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**The Content and Concordance of the Chapters
from the Manchu-Chinese Manuscript *Emu Tanggû Orin*
Sakda-i Gisun Sarkiyan 百二老人語錄
Kept in the IOM, RAS**

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Abstract: The Manchu text “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” *Emu tanggû orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan* compiled by Songyûn (Songyun 松筠) in 1790 was edited by Furentai, and then translated into Chinese by Fugiyûn (Fujun 富俊) in 1809. The text exists only in a manuscript form and was never published. Monolingual Manchu and bilingual Manchu-Chinese versions of this text are scattered all over the world. For nearly twenty years the text existed only in Manchu and had suffered edition and rearrangement of the stories’ order. That fact inspired the late Prof. Giovanni Stary to compare the available copies. The present article presents the content of 120 stories according to the Manchu-Chinese manuscript kept in the IOM, RAS. This list of subjects made it possible to compare the Manchu language copies from the University of Chicago, the Osaka university of Foreign Studies and the Beijing University of Nationalities, as well as the Manchu-Chinese versions from the IOM, RAS (St. Petersburg) and the Capital Library. It became obvious that there are *no identical versions*. Rather substantial differences are found between three Manchu language copies and the Manchu-Chinese bilingual versions from the IOM, RAS (St. Petersburg) and the Capital Library, but they are mostly limited to the 7th and 8th chapters. From the first analysis, which has to be deepened, we can conclude that these two last chapters of the bilingual manuscripts were entirely rewritten and reordered. Most probably it was done by Fugiyûn when he translated “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” from Manchu into Chinese.

Key words: Manchu literature, Manchu manuscript, *Emu tanggû orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan*, IOM, RAS

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© Giovanni Enrico Stary (1946–2022), professor of the University of Venice (Italy), head of the Manchu chair, chief-editor of the “Central Asiatic Journal”

Some time ago Prof. Giovanni Stary (1946–2018) suggested me to prepare a facsimile edition of the rare Manchu-Chinese manuscript “*Emu tanggû orin-i sakda-i sarkyan*” (“Stories of one hundred and twenty old men”) from the collection of the IOM, RAS. This text is a sample of the original Manchu literature concerning everyday life of Manchu bannermen and exists in Manchu and Manchu-Chinese versions. Giovanni Stary had already worked on the monolingual Manchu manuscript from the University of Chicago and had published the German translation of the text,¹ it was obviously interesting to compare the Manchu versions of this rare text that are scattered all over the world.² As a result of the critical edition of that manuscript (which he had compared with the manuscripts from the Library of the Osaka University of Foreign Studies and the Beijing University of Nationalities), Giovanni Stary suggested that I prepare an index of plots from the stories of the Manchu-Chinese manuscript kept in St. Petersburg, Russia.

A rare bilingual text from the IOM, RAS collection consists of eight fascicles *debtelin/juan* 卷.³ The first fascicle begins with three prefaces: by a Mongol Songyûn (Songyun 松筠) dated 1790, the editor of the text Furentai, and the translator of the text into Chinese, famous connoisseur of Manchu and Chinese literature Fugiyûn (Fujun 富俊) dated 1809.⁴ The text consists of 120 stories told by 120 old men, and every story begins with the words *Emu sakda hendume* — “One old man said...”.

Each fascicle/*debtelin* includes 15 stories, and the content of them is as follows:

The 1st fascicle: *kulun-i ujui debtelin* 乾部卷之一

gurun neihe baita emu meyen 開國事一條 “The foundation of the Empire, one chapter”.

I.1: A short history of the Manchu-Qing empire from Nurhaci till Qianlong.

munnggan-i ba emu meyen 陵寢一條 “Imperial burial places, one chapter”.

I.2: A short description of the Manchu emperors’ and their ancestor’s tombs near Hetu-ala, Mukden and Beijing (Eastern and Western tombs).

dergi hese juwe meyen 上諭二條 “Imperial orders, two chapters”.

¹ STARY 1983.

² For various copies of this text see: NAKAMI 2000: 23–36.

³ VOLKOVA 1965: 59, no. 106.

⁴ PANG 1999: 73–81; ILIUKHOV & PANG 2023: 33–56.

I.3. A philosophical discussion concerning moral qualities of magisters (*dosika-si, jinshi* 进士).

I.4. A philosophical discussion concerning good administrators based on a Qianlong teaching inserted into the “Hafan hergen-i bithe” (*Jinshen zhishu* 晉神之书) and of the philosopher Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒, 2nd c. BC).

enduringge niyalmai doro. fucihi-i tacihiyan be leolehe emu meyen 聖道佛教論一條 “Discussion about sages and the Buddhist teaching, one chapter”.

I.5. A philosophical discussion on Buddhism between a “Mongol friend” and his Chinese teacher.

dorolon de ginggulere baita emu meyen 敬礼事一條 “About respecting the rites, one chapter”.

I.6. On the duties of officers employed in the Ministry of Rites.

erun be olhošoro baita emu meyen 慎事一條 “About caution in punishment, one chapter”.

I.7. A philosophical discussion on punishments between two officers of the Ministry of Justice.

gūsai hafasai baita jakūn meyen 旗員事八條 “About banner officers, eight chapters”.

I.8. A description of the daily duties of an officer employed in the “Office for delivering provincial reports to the Throne” (*dolo baita wesimbure ba / neiting zoushi chu* 內廷奏事处).

I.9. A description of the duties of the “Banner-general of Mukden”.

I.10. A description of the duties of the “Banner-general of Girin Ula”.

I.11. A description of the duties of the “Banner-general of Sahaliyan Ula”.

I.12. The correct and Honest life of an anonymous “Vice-president of the Ministry of Finance in Mukden” as an example of a good administrator.

I.13. A discussion among Banner officers on how to teach and educate banner soldiers, mainly against dissipation of money.

I.14. The teaching of a Banner officer against plague of “collective bets (*isangga mekten / yaohui* 搖會) causing serious economic problems and poverty among bannermen.

I.15. The teaching of a Banner officer how to be a good clerk in the yamen, mainly against drinking and dissipation of money.

The 2nd fascicle: *lifan-i jai debtelin* 坎部卷之二

gūsai hafasai baita uyun meyen 旗員事九條 “About banner officers, nine chapters”.

II.1. The teaching of a Banner officer on how bannermen should live modestly and not to become debtors of Shandong-Chinese who give high prices for meat, drinks and grain.

II.2. The teachings of a *nirui janggin* (captain) against usury.

II.3. The teachings of a *bošokû* (corporal) on how to administrate and correctly collect the taxes from simple bannermen.

II.4. The examples of two *mukûn-i da* (clan-chiefs) who correctly administrated their clans, helping especially the families in poor condition.

II.5. The teaching of a *galai da* (chief of the wing) how to become a good Manchu soldier.

II.6. A discussion between a *gûsai da* (colonel) and *jalan-i da* (commander of a banner section) how to fight against thieves, robbers and prostitutes.

II.7. The action of a Banner officer against illegal gambling-houses opened by “sedan-chair carriers”.

II.8. The teaching and action of a banner officer against water-suppliers, mainly the “Shandong-people”, whose rude methods caused economic difficulties to simple Manchu bannermen.

II.9. A discussion on the water-channels of Beijing, their utility and how to keep them in good condition and efficiency.

goloi hafasai baita ninggun meyen 外官事六條 “About provincial officers, six chapters”.

II.10. On the duties of a good provincial governor-general, mainly against distilleries of alcoholics, dangerous for the people’s health.

II.11. The teachings of a provincial governor to his subordinates how to be a good servant to the Dynasty.

II.12. On how a provincial governor correctly supervised the provincial examinations.

II.13. The teaching of a provincial governor to a *boo-i niyalma* (bondservant) concerning right rewards.

II.14. The teaching of a Financial Commissioner (*dasan be selgiyere hafan* / *buzhengshi* 布政使) concerning questions of grain-taxes and corruption therewith connected.

II.15. The teachings of a Provincial Judge (*baicame beidere hafan* / *anchashi* 按察使) concerning the correct administration of justice.

The 3rd fascicle: *ilihen-i ilaci debtelin* 艮部卷之三

goloi hafasai baita juwan juwe meyen 外官事十二條 “About provincial officers, twelve chapters”.

III.1. How to be a good *dooli hafan / dao* 道 (intendant of a circuit).

III.2. The duties of a *fu-i saraci / zhifu* 知府 (prefect).

III.3. An example of a good *fu-i saraci / zhifu* 知府 (prefect).

III.4. An example of a good *uhei saraci / tongzhi* 同知 (subprefect) from Hetu-hoton, who managed to resolve grain and alcohol problems among the Mongols.

III.5. How to be a good *acan beidesi / tongpan* 通判 (second class subprefect), with special emphasis on avoiding to borrow money from anybody.

III.6. How to be a good *jeo-i saraci / zhizhou* 知州 (department magistrate), with special emphasis on how one a *jeo-i saraci* has managed social disorder (robbery) due to hunger among people.

III.7. How to be a good *hiyan-i saraci / zhixian* 知縣 (district magistrate).

III.8. Example of a good *hiyan-i saraci* who instructed the local teacher how to teach Confucian morals.

III.9. The duties of a *birai baita uheri kadalara amban / hedao zongdu* 河道總督 (an official responsible for river regulations) with special emphasis on the Huanghe river and how its waters and dams were regulated from ancient times (by mythical emperor Yu) before the Ming and Qing dynasties. Ancient books on water-regulations are quoted as examples. The Manchu title is usually given as *birai jugûn be uheri kadalara amban*.

III.10. The duties of a *jeku juwere baita be uheri kadalara amban / yun zongdu* 運總督 (an official responsible for grain transportation): what he should do to guarantee grain for the whole population.

III.11. An episode about a customs collector and his secretary who could not bear his master's reproaches concerning the correct management of custom administration: he started eating too much and died. The episode is the starting point for teaching to be sober in eating and drinking. The second part is devoted to the teaching of the custom collector on how to collect customs in a right and efficient way.

III.12. A discussion between a provincial general and a provincial governor about the laws of the Qing dynasty with emphasis on grain conservation to prevent famine.

seremšeme tehe ba-i baita ilan meyen 駐防事三條 "About garrison life, three chapters".

III.13. The description of good administration by a general who lived in the south. The episode refers to the emperor's visit to Jingnan, Hangzhou and other places: the local authorities ordered to all soldiers to buy new clothes for this occasion and spend a lot of money. Only the afore mentioned

general ordered his soldiers to wash their old clothes, put them in order and prohibited them to spend money on new clothes, thus proving to be a good administrator of money. The emperor highly appreciated the general's decision.

III.14. The story is about the teaching of a Banner lieutenant-general in service at Shanghai-guan (Šanaha furdan) to his soldiers. Their controls against ginseng smuggling in coffins at the gates of Shanghai-guan is mentioned. He also prohibited drinking alcohol and wearing expensive clothes.

III.15. The story concerns the two Banners of Tumet-Mongols in Huhhoton and their commanders, Guluge and Haigiyo, seen as examples of good Banner generals.

The 4th fascicle: *aššan-i duici debtelin* 震部卷之四

tulergi aiman-i baita jakûn meyen 外藩事八條 “About outer territories, eight chapters”.

IV.1. The story about the relations of the Manchu emperors with Tibet and Dalai-lama with a special emphasis on Tsewang Arabtan of the Dzungars, and how he was defeated by the Manchus, who in that way brought peace to Tibet. At the beginning of the tale an inscription on stone-stele is mentioned. The stele was erected in Tibet in 1721, its text quotes the Dalai-lama's famous message to Hongtaiji.

IV.2. About the Mongols and “Tanguts” (Tibetans) living in Gansu province, but administered by an *amban* from Xining 西寧.

IV.3. About the administration and subdivision of Inner and Outer Mongolia.

IV.4. About the administration of Outer Mongolia, especially of the Kalka Mongols who had to watch over the border with Russia.

IV.5. A description of the Mongol-Russian border region, especially between Uliyasutai and Kobdo.

IV.6. The story concerns the war against the Dzungar Empire and the conquest of Turkestan by the Manchus. At the end of the story is described the return of the Turgut from Russia to China.

IV.7. The story is a concentrated description of Russia; Moscow (*Moskewa*), Irkutsk (*Erkeo*), Tobol'sk (*Tobol*), and the Senat (*sanat*) are mentioned; a linguistic explanation of the word “gubernator” is given as *gubir* which should mean *golo* (province), *nator* — *hafan data* (heads of the office). At the end, the Russian students who learned Manchu are mentioned.

IV.8. The story concerns the Chinese-Russian trade in Kiyakhta, and how it is regulated.

cooha baitalara baita ninggun meyen 用兵事六條 “About the use of army, six chapters”.

IV.9. The tale is a short treaty about the “art of war” starting with Zhuge Kongming 諸葛孔明 (Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, 181–234 CE) and mentions at the end the Qing wars against Moslems, Dzungars and the Jinchuan 金川 rebellion. Finally, as a good source for studies the Qianlong’s composition *Yongkiyan mudan ingebun / Quanyun shi* 全韻詩 is recommended.

IV.10. A discussion on war strategies, starting from Wang Mang 王莽 (33 BCE–23 CE) till the Tang and Sui Dynasties.

IV.11. The story about behavior and teaching of a good army-officer in moving troops.

IV.12. Teachings of a general of the “Green [Chinese] Army with emphasis on taking care of arms and correct behavior of soldiers toward local population.

IV.13. Explanation of the duties of an army-commander explained in a form of a letter written by a commander to his friend.

IV.14. Military enterprises and merits of Yue Wumu 岳武穆 (Yue Fei 岳飛 1103–1141), a Sung general, seen as a good example of an excellent commander.

beye hūsutuleme kicere be leolehe emu meyen 自行奮勉論一條 “Discussion on self-application and diligent work, one chapter”.

IV.15. A discussion between five officers on good behavior. It is interesting to note that this discussion took place while “eating the sacrificial meat” (*wecere yali jembi / shi jirou* 食祭肉) — it means after a shamanic rite.

The 5th fascicle: *dosin-i sunjaci debtelin* 巽部卷之五

sefu-i tacibure baita juwan meyen 師教事十條 “Instructions for teachers, ten chapters”.

V.1. How a teacher organized the teaching in a Banner- school with special emphasis on the reading of the Manchu-Chinese parallel version of the “Four Books”.

V.2. How a teacher organized horse-training lessons with arrow-shooting and eliminated economic and other problems herewith connected. At the end of the tale it is told that his method was later followed also by the “Imperial Clan School” (*uksun-i tacikû / Zong xue* 宗學) and the “Gioro School” (*Gioroi tacikû* 覺羅學).

V.3. Difficulties in teaching Chinese philosophical works and the helpful use of Manchu translations.

V.4. A philosophical discussion based on the “An dulimba bithe” (*Zhongyong* 中庸).

V.5. A philosophical discussion of a Mongol teacher (*baksi*) on the “Banin giyan-I narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義), The *Guwen* 古文 Anthology and the *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目.

V.6. An explanation of the Mongol teacher of the philosophical treatise *Ximing* 西銘 written by Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1067).

V.7. How to teach arrow-shooting from horse-back if there is no money to buy a horse: a teacher constructed a wooden horse, and in that way managed to resolve the problem.

V.8. Teaching against physiognomy and future-telling, condemning these practices with the help of the Imperial “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義).

V.9. The story concerns the inspection of an old teacher to the school where students were beaten by the teachers when not well prepared. He stopped that cruel punishment and referred the pupils’ and teacher’s attention to the “Imperial benevolence” and the necessity to be thankful for it.

V.10. An old man tells about his visit to the School for the sons of the Imperial house (*Gurun-i juse hûwašabure yamun* / *Guozi jian* 國子監).

juse sargan be tacibume kadalara baita ilan meyen 訓教妻子事三條 “Instructions for girls, three chapters”.

V.11. A discussion on the six classical books necessary for a good education, i.e. the “Four Books” (*Duin bithe* / *Sishu* 四書), the “Records on Music” (*Kumun-i ejebun* / *Yue ji* 樂記) and the “Spring and Autumn Annals” (*Cûn cio* / *Chunqui* 春秋), “Ju ze g’ang mu” (*Zhuzi gangmu* 朱子綱目) and the “Guwen yuwan giyan” (*Guwen yuanjian* 古文淵鑑).

V.12. A discussion on children’s education with emphasis on SimaWengong 司馬溫公 (Sima Guang 司馬光, 1009–1086).

V.13. A discussion of the women’s position in the family life based on the saying *emile coko hûlarakû. emile coko hûlaci. boo jocimbi* — “When a hen (= woman) does not cluck (= shout), [or] when a hen clucks (= shouts), the house [always] suffers”.

booï banjire be kicere baita juwe meyen 家嚙計事二條 “Diligent application in home affairs, two chapters”.

V.14. How a poor bannerman, living modestly with his wife and his mother, managed with his salary to cover all his debts within ten years.

V.15. The story gives detailed instructions on how to treat horses well having at disposition only a few money. Emphasis is made on how to nourish horses in a cheap but good way.

The 6th fascicle: *eldehen-i ningguci debtelin* 離部卷之六
tondo hiyoošun be leolehe ninggun meyen 忠孝論六條 “Discussion on loyalty and filial piety, six chapters”.

VI.1. A philosophical discussion on *tondo ojoro doro* — the principle of loyalty.

VI.2. A philosophical discussion on filial piety, starting from the saying *tondo amban be hiyoošunga jui ci baisu* — “A loyal officer comes from a filial child”.

VI.3. A philosophical discussion between two friends on human values with reference to the philosophers Iozé (Yuezi 岳子, i.e. Yu Xiong 岳熊, 13th c. BC) and Ze Hiya (Zi Xia 子夏, i.e. Bu Shang 卜商, 6th c. BC).

VI.4. Talks about loyalty (*tondo*) and filial piety (*hiyoošun*), quoting also the work “Mujilen-i targabun” (*Xinzhen* 心箴) by the philosopher Fan Jun 范浚.

VI.5. Talks about the rules to be observed in the family life based on the emperor’s “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義).

VI.6. Discussion based on the work “Ama eme damu nimerahû seme jobošombi” (*Fu mu wei qi bing zhi you* 父母惟其疾之憂) emphasizing filial piety.

tacire kicere be leolehe uyun meyen 勤學論九條 “Discussion on application in studies, nine chapters”.

VI.7. A talk about Sun Bin 孫臏 and Pang Juan 龐涓 who lived during the Qi (1122–265 BCE) and Wei (403–241 BCE) Dynasties.

VI.8. Philosophical discussion on rites and music, quoting the philosophers Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1300) and Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

VI.9. Philosophical discussion about the importance for bannermen of good instructions based on Confucian morality.

VI.10. A discussion on the precious character of the book “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義) for bannermen’s education.

VI.11. A discussion on the book Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義) and the “Tai-gi tu nirugan (*Taiji tushuo*, also called “Amba ten-i nirugan”) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

VI.12. Conversation on the emperor’s preface to his “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義) and Li Guangdi’s report to the

Throne. Li Guangdi 李光地 (1642–1718) was the president of a commission for re-editing the works of Zhu Xi that were published with the imperial foreword in 1713.

VI.13. Poverty is not a reason for neglecting studies and progress in social life, as show the examples of Zhu Maichen 朱買臣 (?–116 BC) and Su Laoquan 蘇老泉 (1009–1066). The same is true for bannermen who have to learn the Manchu language and exercise in arrow-shooting, even if stricken in years.

VI.14. A philosophical discussion on Confucian teachings with quotations from Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Cheng Hao 程顥 (1033–1107).

VI.15. A philosophical discussion on a chapter from Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義), emphasizing the “Manchu literary style (*manju gisun ici*).

The 7th fascicle: *dahasun-i nadaci debtelin* 坤部卷之七
tacire kicere be leolehe tofohon meyen 勤學論十五條 “Discussion on application in studies, fifteen chapters”.

VII.1. A discussion on the “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義).

VII.2. A discussion on the right order in which the Chinese classics should be read, i.e. “Great Learning” (*Amba tacin / Da xue* 大學), the “Analects of Confucius” (*Leolen gisyren / Lun yu* 論語), the “Book of Mengzi” (*Mengze bithe / Mengzi* 孟子), the “Invariable Medium” (*An dulinbai bithe / Zhongyong* 中庸).

VII.3. A philosophical discussion on *Tung šu-i bithe* (*Tongshu* 通書) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

VII.4. A discussion on the teaching of Luo Congyan (羅從彥, 1072–1135) and his school.

VII.5. A discussion between two friends on the philosophy of Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130–1300).

VII.6. A discussion on the teachings of Confucius and Mengzi.

VII.7. A philosophical discussion based on Mengzi’ saying “Humanity in an honor, inhumanity is a shame” (*gosin oci derengge. gosin akû gicuke / ren ze rong, bu ren ze ru* 仁則榮, 不仁則辱).

VII.8. A discussion between two friends on a man’s blunt and dull character.

VII.9. A discussion on the saying “All things contain affections; affections follow an order” (*eiten jaka de buyenin bi. buyenin giyan be dahambi / shi ge you qing, qing zhun hu li* 事各有情, 情準乎理).

VII.10. A philosophical discussion developing the concept of *temšen / zheng* 爭 (competition).

VII.11. A philosophical discussion on the sentence “When a sage lives in a country, he does not blame its dignitaries” (*ambasa saisa tere gurun de tehe de. terei daifan hafan be wakasarakû / junzi jus hi bang, bu fei qi dafu* 君子居是邦，不非其大夫).

VII.12. A philosophical discussion on the sentence “Orders and laws are all fixed; affections are not fixed” (*giyan kooli gemu toktohon bi. buyenin oci toktohon akû / li yu fa you ding, qing wu ding ye* 理與法有定，情無定也).

VII.13. Philosophical discussion based on the “Tengkicuke babe gûnire sarkyan bithe” (*Jin si lu* 近思錄) by Zhu Xi.

VII.14. A philosophical discussion on the conception of “good” (*sain/hao* 好).

VII.15. A discussion on the sentence “Sorrow in the former house even if it was rich, happiness in the present house, even if it is poor” (*onggolo boode banjishûn bime joboŝoho, te boode yadahûn bime sebjelehengge / ji ye jia rao er you, jin ye jia pin er leji* 昔也家饒而憂，今也家貧而樂).

The 8th fascicle: *urgujen-i jakûci debtelin* 兗部卷之八
tacire kicere be leolehe sunja meyen 勤學論五條 “Discussion on application in studies, five chapters”.

VIII.1. A discussion on mankind referring to Pan Gu 盤古, Fu Xi 伏羲, Shen Nong 神農, the “Eight Diagrams” 八卦, etc.

VIII.2. A discussion on the chronological order in which the classical books should be read, referring to the “Hafu buleku” (*Tongjian* 通鑑).

VIII.3. Discussion on historical personalities like Zhuge Kongming 諸葛孔明 (Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, 181–234 AD and Liu Xianzhu 劉先主).

VIII.4. A discussion on maxims (*koolingga gisun / geyan* 格言) of old sages quoting *inter alia* Cui Hao 崔浩 (5th c. BC).

VIII.5. A discussion on the life of Zhou Emperors like You Wang 幽王, Ping Wang 平王, etc.

julgei baita juwan meyen 古事十條 “Stories from ancient times, ten chapters”.

VIII.6. A discussion on Sima Wengong 司馬溫公 (Sima Guang 司馬光, 1009–1086) and the “Ze j’i tung giyan g’ang mu” (*Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目).

VIII.7. A discussion referred to ancient rulers like Jin Jingong 晉景公, Zhao Dun 趙盾, Zhao Shuo 趙朔, etc.

VIII.8. On various historical personalities like Xie An 謝安 and Fu Rong 符融 of the Jin Dynasty (317–420), Li Daliang 李大亮 of the Tang Dynasty (618–906), Cao Bin 曹彬 and Di Qing 狄青 of the Song Dynasty (960–1279).

VIII.9. On various historical personalities like Wei Wenhou 魏文侯, Bu Zixia 卜子夏 and Tian Zifang 田子方 based on the “Ze j’i tung giyan g’ang mu (*Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目).

VIII.10. On various historical personalities like the philosopher Xun Qing 荀卿 of the State of Zhao 趙 (the 3rd c. BC).

VIII.11. On meritorious dignitaries like Gong Sui 龔遂 (sent to Bohai in 73 BC) and Li Fan 李燾 of the Song Dynasty who pacified the uprising of Dong Kou 洞口.

VIII.12. On various historical personalities like Zhuge Kongming 諸葛孔明 (Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, 181–234 AD) and Cao Cao 曹操 (died in 220 AD).

VIII.13. On historical personalities like Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697–781) and An Lushan 安祿山 (d. 757).

VIII.14. On historical personalities like Wang Ya 王涯, Jia Su 賈餗, Feng Qiu 馮球, etc., discussed on the basis of five “admonishments” of old sages.

VIII.15. A discussion on the book “Collection of maxims” (*Koolingga gisun-i oyonggo be šošoho bithe / Geyan jiyao* 格言集要).

In 2001–2002 during the Manchu conferences in Beijing Prof. Stary and me had a chance to check *de visu* the manuscripts at three Libraries: The Library of the University of Nationalities (Beijing Minzu daxue), the National Library of China (Zhong guo guojia tushuguan (former Guoli tushuguan) and the Capital Library (Shoudu tushuguan, former Beijing Capital Library).

The University of Nationalities keeps a monolingual Manchu version of the “Stories of one hundred and twenty old men” (8 *debtelin* in 16 fascicles, in 2 *dobton/tao*).

The National Library of China has a bilingual version in 6 *debtelin* in 1 *tao* with 39 stories.

The Capital Library holds a bilingual Manchu-Chinese version (19 fascicles in 2 *tao*). Fascicles 1–18 are bilingual; fascicle 19 (44 ff.) is only in Manchu and contains 10 tales that correspond to the 8th *debtelin* of the Osaka manuscript. On every fascicle is a seal of the previous owner — the famous Chinese historian Xiao Yishan: 清代通史作者蕭一山 “Xiao Yishan, the author of the «General History of the Qing Dynasty»”.

Comparing the available manuscripts, it became possible to make a general concordance of the stories in reference to the Manchu-Chinese text from the collection of the IOM, RAS:

SPb, IOM, RAS	Chicago	Osaka	Beijing Minzu daxue	National Library of China	Capital Library
I.1.	same	same	same	same	same
I.2.	same	same	same	same	same
I.3.	same	same	same	same	same
I.4.	same	same	same	same	same
I.5.	same	same	same	same	SPb I.8.
I.6.	same	same	same	SPb II.10.	SPb I.9.
I.7.	same	same	same	SPb II.11.	SPb I.10.
I.8.	same	same	same	SPb II.12.	SPb I.5.
I.9.	same	same	same	SPb II.13.	SPb I.6.
I.10.	same	same	same	SPb II.14.	SPb I.7.
I.11.	same	same	same	SPb II.15.	same
I.12.	same	same	same	SPb III.1.	same
I.13.	same	same	same	SPb III.2.	same
I.14.	same	same	same	SPb III.3.	same
I.15.	same	same	same	SPb III.4.	same
II.1.	same	same	same	SPb III.5.	same
II.2.	same	same	same	SPb III.6.	same
II.3.	same	same	same	SPb III.7.	same
II.4.	same	same	same	SPb IV.8.	same
II.5.	same	same	same	SPb IV.9.	same
II.6.	same	same	same	SPb IV.10.	same
II.7.	same	same	same	SPb IV.11.	same
II.8.	same	same	same	SPb IV.12.	same
II.9.	same	same	same	SPb IV.13.	same
II.10.	same	same	same	SPb IV.14.	same
II.11.	same	same	same	SPb IV.15.	same
II.12.	same	same	same	SPb V.10.	same
II.13.	same	same	same	SPb V.11.	same
II.14.	same	same	same	SPb V.12.	same
II.15.	same	same	same	SPb V.13.	same
III.1.	same	same	same	SPb V.14.	same
III.2.	same	same	same	SPb V.15.	same
III.3.	same	same	same	SPb VI.1.	same
III.4.	same	same	same	SPb VI.2.	same
III.5.	missing	same	same	SPb VI.3.	same
III.6.	same	same	same	SPb VI.4.	same

III.7.	same	same	same	SPb VI.5.	same
III.8.	same	same	same	SPb VI.6.	same
III.9.	same	same	same	SPb VI.7.	same
III.10.	same	same	same	—	same
III.11.	same	same	same	—	same
III.12.	same	same	same	—	same
III.13.	same	same	same	—	same
III.14.	same	same	same	—	same
III.15.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.1.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.2.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.3.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.4.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.5.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.6.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.7.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.8.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.9.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.10.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.11.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.12.	same	same	same	—	SPb IV.13.
IV.13.	same	same	same	—	SPb IV.12.
IV.14.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.15.	same	same	same	—	same
V.1.	same	same	same	—	same
V.2.	same	same	same	—	same
V.3.	same	same	same	—	same
V.4.	same	same	same	—	same
V.5.	same	same	same	—	same
V.6.	same	same	same	—	same
V.7.	same	same	same	—	same
V.8.	same	same	same	—	same
V.9.	same	same	same	—	same
V.10.	same	same	same	—	same
V.11.	same	same	same	—	SPb V.12.
V.12.	same	same	same	—	SPb V.13.
V.13.	similar	similar	similar	—	SPb V.11.
V.14.	same	same	same	—	same
V.15.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.1.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.2.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.3.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.4.	same	same	same	—	same

VI.5.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.6.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.7.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.8.	same	same	same	—	SPb VI.9.
VI.9.	same	same	same	—	SPb VI.8
VI.10.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.11.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.12.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.13.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.14.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.15.	same	same	same	—	same
VII.1.	similar to Chic.VII.13	similar to Minzu daxue VII.13	similar to Osaka VII.13.	—	same
VII.2.	Chicago II.14.	Minzu daxue VII.14	Osaka VII.14	—	same
VII.3.	similar to Chic.VII.12	similar to Chicago	similar to Chicago-Osaka	—	same
VII.4.	similar to Chic.VII.10	similar to Minzu daxue VII.10	similar to Osaka	—	same
VII.5.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.6.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.7.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.8.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.9.	similar to Chic.VII.5	similar to Minzu daxue VII.5	similar to Osaka VII.5.	—	same
VII.10.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.11.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.12.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same

VII.13.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	–	same
VII.14.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	–	same
VII.15.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	–	same
VIII.1.	similar to Chic.VIII.7.	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.11.	–	same
VIII.2.	similar to Chic.VIII.11	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.12.	–	same
VIII.3.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.13.	–	same
VIII.4.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.14.	–	same
VIII.5.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.15.	–	same
VIII.6.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.1.	–	same
VIII.7.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.2.	–	same
VIII.8.	similar to Chic.VIII.14.	Osaka and Chicago VIII.14	Chicago and Osaka VIII.3.	–	same
VIII.9.	different	different (like Chicago)	different from Chic. and Osaka	–	same
VIII.10.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.5.	–	same
VIII.11.	similar to Chic.VIII.13.	Osaka and Chicago VIII.13	Chicago and Osaka VIII.6.	–	same
VIII.12.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.7.	–	same
VIII.13.	different	different (like Chicago)	different from Chic. and Osaka	–	same
VIII.14.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.9.	–	same
VIII.15.	similar to Chic.VIII.5.	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.10.	–	same

From the concordance we can draw the conclusion that at least three different corpuses of “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” were composed:

1. The St. Petersburg and the Capital Library versions, which are almost identical. Only in some cases the order of the stories is changed inside the same chapter/*debtelin*.

2. The Chicago and the Osaka versions differ from the St. Petersburg text in the 7th and 8th chapters.

3. The Beijing Minzu daxue version is almost identical to the Chicago and Osaka versions, but differ in the order of the stories in the 8th chapter.

(The National Library’s bilingual version contains tales selected from the first six chapters of the St. Petersburg bilingual copy).

From the comparison of all *complete* copies of the *Emu tanggû orin sakda-i sarkiyān* available for the present study (Chicago, Osaka and Beijing Minzu daxue monolingual copies on one side, and the St. Petersburg and Capital Library bilingual copies on the other side) it becomes obvious that there are *no identical versions*. The differences between Chicago and Osaka manuscripts are mostly (but not exclusively) in copyist mistakes, some greater differences in sentence constructions are found in Beijing Minzu daxue version. Very substantial differences are found between three Manchu copies and the Manchu-Chinese bilingual versions from the IOM, RAS (St. Petersburg) and the Capital Library, mostly limited to the 7th and 8th chapters. From the first analysis, which has to be deepened, we can conclude that these two last chapters of the bilingual manuscripts were entirely rewritten and reordered. Most probably it was done by Fugiyûn when he translated “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” from Manchu into Chinese.

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