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EMU TANGGÔ ORIN SAKDA-I GISUN SARKIYAN, AN UNEDITED MANCHU MANUSCRIPT[1]

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BEFORE describing this interesting unpublished manuscript, it may be well, since Manchu studies are not so popular in sinological circles as they once were, to survey the work done during the last thirty years in this neglected field. Although for some time Manchu has been considered by most scholars to be a moribund language, there are still some signs of life in Manchu studies. New interest was recently aroused in this field by the discovery in Peking of forgotten stores of official documents—written only in Manchu—which bear on the early history of the Ch'ing dynasty, but it is not to be expected that Manchu studies will again thrive as they did in the days of Amiot, Langlès, Gabelentz, Zakharov, Grube, Harlez, and others. Some time ago I started to compile a descriptive bibliography of western works and articles which might be utilized by students of the Manchu language.[2] On looking over the entries in this bibliography, one is struck by the fact that the dates of a fairly large number of them fall within this century. Although scholars of other nationalities have also contributed, the Germans, Japanese, and Russians have been most active in this field in recent years.

Beginning with 1908, I would like to review briefly a limited number of the most important works pertaining to Manchu language and literature. I start with that year because, in my opinion, it marked the first outstanding contribution to Manchu studies in the twentieth century: the late Berthold Laufer's "Skizze der Manjurischen Literatur."[3] This is a valuable bibliographical work supplanting Möllendorff's "Essay on Manchu Literature"[4] done some twenty years earlier. In this work Laufer gives the history

[1] A preliminary draft of this paper was read before the American Oriental Society in New York, March 27, 1940.

[2] This compilation is as yet unfinished, but it already contains over 200 western entries which deal with some phase of Manchu language or literature—many more than the compiler expected to find.

[3] *Keleti Szemle* (*Revue Orientale*) 9 (1908). 1-53.

[4] JNCBRAS 24 (1889). 1-45.

of Manchu writing and language, the problems of the field, and a review of the literature in that language. Continuing along the lines of bibliography and literature, there appeared in 1909 an article by Grebenshchikov on Manchu literature,[5] and in 1914 von Zach made additions and corrections to Möllendorff's "Essay."[6] Some time later Pelliot[7] and Jaegher[8] proved conclusively that the author of the first Manchu grammar, *Elementa linguae tartaricae*,[9] was Verbiest, and not Gerbillon, as had been popularly believed. In 1928 W. Kotwicz, in his article "Sur le besoin d'une bibliographie complète de la littérature mandchoue,"[10] listed and briefly described fifteen important collections of Manchu literature and expressed the hope that a union bibliography of all Manchu literature in these and other collections would be formed through international cooperation. In 1932 K. Watanabe revised and enlarged his catalogue of Manchu works.[11] Walter Fuchs of Mukden and Peking, the most active present-day scholar in this field, has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Manchu literature. His important articles on Manchu versions of the Kanjur, and on early Ch'ing official documents in Manchu hitherto unknown to western scholars[12] were followed in 1936 by what is undoubtedly the most important work in this particular branch of Manchu studies, namely, his *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*.[13] In

[5] "Kratkīĭ ocherk obraztsov man'chzhurskoĭ literatury," *Izvestīâ Vostočnogo Instituta* 32, No. 2 (1909), 62 pp. (N. B. Russian transliterations are according to Library of Congress rules.)

[6] "Notizen zur Mandschurischen Bibliographie," TP, ser. 2, 15 (1914). 273-77.

[7] "Le véritable auteur des *Elementa linguae tartaricae*," TP, ser. 2, 21 (1922). 367-86. "Encore à propos des *Elementa linguae tartaricae*," *ibid.*, 24 (1925/26). 64-66.

[8] "Le Père Verbiest, auteur de la première grammaire mandchoue," TP 22 (1923). 189-92.

[9] Reprinted in Thévenot's *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées* . . . (Paris, 1696), vol. II, pt. 4, 34 pp.

[10] *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, 6 (1928). 61-75.

[11] *Zōtei manshugō tosho mokuroku* 增訂滿州語圖書目錄, 2, 5, 64 p. (No. 3 of the *Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*).

[12] "Zum Mandjurischen Kandjur," AM (*Asia Major*) 6 (1930). 388-402. "Nachtrag zum Artikel Zum Mandjurischen Kandjur," *ibid.*, 7 (1932). 484-85. "Neues Material zur mandjurischen Literatur aus Pekinger Bibliotheken," *ibid.*, 7 (1932). 469-82.

[13] Published as supplementary volume 14 of the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Tokyo, 1936, 146 pp.

it there are sections dealing with Manchu works and translators prior to 1661, Manchu seal writing, recently discovered Manchu documents, and the *shih lu* 實錄—important sources for early Ch'ing history; there are lists of about 400 pure Manchu manuscript biographies stored in Peking and Tokyo, and a section which supplements the Chinese catalogue compiled by Li Tê-ch'i 李德啓 of the Manchu works in the National Library of Peking and the library of the Palace Museum.[14] In the same year, 1936, Fuchs, writing an English article [15] on source materials for the end of the Ming and the early part of the Ch'ing dynasties, defends the study of Manchu on the grounds that many of the important Chinese sources for this period are based upon imperfect translations of the primary Manchu sources while much of the original Manchu literature still exists.

Manchu lexicography has also made important advances in recent years. Two reproductions and translations from a pentaglot manuscript dictionary in the British Museum using three and five languages, including Manchu, appeared in 1909 and 1934 respectively. The first one, a long list of bird names, was treated in Manchu, Chinese, and Turki by E. Denison Ross; [16] the second, by Erich Haenisch,[17] gives hunting terms in Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, Tibetan, and Turki. In 1928 F. Weller published a polyglot list of the thousand Buddha names in Manchu, Chinese, Sanscrit, Tibetan, and Mongol.[18] Von Zach has published three articles [19] which give additions and corrections to the Manchu-Russian dictionary of Zacharov.[20] During 1931-32, P. Schmidt

[14] *Man wên shu chi lien ho mu lu* 滿文書籍聯合目錄, Peking, 1933.

→ "The Personal Chronicle of the First Manchu Emperor," *Pacific Affairs*, 9 (1926). 78-85.

[16] "A Polyglot List of Birds in Turki, Manchu, and Chinese," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (No. 9, 1909). 253-340, 14.

→ "Die Abteilung 'Jagd' im fünfsprachigen Wörterspiegel," AM 10 (pt. 1, 1934). 59-93.

[18] *Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa nach einer fünfsprachigen Polyglotte*, Leipzig, 1928, XXV, 268 pp.

[19] "Einige Ergänzungen zu Sacharow's Mandzursko-Russki Slowarj," MDGNVO 14 (pt. 1, 1911). 1-25. "Weitere Ergänzungen zu Sacharow's Mandzursko-Russki Slowarj," *ibid.*, 14 (pt. 3, 1913). 255-67. "Weitere Ergänzungen zu Sacharow's Mandzursko-Russki Slowarj," AM 5 (1930). 498-513.

[20] *Polnyĭ man'chzhursko-russkiĭ slovar'*, St. Petersburg, 1875. A facsimile reprint of this work, limited to 150 copies, was published in Peking in 1939.

published his "Chinesische Elemente im Mandschu";[21] this is actually a Manchu-German dictionary of words appearing in Manchu which are either loan-words from the Chinese, or have been influenced by that language. A Mongol-Japanese dictionary which also gives the Manchu equivalents was published in 1933 in Tokyo under the auspices of the Ministry of War,[22] and a Manchu-Japanese dictionary of 485 pages by T. Hanada appeared last year.[23] The latest, and perhaps most important, contribution to Manchu lexicography is scheduled to appear this year. This will be a Manchu-German dictionary by the late Erich Hauer. In a recent letter from the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens I was informed that his *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* is now in press and will appear about July. It will apparently be a very complete work, for a sample of it[24] compared with the corresponding sections of the Manchu-French dictionary by Amiot[25] and the Manchu-German dictionary by Gabelentz[26] shows it to be much more thorough than either of these two works.

Contributions to the various phases of language study itself have been numerous and important. In 1912 Grebenshchikov did a lengthy article on Manchu language and writing,[27] and Rudnev contributed one on the living language and Shamanism.[28] Rudnev argues against the popular idea that Manchu is a dead language and gives specimens of the spoken language with translations and vocabularies. In 1924 there was published in London one of the very few aids in English for the study of Manchu. This is a reader which gives (with scattered grammatical notes) the romanized Manchu version and English translation of most of the "Hundred

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[21] AM 7 (1932). 573-628, 8 (1933). 233-76, 353-436.

[22] Cf. Ramstedt, "Two Mongol dictionaries of the year 1933," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 47 (1933/35), pt. 5, 1-10.

[23] This work was advertised by Brill in June of last year and was ordered at that time, but has not yet arrived.

[24] Hauer, "Ein Thesaurus der Mandschusprache," AM 7 (1932). 629-41.

[25] *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou Français* . . . Paris, 1789-90. 3 vols.

[26] *Mandschu-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, AKM 3, pt. 2, Leipzig, 1864.

[27] "Man'chzhury, ĭkh ĭazyk ĭ pĭs'menost'," *Izvestiĭa Vostochnogo Instituta*, 1911/12, 72 pp.

[28] "Novye dannye po zhĭvoĭ man'chzhurskoĭ rechĭ ĭ shamanstvu," *Zapĭskĭ Vostochnogo Otdelenĭia Russkogo Arkhelogĭcheskogo Obshchestva* 21 (1912). 47-82.

Chapters" (*i. e.*, the well-known "Hundred Lessons" in the *Tzŭ Erh Chi* of Sir Thomas Wade).[29] In the same year Hauer published a Manchu-Chinese-Mongol version of the Three Character Classic, with corresponding vocabularies in German.[30] W. Bang's "Türkisches Lehngut im Mandschurischen"[31] is one of the few purely phonetic studies on Manchu in recent years. In 1930 Sanzheev wrote on Manchu-Mongol linguistic parallels,[32] and in 1934 Shirokogoroff wrote an article on pronunciation based on notes taken among Manchu speaking peoples of the Aigun and Ili regions.[33] Manchu writing in its earliest form, without diacritical marks, has been treated by Li Te-ch'i 李德啓[34] and Vorob'ev.[35] Among the many works by Haenisch which are connected in some way with the Manchu language, two may be mentioned here. The first is a Manchu version of *Mêng ku yüan liu* 蒙古源流[36] a history of the Mongols; and the second, which appeared in 1938, is a translation of two Manchu-Tibetan edicts concerning Chinese relations with Nepal.[37]

Two articles by Hauer, always a strong advocate of Manchu studies, intended to show that the Manchu language is still in actual use, are interesting. One gives a facsimile of a passport issued in Manchu in 1927 to a German scientist travelling in

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[29] M. F. A. Fraser, *Tanggu Meyen and other Manchu Reading Lessons*, London, 1924, vii, 184 pp.

[30] "Das San-tze-king in dreisprachigem Texte mit einem chinesischen, mandschurischen und mongolischen Wörterverzeichnis samt einer deutschen Übertragung," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 26-27 (1924). 61-128.

[31] *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 4 (1924). 15-19.

[32] "Man'chzhuro mongol'skīĭ iazykovye parallelī," *Izvestīĭa Akademīĭa Nauk*, 1930, 601-708.

[33] "Reading and transliteration of Manchu Lit. (literary Manchu)," RO 10 (1934). 122-30.

[34] *Man chou wên tzŭ chih lai yüan chi ch'i yen pien* 滿州文字之來及其演變, (the origin and evolution of Manchu writing). *Kuo li pei p'ing t'u shu kuan kuan k'an* 國立北平圖書館館刊, V (1931), pt. 6, 34 pp.

[35] "Novye dannye o proĭskhozhdenīĭ ī razvitīĭ man'chzhurskoĭ pis'mennostī," *Zapīskī Instītuta Vostokovedenīĭa Akademīĭ Nauk* 5 (1935). 115-32, illus.

[36] *Monggo han sai da sekiyen. Die Mandschufassung von Secen Sanang's mongolischer Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1933, iv, 124 pp.

[37] "Zwei kaiserliche Erlasse vom Ausgange der Regierung Kien-lung, die Gorkha betreffend," HJAS 3 (1938). 17-39.

northern Manchuria,[38] and in the other the author says that at Hailar he obtained a newspaper in the Manchu language which was dated November 21, 1925.[39] This paper, according to Hauer, was called *Ice Donjin Afaha*, and the particular issue he obtained bore the serial number 322. In 1928 it was said that the original edition of the Manchu translation of the Bible had finally been exhausted, and due to the demand a new edition would be prepared.[40]

It is regrettable that although there are several good Manchu collections in the United States, no scholar here except for Laufer has, to my knowledge, made significant contributions to Manchu studies. It is interesting to note, however, that the first American trade commissioner to China, Caleb Cushing, in 1844 advocated the adoption of Manchu as the diplomatic language between China and the western powers.[41] He himself had a good command of spoken Manchu and considered it much easier to acquire than Chinese. It is also rather surprising to learn that here in the United States we have the original, unpublished Manchu-French dictionary compiled by Stanislas Julien while he was making his Latin translation of Mencius from the Manchu. This historical document, written in the great French sinologue's own hand, is in the Cleveland Public Library.[42]

The title of the manuscript under examination, *Emu tanggô orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan*, means "Record of the Words of One Hundred and Twenty Old Men." It is in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and was purchased in China for that institution in 1908 by Berthold Laufer. The text is quite long and covers a variety of subjects and the whole is bound, Chinese style, in eight stitched volumes which average 109 pages each (western pagination). There are neither chapter nor page numbers; the pages measure 9¼ by 6½ inches. The work is entirely in Manchu except for an

[38] "Ein Reisepass in Mandschusprache aus dem Jahre 1927," MSOS 32 (1929). 153-56.

[39] "Why the sinologue should study Manchu," JNCBRAS 61 (1930). 156-64.

[40] *Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists*, Oxford, 1928, p. 67.

[41] Considerations on the language of communication between the Chinese and European governments, *Chinese Repository* 13 (1844). 281-300.

[42] This is described by G. W. Thayer, quoting a letter of Laufer's, in JAOS 40 (1920). 140-41.

occasional Chinese note written in by some reader; in one place, for example, this person pasted in a slip of paper upon which he copied a sentence in Manchu, and below it, in Chinese, wrote "This sentence is not clear." This work was compiled by one Sungyun (Ch. Sung Yün 松筠), 1754-1835, a Mongol in the Manchu service.[43] After holding various official positions, Sungyun was sent to Urga or K'u-lun 庫倫 in 1785 to administer trade relations with the Russians. He was in Urga for eight years, and it was during his stay there that he compiled the "Record of the Words of One Hundred and Twenty Old Men."

The order of the volumes is first indicated by the eight words *kulun, urgunjen, eldehen, aššan, dosin, lifan, ilihen,* and *dahasun,* the Manchu terms for the *pa kua* 八卦 or Eight Diagrams of the *I Ching* 易經; these terms are then followed respectively by *ujui debtelin, jai debtelin, ilaci debtelin,* etc., first volume, second volume, third volume, etc. The title of the work, the *pa kua* term, and number of each volume are written by hand in a formal style within a decorated block-print border measuring $5\frac{3}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches which is pasted on the outside covers. There are eight vertical columns to the page, reading from left to right. Some of the columns are elevated one, two, or three degrees, as in Chinese, to show respect to the royal family or to the state when terms related to them are used. This practice, when many terms requiring respect are used, leaves some of the pages quite blank since a new and elevated column must be started whenever one of these terms occurs, even though the previous line has but one word in it. The writing is done by brush in a beautiful, flowing hand, but appears to have been done by more than one person since some sections are written much more delicately than others. The writing is clear and easily read on the whole, but occasionally, due to its cursive nature, difficulties in its interpretation arise.

There are two prefaces to this work. The first one, written by Sungyun, is dated *abkai wehiyehe-i susai duinci aniya, i. e.,* Ch'ien Lung's 54th year—1789. In this modestly worded preface Sungyun says that he had always paid attention to the conversations of his elders, and during the times he was not holding public office he recorded in 120 sections the various matters he considered worthy

[43] His biography is given in *Ch'ing shih kao* 清史稿, ch. 129 in the biographical section.

of preserving. Every one of these 120 sections begins with the phrase *emu sakda hendume*, "An old man said"—hence the name of the work. This phrase is followed, in the majority of cases, by the verb *donjici* (sometimes the singular pronoun of the first person, *bi* "I," precedes it), "I hear (that)"; sometimes the opening phrase is followed by *mini emu gucu . . .*, "a friend of mine . . ." The second preface, written by Furentai (Ch. Fu Lun-t'ai 富倫泰), a friend of Sungyun, is dated *abkai wehiyehe-i susai ningguci aniya*—1791. In this preface Furentai praises the author's work and describes the method whereby he himself classified and arranged the 120 chapters, in which order they now stand.

The 120 chapters are classified under eighteen different headings. Those to which most space is devoted deal with the officials of the eight banners (17 ch.), provincial officials (18 ch.), foreign tribes (8 ch.), military affairs (6 ch.), subjects for instruction (10 ch.), discourses on filial piety (6 ch.), discourses urging study (29 ch.), and ancient matters (10 ch.). The other headings, including from one to three chapters, deal with beginnings of the (Manchu) state, imperial tombs, imperial decrees, the way of the sages and the teaching of Buddha, rites, punishments, garrisons, diligence, the instruction of young women, and the home. So far I have transliterated seven chapters and translated two, but it remains to be seen whether or not the translation of sections like those on provincial officials, garrisons, foreign tribes, military matters, instruction of young women, etc. will throw new historical or anthropological light upon the Manchus.

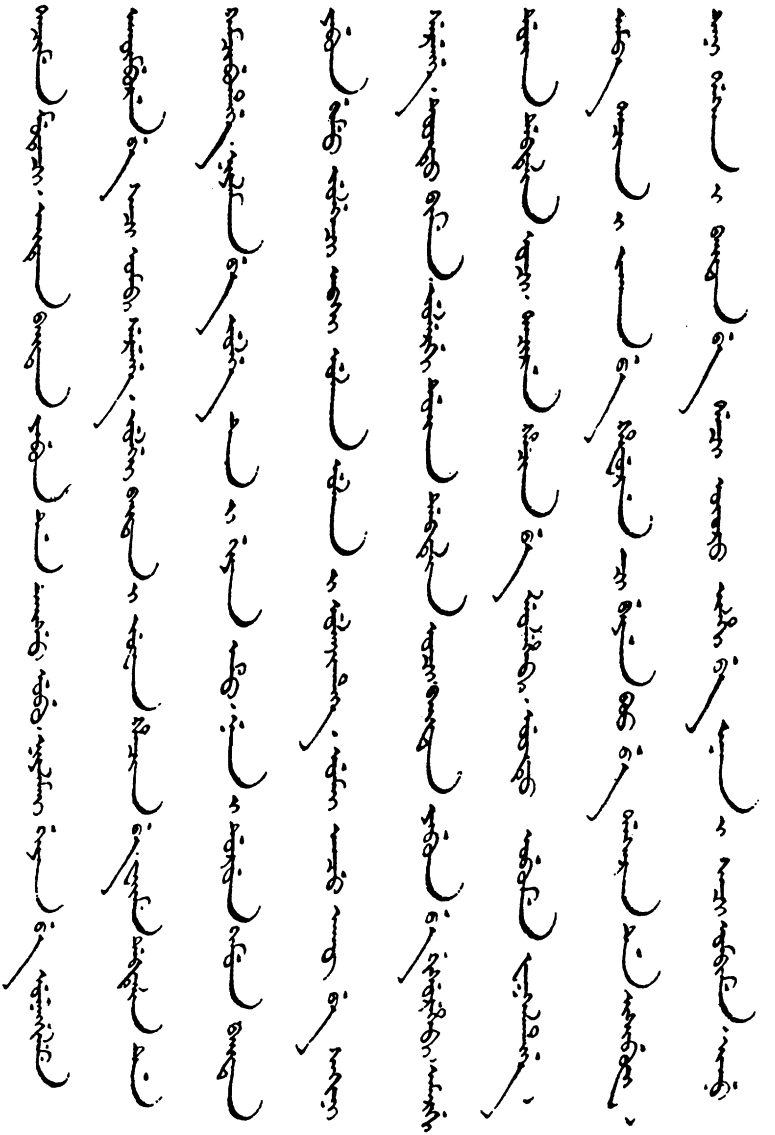
This manuscript is interesting and important because it is one of the few extensive works originally written in Manchu. Moreover, it was, contrary to the usual practice, translated *from* the original Manchu into Chinese. This was done in 1809 by Fu Chün 富俊, another Mongol in Manchu service.[44] This work, either in pure Manchu or as a bilingual text, has not been published and exists only in manuscript form.

The page in the illustration is typical of the more delicate style of writing used. Its transliteration by lines from left to right follows:

(1) tacime muteci. eiten baita yabun de teisu ubu. niyalmai giyan

[44] His biography is given in *Ch'ing shih kao, loc. cit.* Cf. Fuchs, *Beiträge . . .*, p. 94.

be unenggileme (2) akômbure be saci ombi serengge. julgei baita i juwan hacin be. wajime debtelin de (3) kamcibuhangge. niyalma be julge te i giyan emu. ne i durun kemun baita (4) yabun gemu julgeci ebsi ulan ulan i ulanjihangge. umai encu akô be sakini (5) serengge. tuttu bime. julergi duin debtelin oci. baita yabun be gisurehebi. amargi (6) duin debtelin oci. tacire hacin be leolehebi. uttu obume faksalahangge. (7) amba tacin i jaka be hafure ci beye boo be dasara de isibufi. (8) teni dasan i baita be daci ojoro ilhi be enen i saci ombime. inu



A page from the second preface of
Emu tanggô orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan.