jy be giya sing* / *Yü-chih pai-chia-hsing* 御製百家姓. Li Te-ch'i lists as the third volume of a Tao-kuang manuscript, the *T'ung-yin ho-pi* 同音合璧 in five volumes, a *Yü-chih pai-chia-hsing-shih* 御製百家姓氏, but since he gives no explanation, we have no way of knowing if it is the same text as the Cleaves copy.<sup>(31)</sup> *Pe Giya Sing, The Hundred Family Names* mentioned by A. Wylie, also without any explanation, might be the other *Pai-chia-hsing* which I shall discuss later.<sup>(32)</sup> The Cleaves copy is a booklet which opens from the righthand cover and consists of two leaves of preface and twenty leaves of main text. The preface is in Chinese only, ending with: *K'ang-hsi san-shih-erh-nien sui-tz'u kwei-yu hsia ssu-yüeh i-jih Lou-tung Shen Ch'i-liang Hung-chao chin-shu Yen-tu Ch'eng Shih Tzū-fan ching-tiao* 康熙三十二年歲次癸酉夏四月一日 婁東沈啓亮弘照謹書 燕都程式子範敬鐫. Each page of the main text has six lines, in the upper half of which four Chinese characters of the *Yü-chih pai-chia-hsing* are placed in every odd-numbered line, accompanied by their pronunciations in Manchu transcription in every even-numbered line; in the lower half of every page are commentaries both in Chinese and Manchu. At the end of the main text there is a legend in two languages: *Lou-tung Shen Ch'i-liang ching-shu* 婁東沈啓亮敬書 / *leo dung, šen ki liyang gingguleme araha*. There is not the slightest doubt that this is a work of Shen Ch'i-liang, who is famous as the author of *Daicing gurun i yooni bithe* / *Ta Ch'ing chüan-shu* 大清全書, the earliest Manchu-Chinese dictionary.

*Yü-chih pai-chia-hsing*, compiled by Emperor K'ang-hsi in Chinese, has become very rare in spite of its relatively late origin, maybe because it was intended only as a primer for village children. Even such encyclopedias as *Tz'u-yüan* 辭源 and *Tz'u-hai* 辭海 say that this *Pai-chia-hsing* has since been lost. But the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo, has two copies of it, one printed in the 31st year of K'ang-hsi and the other in the 43rd year of Ch'ien-lung. The two are from different blocks: the K'ang-hsi edition has commentary which is lacking in the Ch'ien-lung edition. The commentary, however, does not coincide with that in Shen Ch'i-liang's edition. This discrepancy seems to be regarded as having been inherited from an original text from which Shen Ch'i-liang quoted, without holding himself responsible for it. In any case, this *Ioi jy be giya sing*, together with the *Man han ciyan dz wen*, another

(30) The second volume, *Ice foloho manju nikan sonjome yongkiyaha* / *Hsin-k'o man-han pei-k'ao* 新刻滿漢備考, exists at Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The third volume, *Ice foloho manju nikan adali jilgan* / *Hsin-k'o man-han t'ung-sheng* 新刻滿漢同聲, is found at Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden. The fifth volume, *Manju i acanara bithe* / *Ch'ing-shu tui-yin hsieh-tzu* 清書對音協字, is preserved at the Vatican Library and the Toyo Bunko. Cf. *Toyo Bunko Catalogue*, p. 199, No. 261.

(31) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 21.

(32) Wylie: *op. cit.*, p. xli.

work by Shen Ch'i-liang to be discussed later, should be regarded as an important source-material for studying Manchu transcription of Chinese sounds.

Among the manuscript copies in the Cleaves Collection, *Jabduha ucuri amtangga baita* / *Hsien-chug chia-ch'ü* 閒中佳趣 in both Manchu and Chinese may be considered the most interesting. It is a collection of Chinese poems and couplets translated into Manchu, by Jakdan (Cha-k'o-tan 札克丹), translator of *Liao-chai chih-i* 聊齋志異, in eight volumes, the last of which is in Manchu only, with the title *Manju gisun i yobo maktara sarkiyan* / *Ch'ing-yü chai-ch'ü lu* 清語摘趣錄. The fifteen volumes of the palace manuscript *Han i pilehe tonggime araha jalan jalan i hafu buleku bithe* (Yü-p'i li-tai t'ung-chien chi-lan 御批歷代通鑑輯覽), mostly works of the Sung and Chin Dynasties, must have come from the Palace Museum, as Li Te-ch'i says the copy there is highly fragmentary.<sup>(33)</sup>

The Cleaves Collection also contains many Manchu archives. For example, *Chia-ch'ing nien chen-shou Hei-lung-chiang teng ch'u yün-ch'i-wei tso-uche* 嘉慶年鎮守黑龍江等處雲騎尉奏摺 so written on the title slip pasted on the t'ao, collects dispatches, in Manchu and Chinese, from the commander-in-chief (*chiang-chün* 將軍), deputy commander (*fu-tu-t'ung* 副都統), etc., of Heilungkiang Province to the governor (*hsün-fu* 巡撫) of Honan Province. The collections of the documents that arrived at the office of the commander of the Plain Yellow Banner (*cheng-huang-ch'i tu-t'ung* 正黃旗都統) are titled on the cover of each volume *Ch'ien-lung wu-shih-erh-nien liu-yüeh lai-wen tang chung pen shu tzu-hao* 乾隆五十二年六月來文當中本 庶字號 and *Chia-ch'ing shih-erh-nien shih-yüeh lai-wen tang chu tzu-hao* 嘉慶十二年十月來文檔 珠字號. Especially interesting are two census registers of the First Battalion (*t'ou chia-la* 頭甲喇) of the Mongols of the Plain Yellow Banner, which lists the family names, positions, and ages of each family belonging to each company (*niru, tso-ling* 佐領). Between the two registers there is a span of ten years, to judge from the ages of the persons listed in them. We have no way of determining the exact dates of the registers, but roughly speaking they seem to belong to the late part of the Ch'ing period, maybe the Kuang-hsü years. Another register of the same kind, of the companies belonging to the First Battalion of the Mongols of the Bordered Yellow Banner (*hsiang-huang-ch'i* 鑲黃旗), bears the date of the 20th year of Kuang-hsü at its end.

### III

It is well known that the Newberry Library, Chicago, has a collection by B. Laufer of books which include Manchu, thanks to a pamphlet in which the collector himself gives a brief description of them.<sup>(34)</sup> The books were

(33) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 37.

(34) B. Laufer: *Descriptive Account of the Collection of Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol and Japanese Books in the Newberry Library*. Chicago, 1913.



acquired by Laufer in 1908–1910, then travelling in the Far East as leader of an expedition organized by the Field Museum, Chicago. The manuscript catalogue of all of them, in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan and Japanese, was prepared by Laufer himself but never published.<sup>(35)</sup> The Laufer Collection was later transferred from the Newberry Library to the University of Chicago in 1943, and is now preserved in the latter's Far Eastern Library. The Manchu books I inspected there numbered about 50 from the Laufer Collection and about 10 from elsewhere.<sup>(36)</sup>

Laufer himself considered as especially rare among the Manchu books he collected for the Newberry Library such palace prints as *Inenggidari giyangnaha i ging ni jurgan be suhe bithe* (*Jih-chiang i-ching chieh-i* 日講易經解義), *Inenggidari giyangnaha šu ging ni jurgan be suhe bithe* (*Jih-chiang shu-ching chieh-i* 日講書經解義), *Inenggidari giyangnaha sy šu i jurgan be suhe bithe* (*Jih-chiang ssu-shu chieh-i* 日講四書解義), etc.<sup>(37)</sup> In my opinion, even rarer is the privately printed *Ice foloho manju nikan hergen i šu ging* | *Hsin-k'o man-han-tzu shu-ching* 新刻滿漢字書經. Consisting of six chapters in four volumes, on its title-page the Manchu-Chinese title is followed by the legend *Ch'ien-lung san-nien ch'un tiao Ching-tu Hung-yüan-t'ang tzu* 乾隆三年春鑄 京都鴻遠堂梓. Also, at the end of the preface is written: *Ch'ien-lung san-nien san-yüeh ku-tan shu* 乾隆三年三月穀旦書, with a seal that reads *Hung-yüan-t'ang tsang-shu* 鴻遠堂藏書. The text starts from the righthand cover, and each page contains the Manchu in the upper row and the Chinese in the lower row, in a manner identical to that of *Hsin-k'o man-han-tzu ssu-shu* 新刻滿漢字四書 and *Hsin-k'o man-han-tzu shih-ching* 新刻滿漢字詩經, probably sister publications. The *Ssu-shu* and the *Shih-ching* have been listed in catalogues,<sup>(38)</sup> but the *Shu-ching* has never been mentioned by anyone, and I could not find another copy anywhere else. Also among the printed editions in the Laufer Collection, the Manchu-Chinese dictionary *Manju nikan šu adali yooni bithe* | *Man-han t'ung-wen ch'üan-shu* 滿漢同文全書 is rather rare, though attention has been called to its existence by Fuchs, and the Toyo

(35) It is a handwritten draft entitled: "Catalogue of East Asiatic Books on Religion, History, Literature, and Art, Collected by Dr. Berthold Laufer in 1908–1910, for the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill." Its photographic reproduction has been made by the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

(36) The Manchu books amount to 62 titles according to T. H. Tsien, "The Far Eastern Library of the University of Chicago" (*Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1956, pp. 473–475, *News of the Profession*). Laufer himself says about sixty in his *Descriptive Account*, p. 1.

(37) Laufer: *Descriptive Account*, p. 4. He especially inserts a photograph of *Inenggidari giyangnaha sy šu i jurgan be suhe bithe*.

(38) Fuchs, *Beiträge*, pp. 37–39, lists *Hsin-k'o man-han-tzu shih-ching* 新刻滿漢字詩經 published by *T'ing-sung-lou* 聽松樓, *Hsin-k'o man-han-tzu ssu-shu* 新刻滿漢字四書 published by *T'ien-hui-ko* 天繪閣, and the same published by *Yü-shu-t'ang* 玉樹堂. Another *Hsin-k'o man-han-tzu ssu-shu* published by *Hung-yüan-t'ang* 鴻遠堂 is listed in *Toyo Bunko Catalogue*, pp. 194–195, No. 251.

Bunko owns a copy.<sup>(39)</sup> Among the handwritten copies, *Emu tanggū orin sakda i gisun sarkiyān* (*Pai-erh-shih lao-jen yü-lu* 百二十老人語錄) looms important. The nature of the book is widely known through the explanations by Laufer and R. C. Rudolph.<sup>(40)</sup> This work of Sungyun (Sung-yün 松筠) was never printed, but was handed down through several handwritten copies,<sup>(41)</sup> one of which exists at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies.<sup>(42)</sup> The Chicago text, however, is more complete in retaining the prefaces by the author and the Furentai (Fu-lun-t'ai 富倫泰) that are lacking in the Osaka manuscript.

The Field Museum, Chicago, where Laufer used to work, is now the Chicago Natural History Museum, and it still preserves the original rubbings of Manchu inscriptions published by him and O. Franke in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China, Erster Teil*, 1914.

The East Asian Library of the Columbia University, New York, has about 70 Manchu books, all well classified and catalogued. Most of them are common works, except for the following four: *Manju nikan hergen i kamciha isabuha oyonggo bithe* / *Man-han ho-pi chi-yao* 滿漢合璧集要, *Manju nikan hergen i kamciha tuktan tacire urusei urunakū ulhire bithe* / *Man-han ho-pi yu-hsüeh hsü-chih* 滿漢合璧幼學須知, *Manju nikan hergen i kamciha sonjoho oyonggo bithe* / *Man-han ho-pi hsüan-yao* 滿漢合璧選要, and *Tacibure hesei bithe* / *Hsün-chih* 訓旨, each in one volume. The four volumes are packed in one *t'ao* which seems of recent make. Thus it is doubtful that they originally formed a set together. Yet the four are all printed by *Ching-k'ou kuan-hsüeh* 京口官學, in the same format. For the dates of their publication, three have the eighth month of the 29th year of Ch'ien-lung, while *Yu-hsüeh hsü-chih* has the fourth month of the 31st year of Ch'ien-lung. Fuchs has described another copy of *Man-han ho-pi hsüan-yao* from the same blocks.<sup>(43)</sup> As for *Yu-hsüeh hsü-chih*, an *Erh-yu-t'ang* 二酉堂 print of the first year of Tao-kuang exists in the Cleaves Collection, Möllendorff mentions a print of 1822 (the 2nd year of Tao-kuang),<sup>(44)</sup> and Li Te-ch'i also lists a manuscript copy,<sup>(45)</sup> but so far no *Ching-k'ou kuan-hsüeh* edition has been found anywhere else. As for *Hsün chih*, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has a printed edition titled *Manju nikan hergen i kamciha tacibure hešen bithe* / *Man-han ho-pi hsün-chih* 滿漢合璧訓旨 in one volume, and Fuchs lists what seems to be the same print,<sup>(46)</sup> but the *Ching-k'ou kuan-hsüeh* edition is from different blocks.

(39) Fuchs: *Beiträge*, pp. 11–12. *Toyo Bunko Catalogue*, pp. 211–212.

(40) R. C. Rudolph: "Emu tanggō orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyān, an unedited Manchu Manuscript" (*JAOS*, Vol. 60, 1940, pp. 554–563).

(41) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 8. Misig: *op. cit.*, p. 216, No. 137. Volkova: *op. cit.*, p. 59, No. 106.

(42) Watanabe: *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50.

(43) Fuchs: *Beiträge*, p. 34.

(44) Möllendorff: *op. cit.*, p. 24.

(45) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 31.

(46) Fuchs: *Neue Beiträge*, p. 12.

Lastly, *Man-han ho-pi chi-yao* seems to have been mentioned by nobody, whether from the same blocks or otherwise. It resembles *Tanggū meyen* in discussing the importance of Manchu and various moral teachings under one-hundred articles. Each page has the Manchu text in the upper row, accompanied by translation in colloquial Chinese in the lower row. The book may be regarded as an introduction to the Manchu language.

The New York Public Library has only about ten Manchu books, the card catalogues for which are very well arranged. Among them, *Man han tung wen fun lei ciyan šu* / *Man-han t'ung-wen fen-lei ch'üan-shu* 滿漢同文分類全書 is the only one that merits noting.

K. Yamamoto has referred to the presence of a collection of Manchu books at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. It formerly belonged to E. Hauer, the author of *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* and translator into German of *Huang Ch'ing k'ai-kuo fang-lüeh* 皇清開國方略.<sup>(47)</sup> This collection was first purchased by the Walter Hine Page School of the University in 1939. Because of the subsequent close-down of the School, the collection is now kept at the central library of the University. All the titles in the collection are enumerated in Yamamoto's list, except for a fragmentary volume of the palace print *Daicing gurun i žindzung sunggiyen hūwangdi i enduringge tacihyan* (*Ta Ch'ing Jen-tsung Jui-huang-ti sheng-hsün* 大清仁宗睿皇帝聖訓), chapter 71, and a calendar (*shih-hsien-shu* 時憲書) for the 28th year of Kuang-hsü, both without catalogue numbers. As can be seen in Yamamoto's list, most of the 50 or so Manchu books are ordinary prints of a common nature. The one exception is *Manju nikan hergen kamcibuha lioi ioi jy ts'ui bithe* / *Man-han ho-pi lü-yü chi-ts'ui* 滿漢合璧呂語集粹 in four chapters in four volumes, an extremely beautifully printed book and very rare, though Fuchs mentions another copy of it.<sup>(48)</sup>

The Gest Oriental Library, Princeton University, is noted for its rich collection of Chinese books, and there are also about 70 Manchu books, all well catalogued. Among the noteworthy ones there, we have a palace manuscript copy of *Dorolon i jurgan i kooli hacin i bithe* (*Li-pu tse-li* 禮部則例), though it is fragmentary. As I have said before, the Library of Congress too has other parts of the same book. Both seem to be fragments from the same set, and Princeton's portion is larger than that of the Library of Congress.<sup>(49)</sup> In addition, Princeton owns 24 chapters in 24 volumes from a palace manu-

(47) Yamamoto: *op. cit.*, pp. 117-119

(48) Fuchs, *Beiträge*, pp. 30-31, says that the copy at the National Library, Peking, consists of four chapters in four volumes. Li, *op. cit.*, p. 8, must be referring to another copy, or is in error, when he says that the library's copy is made up of three chapters in three volumes.

(49) Princeton preserves 22 volumes covering 122 chapters out of 186, plus a table of contents. The copy at the Library of Congress, only five volumes covering chapters 1 to 10, must originally have belonged to one and the same manuscript as the Princeton copy, as the latter can be supplemented by the former.

script copy of *Hesei tokto buha gurun i suduri i ambasai faidangga ulabun* (*Ch'in-ting kuo-shih ta-ch'en lieh-chuan* 欽定國史大臣列傳). As for Manchu archives, there is a voluminous *Ta Ch'ing shang-yü tsou-shih tang-chi* 大清上諭奏事檔集 in 112 volumes. It is a collection of Imperial decrees and memorials of vassals on court affairs, some in both Manchu and Chinese, some in Chinese only, but most of them in Manchu only. There is also a divinatory work, tentatively entitled *Jih-yüeh hsing-ch'en chan* 日月星辰占, in four volumes, a beautiful handwritten copy in Manchu only. It describes prophecy by means of natural phenomena changes in the sun, the moon and the stars, with illustrations in colors in the upper part of every page and explanations beneath them. I have so far not succeeded in identifying its Chinese original, though it resembles *T'ien-yüan yü-li hsing-i fu* 天元玉曆祥異賦 distributed by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Ming Dynasty; and the *Wan-pao ch'üan-shu* 萬寶全書 contains similar descriptions.

Among the Manchu printed books at Princeton, *Ging ši jai i ubaliyambuha si siyang gi bithe* is a rare Manchu translation of the Chinese drama *Hsi-hsiang-chi* 西廂記. The usual edition of Manchu *Hsi-hsiang-chi* is the Manchu-Chinese print with a preface dated the New Year's month of the 49th year of K'ang-hsi, and there is also another printed edition only in Manchu,<sup>(50)</sup> but the Princeton text differs from either of them. It also is in Manchu only, is truly beautifully printed, and consists of four chapters in four volumes, preceded by a preface (three leaves), rules (*fa* 法, two leaves) and a table of contents (two leaves). Date of its publication is unknown, as the preface lacks a date. At the end of the preface is a legend in the form of a seal reading *sanding hakcin* (in black) and *ubaliyambume araha* (in white). *Sanding Hakcin* seems to be the name of the translator. The title slip on the cover of each volume says only *Ubaliyambuha si siyang gi bithe* or "Hsi-hsiang-chi in Translation", but the title in the table of contents and in the first line of the text has *Ging ši jai i* or "by *Ging ši jai*" before "ubaliyambuha". Somebody has written Chinese characters between the Manchu lines of the original, giving *Ching-shih-chai* 竟是齋 as equivalents to *Ging ši jai*. Whether or not this is correct cannot be determined yet; we also do not know who *Sanding Hakcin* alias *Ging ši jai* was. Anyway, this is an important version of Manchu *Hsi-hsiang-chi* in that its Manchu text is different from the other two editions. For example, the title of the first chapter *ching-yen* 驚艷 is usually translated *hojo de nioroko* while the Princeton edition has *fiyan de nioroko*; and the second chapter *chieh-hsiang* 借廂 is entitled in other editions *tatara boo de baiha* while in the Princeton edition it is *asgan de baiha*.

The East Asiatic Library of the University of California at Berkeley owns about thirty or forty titles, most of them ordinary Manchu books. My time there was too limited for a thorough survey, but I was impressed by a manuscript entitled *Lu too coohai bithe*, apparently a translation of the strategic

(50) Fuchs: *Beiträge*, p. 35, No. 50.

work *Liu-t'ao* 六韜. More recently, the Library acquired a Manchu version of *T'ai-shang kan-ying-p'ien* 太上感應篇, a very rare copy which I shall discuss later.

#### IV

Manchu literature extant in Europe has been described by W. Kotwicz and recently by J. Ikegami. Here I shall refer only to what the two scholars have omitted.

In Great Britain, the British Museum, London, has the best and largest collection, as one might expect. The Manchu books there are well classified, and a catalogue of them, with brief bibliographical notes, has been compiled by W. Simon, Professor Emeritus of the University of London, though it still remains unpublished.

Among the Manchu manuscripts at the British Museum, one of the most famous is *Han i araha sunja hacin i hergen kamciha manju gisun i buleku bithe* / *Yü-chih wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien* 御製五體清文鑑. The palace manuscript copy of *Beye dailame wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon i bithe* (*Ch'in-cheng p'ing-ting shuo-mo fang-lüeh* 親征平定朔漢方略) preserves only the first three volumes. Other palace manuscripts there are *Hesei toktobuha gurun i suduri i ambasai faidangga ulabun* (*Ch'in-ting kuo-shih ta-ch'en lieh-chuan* 欽定國史大臣列傳), the 19th *t'ao* (four chapters in four volumes), *Hesei toktobuha gurun i suduri i tondo jurgangga i faidangga ulabun* (*Ch'in-ting kuo-shih chung-i chuan* 欽定國史忠義傳), the 41st chapter (in one volume), and *Ch'in-ting hsi-yü t'ung-wen-chih* 欽定西域同文志, a photographic reproduction of which has recently been published by the Toyo Bunko. *Man-han Hui-chiang chuan* 滿漢回疆傳 and *I-li lei-pien*<sup>(51)</sup> 伊犁類編 are also rare manuscripts.

Of the Manchu prints at the British Museum, the two copies of *Si siyang gi bithe* (*Hsi-hsiang-chi* 西廂記) are a rare edition in Manchu only. It is a totally different edition from the Princeton copy mentioned above, so rare that Fuchs has listed it as a rarity.<sup>(52)</sup> Equally interesting are two different editions of *Acabume karulara bithe* (*Kan-ying-p'ien* 感應篇). Both are incomplete copies lacking the first and last parts. One of them is in Manchu only, with illustrations. At the end of what seems to be a preface, of which the first part is lost, it is said *elhe taifin i juwan juweci aniya sahaliyan singgeri tuwert omšon biyai sain inenggi gingguleme foloho* or "reverently carved on a lucky day in the eleventh month, winter, of the twelfth year of Black Mouse of K'ang-hsi". The 12th year of K'ang-hsi (1667) is, however, the year of Blackish Cow, the year after the year of the Black Mouse. Here either the

(51) *I-li lei-pien* has been described by Ikegami, "Manchu Materials in European Libraries," p. 118.

(52) Fuchs: *Beiträge*, pp. 35, 129.

number or the sexagenary cycle is in error. After all, it must be the same edition as the 1673 xylograph referred to by Klaproth<sup>(53)</sup> and Wylie.<sup>(54)</sup> Another copy of the same edition was acquired by the East Asiatic Library of the University of California at Berkeley. It appears to be a complete one.<sup>(55)</sup> The other edition of *Kan-ying-p'ien* at the British Museum contains both Manchu and Chinese texts, also accompanied by illustrations. On the title slip pasted on the *t'ao* is written in black ink: *Man-han kan-ying-p'ien t'u-shuo* 滿漢感應篇圖說. The copy itself is an incomplete one that preserves only the leaves 樂 64 to 樂 158. This is a part of the K'ang-hsi 54 print mentioned by Fuchs,<sup>(56)</sup> of which a complete copy is extant at the Tenri Library.<sup>(57)</sup> Incidentally, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has a complete printed copy of still another edition of *Kan-ying-p'ien*, with printed title slips saying *Tai sang ni acabume karulara bithe* (*T'ai-shang kan-ying-p'ien* 太上感應篇). It is all in Manchu only, consists of six chapters in four volumes, lacks illustrations, and is totally different even from the K'ang-hsi 12 edition at the British Museum. This also seems to be a publication under the reign of K'ang-hsi.

It has been known that some of the *Dergi hese* (*Shang-yü* 上諭, Imperial decrees of Emperor Yung-cheng) were published in xylograph, each in one volume. The British Museum owns five of such *Dergi hese*, bound together in a Western format. They are dated the 15th day of the eleventh month of the second year, the 16th day of the fourth month of the third year, the 22nd day of the fifth month of the same year, the 28th day of the tenth month of the second year, and the 22nd day of the fifth month of the third year of Yung-cheng. The third and the last have different contents, though the dates are the same. Of the five, the one dated the 15th day of the eleventh month of the second year may or may not be the same as one listed in Li Te-ch'i's catalogue.<sup>(58)</sup> The other four have never been mentioned by anyone before. Fuchs has introduced still another *Dergi hese* of Yung-cheng dated the 22nd day of the eighth month of the second year,<sup>(59)</sup> a copy of which exists at Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen. Both the British Museum texts and the Copenhagen text are printed in red ink, but the latter is different from the former in that its cover and paper are embellished with dragon patterns.

The British Museum also owns several Buddhist Scriptures. Among them, I feel, the Manchu-Chinese *Amba sure i cargi dalin de akūnaha nomun i šošohon gisun toktoho* / *Ta pan-jo po-lo-mi-to ching ch'eng-yü* 大般若波羅密多經成語 (Set phrases in Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra) is especially noteworthy. On

(53) J. Klaproth: *Chrestomathie mandchou ou recueil de textes mandchou*, 1828, p. 221.

(54) Wylie: *op. cit.*, p. xxxix.

(55) *CU News*, General Library, University of California, Berkeley, Vol. 22, No. 29, 20 July 1967.

(56) Fuchs: *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 7-8.

(57) *Collection of Manchu Books*, p. 6.

(58) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 42.

(59) Fuchs: *Beiträge*, pp. 16-17.

both sides of the title on the title-page is written in Manchu: *abkai wehiyehe han i ubaliyambuhange* (what Emperor Ch'ien-lung caused to be translated). It is in the format of a sutra, long from side to side, consisting of 88 folios on either face of which the text is printed in red ink.

Also in the British Museum collection of Korean books are such rare Manchu language guides as *P'al-se-a* 八歲兒, *So-a-ron* 小兒論, *Sam-yök-ch'ong-hae* 三譯總解, *Ch'öng-ö No-göl-dae* 清語老乞大, etc. Their texts have been published recently in the Republic of Korea in photographic reproductions.<sup>(60)</sup>

Another important collection of Manchu books in Great Britain is found at the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Though relatively small in number (about 50), many rare items are included. Of printed books, the palace print of *Han i araha gucu hoki i leolen* (*Yü-chih p'eng-tang-lun* 御製朋黨論) by Emperor Yung-cheng is one worth noting. This edition is the same as the one in Möllendorff's collection at Staatsbibliothek in Marburg, West Germany (described in his list).<sup>(61)</sup> Another copy is known elsewhere.<sup>(62)</sup> Still it is quite rare. The SOAS has another, Manchu-Chinese, edition of the same book which is totally different from the palace print. It has a bilingual postface in three folios at the end which is not found in the palace print. Between the recto and the verso of each folio there is a legend in Chinese *San-shan-chai* 三善齋. This Manchu-Chinese edition of *Yü-chih p'eng-tang-lun* has never before been listed in catalogues. *Ubaliyambuha uculen juru gisun irgabun / Fan-i tz'u lien shih fu* 翻譯詞聯詩賦 is the same *Wen-ying-t'ang* 文英堂 publication as the one mentioned by Fuchs, and is also rare enough to be included in his list of rarities.<sup>(63)</sup>

An especially precious Manchu manuscript exists at the School of Oriental and African Studies. It is the draft of the Manchu version of *Yüan-shih* 元史 which Prof. Simon acquired in postwar Peking. I cannot help admiring the judgment of Prof. Simon, whose great erudition in Manchu literature is known to everybody. Earlier Fuchs had reported, though briefly, that Lo Chen-yü's 羅振玉 *Ta-k'u shu-chi cheng-li-ch'u* 大庫書籍整理處 at Lu-shun had manuscript Manchu translations of *Chin-shih* 金史 and *Yüan-shih* entitled *Aisin i kooli* and *Dai yuwan i kooli*.<sup>(64)</sup> The SOAS manuscript of the Manchu *Yüan-shih* has a postface by Lo Chen-yü, from whose hand it must have come.

The book, now re-bound into two volumes of Chinese format, consists of

(60) 八歲兒・三譯總解・小兒論・同文類解. Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Yöñhi University, Seoul, 1956. For *Ch'öng-ö No-göl-dae*, cf. Note 97.

(61) Möllendorff: *op. cit.*, p. 21.

(62) 國立奉天圖書館藏本書目, p. 10. Fuchs, *Beiträge*, p. 33, describes the copy kept at that library.

(63) Fuchs: *ibid.*, pp. 36, 129.

(64) Fuchs: *ibid.*, p. 124.

89 folios, all in Manchu only. The first folio carries the title *Dai yuwan i kooli ningguci sidzu*, or "Antecedents of the Great Yüan, Sixth, Shih-tsu." At the end of the second volume is a postface by Lo Chen-yü in the handwriting of his son Lo Fu-i 羅福頤, which says, "According to what a man versed in Manchu language says, the contents of this fragmentary volume begins with the sixteenth year of Chih-cheng and ends with the twenty-fourth year of that era." This is utterly wrong, for the present first volume opens with *dz yuwan i juwan ningguci aniya* or the sixteenth year of Chih-yüan and closes with the middle of the twenty-fourth year of the same era, and the second volume covers the period from the second half of the latter through the thirty-first year of Chih-yüan. Therefore the manuscript as a whole contains the latter half of the reign of Emperor Shih-tsu (Qubilai), not that of Shun-ti (Toyon Temür). The Manchu *Yüan-shih* xylograph published in the third year of Shun-chih, *Dai yuwan gurun i suduri*, has no chaptering, but is divided into fourteen volumes, of which the sixth covers a period from the sixteenth through thirty-first years of Chih-yüan in Shih-tsu's region, in an exact correspondence with the SOAS manuscript.

The manuscript *Yüan-shih* is really a draft copy, with deletions, alterations and insertions everywhere. Moreover, it frequently has a whole passage circled by a brush stroke. Comparing it with the xylograph edition, we find the revisions in the manuscript all followed in the latter, which leaves out the passages circled by brush strokes, except when they are accompanied with the legend *ere be ara*, or "Copy this," an instruction to the copyist not to drop the passages. This manuscript is highly interesting material for studying the process in which the text of the xylograph edition of the Manchu *Yüan shih* was composed.

The Ch'ing Veritable Records tell us how *Yüan-shih* came to be translated into Manchu. First of all, early in the fifth month of the ninth year of T'ien-tsung, 1635, Emperor T'ai-tsung (Hong Taiji) assembled his officers serving at the Bureau of Writing (*Wen-kuan* 文館, *Bithei boo*) and ordered them to select and translate the passages of *Liao-shih*, *Sung-shih*, *Chin-shih* and *Yüan-shih* that might be useful for him to consult on government and military affairs. The work was begun in the fifth month of the following first year of Ch'ung-te, and after fully three years translations of *Liao-shih*, *Chin-shih* and *Yüan-shih* were brought to completion in the sixth month of the fourth year of the same era. Then a set of clean copies was presented to Emperor Shun-chih in the third month of the first year of Shun-chih (1644), and the printed copies of the three histories were bestowed as an Imperial gift on all his vassals below the rank of prince of the blood and above that of *jalan i jangggin*, in the twelfth month of the third year of the same era.<sup>(65)</sup>

(65) Cf. *T'ai-tsung shih-lu* 太宗實錄, chap. 23, T'ien-tsung 9, New-Year's month, day of *chi-ssu*; *Shih-tsu shih-lu* 世祖實錄, chap. 3, Shun-chih 1, third month, day of *chia-yin*; chap. 29, Shun-chih 3, twelfth month, day of *jen-ch'en*; and Hife's prefaces to the printed editions of *Dailiyoo gurun i suduri* and *Dai yuwan gurun i suduri*.



Judging from such historical evidence, the manuscript of the Manchu *Yüan-shih* must have taken its present form by the sixth month of the fourth year of Ch'ung-te at the earliest, and by the third month of the first year of Shun-chih at the latest. Thus there is not the slightest doubt that this copy has come down to us from the days previous to the Manchu conquest of China in 1644. Indeed, the copy is written on antique-looking Korean papers, in a very archaic hand, though with dots and circles, resembling that used in *Man-wen yüan-tang* 滿文原檔. Although it is nothing more than an abridged translation of the Chinese history of the Yüan Dynasty,<sup>(66)</sup> it will doubtlessly serve as a most valuable material for the study of the early Manchu language and literature and the way in which Chinese was translated into Manchu in those days. The manuscript is currently under study by Professor Simon, results of which the present writer hopes will appear in the near future.

Many Manchu books are also found in the Wade Collection, now kept at the University Library, Cambridge, as indicated in its catalogue compiled by H. A. Giles (already mentioned). The numbers appearing in Giles' catalogue, however, have been changed, and the new ones can be looked up in the manuscript catalogue of Manchu books prepared by Prof. Fuchs in 1952 and kept at the Library for consultation. Of the Manchu xylographs in this collection, relatively rare are *Lakcaha jecen de takūraha babe ejehe bithe* (*I-yü-lu* 異域錄) of Tulišen (T'u-li-shen 圖理琛) and *Hung u i oyonggo tacihian/Ch'ing-wen Ming Hung-wu yao-hsün* 清文明洪武要訓, etc. A critical edition of the former book, with Japanese translation and annotation, has recently been published by Shunjū Imanishi.<sup>(67)</sup> Also especially remarkable is a complete set of *Hafu buleku bithe* (*Kang-chien hui-tsuan* 綱鑑會纂) in 80 volumes. Although it has been listed by both Möllendorff and Li and a copy is found in the National Library in Ulan Bator,<sup>(68)</sup> I have not come across it anywhere else, except for a mere four fragmentary volumes, chapters 69 to 72, at Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen. The most important Manchu manuscript in the Wade Collection may be an elaborate copy of *Tob be hūwašabure nirugan suhe gisun i bithe* (*Yang-cheng t'u-chieh* 養正圖解), each chapter of which has a page of multicolored illustration.<sup>(69)</sup>

The Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford has about thirty

(66) Li, *op. cit.*, p. 40 says, of the Manchu versions of *Liao-shih*, *Chin-shih* and *Yüan-shih*, "The three books above are *pen-chi* of the three histories. I have once made a rough comparison of them with the three Chinese histories and found their contents to be mostly identical." On deeper investigation, Li is found not quite accurate. As far as this portion of the Manchu draft is concerned, it is compiled into an annal by selecting from *pen-chi* and supplementing with accounts from biographical section of the original history.

(67) S. Imanishi 今西春秋：譯注異域錄. Tenri, 1964.

(68) Möllendorff: *op. cit.*, p. 31. Li: *op. cit.*, p. 36. Misig: *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13.

(69) Li, *op. cit.*, p. 7, lists a manuscript copy at the Library of the Palace Museum. No further copy is known to exist anywhere else.

titles of Manchu books, but I found none of them of much interest.

There are in England some other institutions where a smaller number of Manchu books can be found. The John Rylands Library, Manchester, owns Chinese books belonging to Bibliotheca Lindesiana of Lord Crowford, among which more than ten titles of Manchu books are found. Their names are listed in a catalogue published many years ago.<sup>(70)</sup> Though the number is not too great, a few are relatively rare and noteworthy. For example, the collection contains Shun-chih editions of *Aisin gurun i suduri* (*Chin-shih* 金史) and *Dai yuwan gurun i suduri* (*Yüan-shih* 元史) and a copy of *Daicing gurun i yooni bithe* / *Ta ch'ing ch'üan-shu* 大清全書, the second recension, but complete with *Manju bithe jy nan* / *Ch'ing-shu chih-nan* 清書指南.<sup>(71)</sup> Of manuscript copies, there is *Dzui pu ti bithe*, a Manchu translation of *Tsui-p'u-t'i* 醉菩提, a romance by Chang Ta-fu 張大復 of Ch'ing. This is a beautifully hand-made copy consisting of ten chapters in twenty volumes, all in Manchu only without a single Chinese character. This copy must be considered a precious survival, though we know of another manuscript copy in Manchu of *Tsui-p'u-t'i* at the Institut Narodov Azii, AN, Leningrad.<sup>(72)</sup>

An early catalogue informs us that a certain number of Manchu books exist at the former India Office Library, London.<sup>(73)</sup> Though only a few, among them is *Abkai ejen i tacihyan i hešen i bithe* a rare book. It is a printed edition of two volumes all in Manchu only. The title means "Outline of the Teachings of the Lord," and it is a book that deals with the Christian creed; its original text I have not been able to identify so far.

A few Manchu titles kept at the Royal Asiatic Society, London, are known through a catalogue of its library.<sup>(74)</sup> As far as can be learned from the catalogue the collection contains nothing especially noteworthy. The Manchu books, together with Chinese books there, were transferred to the library of Leeds University in 1963 when the Sinological Department was created at that school.

The Public Record Office, London, has several documents in Manchu. One of them is the original of an imperial edict, dated the twentieth day of the seventh month of the Chia-ch'ing twenty-first year, given by Emperor

(70) *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts*. Privately printed, 1895.

(71) I regret that I was unable to see *Man-han hsün-chih shih-tse* 滿漢訓旨十則, *K'ang-hsi shih-nien erh-yüeh ting-yu yeh wang yüeh-chih t'u* 康熙十年二月丁酉夜望月食圖, etc., listed in *Catalogue*, pp. 30, 40.

(72) Volkova: *op. cit.*, p. 89.

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

(74) *Catalogue of Chinese Printed Books in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London, 1889.

Chia-ch'ing to the King of England at the time of Lord Amherst's embassy to China. It is a huge document, with the text written in Chinese at the right, in Manchu at the left, and in Latin in the middle. The Office has two more Manchu epistles. Each is wrapped in its original envelope, with Chinese characters on its obverse side accompanied by Manchu, while the text itself is only in Manchu. One has on its envelope a legend in Chinese: *Shan-hai-kuan hsing ch'in-ch'ai ta-ch'en Seng ta-ying ma-shang fei-ti* 山海關行欽差大臣僧大營 馬上飛遞; according to the Manchu text, it is a letter, dated the twenty-first day of the eighth month of the Hsien-feng tenth year, sent by a certain *Ch'ien-ch'ing-men shih-wei shu Shan-hai-kuan fu-tu-t'ung* 乾清門侍衛署山海關副都統 to *Ch'in-ch'ai ta-ch'en ch'in-wang Seng* 欽差大臣親王僧. Needless to say, Prince Seng is nobody else but the famous Sengge Rinčin (Sam Collinson), Prince of Qorčin. The other letter, which bears only a Chinese legend: *Cheng-pai-ch'i man-chou tu-t'ung* 正白旗滿洲都統, is proved to be dated the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the Hsien-feng tenth year, and sent by the Commander of Girin (*Chi-lin Chiang-chün* 吉林將軍) to the Manchu Governor of the Plain White Banner.

Another letter in Manchu is also preserved at the British Museum. It lacks an envelope, and is one sent by the Commander of Heilungkiang (*Hei-lung-kiang Chiang-chün* 黑龍江將軍) to the Board of Military Affairs (*Ping-pu* 兵部) on the seventh day of the eighth month of the Hsien-feng tenth year.<sup>(75)</sup> These letters show that Manchu was still in practical use even in the late Ch'ing period.

## V

The richest treasure-house of Manchu literature in Europe is the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The library seems to own more than 200 titles of Manchu books, counting duplicates. One can consult for them the manuscript of a catalogue with considerably detailed annotations prepared by W. Baruch, a German,<sup>(76)</sup> and a title index made by Yu Tao-ch'uan (于道泉), a Chinese,<sup>(77)</sup> both of which are available for use at the library. The catalogue, however, lists only up to No. 160, while the index goes as far as No. 189. I hear that Prof. Simon is endeavoring to correct and enlarge Baruch's catalogue. Publication of his new catalogue would surely be a great help to us.

The most precious of the Manchu books in Bibliothèque Nationale are

(75) My knowledge of the three letters in Manchu is owing to the kindness of Mr. E. D. Grinstead, British Museum.

(76) W. Baruch: *Catalogue des livres et manuscrits mandchous du nouveau fond chinois (et du fond Fourmont) à la Bibliothèque Nationale.*

(77) Yu Tao-ts'uan: *Index des titres mantchous et français du fonds mantchou dans la Bibliothèque Nationale.* 1937.

a manuscript copy of *Tongki fuka akū hergen i bithe* (*Wu-chüan-tien-tzu shu* 無圈點字書), famous since much earlier times and recently written about by Ikegami<sup>(78)</sup> and a printed copy of Shen Ch'i-liang's *Sy šu oyonggo tuwara bithe* / *Ssu-shu yao-lan* 四書要覽, which Ikegami also introduced to the learned world.<sup>(79)</sup> There are at the same library other editions which are preserved hardly anywhere else. For example, it has a complete set of the Shun-chih recensions of the three histories: *Dailiyoo gurun i suduri* (*Liao-shih* 遼史), *Aisin gurun i suduri* (*Chin-shih* 金史) and *Dai yuwan gurun i suduri* (*Yüan-shih* 元史).<sup>(80)</sup> Other Shun-chih editions include copies of *Hung u i oyonggo tacihyan* / *Ch'ing-wen Ming Hung-wu yao-hsün* 清文明洪武要訓, *Ilan gurun i bithe* (*San-kuo-chih* 三國志),<sup>(81)</sup> *Si ging ni bithe* (*Shih-ching* 詩經),<sup>(82)</sup> etc. Among those which appear to be K'ang-hsi editions, *Man han tung wen lei jy* / *Man-han t'ung-wen lei-chi* 滿漢同文類集, consisting of two chapters in two volumes, especially attracts our attention. This title is on title slips printed in both Manchu and Chinese, while the reverse side of the covers has another title in Chinese only: *T'ung-wen wu-ming lei-chi* 同文物名類集. The book itself is a Manchu-Chinese glossary according to subject matter, in a format similar to the aforementioned *Man-han pei-k'ao* 滿漢備考 included in *Ch'ing-shu ch'üan-chi* 清書全集. This Paris copy is better preserved in its original form than another copy existing at the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo.<sup>(83)</sup> *Daicing gurun i yooni bithe* / *Ta Ch'ing ch'üan shu* 大清全書, complete with *Manju bithe jy nan* / *Ch'ing-shu chih-nan* 清

(78) *Tongki fuka akū hergen i bithe* has been published in reproduction from Ulan Bator as: *Tongki Fuqa Aqu Xergen-i Bidxe* (Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum Instituti Linguae et Litterarum Comitetti Scientiarum et Educationis Altea Reipublicae Populi Mongoli, Tomus V, Fasciculus 1). Ulsyn Khevel, Ulaanbaatar, 1959. Cf. J. Ikegami: *Tongki Fuka Akū Hergen i Bithe* とそのウランバートル刊本 (*Gengo Kenkyū*, No. 48, 1965 pp. 46-52).

(79) Ikegami: "Manchu Materials in European Libraries," pp. 108-109.

(80) Complete sets of the initial recensions of the three histories are found at the Naikaku Bunko (内閣文庫籍漢籍分類目録 p. 66) and the Library of the Palace Museum (Li: *op. cit.*, p. 40). A romanized text of *Dailiyoo gurun i suduri*, accompanied by a word-to-word Korean translation, has been published by Ch'oe Hak-kün 崔鶴根 (滿文「大遼國史」對譯 亞細亞研究 *The Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 9, Nos. 2-4, Vol. 10, No. 4, Korean University, Seoul, 1966-1967).

(81) The copy is a complete Shun-chih 7 edition in 24 volumes. Cf. Li: *op. cit.*, p. 32; Fuchs: *Beiträge*, p. 86; —: "Neue Material zur Mandjurischen Literatur" (*Asia Major*, Vol. VII, 1933, p. 477).

(82) It is an all-Manchu printed edition with an Imperial preface dated Shun-chih 11, twelfth month, consisting of 20 chapters in 20 volumes and bound beautifully with flower-patterned yellow damask covers. Li, *op. cit.*, p. 35, lists a copy of the same edition.

(83) Fuchs, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 18, quotes the title from 内閣文庫圖書第二部漢書目録, p. 480. The Naikaku Bunko copy, now divided into four volumes, must have originally been bound in two volumes the same as the Paris copy. The Naikaku Bunko copy lacks printed title slips, which it must have had at first, as the title 滿漢同文類集 is written on the cover of every volume in an apparently Japanese hand.

書指南 and published for the first time in K'ang-hsi 22, and *Tondo unenggi fan gung ni wen jy bithe* (*Chung-cheng Fan-kung wen-chi* 忠貞范公文集)<sup>(84)</sup> are also among the rarer K'ang-hsi editions. Of Yung-cheng editions we find *Lakcaha jecen de takūraha babe ejehe bithe* (*I-yü-lu* 異域錄), and of Ch'ien-lung editions, *Manju hergen i kamciha tacibure hešen bithe* / *Manhan ho-pi hsün-chih* 滿漢合璧訓旨. Also rare are a copy of an untitled Manchu-Chinese collection of set phrases in two volumes and a Ch'ien-lung 54 edition of *Monggo fafun i bithe* (*Meng-ku liu-li* 蒙古律例), though Fuchs has already described the same editions kept elsewhere.<sup>(85)</sup> The *Ch'i-cheng shih-hsien-shu* 七政時憲書, of which I have described two editions kept at the Harvard-Yenching Institute, exists in two more editions from different years at the Bibliothèque Nationale, namely of K'ang-hsi 19 and Ch'ien-lung 34. The K'ang-hsi 19 edition has a printed title slip pasted on its cover, which reads: *Daicing gurun i elhe taifin i juwan uyuci aniya nadan dasan i hetu undu yabure du i forgon i yargiyan ton*, which would translate the Chinese: *Ta Ch'ing K'ang-hsi shih-chiu-nien ch'i-cheng ching-wei ch'an-tu shih-hsien-shu* 大清康熙十九年七政經緯經度時憲書.<sup>(86)</sup> I should like to add that the library also has ordinary calendars in editions of Ch'ien-lung 34, Tao-kuang 3 and Tao-kuang 25.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has many manuscript copies of Manchu books, not a few of which can be found nowhere else. For example, there are *Bodoro arga i oyonggo be araha uheri hešen i bithe*, apparently a translation of *Suan-fa t'ung-tsung* 算法統宗,<sup>(87)</sup> and medical works entitled in Chinese: *Lun-t'an chu-ping yao-shu* 論談諸病藥書 and *Tou-chen yao-shu* 痘疹藥書.<sup>(88)</sup> Especially worthy of note are translations of Mou Yün-

(84) Möllendorff: *op. cit.*, p. 19. Banzarov: *op. cit.*, p. 116.

(85) Fuchs: *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 12-13, 39. *Monggo fafun i bithe* of the National Library of Mukden, described by Fuchs, is an incomplete copy having only chapters 1 to 6. A complete copy consisting of six volumes is at Bibliothèque Nationale.

(86) A Manchu *Shih-hsien-shu* from Kuang-hsü 34 at the National Central Library, Taipei, has a title slip which reads: *Daicing gurun i badarangga doru i gūsin duici aniya nadan dasan i hetu undu yabure dulefun i erin forgon i ton i bithe*. Its title is similar to that for Kuang-hsü 2 at Freie Universität, Berlin, which was described by Ikegami (*op. cit.*, p. 117), and is a little different from *Shih-hsien-shu* for K'ang-hsi years.

(87) All in Manchu only, its original seventeen volumes are now bound into two volumes in Western format, on the back of which is printed *TSOAN-FA-TONG-TSONG* in Roman alphabet, probably in an attempt to transcribe *Suan-fa t'ung-tsung*. *Suan-fa t'ung-tsung* by Ch'eng Ta-wei 程大位 of Ming consists of seventeen chapters, and the seventeen volumes of *TSOAN-FA-TONG-TSONG* seem to correspond to them. On the original title pages of volumes 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 and 13 are written in Manchu: *Suwan fa dzuwan yao dzung g'ang bithe*, which must be a phonetic rendering of *Suan-fa tsuan-yao tsung-kang* 算法彙要總綱. The question of its original will have to be studied further.

(88) *Lun-t'an chu-ping yao-shu* consists of two volumes, of which the first is entitled *Okto i banin fu jen ju nang kamcihabi*, i.e., *Chen-chu-nang yao-hsing-fu* 珍珠囊藥性賦, and the second *Harkasi fu* or *Je-ping-fu* 熱病賦. *Tou-chen yao-shu* occupies the third and fourth volumes of the same series, both entitled *Olhoro baitai dasara hacin be hafumbure bithe*. Similar works are listed in Banzarov, *op. cit.*, p. 112, and Volkova, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 103.

chung's 牟允中 *Yung-hsing-pien* 庸行篇, *Yung hing biyan i bithe*, and of the novel *Ch'iao-lien-chu* 巧連珠, *Ciyoo liyan ju i bithe*.<sup>(89)</sup> A translation of *Liu-t'ao* 六韜 and *San-lüeh* 三略, *Ninggun too*, *ilan bodogon* is also noteworthy, as it is a beautifully made copy in *hsing shu* 行書 hand. A fragmentary copy of *Šui hū bithe* (*Sui-hu-chuan* 水滸傳), chapters 1 through 5 in five volumes, complements another copy at the Palace Museum which lacks just those volumes, according to the catalogue of Li Te-ch'i.<sup>(90)</sup> There is also a series of manuscripts almost entirely in Manchu consisting of the following eight parts in eight volumes: *Eiten be isabuha ejetun* / *Chi-i-lu* 集腋錄; *Tulergi gurun be ejehe ejetun* / *Wai-kuo-chih* 外國志; *Miyan diyān gurun de isinaha ejetun* / *Mien-tien-chih* 緬甸志; *Gin cuwan de isinaha ejetun* / *Chin-ch'uan-chih* 金川志; *Golmin šanyan alin i ejetun* / *Ch'ang-pai-shan-chih* 長白山誌; *Yün gui de saršaha ejetun* / *Yün-kuei-chih* 雲貴志; *Šangšan beile jasiha jasigan i bithe* / *Shang-shan pei-le chih* 尚善貝勒志; *Alcuka ba i ba na i ejetun* / *A-erh-ch'u-ha chih-shu* 阿爾處哈志書. Mostly translations of short articles, they appear to have been copied sometime during the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820). The copy must have originally been at Alcuka in Northern Manchuria, for *Alcuka ba i ba na i ejetun* is stamped, with an official seal which reads in Manchu: *Alcuka bai seremšeme tehe gūsai da i guwan fang*; although its Chinese counterpart is quite illegible, the Manchu legend would be translated as: *Chu-fang A-erh-ch'u-k'a hsieh-ling kuan-fang* 駐防阿爾楚喀協領關防. As for Manchu archives, the library has *Ta-hsing huang-t'ai-hou ta-shih tang-ts'e* 大行皇太后大事檔冊 of Ch'ien-lung 42, *Hsiao-ho Jui-huang-hou ta-shih tang* 孝和睿皇后大事檔 of Tao-kuang 30, *Dorgi dorolon i kungge yamun, sarkiyangga bithe* of T'ung-chih 8, and other documents from the imperial household.

The Bibliothèque Nationale also has a collection of Manchu books on Christianity which is more complete than any elsewhere. *Abkai ejen i enduringge tacihyan i oyonggo gisun* (*T'ien-chu sheng-chiao yao-yen* 天主聖教約言), described earlier by J. Misch on the basis of a copy of the same edition kept at the Vatican Library,<sup>(91)</sup> is kept here, together with one of a different edition. The former consists of eleven leaves, seven lines on

(89) It is a handwritten copy entirely in Manchu consisting of eight chapters in eight volumes. The first two leaves have Chinese characters inserted to the right side of the lines. The first and sixth volumes have only the Chinese title side by side with the Manchu on the title slips pasted on the cover. This Manchu version is the same in contents, though chapters are divided differently, as the Chinese *Ch'iao-lien-chu* 巧聯珠 in the possession of the Ōtani University Library, Kyoto. Incidentally, Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第 is in error in listing a copy of a privately-printed *Ch'iao-lien-chu* in the possession of the Naikaku Bunko, where no such book is known to have ever existed. Cf. Sun: 中國通俗小說書目, p. 196.

(90) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 33.

(91) J. Misch: "A Catholic Catechism in Manchu" (*Monumenta Serica*, Vol 17, 1958, pp. 361–372).

every page, while the latter, consisting of six leaves, nine lines on every page, is printed in smaller letters and seems to have been printed a little later. Of printed books there are *Abkai ejen i tob tacihyan i temgetu i šošohon* / *T'ien-chu cheng-chiao yao-cheng* 天主正教約徵, *Abkai ejen i unenggi i jurgan* / *T'ien-chu shih-i* 天主實義, *Sing lii jen ciyan bithei hešen* (*Hsing-li chen-ch'üan* 性理真銓), *Geren holo be milarambure bithe* (*P'i-wang-shuo* 關妄說), *Tumen jaka i unenggi sekiyen* (*Wan-wu chen-yüan* 萬物真源), *Sain be uhelere leolen* (*T'ung-shan-shuo* 同善說), etc. Among manuscript copies are found *Abkai enduri hui i kicen yarugan* (*T'ien-shen hui-k'o* 天神會課), *Seng ši cu nao* (*Sheng-shih ch'u-jao* 盛世芻蕘), *Enduringge beyei oyonggo giyan* (*Ling-sheng-t'i yao-li* 領聖體要理), etc.<sup>(92)</sup> Although all the printed editions except *Sain be uhelere leolen* are listed in catalogues,<sup>(93)</sup> it is truly impressive to find them in such a complete collection.

Ikegami has described a document printed in Manchu, Chinese and Latin in red ink and published in K'ang-hsi 55 which is now in the possession of the British Museum;<sup>(94)</sup> four copies of the same document are found in the Bibliothèque Nationale. One of them has stamped in the middle, over the dates in Chinese and in Manchu, an oblong seal which reads in Manchu and Chinese: *Guwangdung ni babe baicara tuwara coohai baita be kadalara guwan fang* / *Hsün-fu Kuang-tung t'eng ch'u t'i-tu chün-wu kuan-fang* 巡撫廣東等處提督軍務關防; on one of British Museum copies the same seal print is stamped.

Apart from Bibliothèque Nationale, the Institut des Haute Études Chinoise de Paris, University of Paris, also has about sixty titles of Manchu books, some of which are such somewhat rare items as a complete set of the palace edition of *Jakün gūsai tung jy sucungga weilehe bithe* (*Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih ch'u-chi* 八旗通志初集) and a copy of the Shun-chih edition of *Ilan gurun i bithe* (*San-kuo-chih* 三國志). The most important among them, I think, is *Cing liyang šan alin i ice jy bithe* (*Ch'ing-liang-shan hsin-chih* 清涼山新志), an extremely beautiful palace print consisting of ten chapters in ten volumes. Already well-known, I have not seen a copy of it anywhere else.<sup>(95)</sup>

The École Nationale des Langues Orientaux, Paris, has more than ten titles of Manchu books, among which, needless to say, *Han Ch'öng Mun-gam*

(92) I owe most of the Chinese titles to the kindness of Prof. Simon. Also cf. Hsü Tsung-tse 徐宗澤: 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要. Shanghai, 1949.

(93) A manuscript copy of *Abkai ejen i tob tacihyan i temgetu i šošohon* is listed in Banzarov: *op. cit.*, p. 121. For *Abkai ejen i unenggi jurgan*, cf. Möllendorff: *op. cit.*, p. 29. For *Sing lii jen ciyan bithei hešen*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 20, and Banzarov: *op. cit.*, p. 114. For *Geren holo be milarambure bithe*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 121. For *Tumen jaka i unenggi sekiyen*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 121; Wylie: *op. cit.*, p. xlv; Möllendorff: *op. cit.*, p. 28.

(94) Ikegami: Supplement to "Manchu Materials in European Libraries."

(95) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 51. Möllendorff: *op. cit.*, p. 38. Misig: *op. cit.*, p. 208.

韓清文鑑 must be held the most important.<sup>(96)</sup> *Ch'öng-o No-göl-dae* 清語老乞大, also in the possession of the school, has recently been published in photo-reproduction in the Republic of Korea.<sup>(97)</sup>

In West Germany, Prof. W. Fuchs is compiling a union catalogue of Manchu books, publication of which will soon bring out the whole picture. Here I shall only briefly state what came to my notice.

The richest collection of Manchu books in West Germany is at Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Marburg, which consists of books which formerly belonged to Möllendorff, E. Haenisch, etc.<sup>(98)</sup> and were almost entirely moved from Berlin. Especially precious among them is an almost complete set of the palace print of the Yung-cheng edition of *Daicing gurun i uheri kooli bithe* (*Ta Ch'ing hui-tien* 大清會典), consisting of 250 chapters in all. Although this edition is already mentioned in catalogues,<sup>(99)</sup> I have not encountered another copy anywhere else, although the Ch'ien-lung edition is found here and there in Europe and America. Other voluminous items at Marburg include *Jakün gūsai tung jy sucungga weilehe bithe* (*Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih ch'u-chi* 八旗通志初集), and a series of Manchu-Chinese archives entitled *Nei-wu-fu tang-an* 內務府檔案 and consisting of 40 volumes, none of which contain anything especially interesting.

The palace print of *Beye dailame wargi amargi babe necihiyeme toktohuha bodogon i bithe* (*Ch'in-cheng p'ing-ting shuo-mo fang-lüeh* 親征平定朔漠方略) in the Haenisch Collection is a complete copy of special value.<sup>(100)</sup> My attention was particularly drawn to incomplete palace prints of *Jun gar i ba be necihiyeme toktohuha bodogon i bithe* (*P'ing-ting Chun-ka-erh fang-lüeh* 平定準噶爾方略) and *Dzanla cucin i ba be necihiyeme toktohuha bodogon i bithe* (*P'ing-ting liang-Chin-ch'uan fang-lüeh* 平定兩金川方略),<sup>(101)</sup> a palace

(96) The University of Tokyo Library has a copy of *Ch'öng-ö No-göl-dae*, a photographic reproduction of which has been published by the Yonsei University, Seoul, accompanied by an index in a separate volume. (韓漢清文鑑. Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Yöñhi University, 1956. 韓漢清文鑑索引 *Index of the Han-Han-Chong-Mun-Kam*. Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Yöñsei University, 1960).

(97) 人文科學 (*Journal of Humanistic Studies*), Vols. XI, XII, Yöñsei University, Seoul, 1964.

(98) This fact has been pointed out by Ikegami, who quotes the number of titles contained in each collection ("Manchu Materials in European Libraries," p. 105). According to a letter dated 15 April 1966 from Dr. W. Seuberlich, Head of Ostasiatische Abteilung, Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, the library has recently acquired Manchu books of relative rarity, such as a copy of the first edition of *Ta Ch'ing ch'üan-shu* 大清全書 complete with *Ch'ing-shu chih-nan* 清書指南, the first half of the Shun-chih edition *Si ging ni bithe* (*Shih-ching* 詩經) in ten volumes, etc.

(99) Li: *op. cit.*, p. 15. 國立奉天圖書館藏本書目, 滿文, p. 6.

(100) Incomplete Manchu versions of the palace print edition are found at the Far Eastern Library of the University of Chicago and the Harvard-Yenching Institute. I know of no other complete copy than the one mentioned by Li (*op. cit.*, p. 37).

(101) *Dzanla cucin i ba be necihiyeme toktohuha bodogon i bithe* consists of an initial chapter and chapters 1 to 72, 62 volumes in all. The printed copy at the Peiping Library listed in Li, *op. cit.*, p. 38, preserves only chapters 73 to 136 in 60 volumes. It is probably another half of the Marburg copy.



manuscript of *Inenggidari giyangnaha cūn cio i jurgan be suhe bithe* (*Jih-chiang ch'un-ch'iu chieh-i* 日講春秋解義), and other little in many volumes. Interesting as a historical source is a manuscript identified on the title slips as *Ching-ni Chiang-chün tsou-i* 靖逆將軍奏議 and consisting of four volumes, all in Manchu only. *Ching-ni Chiang-chün* is the title of General Funingga (Fu-ning-an 富寧安) who was sent to Barkul to defend the border against the Kalmucks in K'ang-hsi 56. The manuscript is a collection of Funingga's memorials arranged according in chronological order, beginning the year of his appointment. This source is described in detail in a work by E. Kraft published some years ago.<sup>(102)</sup> I may also mention a small-sized Manchu-Chinese manuscript in twenty volumes containing literary pieces such as *Hung-lou-meng wen-ta* 紅樓夢問答, *Hung-lou-meng lun* 紅樓夢論, *Hu-k'ou yü-sheng chi* 虎口餘生記, poems, dramas, etc.

At Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin I was able to see only manuscripts, among which the most striking was the palace manuscript copy of the Kuang-hsü edition of *Hesei toktobuha daicing gurun i uheri kooli i baita hacin bithe* (*Ch'in-ting Ta Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 欽定大清會典事例) preserved in as many as 70 volumes, covering occasional chapters from 152 to 894. It is truly lamentable that many of the volumes are badly damaged and incomplete, probably because of the war. This book is preserved elsewhere in smaller fragments, such as the more than ten volumes as the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and the single volume containing chapter 255, *Hu-pu* 戶部 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in contrast to the outstanding number of volumes found at Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. The library also has a manuscript copy of a translation of the historical novel *Pei Sung chih-chuan t'ung-su yen-i* 北宋志傳通俗演義, *Amargi sung gurun i bithe*. A rare survival of its kind, the copy is written throughout in Manchu only, save for the title slip pasted on the *t'ao* which says in Chinese: *Ch'ing-tzu Pei Sung* 清字北宋. The original novel makes a set with *Nan Sung chih-chuan t'ung-su yen-i* 南宋志傳通俗演義, of which the Manchu translation, entitled *Julergi sung gurun i bithe*, is preserved as a manuscript copy at Institut Narodov Azii, AN, Leningrad.<sup>(103)</sup>

It should be added here in connection with the Manchu literature in Germany that W. Bauer has published a completed roman transcription of the 64 volumes of *Han i araha ubaliyambuha šajingga nomun | Yü-chih fan-i ch'un-ch'iu* 御製翻譯春秋.<sup>(104)</sup>

(102) E. Kraft: *Zum Dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert Berichte des Generals Funingga*. Leipzig, 1953.

(103) Volkova: *op. cit.*, p. 78.

(104) W. Bauer: *Tsch'un-ts'iu mit den drei kommentaren Tso-tschuan, Kung-yang-tschuan und Ku-liang-tschuan in Mandschurischer Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden, 1959.

## VI

Nearly 40 titles of Manchu books are found at Sinologisch Instituut, Universiteit Leiden, the Netherlands, well-known as one of the most outstanding centers of Chinese studies in Europe. The most important among them is a copy of *Man han ciyan dz wen* / *Man-han ch'ien-tzu-wen* 滿漢千字文. The book, already listed in a catalogue of Chinese books of the University Library published much earlier, was identified as a work by Shen Ch'i-liang 沈啓亮 upon my perusal.<sup>(105)</sup> The book is so rare that only one other copy is known to exist—at the British Museum, which Ikegami has introduced to the learned world together with a photograph of it.<sup>(106)</sup> There are slight differences between the British Museum copy and the Leiden copy, in that the name of the publisher *Fu-hsien-t'ang* 福賢堂 on the title page of the former is changed to *Sheng-ch'eng Chiu-yao-fang Han-ching-t'ang tsang-pan* 省城九曜坊翰經堂藏板 in the latter and the characters *k'uei-pi* 奎璧 in the legend *Ching-tu K'uei-pi-chai tzu-hsing* 京都奎璧齋梓行 in the former is written 奎璧 in the latter, and that *Kuang-ch'eng T'ung-wen-t'ang tzu* 廣城同文堂梓 at the end of the last page of the former is replaced in the latter by *Yang-ch'eng Han-ching-t'ang tzu* 羊城翰經堂梓. Both *Kuang-ch'eng* *Yang-ch'eng* mean the city of Kuang-chou (Canton), Kuang-tung Province. Perhaps because it was published in such a remote place from Peking, the Manchu letters in the British Museum copy form a strikingly corrupt hand. The Leiden copy is much the same in this respect, to the degree that at first glance the two copies seem to have been printed from the same blocks, except for the title page and the last page. On a closer scrutiny, however, one of them appears to be an extremely faithful reproduction of the other, the British Museum copy probably being the original. Further investigation is needed on this point. The Institute also has a copy of *Juwan juwe uju* / *Shih-erh-tsu-t'ou* 十二字頭 stamped in red ink with a seal that says: *Pai-lu shu-yüan tsang-pan* 白鹿書院藏板. It would hardly be necessary to point out that this text was originally published as a supplement to *Cheng-tzu-t'ung* 正字通. Also in Leiden is *Ch'ing-shu ch'üan-chi* 清書全集, of which the third volume, *Man-han shih-lei chi-yao hsia* 滿漢事類集要下, is preserved in a printed copy, while there also is a manuscript copy in three fragmentary volumes, namely Vol. 1 *Shih-erh-tzu-t'ou* 十二字頭, and Vols. 2 and 3 *Man-han shih-lei chi-yao shang*, *hsia* 滿漢事類集要上, 下, as I have already mentioned.<sup>(107)</sup>

(105) *Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Leide*. 1883, p. 12.

(106) Ikegami: "Manchu Materials in European Libraries," pp. 106-107.

(107) The second and third volumes of *Ch'ing-shu ch'üan-chi* have on the title slips and the reverse side of the covers the same title as I have described in connection with the Cleaves copy, but this Leiden copy lacks both title slips and printed reverse side of the covers. In its main text the title is given as *Man-han shih-lei chi-yao* 滿漢事類集要 or *Man-han pei-k'ao* 滿漢備考.

The Vatican Library of the Vatican City State, Rome, has only about ten titles of Manchu books, but more than half of them are rare printed editions not to be found anywhere else.<sup>(108)</sup> One of them is a small-sized book entitled *Giyan ju ši el dz teo / Chien-chu shih-erh-tzu-t'ou* 箋註十二字頭 in Manchu and Chinese and consisting of eleven leaves. It opens from the lefthand cover. The title is written in large letters at the center of the title page, accompanied by Manchu-Chinese legends in smaller letters: to the left, *Dzeng pu man jeo dza hūwa ging du wen then jy dz šing / Tseng p'u man-chou tsa-hua ching-tu Fu-k'uei-chai tzu-hsing* 增補滿洲雜話京都復魁齋梓行,<sup>(109)</sup> and to the right, *Leo dung šen ki liyang kiyo jeng/Lou-tung Shen Ch'i-liang ch'iao-cheng* 婁東沈啓亮較正. At the end of the text the date is given in Chinese only, *K'ang-hsi sui-tz'u hsin-ssu-nien meng-ch'un-yüeh chi-tan* 康熙歲次辛巳年孟春月吉旦, followed by *Leo dung šen hūng joo araha;/Lou-tung Shen Hung-chao shu* 婁東沈弘照書. Doubtlessly this is a work by Shen Ch'i-liang which has so far escaped every cataloguer's attention. The year of *hsin-ssu* being K'ang-hsi 40, or 1701, it must have been published after the aforementioned *Yü-chih pai-chia-hsing* 御製百家姓, Shen's other work. *Giyan ju ši el dz teo* itself gives phonetical explanation of each of the "Twelve Heads" of the Manchu alphabet, transcribing them with Chinese characters. Its appendix, *Man jeo dza hūwa*, is a kind of Manchu glossary, printed at the top of every page, transcribing the sound of the Manchu words with Chinese characters under the Chinese equivalents. The transcription is interesting because the Chinese characters are quite old-fashioned. Another *Man-chou tsa-hua* 滿洲雜話, also by Shen Ch'i-liang, contained in the second volume of *Ch'ing-shu chih-nan* 清書指南, is totally different from *Man jeo dza hūwa* in *Giyan ju ši el dz teo*. *Man-han shih-erh-tzu-t'ou* 滿漢十二字頭, described by Fuchs, published in the year of *hsin-yu* 辛酉 of Hsien-feng, or 1861, 160 years after Shen Ch'i-liang's *Giyan ju ši el dz teo*, is known to contain a *Man-han tsa-hua* 滿漢雜話 in similar form.<sup>(110)</sup> This *Man-han shih-erh-tzu-t'ou* might have some textual connection with Shen Ch'i-liang's *Giyan ju ši el dz teo*, though no conclusion can be reached before I am able to see and examine the book mentioned by Fuchs.

The Vatican Library owns a copy of *Man han ciyan dz wen / Man-han ch'ien-tzu-wen* 滿漢千字文. Although the title is identical with that of Shen Ch'i-liang's work found at the British Museum and at the Sinologisch Instituut, it is completely different in contents. It lacks both preface and postface; neither author nor date of publication is identified; only its

(108) The Vatican Library has for the reader's use a draft catalogue by P. Pelliot, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la Bibliothèque Vaticane par Paul Pelliot* (13 juin -6 juillet 1922). The catalogue lists Manchu books as well.

(109) The Manchu letters are so corrupted that the transcription of *Fu-k'uei-chai* is wrong and illegible.

(110) Fuchs: *Neue Beiträge*, pp. 15-16.

publisher is shown by the legend, *Ging hecen yung kui folofi selgiyehe*<sup>(111)</sup> / *Ching-tu Yung-k'uei-chai tzu-hsing* 京都永魁齋梓行 carved to the left side of the title on the title page. Opening from the righthand cover, it consists of sixteen leaves, each page containing eight lines, of which the lower half gives Chinese characters and the upper half transcribes their sounds in the Manchu alphabet. Features of the Manchu transcriptions of Chinese words in Shen Ch'i-liang's *Man han ciyan dz wen* and *Ch'ing-shu ch'ien-tzu-wen* 清書千字文 preserved at the Naikaku Bunko have been compared by Ikegami.<sup>(112)</sup> That of the Vatican text is somewhat closer to Shen Ch'i-liang's, but its Manchu letters are written more neatly. This anonymous *Man han ciyan dz wen* is a small-sized book comparable to the aforementioned *Giyan ju ši el dz teo*, and seems to be a mid-K'ang-hsi publication, judging from the letters and general appearance.

The *Man han be jiya sing* / *Man-han pai-chia-hsing* 滿漢百家姓 is also a rare print in the same library's possession. On the title page the Manchu-Chinese title is written in large letters, accompanied by the Chinese legend *Ching-tu Erh-yu-t'ang tzu-hsing* 京都二酉堂梓行 on the left side. The title, however, is *Man-han ho-chi pai-chia-hsing* 滿漢合集百家姓, given in Chinese only, in the first line of the text. The contents are totally different from that of Shen Ch'i-liang's *Yü-chih pai-chia-hsing* in the previously mentioned Cleaves Collection, but like the ordinary *Pai-chia-hsing* which opens with *Chao Ch'ien Sun Li* 趙錢孫李. Opening from the righthand cover, it consists of ten leaves, six lines on every page, of which the upper half gives a Manchu transcription of Chinese words and the lower half gives the Chinese characters. This *Pai-chia-hsing* might have some relation to Shen Ch'i-liang's *Yü-chih pai-chia-hsing*, as the way of transcription shows a strong resemblance to the other's. Although its author and date of publication are not identified, its format, similar to those of *Giyan ju ši el dz teo* and *Man han ciyan dz wen*, suggests to us a mid-K'ang-hsi publication.

In the Vatican Library is found another copy of a book printed in a format similar to the preceding three. On its title page are written, to the right side, *Ging dz siyo hiyo ši ši* / *Ch'ing-tzu Hsieh-hsüeh-shih shih* 清字解學士詩, to the left side, *Man han tung wen dza dz* / *Man-han t'ung-wen tsa-tzu* 滿漢同文雜字, and in the center, *Ching-tu Chü-hsing-chai tzu-hsing* 京都聚興齋梓行 in Chinese only; the book opens from the righthand cover. *Hsieh-hsüeh-shih shih* seems to mean poems by Hsieh Chin 解縉 of the early Ming, but, oddly enough, no corresponding text is contained in the book. *Man-han t'ung-wen tsa-tzu* is a Manchu-Chinese glossary, entitled in the first line of the text *Cu siyang man han tung wen dza dz joo lan*

(111) These Manchu letters, too, are considerably corrupted.

(112) Ikegami: *op. cit.*, p. 107.

*/Ch'u-hsiang man-han t'ung-wen tsa-tzu yao-lan* 出相滿漢同文雜字要覽, and consists of nineteen leaves, five lines on each page, of which in the upper row the Chinese word and its Manchu transcription are given, accompanied by an illustration directly beneath, and in the lower row the Manchu equivalent given with its Chinese transcription. Except for the illustrations, the format is identical with that of *Man-han shih-lei chi-yao* 滿漢事類集要 in *Ch'ing-shu ch'üan-chi* 清書全集. Three leaves, the seventh to the ninth, of *Man-han t'ung-wen tsa-tzu*, however, lack illustrations, as they present numbers and names of colors, and there the upper and lower rows contain unrelated words, without Manchu transcriptions of the Chinese words. Therefore, this part is similar to *Man-han t'ung-wen lei-chi* 滿漢同文類集. No other copy of this *Man-han t'ung-wen tsa-tzu* is known anywhere else, except for a few fragmentary leaves at the Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden.

As for Manchu books concerning Christianity, Vatican has only two copies of *Abkai ejen i enduringge tacihyan i oyonggo gisun* (*T'ien-chu sheng-chiao yao-yen* 天主聖教約言), the same edition as the one described by Mish. Other books include a stray volume of the K'ang-hsi edition of *Ch'ing-shu ch'üan-chi* 清書全集, a copy of *Man-han t'ung-wen fen-lei ch'üan-shu* 滿漢同文分類全書, etc. In general, one must say that the Vatican collection is quite unique in its quality despite its small quantity.

In Europe, I investigated about 70 titles of Manchu books at Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen. There are, besides several mentioned before in connection with collections elsewhere, a fragmentary manuscript, chapters 18 to 22, of *Shui-hu-chuan* 水滸傳 and a handwritten copy of a Manchu letter-writer to attract our attention. The most impressive there, however, is an anatomical table with explanations in Manchu. It is well-known that a beautiful reproduction of it has been published with a French introduction and translation.

The present state of Manchu literature in Europe, just discussed above, differs markedly from that in America. Europeans had begun building up their Manchu collections much earlier than Americans, and carried on their effort for a long time, mainly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Therefore, American collections of Manchu books show very little difference in their feature, except for those by especially interested people like Cleaves, while European collections vary in their features, are richer in rare titles, and frequently preserve comparatively early publications lost by the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty, together with many kinds of popular books.

## VII

Taiwan houses the largest quantity of Manchu literature to be found at present. Mostly archives, however, those in ordinary book form are few. They were brought over from continental China after World War

Two and are now preserved at the Palace Museum and the Academia Sinica in the environs of the city of Taipei.

Cultural properties at the Palace Museum used to be in the former Imperial Palace of Peking. They were moved southward from Peking to Shanghai, packed in large boxes, as early as 1933, and a goodly half of them, after being moved from one place to another during the many ensuing years, are now safely stored in Taiwan. According to what has been known by inventory so far,<sup>(113)</sup> the Museum's library department has 2,610 volumes of Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan books in twenty-three boxes, though there is no way to learn what their titles are. Its archives department has 31 boxes of *Kung-chung-tang* 宮中檔, 47 boxes of *Chün-chi-ch'u-tang* 軍機處檔, 2 boxes of *Shih-lu* 實錄, 62 boxes of *Ch'ing-shih-kuan-tang* 清史館檔, 50 boxes of *Ch'i-chü-chu* 起居注, 1 box of *Kuo-shu* 國書, 1 box of *Chao-shu* 詔書, 2 boxes of *Tsa-tang* 雜檔, and 8 boxes of *Pen-chi* 本紀, 204 boxes in all. They include some in Manchu, and it seems certain that not only *Ch'i-chü-chu* and *Pen-chi* but also a considerable part of other archives are in Manchu. As a check-list of them is not yet available, we are in no position to know what titles there are, in what quantity. Early publication of the list is therefore earnestly wished. It is very fortunate, however, that *Man-wen yüan-tang* 滿文原檔 in 40 volumes is known to be preserved there, as it is one of the most valuable materials for Manchu studies. The *Man-wen yüan-tang*, long out of sight since it was moved southward, was given a detailed description by Kuang Lu 廣祿 and Li Hsüeh-chih 李學智 a few years ago.<sup>(114)</sup> Prior to this rediscovery of the *Man-wen yüan-tang*, Keiji Okamoto 岡本敬二, Hideo Ishibashi 石橋秀雄, Jun Matsumura 松村潤, Hidehiro Okada 岡田英弘 and I had organized a study group and started to work for a translation and annotation of the *Man-wen lao-tang* 滿文老檔. This is the most detailed record of the early history of the Ch'ing Dynasty, consisting of 81 chapters for the reign of Nurhaci, 61 for the T'ien-tsung era and 38 for the Ch'ung-te era of the reign of Hong Taiji, 180 chapters in all. Two handwritten copies were made later from the original, one in Ch'ien-lung 40 (1775) and the other in Ch'ien-lung 43 (1778), and were stored for preservation, the former in the Peking Palace and the latter in the Mukden Palace. The Mukden copy was photographed by Torajirô Naitô 內藤虎次郎 and Tôru Haneda 羽田亨 in 1912 and the dry plates were brought over to Japan. We used the plates as the basis of our work, transliterated the original Manchu text into Roman alphabet, and gave a double Japanese translation, one literal and the other free. Published in seven volumes in all by the Toyo Bunko,

(113) Na Chih-liang 那志良：故宮四十年。Taipei, 1966, pp. 121-123.

(114) Kuang Lu, Li Hsüeh-chih：清太祖朝『老滿文原檔』與『滿文老檔』之比較研究 A Comparative Study of the "Old Archives in Manchu" and the "Original Archives in Old Manchu" (中國東亞學術計劃委員會年報 *Annual Bulletin of the China Council for East Asian Studies*, No. 4, Taipei, 1965).

with the original indices of proper names, personal and geographical.<sup>(115)</sup> The original copy of *Man-wen yüan-tang* is the original from which the Ch'ien-lung copies were made, and was not rediscovered until it was dug up from among the documents of the Nei-ko ta-k'u 內閣大庫 at the Library of the Palace Museum, Peking, in 1951. Thus the *Man-wen yüan-tang* has an unparalleled value as the most fundamental source for a study of the early Ch'ing history and the old stage of the Manchu language. I urgently hope that such an important source will soon be published in photographic reproduction for the benefit of scholars the world over.

As is well-known, the Academia Sinica owns at its Institute of History and Philology a vast quantity of Ming and Ch'ing archives, which have been edited and published as the series *Ming-Ch'ing shih-liao* 明清史料 ever since 1930. The Ming and Ch'ing archives, also originally kept at Nei-ko ta-k'u in the Peking Palace, have reached Taiwan after moves similar to those of the cultural properties of the Palace Museum. Only Chinese archives have been published, but the whole collection, consisting of 80 bundles, is said to contain Manchu documents as well. Photographs of some of them are found in *Ming-Ch'ing tang-an ts'un-chen hsüan-chi ch'u-chi* 明清檔案存真選輯初集 edited by Li Kuang-t'ao 李光濤, Research Fellow at the Institute. Reproduced in this book are mostly bilingual Manchu-Chinese documents from the period after the Manchu conquest of China. More important, however, are those in Manchu only, from the pre-conquest period. Kuang Lu and Li have already introduced to us an account of the Six Boards organization, a file of written oaths, prints of imperial decrees, etc.<sup>(116)</sup> There exist more files of oaths, and records of rewards and promotions of the same kind. Accounts of such archives closely resemble the documents included in the last chapters of the part concerning the reign of Nurhaci of *Man-wen lao-tang*. These documents must have been omitted by the inadvertence of the editors of *Man-wen yüan-tang* and *Man-wen lao-tang*.<sup>(117)</sup> At any rate, they are valuable materials, written with an old-fashioned Manchu alphabet lacking dots and circles, from the same period as *Man-wen yüan-tang*. The Manchu literature at the Academia

(115) The Members of the Seminar on Manchu History: *Tongki Fuka Sindana Hergen i Dangse*, "The Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty, 1607-1637 A.D.," Vols. I-VII, Tokyo, 1955-1963. Prof. S. Imanishi worked on another Ch'ien-lung recopy in the Peking Palace and published 滿文老檔乾隆付注譯解 and other articles (*Monumenta Orientalia*, 1, Tenri, 1959, pp. 104-213).

(116) Kuang, Li: *op. cit.*, Li Hsüeh-chih: 東洋文庫日譯本滿文老檔未收的幾件老滿文 (大陸雜誌 Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 12-17, No. 4, pp. 19-24, 1961). *Ibid*: 清世祖之滿文即位大赦詔書 (大陸雜誌 Vol. 29, Nos. 10-11, pp. 41-44, 1964).

(117) Of the forty volumes of *Man-wen yüan-tang* preserved at the Palace Museum, Taipei, three had been unknown to the editors of the Ch'ien-lung recopy. Imanishi points out the existence of still another volume of *Man-wen yüan-tang* for Ch'ung-te 3 based upon its blueprint reproduction in his possession, but we are yet to know where its original is. Cf. 東方學紀要 1.

Sinica, too, is not listed, and its contents and quantity are unknown. Li Hsüeh-chi is now working to catalogue them. I hope that the result will soon be published with photographic reproductions of the documents themselves.

A collection of valuable books, formerly of the Peiping Library but in wartime storage at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., includes one of the oldest manuscript copies of the Manchu version of *Ch'ing T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 清太祖實錄. It has been microfilmed, and studied by T. Mitamura.<sup>(118)</sup> The original seems to have been returned to the Central Library, Taipei, together with other valuable books.

Needless to say, it is Mainland China where Manchu literature is preserved in the greatest abundance. Most regrettably, however, we have no means of knowing about the actual distribution of the Manchu books there. However, *Daicing gurun i taidzu horonggo enduringge hūwangdi i yargiyan kooli* (*Ta Ch'ing T'ai-tsu Wu-huang-ti shih-lu* 大清太祖武皇帝實錄) of the Peking Library has been published by S. Imanishi in photographic reproduction with an introduction.<sup>(119)</sup> In Peking itself, too, *Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien* 五體清文鑑 of the Library of the Palace Museum was published in photographic reproduction by Min-tsu ch'u-pan-she 民族出版社 in 1957. Another copy of *Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien* at the Mukden Palace was earlier photographed and the dry plates, together with those of *Man-wen lao-tang*, were brought over to Japan. This Mukden copy was published in reproduction by the Toyo Bunko during World War Two, and its romanized text was recently issued with an index, by the Institute for Inland Asian Studies, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University.<sup>(120)</sup>

I have described above the present state of preservation of Manchu literature and recent publications on it. Generally speaking, most of Manchu books are undoubtedly translations from Chinese originals. Of the numerous Manchu-Chinese bilingual texts, only *Daicing gurun i taidzu horonggo enduringge hūwangdi i yargiyan kooli*, *Lakcaha jecen de takūra-ha babe ejehe bithe*, *Emu tanggū orin sakda i gisun sarkiyān*, etc., were originally written in Manchu and then translated into Chinese. Even fewer are the books in Manchu only, without corresponding Chinese texts, such as the *Man-wen lao-tang*, *Nišan saman i bithe*, etc.<sup>(121)</sup> In that sense one

(118) T. Mitamura 三田村泰助: 清朝前史の研究 *A Study of the Ch'ing Dynasty in the Manchu Period*. Kyoto, 1965, pp. 347-363.

(119) 東方學紀要 2, Tenri, 1967, pp. 173-290. Its later edition, *Manju i yargiyan kooli* / *Man-chou shih-lu* 滿洲實錄, has been published by S. Imanishi in a romanized transliteration of the Manchu text accompanied by a literal Japanese translation, under the title *Ubaliyambuha suhe gisun kamcibuha manju i yargiyan kooli* 滿和對譯滿洲實錄 (Kyoto, 1938).

(120) J. Tamura 田村實造, S. Imanishi 今西春秋, H. Sato 佐藤長: 五體清文鑑譯解, 上, 下 *Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chien translated and explained*, I, II. Kyoto, 1966-1968.

(121) Its photographic reproduction, accompanied by a Russian transcription and translation, has been published recently. M. P. Volkova: *Nišan' samani bitkhe*. Moskva, 1961).



cannot say that Manchu literature has much meaning contentwise. Yet it is a hard fact that so many Chinese books were translated into Manchu, and this fact poses an important question to those who study the history of the Manchus of the Ch'ing Dynasty. Also, it goes without saying that Manchu books are invaluable materials for studying the development of the Manchu language. The Manchu archives, too, are extremely valuable both historically and linguistically. It is most fortunate that recent years have seen the publication one after another of catalogues of Manchu books at the National Library in Ulan Bator, the Toyo Bunko in Tokyo, and the Institut Narodov Azii in Leningrad. In this connection, I very strongly feel the need for a union catalogue of Manchu literature on a world-wide scale.\*

---

\* After the draft of this article was completed, I obtained the *Chinesische und Manjurische Handschriften und Seltene Drucks*, Wiesbaden, 1966, compiled by Prof. Fuchs, which contains a union catalogue of Manchu books in Germany.