

# Manchu Studies in Korea

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## 1. Introduction

Manchu studies is a discipline that deals with the language, history, and culture of the Manchu people. With the collapse of the Qing Empire following the 1911 Revolution, the Manchus' role in governing China vanished, their language gradually disappeared, and they eventually become largely assimilated into Han Chinese society. Yet this point of extreme decline of Manchu power and identity heralded the formation of the discipline of Manchu studies in China. Manchu studies had already developed outside of China. Thanks to the pioneering efforts of Jesuit missionaries, the origins of Manchu studies in Europe can be traced back to the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century, the center of Manchu studies in Europe moved to St. Petersburg in Russia. Already during the Ming-Qing transition period, Japan had started to show interest in Manchu history and culture. Later, during the early twentieth century, as Japan developed its political influence in Manchuria, the Japanese imperialist government strongly supported Manchu studies and eagerly collected Manchu-related materials, with the result that Japan has become a major center of the discipline. Recently, North American scholars have become interested in Manchu studies, through contact with the earlier research of European and Japanese scholars, and have in turn exerted influence elsewhere under the rubric of the "new Qing history." Taiwan stores important materials, such as *Drafts of the Old Manchu Archives* (*Jiu Manzhou dang* 舊滿洲檔), and has been home to a small number of scholars who can translate and research Manchu materials. However, Manchu studies in Taiwan has increasingly declined along with knowledge of the Manchu language itself. Manchu studies in Mainland China has revived, owing to the post-Mao opening and the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom." Indeed, during the three decades of reform and opening up, Mainland Manchu studies has

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produced a significant quantity of research, including over one hundred published monographs.<sup>1</sup> The Number One Historical Archives in Beijing stores a vast amount of Manchu materials. These are being organized and cataloged by Manchu specialists, who are frequently native speakers of Sibe, a language derived from and largely similar to Qing-era Manchu. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Minzu University in Beijing, as well as the provincial governments of Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang, have all established research institutes on the language, history, culture, documents, and customs of the Manchu people. Mainland China, with its vast number of primary materials and recent record of significant academic achievements, has established itself as the most important center of Manchu studies in the world.

Manchu studies in Korea has not yet approached a very high standard.<sup>2</sup> The number of Manchu specialists is modest, and the discipline has yet to become popular. Yet a small number of scholars have overcome poor conditions to produce remarkable work, and thus have kept the discipline alive. In language, history, and geography, Korea has strong connections with the Manchus, or Jurchens, so Korea has a good historical background for Manchu studies. The Korean language is one of the languages most similar with Manchu among the languages of Northeast Asia. The grammatical structure of the two languages is similar, and there are a number of similar words. Since the mid-Chosŏn period, a good number of textbooks on the Manchu language have been published. These materials now exert a positive influence on Manchu studies in Korea. To be sure, until recently few Korean scholars have chosen to explore Manchu studies, with the exception of a few linguists who have explored Chosŏn dynasty language textbooks primarily as a tool for research into Korean linguistics or to compare Manchu and Korean. More recently, however, a few Qing historians have started using Manchu materials in the central and provincial archives of China. As historical sources, such Manchu materials are most useful for research into Sino-Korean relations and issues related to the Qing-Chosŏn border. Hence, Manchu studies in Korea is focused on two fields: comparative linguistics and the history of Sino-Korean relations. Recently, Korean scholars have realized that they need to develop Manchu studies more broadly to explore issues involving language, history, culture, custom, literature, and philology. They thus approach Manchu studies

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1 Yan Chongnian, et al., *Ershi shiji shijie Manxue zhuzuo tiyao* (A Synopsis of Manchu Studies throughout the World in the Twentieth Century) (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2003).

2 My discussion is limited to the scholarship of Republic of Korea. It does not include achievements of North Korean scholars.

with an interdisciplinary perspective. They believe that their efforts on Manchu studies can eventually help the development of Korean studies, as well as the broader discipline of Asian studies.

## 2. Manchu Textbooks of the Chosŏn Period: The Four Books of Qing Studies

The Jurchen people of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) had their own writing system. This writing system gradually fell out of use during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). However, in 1599, as the Jurchens began to regain political strength, Nurhachi, the leader of the Jianzhou Jurchens, had the Mongol script adapted to form a new Manchu writing system. Nurhachi's script was modified during the 1620s and 1630s with the addition of dots and circles to reduce ambiguities in the script. This new writing system became the medium for countless documents produced after the Manchu Qing conquered China in 1644. During the Ming-Qing transition, Jurchen and Chosŏn relations were transformed by the restructuring of Northeast Asia. The Translators Institute (Sayŏgwŏn 司譯院) of the early Chosŏn court taught four languages: Mongolian, Japanese, Jurchen, and Chinese. They were called the "four studies," and the office was supervised by the Board of Rites. In 1667, after the Manchu conquest of China, Jurchen studies became renamed Qing studies. The Translators Institute published textbooks and dictionaries, first in Jurchen, then in Manchu, from fifteenth century until the late eighteenth century. They were usually used by translators and students who took the qualification examinations to become translators.

According to the *Gazette of the Tongmungwan* 通文館志,<sup>3</sup> during the early Chosŏn there were fourteen different textbooks used in Jurchen studies, including the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Cheonjamun* 千字文), *Three-Year-Old Child* (*Samsea* 三歲兒), *Discussion with a Little Child* (*Soaron* 小兒論), *Eight-Year-Old Child* (*P'alsea* 八歲兒), and *Geohwa* (去化).<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, none of these Jurchen texts are currently extant. In 1639 an instructor of Jurchen studies, Sin Gye-am (申繼黯), reworked five of these books (*Thousand Character Classic*, *Three-Year-Old Child*, *Eight-Year-Old*

3 T'ongmungwan 通文館 (China Relations Institute) was established in 1276 by King Ch'ongryŏl (r. 1274-1298) of the Koryŏ dynasty. Later, it was renamed Sayŏgwŏn and it covered other foreign languages as well as Chinese. In his *T'ongmungwan chi* completed in 1720, Kim Chinam 金指南 still used the former name T'ongmungwan but in fact, it mainly deals with the history of Sayŏgwŏn.

4 *Tongmungwan ji*, vol. 2, 3b, and vol. 7, 20b. Some of the books are listed by slightly different titles in the law codes, such as the *Thousand Character Classic*, which is listed as *Chŏnja* (千字) instead of as *Chŏnjamun*.

*Child, Geohwa, and Discussion with a Little Child*) from Jurchen into Manchu. To be sure, Jurchen studies before the seventeenth century and Qing studies after the seventeenth century must have been significantly different, but Sin Gye-am was able to understand the new Manchu language. Of the five books, only two (*Eight-Year-Old Child* and *Discussion with a Little Child*) have survived to the present. In addition to these five, there were two other Manchu textbooks: *Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samyeok chonghae* 三譯總解) and *Conversations in Manchu* (*Cheong-eo nogeoldae* 清語老乞大 or *Sinseok nogeoldae* 新釋老乞大). After 1683 these four books (*Eight-Year-Old Child, Discussion with a Little Child, Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms,* and *Conversations in Manchu*) became the main textbooks of Qing studies and were collectively referred to as the “Four Books of Qing Studies” (*Cheonghak saseo* 清學四書).

*Conversations in Manchu* was adapted from the original Chinese conversation textbook. The translation was produced on the basis of the experiences of Korean repatriates from China who had been captured during and after the Manchu invasion of Korea in 1636-1637. This edition, which was printed in 1703, has since disappeared. In 1765 Kim Chinha (金振夏) revised *Conversations in Manchu* and published it in P’yŏngyang in a woodblock edition.<sup>5</sup> This edition is quite widespread and is now found in various countries, including France, the United Kingdom, and Japan. Chŏng Kwang has edited it and made it readily available as a modern publication Chŏng Kwang, titled *A New Explanation of Conversations in Manchu* (*Chŏngŏ nogŏldae sinsŏk* 清語老乞大新釋).<sup>6</sup> The *Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms* was another important Manchu textbook. It was based largely on a 1650s Manchu translation by Kicungge, a Manchu grand secretary, of a Jiaping-period (1796-1820) popular edition of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (commonly called *Sanguozhi tongsu yanyi* 三國志通俗演義). Kicungge’s translation, frequently referred to as the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms in Manchu*, was adapted for use as a language textbook by order of Min Chŏngjung (閔鼎重), supervisor of the Translators Institute during the reign of King Sukjong (r. 1675-1720). The resulting text, *Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, circulated only in manuscript form

5 *Tongmungwan ji*, vol. 8; *Sinsok Chŏngŏ nogŏldae* 新釋清語老乞大 is edited on the basis of this 1765 edition of Chŏngŏ nogŏldae published in Kiyŏng 箕營 (modern P’yŏngyang 平壤).

6 Chŏng Kwang, *Kut’aek taehak tosŏgwan sojang Chŏngŏ nogŏldae* (New Translation of Chŏngŏ nogŏldae stored in Komazawa University 駒澤大學) (Seoul: Taehaksa, 1998). This book includes not only reprint of the original but also an introduction and a Korean glossary to the book.

until 1703, when six people, including Pak Ch'angyu (朴昌裕), raised funds for its printing. In 1774 Kim Chinha published a revised version of the book in a woodblock edition. The introduction of this new edition includes detailed information on the origins and history of this publication. *Eight-Year-Old Child* and *Discussion with a Little Child* were originally Jurchen-studies textbooks and were redone as textbooks for Manchu language study by Sin Kyeam after the Manchu invasion of 1636-1637. However, it was not printed until 1703, when it was published in a woodblock edition by Kim Chinha. Later it was reprinted in 1777. A copy of this 1777 edition is now housed in the library of Seoul National University. The first volume of *A New Translation of Discussion with a Little Child* (*Sinyeok Soaron* 新譯小兒論) includes an introduction by Yi Cham (李潛) with detailed information on the origins of this book. These two Manchu textbooks have not attracted enough attention from scholars. *Eight-Year-Old Child* is about a child prodigy who responds with witty answers to a series of questions by an emperor and eventually receives an official title. In this text, each Manchu word is transcribed in the Hangŭl script. It is thus an ideal tool for studying not only Manchu but also Korean of the Chosŏn period. *Discussion with a Little Child* has a structure similar to *Eight-Year-Old Child* and is also about a child prodigy, this one only three years old but able to give witty answers to various questions. In 1956 the Institute of Eastern Studies (Tongbanghak) of Yonsei University in Seoul (named Yonhee University then) reprinted the *Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms, Vocabulary* (*Dongmun yuhae* 同文類解), *Eight-Year-Old Child*, and *Discussion with a Little Child*. This reprint is still accessible today.

In addition, a series of Manchu dictionaries and bilingual works were published, including the *Thousand Character Classic in Manchu and Chinese* (*Man-Han Chŏnjamun* 滿漢千字文), *Vocabulary*, and *Chinese-Manchu Dictionary* (*Han-Chŏng mungam* 漢清文鑑). In the *Thousand Character Classic in Manchu and Chinese*, Manchu words are translated into Korean, and Chinese characters are followed by the Korean pronunciation in the Hangŭl script. *Vocabulary*, a dictionary edited by Hyŏn Munhang (玄文恒) and produced by the Publication Office (Kyosŏgwŏn 校書館) in 1748, was based on *A Manchu Vocabulary* (*Chŏnghak mulmyŏng* 清學物名) and also refers to the *Manchu Dictionary* (*Chŏngmungam* 清文鑑), the *Complete Book of the Great Qing* (*Daechŏng jŏnsŏ* 大清全書), and *An Extended Vocabulary* (*Dongmun kwanghwi* 同文廣彙). The postscript to *A Manchu Vocabulary*, written by An Myŏngsŏl (安命說), describes the publication history of this work in considerable detail. The book housed in the Gyujanggak Library of Seoul National University is the edition revised and reprinted by Kim Jinha.

The *Chinese-Manchu Dictionary*, based on the *Imperially Commissioned*

*Enlarged Manchu Dictionary* (*Yuzhi zengding Qingwenjian* 御製增訂清文鑑) of the Qianlong period, consists of 15 volumes and 15 sections. The publication year is unknown but is presumed to be circa 1779. In this work, both Manchu and Chinese characters are all transcribed in Hangŭl and followed by detailed definitions in Korean. In this multilingual dictionary, the three languages can be compared with one another. In comparison with other Manchu dictionaries, this work is the richest in terms of the vast number of words it contains. This work too was edited and printed under Kim Chinha's supervision, but it did not circulate widely. Copies of this book are now found in the library of the University of East Asian Languages in Paris and the library of Tokyo University. This book was reprinted by Yonsei University under the title *Korean, Chinese, and Manchu Dictionary* (*Han-Han-Chŏng mungam* 韓漢清文鑑).

Manchu textbooks and dictionaries published in Korea during the Chosŏn period have now become important materials for study of the Manchu and Korean languages of that period.<sup>7</sup> With the help of these works, it is possible to research in depth the interactions among various East Asian languages and peoples.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Manchu Materials on Qing-Korean Relations: Archives in Beijing and the Provinces

Manchu materials can be divided into four categories: archives, translations, genealogies, and stone inscriptions. Archives include documents, pictures, and maps produced during the daily work of various official organizations. Large quantities of Manchu archival materials have remained. They deal with various issues, including politics, the economy, military affairs, ethnicity, and religion, and so they are highly valuable sources. They are now stored in national, provincial, and municipal archives. The Number One

7 The library of Korea University now stores the woodblocks of language textbooks used in the Translators Institute during the Chosŏn period, including *Sangwŏnjaeŏ* (象院題語), *Pakt'ongsa sinyŏk* (朴通事新譯), *Pakt'ongsa sinyŏk ŏnhae* (朴通事新譯諺解), *Mongŏ nogeoldae* (蒙語老乞大), *Ch'ŏphae sinŏ* (捷解新語), *Chŏngŏ nogŏldae* (清語老乞大), *Samyŏk ch'onghae* (三譯總解), *Tongmun yuhae* (同文類解), *Chunggan ch'ophae sinŏ* (重刊捷解新語), *Ch'ŏphae sinŏ munyŏk* (捷解新語文釋), and *Waeŏ yuhae* (類解). The number of woodblocks amounts to 590. See Chŏngg Kwang and Yun Seyŏng, *Sayŏkgwŏn yŏkhaksŏ ch'aekpan yŏngu* (A Study of Editions of Books for Translation at Sayŏkwŏn) (Seoul: Korea University Press, 1998).

8 So far, several Korean scholars—including Sŏng Paegin, Chŏng Kwang, and Ch'oe Tonggwŏn—have researched the Manchu-language textbooks published during the Chosŏn period. I mainly refer to Chŏng Kwang's introduction to *A New Explanation of Conversations in Manchu*.

Historical Archives in Beijing stores the largest number of Manchu archival materials in the world. The National Palace Museum and the Institute of History and Philology in Taiwan also include a significant number of Manchu archival sources. The National Palace Museum stores the *Drafts of the Old Manchu Archives* (*Jiu Manzhou dang* 舊滿洲檔), the original source for the *Old Manchu Archives* (*Manwen laodang* 滿文老檔). The Tōyō Bunko in Japan houses the Archives of the Bordered Red Banner (*Xianghongqidang* 鑲紅旗檔). The archives of the offices of Heilongjiang Governor General, Ningguta Lieutenant General, and Hunchun Lieutenant General were ransacked by the Russian army during the Boxer Rebellion of 1910. Later, in 1956, they were repatriated to China and are now housed in the Number One Historical Archives.

Significant progress has been made in organizing and publishing the Manchu archives since China's reforms beginning in the late 1970s. According to Wu Yuanfeng, director of the Manchu Documents Section of the Number One Historical Archives, the Number One Historical Archives has already published 15 Chinese translations of Manchu documents, 7 works that include both Manchu documents and their Chinese counterparts, and 6 works that just reproduce original Manchu documents.<sup>9</sup> Included in the last category are the *Archives of the Lieutenant General's Office in Hunchun* (*Hunchun Fudutong Yamen Dang'an* 琿春副都統衙門檔案). Since Hunchun is located on China's northeastern border near both Korea and Russia, the archive is a unique and important historical source for the study of relations among the three countries.

*Drafts of the Old Manchu Archives* is an official history of the early Qing period, covering 1607 to 1636. This book, which includes a large amount of information not mentioned in Chinese materials, is a valuable source for studying Manchu history and language.

A few Korean scholars have already started to translate and research this book. Choi Donggwon has already finished translating "Huangzidang" (荒字檔), the first volume of this book, and is now working on the "Zezidang" (昃字檔), the second volume. According to him, translating *Drafts of the Old Manchu Archives* requires understanding the historical background, becoming

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9 Wu Yuanfeng, "Zhongguo Dalu bianyi chuban Qingdai Manwen dang'an gaikuang zongshu" (A Summary of the General Circumstances of the Mainland's Editing, Translating, and Publishing of the Qing Period Manchu Archives), presented at the international conference "Manjuhak ūi hyonhwang kwa kwaje" (The Present and Future of Manchu Studies), hosted by the Research Institute of Korean Studies, Korea University, April 15, 2011. Wu is the director of the Manchu Documents Section in the Number One Historical Archives.

familiar with the personal and geographic names mentioned in the book, and having a good knowledge of Mongolian and Chinese. He emphasizes that to develop Manchu studies in Korea, it is important to produce specialists on the Manchu language, collect materials related to Manchu studies, upgrade international exchanges, and establish a specialized research institute for Manchu studies.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4. Manchu Versions of Novels and Plays

Korean scholars have yet to research the Manchu versions of traditional Chinese novels. The Four Books of Qing Studies of Chosŏn Korea include the *Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, based on Kicunge's Manchu-language translation of this romance. Research on this Korean translation cannot be considered apart from the issue of translation and its relation to earlier editions of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* in both Chinese and Manchu. Currently, however, Korean scholars of Chinese literature have paid little attention to the Manchu versions of novels.

Chinese novels played a significant role in the lives of Manchus during the early Qing. Even during the Jin dynasty, the Jurchens greatly favored narrative literature. The first two rulers of the Manchu state, Nurhachi and Hongtaiji, were both especially fond of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. In 1639 Hongtaiji ordered the translation of Chinese novels, including the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, to use them as guides for administration. After the Qing conquest of China proper in 1644, the first Manchu translation of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* was published in 1650. Later, *Water Margin* (*Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳), *Jin Ping Mei* (金瓶梅), which is known as *Plum in the Golden Base* to general audience, and *Romance of the West Chamber* (*Xixiangji* 西廂記) were also translated into Manchu. It would be interesting indeed to figure out the influence of these Manchu translations on Chosŏn-era Korean vernacular translations of these same Chinese novels. Possible projects include a comparison of the translation methods and style of the bilingual *Manchu-Chinese Romance of the West Chamber* (*Man-Han Xixiangji* 滿漢西廂記) with a similar bilingual Korean-vernacular and Chinese version of the *Romance of the West Chamber* (currently available under the title *Seon-Han ssangmun Seosanggi* 鮮漢雙文西廂記).

The *Romance of the Three Kingdoms in Manchu* (which in Manchu is simply titled *Ilan gurun i bithe*) appeared during the Shunzhi period (1644-1661), in a text divided into 24 *juan*. At the time, under order of Dorgon

10 Ch'oe Tonggwŏn, "Hanguk ūi Manjuhak yŏngu panghyang" (Research Tendencies of Manchu Studies in Korea), presented at the international conference "Manjuhak yŏngu ūi hyŏnsang kwa kwajae" (see n. 7).



(who was the prince regent from 1644-1650), seven officials, including the grand secretary Kicungge, organized a translation team. In 1650 Kicungge informed Dorgon, “The translation has now been completed, and the text has been printed.” The Manchu translation was based on a popular Chinese edition from the Jiajing period (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty. The Yongzheng period (1723-1735) saw the publication of another 24-juan Manchu translation, *The Man-Han Bilingual Version of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Man-Han hebi Sanguozhi* 滿漢合璧三國志).

The Chosŏn *Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samyŏk chonghae* 三譯總解), one of the Manchu textbooks of Chosŏn Korea, was derived from ten chapters of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms in Manchu*. Within this text, Manchu is transcribed in the Hangŭl script written parallel to the Manchu text. At appropriate locations, a pause is made in the Manchu text to make space for a Korean vernacular translation of the preceding Manchu text. This parallel translation was first published in 1703 and then reprinted in 1774. Its Korean title, *Samyŏk chonghae*, is ambiguous, as “samyŏk” (three translations, or translation of Three) may merely mean that it is a translation of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (by which interpretation a literal translation of the title would be *Complete Explication of the Translation of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms*), or it may refer to the three different linguistic components of the book: the original Manchu, the Hangŭl transcription of the Manchu, and the Korean vernacular translation. According to Kishida Fumitaka, the Shunzhi edition of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms in Manchu* originated from the Chinese version of the Ming period, and the Manchu text of the *Man-Han Bilingual Version of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms* was a revision of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms in Manchu*, with its Chinese text being based on the edition of Li Duowu (李卓吾).<sup>11</sup> When the Manchu and Chinese texts conflicted with each other, the editor followed the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms in Manchu* and corrected the corresponding Chinese text. The Korean text of the *Translation of the Manchu Romance of the Three Kingdoms* was translated from the Manchu text, but sometimes referred to the Chinese version.

The Manchu version of the *Water Margin* consists of four volumes. It is currently housed in the Minzu University library in China. The title, *Water Margin in Manchu* (*Manwen Shuihuzhuan* 滿文水滸傳), seems to have been attached to the right side of the cover well after the original publication. The first volume lists the names of the characters in the book, divided, according to the narrative of the *Water Margin*, into the 36 incarnations of heavenly

11 Kishida Fumitaka, “Samyŏkchonghae chŏbongo” (On the Original Editions of *Samyŏk ch’onghae*), *Altai hakbo*, no. 2 (1997).

spirits (Tian'gangxing 天罡星)—including Songjiang, Lu Zhunyi, Wu Yong, Gongson Sheng, Lin Zhong, Qin Ming, and Yan Qing—and the 72 incarnations of earthly spirits (Dishaxing 地煞星)—including Zhou Wu, Huang Xin, Bai Sheng, Shi Qian, and Duan Jingzhou. However, this Manchu edition missed quite a number of names and used incorrect characters for many more. For example, among the 36 incarnations of heavenly spirits, Hu Yanzhuo (呼延灼) is rendered incorrectly as Hu Yansuo (呼延朔) and Huarong (花榮) is rendered with the wrong characters (花容), while among the 72 incarnations of earthly spirits, the names of twenty are wrongly listed, including Han Dao (韓滔), who is listed as Han Chao (韓超), and Wei Dingguo (魏定國), whose name is rendered incorrectly as Wei Dingguo 衛定國. In addition, 20 names are simply missed. These kinds of mistakes frequently happened in Korean translations of Chinese literature. In Korean versions, all the contents were written in Korean and only the titles of books were rendered in Chinese on the cover after the book had been bound. Usually the translator and the person who made the Chinese book title were different. Hence, the person who made the title frequently did not know the original title of the book or the names of characters who appeared in the book.<sup>12</sup> In the case above of the *Water Margin*, it can be said that the person who wrote the Chinese names for the characters did not know the novel well.

The Manchu version of the *Jin Ping Mei* has attracted the attention of many scholars. According to Shaolian (昭禎) in his *Miscellaneous Notes* (*Xiaoting zalu* 蕭亭雜錄), “Hesu (和素), director of the Board of Revenue, excels at translation. He has translated the *Romance of the West Chamber* and *Jin Ping Mei*, among others. Whenever he translates a book, he gives every word its appropriate meaning so that people love to read the book.” *Jin Ping Mei in Manchu* first appeared in 1708. The introduction in the first volume is dated the lunar Fifth Month of 1708. It comprises 40 *juan* and 100 chapters. It does not include pictures, and every page has nine columns, read from left to right, as is usual for Manchu books. Another Manchu version, found in the library of Tenli University in Japan, comprises 40 *juan* and 80 *ce*.<sup>13</sup> Hesu, whose courtesy name was Cunzhai (存齋), was a member of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner and worked as a secretary in the Grand Secretariat. According

12 For example, the title of *Pingbingjǒn* (聘聘傳), a Korean novel of the Chosŏn period, was written as “Pingpingzhuan” (聘聘傳) on the cover and mentioned as “Pingbingjǒn” (빙빙전) in the text. Scholars had not thought that it was a translation. Later, however, it was found that the name, Bingbing actually came from Jia Pingping (賈娉娉), a character of an episode of the novel *Jiandeng xinhua* (剪燈新話). That is, the cover title should have been written as 娉娉傳.

13 *Juan* 卷 and *ce* 册 are equivalent to chapter and volume in English.

to *A Collection of Eminent Qing Biographies* (*Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 國朝耆獻類徵初編), Hesu edited the 18-juan *Instrumental Treasures Contrasted* (*Jinbao hebi* 琴寶合璧), which was a Manchu translation of *Music Bequeathed from Antiquity* (*Taigu yiyin* 太古遺音) by Yang Lun (楊掄) of the Ming period. Twelve years after the publication of *Jin Ping Mei* with annotations by Zhang Zhubo (張竹坡), Hesu translated the novel from Zhang's version, deleting Zhang's annotations and translating the main text into Manchu.<sup>14</sup> In the introduction of the Manchu version, Hesu states, "Fortune and misfortune are decided by rewarding virtue and punishing vice. I amuse myself and demonstrate my talent with writing." He continues, "With the help of reason and inborn nature, the book explains the phenomenon of nature; it differentiates the steadfast from the wicked by showing love for righteousness and expressing disgust for wickedness. Although it should be categorized as miscellaneous writing, it still includes some valuable elements." He summarized the book by saying, "The one hundred chapters represent one hundred admonitions." From this, it is clear that Hesu translated this novel to admonish the people.

The *Romance of the West Chamber in Manchu and Chinese* (*Man-Han Xixiangji*), comprising 4 *juan* and 16 chapters, was printed by woodblock in 1710. This book is also called the *Manchu-Han Bilingual Version of the Romance of the West Chamber* (*Man-Han hebi Xixiangji*). The first volume includes a bilingual introduction written in Manchu and Chinese.<sup>15</sup> Every volume includes a table of contents. Each line is divided in half, with Manchu on the left and Chinese on the right. For example, the first line of the first volume, which may be rendered as "Preface to the *Romance of the West Chamber*, the *Manchu-Chinese Romance of the West Chamber*," has "si siyang gi bithei sioi, manju nikan si siyang gi" in Manchu on the left and "西廂記序 滿漢西廂記" in Chinese on the right. The *Romance of the West Chamber in Manchu and Chinese* is based on the *Romance of the West Chamber with Punctuation and Annotations* by Jin Shengtian (*Jin Shengtian pingdian Xixiangji* 金聖嘆評點西廂記), which was popular during the early Qing dynasty. However, the Manchu-Chinese version includes only the first four *juan* (sixteen chapters) and excludes the fifth *juan* (another four chapters). This version is now housed in the Chon'gyöng'gak library of Sungkyunkwan

14 Wang Rumei, "Manwen yiben *Jin Ping Mei* xu he zuozhe Lu Nan shuo" (The Preface of the Manchu Translation of *Jin Ping Mei* and the Theory That the Author Is Lu Nan), in *Wang Rumei jiedu "Jin Ping Mei"* (Wang Rumei Explains *Jin Ping Mei*) (Changchun: Shidai Wenyi Chubanshe).

15 The authors of the Manchu version and the introduction are anonymous. According to Shaolian, the author of *Man-Han Xixiangji* is likely to be Hesu.

University in Korea and the Institute of Eastern Culture at the University of Tokyo in Japan, among other places.<sup>16</sup>

Interestingly enough, Chosŏn the *Romance of the West Chamber* appealed to Koreans of the Chosŏn period. Kim Chŏnghŭi (金正喜), a famous late-Chosŏn scholar, translated it. A bilingual version of the novel in Korean and Chinese survives. A copy of this book, titled *Romance of the West Chamber in Korean and Chinese* (*Sŏn-Han ssangmun Sŏsanggi* 鮮漢雙文西廂記), is now found in the rare-books library of Korea University. In this book, the original Chinese is written in red ink. An interesting future research topic would be to compare this version with the *Romance of the West Chamber in Manchu and Chinese*, mentioned above. In addition, there is a famous Korean translation of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, titled the *Complete Translation of the Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hongnumong chŏnyŏkpon* 紅樓夢全譯本). In this book, the original Chinese characters were written in red ink and were transcribed in Hangŭl on the side of each Chinese character. The Korean translation was put at the bottom of each page. This layout of the translation is similar to that of Chinese novels in Manchu translated by the Chosŏn Translators Institute for use as Manchu textbooks. It is possible that the translator of the *Dream of the Red Chamber* was familiar with not only Chinese but also Manchu, as he referred to the Manchu version of the novel. A fascinating research topic would be to compare the Korean and Manchu translations of Chinese novels.

## 5. Conclusion

Although Manchu studies in Korea has a history several decades long and has produced a number of excellent scholars, it still has attracted only limited attention among scholars and lacks comprehensive research. The Research Institute of Korean Studies at Korea University, however, has already established a long-term and ambitious plan to develop and lead Manchu studies in Korea. It has already made efforts to understand previous research in this field within and outside of Korea. We have also invited Korean specialists on the Manchu language to give Manchu language classes.<sup>17</sup> In addition, to upgrade

16 According to the introduction of Beijing Baoli Guoji Paimai Gongsi to *Man-Han Xixiangji*, each volume has a table of contents and four pictures. The author, however, is unknown.

17 In the Research Institute of Korean Studies, the elementary Manchu class uses Kawachi Yoshihiro, *Manshūgo bungo buntten* (A Grammar of Literary Manchu) and Zhuang Jifa, *Yumen tingzheng* (The Emperor Administers the Affairs of State). At a more advanced level, the intermediate class reads *Manzhou shilu* (Veritable Records of the Manchus), *Gongzhongdang Kangxichao zouzhe* (vol. 8) (Palace Collection of Memorials of the Kangxi

research on the history of international relations among Korea, China, and Russia, researchers of the institute are reading and researching the *Archives of the Lieutenant General's Office in Hunchun* and writing research papers related to this archive.<sup>18</sup> Its Manchu-Korean research team has already finished translating and annotating *Conversations in Manchu* and Džengšeo's *My Service in the Army* (Manchu: *Beye-I cooha bade yabuha babe ejehe bithe*; Chinese: *Suijun jixing* 隨軍紀行).<sup>19</sup> Both works are very close to publication. The team is now annotating and translating the *Vocabulary*. They also have plans to translate *Jin Ping Mei*, the *Imperially Commissioned Manchu Dictionary* (*Yuzhi Qingwenjian* 御製清文鑑), and the *Chinese-Manchu Dictionary*.

Last year Sōng Paegin, emeritus professor of Seoul National University, donated valuable Manchu materials to the Research Institute of Korean Studies, greatly strengthening the institute's Manchu collection. The institute has invited Chinese scholars from the Number One Historical Archives and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to hold a discussion on Manchu studies.<sup>20</sup> The institute has also dispatched scholars to Beijing for academic exchanges. In addition, it has invited Mark Elliott, a Manchu specialist, to deliver a series of lectures. This April the institute hosted an international conference, inviting eminent Manchu specialists as presenters and discussants.<sup>21</sup> The conference produced constructive academic output and stimulated Manchu studies in Korea. Although Manchu studies in Korea is still a fledging discipline, this institute has indomitable academic ambitions and seeks to become a center of Manchu studies in Korea.

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Reign), and *Qingdai Zhungaer shiliao* (Qing Period Dzungar Historical Sources), among other works.

18 This archive was published in 238 volumes in 2006 by the Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe.

19 Trans. note: I follow the translation suggested by Mark C. Elliot, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 445, n. 52.

20 Guest scholars included Ding Yizhuang from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Zhang Li from the Number One Historical Archives.

21 Presenters included Wu Yuanfeng (Number One Historical Archives in Beijing), Zhao Zhiqiang (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Kusunoki Yoshimichi (Tsukuba University in Japan), Lin Shixuan (National Palace Museum in Taipei), Marcus Bingenheimer (Dharma Drum Buddhist College in Taiwan), Ko Tongho (Chōnbuk University in Korea), and Ch'oe Tonggwōn (Sangji University in Korea). Acting as discussants were Kim Sōnmin, Kim Yubōm, Pak Sangsu, and other specialists.