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Mandarin over Manchu: Court-Sponsored Qing Lexicography and Its Subversion in Korea and Japan

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MANCHU (MNC.) WAS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE of the Qing (Mnc. Daicing) empire. It spread to Chosŏn Korea and Tokugawa Japan largely through lexicographical compilations produced in eighteenth-century Beijing to strengthen its position vis-à-vis the empire's other languages. Those languages included the northern Chinese vernacular, Mandarin, which was also represented in these lexicographical works but in a position subordinate to the Manchu language. Korean and Japanese scholars used the Qing books to produce

ABSTRACT: The Manchu language studies of the Qing empire emerged in Beijing during the late seventeenth century and spread to Chosŏn Korea and Tokugawa Japan during the eighteenth century. The Qing court sponsored the compilation of multilingual thesauri and thereby created an imperial linguistic order with Manchu at the center and vernacular Chinese, or Mandarin, in a subordinate position. Chosŏn and Tokugawa scholars, by contrast, usually placed Mandarin—not Manchu, Korean, or Japanese—as the leading language in the new multilingual thesauri they compiled on the basis of Qing works. I show how the balance between Manchu and Mandarin changed as Korean and Japanese scholars reworked lexicographic books from Beijing. The lexicographic evidence demonstrates that the international languages of pre-twentieth-century East Asia included Manchu and vernacular Mandarin as well as literary Chinese.

摘要：本文以乾隆『御製增訂清文鑑』為例，探討清朝構造的以滿文為中心的多語言制度及其在朝鮮和日本的傳播和轉變。日本和朝鮮學者利用滿語辭書所載的漢語白話譯文與官話注音來學習漢語。漢語對學習滿文必不可少，於是日朝學者往往把辭書中的漢語白話部分作為研究的對象。

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new compilations, which in contrast to the originals were centered on vernacular Chinese. On occasion, they even treated the Qing books primarily as sources for knowledge of Chinese, not Manchu.

The history of Manchu lexicography in Korea and Japan shows that as Qing imperial power grew during the eighteenth century through military conquests and an active cultural policy, some of the major languages of the empire became better known abroad. This outward radiance of the languages of the Qing extended to Europe, where students of Manchu found the language more familiar and easier than Chinese,¹ for which it could serve as a gateway if not a substitute.² The role played by Manchu lexicographical works in the Qing's eastern neighbors, by contrast, ultimately confirms the increasing regional importance of Mandarin Chinese, not the Manchu language of the Qing rulers.

During the early twentieth century, Mandarin emerged as the national language of the comparatively weak Chinese republic, and Mandarin is today considered first and foremost the language of China. Yet I suggest that, during the decades around 1800, Mandarin Chinese was taking on characteristics of an international language because it served as a mediator among the different languages with which Korean and Japanese scholars came into contact. Even at the height of Manchu rule in China, the language of the emperors was accessible to Korean and Japanese scholars only through Mandarin.

To illustrate the process of approaching Manchu through Mandarin, I focus on the use of an imperially sponsored Manchu-Chinese thesaurus by several groups of scholars in Chosŏn Korea and Tokugawa Japan in their linguistic studies. (I use the word “thesaurus” in the sense of a lexicographic work arranging words according to their meaning.³) *Han i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun i buleku bithe*, or *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian* 御製增訂清文鑑 (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language, expanded and emended), was printed in 1773 in order to regulate and promulgate the Manchu language.⁴ A

¹ Joachim Bouvet, *Histoire de l'empereur de la Chine* (La Haye: Meyndert Uytwerf, 1699; rpt., Tianjin, 1940), pp. 78, 85.

² See Joseph-Marie Amiot, translator's preface to *Éloge de la ville de Moukden et de ses environs*, attributed to the Qianlong emperor (Paris: N. M. Tilliard, 1770), pp. iv–v.

³ Carla Marella, “The Thesaurus,” in vol. 2 of *Wörterbücher: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie*, ed. Franz Josef Hausmann et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), pp. 1083–94.

⁴ *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian / Han i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun i buleku*

Manchu-Chinese bilingual book, it was a sequel to *Han i araha manju gisun i buleku bithe* (Imperially commissioned mirror of the Manchu language), which was published by the imperial print shop in Beijing in 1708, contained no Chinese words at all, and became retrospectively known in Chinese as *Yuzhi Qingwen jian* (whence the title of the bilingual sequel). Indeed, according to an informed observer, the main goals of the compilers of the 1708 work “was to have some sort of collection of the entire [Manchu] language, so that the latter would never perish.”⁵

The Manchu court subsequently sponsored linguistic reference works that included other languages as well, and the Manchu language also remained at the center in those publications.⁶ Such was the case in *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, the Manchu-Chinese publication in the court’s series of *Mirrors*. Revised following its initial publication in 1773, this thesaurus was widely reproduced and probably reached many readers.⁷ Despite its intended function of furthering knowledge and use of Manchu, Chosŏn and Tokugawa scholars at times took an interest in it for its recording of Mandarin Chinese.

Based on consideration of the 1773 Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, I argue that Manchu language studies at both ends of Eurasia reflected a shared early modern concern for foreign languages, a concern driven

bithe, 32 *juan* + 4 suppl. in 2 vols., ed. Fuheng 傅恒 (1773; rpt., Changchun: Jilin chuban jituan youxian zeren gongsi, 2005). This edition is a facsimile of the 1778 *Siku quanshu huiyao* 四庫全書薈要 chirograph.

⁵ Dominique Parrenin, “Lettre du Père Parrenin [*sic*], Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, à Messieurs de l’Académie des Sciences, en leur envoyant une traduction qu’il a faite en langue Tartare de quelques-uns de leurs ouvrages, par ordre de l’Empereur de la Chine; et adressée à M. de Fontenelle, de l’Académie Française, et Secrétaire perpétuel de l’Académie des Sciences,” in vol. 19 of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères* (1738; rpt., Toulouse: Sens/Gaudé, 1811), p. 230. The thesaurus described is *Han i araha manju gisun i buleku bithe* (Beijing: Wuying dian, 1708). I used a microfilm copy of the original xylograph, which is archived as: “*Han i araha manju gisun i buleku bithe: Yü-chih ch’ing-wen-chien*,” 4 vols. [1709]; No. MC 4 LING IX 4150, series 1 of the Tenri Collection of the Manchu Books in Manchu-Characters, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany.

⁶ For example, the books described in Chunhua 春花, *Qingdai Man-Mengwen cidian yanjiu* 清代满蒙文词典研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2008), pp. 110–19.

⁷ The preface is dated Qianlong 36 [1772].12.24; it was printed in 1773. The thesaurus has been widely studied; *Bibliographies of Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and Tibetan Dictionaries*, comp. Larry V. Clark et al., ed. Hartmut Walravens (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Harrassowitz, 2006), pp. 118–19. On the number and timing of editions, see, for example, Imanishi Shunjū 今西春秋, “Zōtei Shinbunkan no ihan ni tsuite” 増訂清文鑑の異版に就いて, *Shirin* 史林 23.4 (1938): 219–26.

by the global historical context of the Qing period as an age of both intensified international contacts and proliferation of print. In order to understand the origins of the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* and its intended function, I first discuss the coexistence, in Qing China, of both literary and vernacular Chinese, and I briefly describe the development of Manchu language studies in Beijing. In analyzing the role played by this *Mirror* in Manchu language studies in Korea and Japan, I suggest that Northeast Asian scholars' usage of Manchu-Chinese bilingual publications furthered a linguistic order—not with Manchu at the center, as intended by the Qing imperial court—but with vernacular Mandarin Chinese at the center. In conclusion, I relate the work of Korean and Japanese scholars to that of their European contemporaries by contrasting the Northeast Asian focus on Mandarin Chinese with the early European assimilation of Manchu.

Ultimately, the international circulation of materials in Manchu and Mandarin Chinese shows that literary Chinese was not the only international language of pre-twentieth-century East Asia. The circulation and study of different constellations of languages suggest, furthermore, that the replacement of East Asia's shared language of literary Chinese with distinctly national languages was but one possible outcome of the vernacularization processes in the region.

Literary and Vernacular Chinese and Manchu

Manchu emerged as a written language in a markedly multilingual context, of which literary and vernacular Chinese were important elements. Ultimately, the Chinese encounter with Manchu contributed to a greater presence of vernacular Chinese in print. This section provides a sketch of the elements of the linguistic mix into which Manchu entered, in order to explain why scholars in Korea and Japan approached the bilingual *Mirror* in the way they did.

Written Manchu was created during the early seventeenth century by writing down one variety of the Jurchen language using the Uyghur-Mongol script. It was the dynastic language of the Qing empire. The Manchu imperial family and their aristocratic associates ruled China and parts of Inner Asia from the mid-seventeenth century until 1911,

relying on this Manchu language as an administrative tool and as a mark of distinction from enemies and subjects. In China proper, Manchu coexisted with Chinese, and in the northern regions, Chinese appeared, roughly speaking, in two different varieties: literary and vernacular. Both varieties had a history outside China's borders.

Literary Chinese was based on the canonical writings of the early Chinese empire and its predecessor states, and it incorporated more recent forms of expression. It was, much too simply put, the dominant medium of elevated writing in China until the early twentieth century. The role of literary Chinese in East Asia has, with important qualifications, been compared to that of Latin in post-Roman Europe.⁸ When East Asian intellectuals met across national borders, they often communicated by exchanging notes written in literary Chinese (a practice known as *bitan* 筆談, “brush talk”). Yet literary Chinese was not uniform across time and space (although a lot more work is needed on this issue), nor was it the only language of regional communication.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a form of vernacular Chinese, often called Mandarin in its spoken form, rose to prominence in Korea and Japan almost to the point where it could be called a language of regional importance, albeit on a much smaller scale than literary Chinese. As a spoken prestige language, Mandarin is a much more protean entity than written forms of vernacular Chinese. Its accepted pronunciation changed over time, and vernacular texts did not necessarily have to be read using the accepted standard pronunciation to make sense. Yet, as I will show, Korean and Japanese scholars recognized that a specific pronunciation was encoded in the written vernacular Chinese that they found in bilingual Manchu books from Beijing, and they associated it with the pronunciation current at the Qing court.

Linguists today know that this form of Mandarin contained traits of southern Mandarin, different from the native language of Beijing,⁹ but matters were not conceptualized by the Qing court's Manchu-studies

⁸ Peter Kornicki, “The Latin of East Asia?” (Sandars Lectures in Bibliography, Cambridge University, Cambridge, UK, March 10, 2008), <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/sandars/kornicki.pdf>.

⁹ W. South Coblin, “Guānhuà 官話, Historical Development,” in vol. 2 of *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics: De–Med*, ed. Rint Sybesma (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 327–33.

scholars in that way, nor were the differences between colloquial Beijing dialect and Mandarin noted by the Korean and Japanese scholars whom I consider. How close the Chinese pronunciation communicated in the books studied here was to the Beijing vernacular of their time is without consequence for the discussion. In my analysis, I use “vernacular Chinese” to refer to written language that linguistic change had made different from the language of the classical Confucian corpus with which Korean and Japanese literates were familiar. I use “Mandarin” to draw attention to instances where the written materials in question demanded a northern pronunciation—for example, by the language being transcribed in a phonographic script—in order to be properly deciphered by the reader.

In its written and, most often, phonetically underdetermined form, vernacular Chinese reached great numbers of people in Korea and Japan during the eighteenth century due to the importation of Chinese novels in both countries and, in Japan, due to the arrival of Chinese Buddhist monks.¹⁰ Less known is the fact that some Chosŏn thinkers provocatively floated the idea that Koreans should also learn to speak vernacular Chinese, which in this context must be understood to refer to Mandarin.¹¹ Vernacular Chinese was thus attracting increasing attention in the region quite independently of Manchu. The arrival and spread of the Manchu language in China ultimately contributed to this strengthening of vernacular Chinese.

Manchu Language Studies Sponsored by the Qing Court

The Manchu elite of the eighteenth century built a vast Inner Asian empire incorporating speakers of Tibetan, eastern Turki, Oirat, Mongolian, various Chinese dialects, and many other languages. They made the northern Chinese city of Beijing their capital and stationed

¹⁰ See, for example, Gregory N. Evon, “Chinese Contexts, Korean Realities: The Politics of Literary Genre in Late Chosŏn (1725–1863) Korea,” *East Asian History*, nos. 32/33 (2006–2007): 64–66; Rebekah Clements, *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 130–39.

¹¹ Cho Sŏngsan 조성산, “18 segi huban-19 segi chŏnban Chosŏn chisigin ūi ōmun insik kyŏngnyang” 18 세기 후반~19 세기 전반 조선 지식인의 語文 인식 경향, *Han’guk munhwa 한국문화* 47 (2009): 190, <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Journal/ArticleDetail/NODE01262443>.

a large part of their hereditary military forces (the bannermen) there. For reasons both practical and ideological, the Qing court and its servants compiled lexicographical works that grouped two, three, or more of the empire's languages on the same page. The Manchu language was at the center of such works, just as the Manchu emperor and his capital at Beijing were the center of administration and official culture.

While many multilingual publications were ideologically motivated, there were also practical reasons for the court's involvement in Manchu language studies. The banner army and its dependents had, from the period before the occupation of China, included speakers of a kind of northern vernacular Chinese.¹² By the mid-eighteenth century, northern vernacular Chinese—Mandarin with a pronunciation that was not yet recognized as standard¹³—had probably become the dominant language of oral communication among the bannermen.¹⁴ The weakened linguistic boundary between the bannermen and the Chinese civilian population was one of the reasons that the Qing court took such a great interest in the use and form of the Manchu language during the eighteenth century. The publication of a bilingual Manchu-Chinese thesaurus in 1773 should be understood as a response to a situation of weakened Manchu language ability among bannermen and a perceived need to assert the supremacy of Manchu as the paramount language of a universal empire.¹⁵

In 1708, the Qing court published its first work of Manchu language studies, the bilingual thesaurus's predecessor, on orders of the Kangxi 康熙 emperor (r. 1661–1722) in Beijing. This original, monolingual *Mirror* was conceived as a means to shore up the use of Manchu

¹² Okada Hidehiro, "Mandarin, a Language of the Manchus: How Altaic?" in *Historische und bibliographische Studien zur Mandschuforschung*, ed. Martin Gimm, Giovanni Stary, and Michael Weiers (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 165–87.

¹³ Cunzhi Tang 存之堂, *Yuanyin zhengkao* 圓音正考, ed. Wentong 文通 (Beijing: Sanhuai Tang, 1830), written in 1743 and aimed at Manchu readers, specified proper reading pronunciations of Chinese characters.

¹⁴ See Chieh-hsien Ch'en, "The Decline of the Manchu Language in China during the Ch'ing Period (1644–1911)," in *Altaica collecta: Berichte und Vorträge der XVII. Permanent International Altaistic Conference 3.–8. Juni 1974 in Bonn/Bad Honnef*, ed. Walther Heissig (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Harrassowitz, 1976), p. 139; Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 295.

¹⁵ On the Manchu leadership's ideology of a universal empire, see Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

in a context of increased use of Chinese by the bannermen.¹⁶ From the beginning of the Qing court's involvement with Manchu language studies, the stated purpose was to strengthen the Manchu language. When the *Mirror* appeared, however, several Manchu reference works, and some works of Manchu language pedagogy, had already been brought to print by Chinese and Manchu pedagogues to serve a society that communicated in several languages. Almost all of these works were bilingual, including both Manchu and Chinese text, indicating that they targeted sinophone learners of Manchu.

Yet the presence of Chinese in these books—most often in the form of translations and pronunciation glosses (given in Chinese characters approximating the sound of the Manchu)—had the unintended consequence that books published to teach the Manchu language also imparted one form of Chinese. In syllabaries, the Chinese characters used as sound glosses were to be read “according to the rhymes of [Bei]jing.”¹⁷ In grammars, Manchu case markers were defined as corresponding to one or several auxiliary verbs used in Mandarin, for example, the Manchu dative particle *de* glossed as Mandarin *gei* 給.¹⁸ And in dictionaries, the Manchu lexicon was matched to that of Mandarin.¹⁹ The monolingual Manchu *Mirror* represented an attempt to break with this practice. Yet under the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (r. 1735–1799), the court, in apparent recognition of the reigning state of bi- or multilingualism, abandoned the strategy of promoting Manchu through monolingual publications.

Although the 1773 thesaurus was bilingual, the purpose of the book remained the strengthening of Manchu, not Chinese. Several circumstances worked to make Manchu the leading language. The Manchu

¹⁶ Vol. 1 of *Kangxi qijuzhu* 康熙起居注 (typeset edition, Kangxi 12 [1673]/4/12), ed. Zhongguo di-yi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 93–94. I am grateful to Michael Chang for this reference.

¹⁷ Liao Lunji 廖綸璣, introduction (*yin* 引) to *Shi'er zitou* 十二字頭 / *Juwan juwe uju*, in *Zhengzi tong* 正字通, ed. Liao Wenying 廖文英, comp. Zhang Zilie 張自烈 (1671; rpt., Beijing: Zhongguo gongren chubanshe, 1996), p. 1a. Shen Qiliang 沈啟亮, *Jianzhu shi'er zitou* 箋註十二字頭 / *Giyan ju si el dzi teo* (Beijing: Fukui zhai, 1701), p. 1a; incomplete MS, call no. BORG. CINESE 351.7, Vatican Apostolic Library, Vatican City.

¹⁸ Wuge 舞格, *Man-Hanzi Qingwen qimeng* 滿漢字清文啓蒙, 4 *juan* (卷) (Beijing: Hongwen ge, 1730), j. 3, p. 1a; digitized copy held at Waseda University Library, http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/hoo5/hoo5_02852/.

¹⁹ For example, Shen Qiliang, *Da Qing quanshu* 大清全書 / *Daicing gurun i yooni bithe* (1683; rpt., Shenyang: Liaoning minzu chubanshe, 2008).

words were always listed first, both in the table of contents and in the main body of the thesaurus. As the Qianlong emperor's preface notes, the original 1708 monolingual *Mirror* had been "compiled by establishing categories based on the Manchu language."²⁰ In the 1773 bilingual thesaurus, likewise, "the Manchu language [phrases] are placed at the head of every category, with Chinese characters matching the sound [as phonetic glosses] added on the side."²¹

Yet one form of Chinese language in particular plays an important role in the 1773 book. As in the earlier private and commercial works of reference or language pedagogy, it is clear from the vocabulary, syntax, and pronunciation of the explanations that the variety of Chinese used is unambiguously the version of Mandarin favored by the court. The grammatical particles (for example, *de* 的, *le* 了) were those of Mandarin. The compilers felt that this register was most appropriate for translating the Manchu, which they praised as clear and simple. The emperor's preface to the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* states that the book uses "vernacular glosses" (Mnc. *sesheri suhen*; Ch. *sujie* 俗解); indeed, the Manchu glosses do not include the literary quotes seen in the 1708 *Mirror*. In these glosses, the compilers "employ only such phrases used in everyday [life], so as to allow everybody to understand completely."²² The use of vernacular Chinese reflects this choice.

More unambiguously, pronunciation glosses in the Manchu script were added next to the Chinese explanation, showing that the Chinese was to be read using Mandarin pronunciation. For example, Manchu *tumpanahabi*, "what you say to express dislike of a person with a big face" (Mnc. *dere amba niyalma be icakûšame hendumbihede, tumpanahabi sembi*) is translated as 臉胖的可厭, "a face so fat it's unpleasant," and alongside these characters the Mandarin pronunciation, *lian pang de keyan*, is noted using Manchu script.²³ Similarly, the Manchu words in the *Mirror* are transcribed using Chinese characters employed in an

²⁰ The Qianlong emperor's preface (Mnc. *šutucin*, Ch. *xu* 序) to *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, p. 11b.

²¹ The Qianlong emperor's preface to *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, p. 13a.

²² The Qianlong emperor's preface to *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, p. 14a. Cf. Loretta Kim, "Illumination and Reverence: Language, Identity, and Power in the Prefaces of the Manchu 'Mirrors,'" in *Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Manchu Studies*, vol. 2: *Studies in Manchu Linguistics*, ed. Carsten Naeher and Stephen Wadley (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 91.

²³ The Qianlong emperor's preface to *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, pp. 13a–b.



FIG. 1 An Example of Manchu-Mandarin Translation and Transcription in the 1773 *Qing Thesaurus Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*. The image shows a Manchu lemma *birembi* transcribed, on the far left, using Chinese characters (read in Mandarin) to show the Manchu pronunciation: *b-i* 畢伊 *r-e* 呼額 *m* 穆 *b-i* 畢伊. Reading left to right from the lemma, it is first translated into Chinese as *ganmian* 趕麵, “beat/roll dough [into noodles].” The Chinese translation is then transcribed (on the far right) into Manchu as *g’an miyan*, confirming that the characters are to be read in Beijing Mandarin pronunciation. Photograph courtesy of the East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University. Source: *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, j. 22, p. 3a.

elaborate and regular system of phonetic transcription, in which one syllable can be transcribed using up to three Chinese characters that are to be read in Mandarin pronunciation.²⁴ Figure 1 shows an example of the functioning of the technique, known by the pre-Manchu Chinese term “tripartite spelling.”²⁵

The transcription of the pronunciation of each language using the other language’s script is also noted by Qianlong’s court bibliographers, who write that the *Mirror* allows the reader to “master Manchu through Chinese, and Chinese through Manchu.”²⁶ The emperor also praises it:

If [the Chinese characters acting as phonetic glosses are] read aloud [and] connected, there will not be a single instance where [the sound] is wrong. Therefore, when confused by the [Manchu] characters, places where their sounds cannot be obtained will be few.²⁷

Qianlong’s statement presupposes that the reader who uses the Chinese-character sound glosses reads them with Mandarin pronun-

²⁴ *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, j. 11, pp. 17b–18a.

²⁵ Ch. *sanhe qieyin* 三合切音, Mnc. *ilan acangga hergen i ešeme mudan*; the emperor’s preface to *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, pp. 13a–b. See also Mårten Söderblom Saarela, “Alphabets *avant la lettre*: Phonographic Experiments in Late Imperial China,” *Twentieth-Century China* 41.3 (2016): 238–46.

²⁶ “Xiaoxue lei er” 小學類二, in *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目, ed. Yongrong 永瑤 (1789; rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), j. 41, p. 356.

²⁷ The Qianlong emperor’s preface to *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, pp. 13b–14a.

ciation. Conversely, a reader who uses the Manchu-script glosses to learn the proper pronunciation of the Chinese expressions would be learning Mandarin.

The Manchu-Chinese bilingual *Mirror* was the product of Qing Manchu language studies with the greatest influence in Korea and Japan. In the history of Qing publishing, it represented one step in the development of thesauri to include ever greater numbers of languages. Steps had already been taken in that direction before its publication and continued for another two decades afterward. Most notable are the court's two completed Manchu thesauri, finished in the 1790s: they both included Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, and Tibetan, and one also included Turki. Manchu was the leading language in all of the court's thesauri.²⁸

Some multilingual Manchu dictionaries produced at this time without direct court involvement also used Manchu as the leading language. A dictionary, originally published in 1780, by Fūgiyūn 富俊 (Ch. Fujun; Mnc. Fugiyūn; 1749–1834), a high-ranking Mongol bannerman and official, presented Chinese and Mongolian translations of Manchu headwords.²⁹ However, in a four-language dictionary that Fūgiyūn completed in 1797 but never printed, he made Mongolian the leading language, translating it into Oirat, Manchu, and Chinese.³⁰ Yet overall, the substantial number of court publications meant that Manchu played the role of leading language in most of the multilingual linguistic reference works of the eighteenth century.

²⁸ Jiang Qiao 江桥, “Qianlong yuzhi si-, wuti *Qingwen jian bianzuan kao*” 乾隆御制四、五体《清文鉴》编纂考, in vol. (ji 辑) 6 of *Manxue yanjiu* 满学研究 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 130–37; *Auf kaiserlichen Befehl erstelltes Wörterbuch des Manjurischen in fünf Sprachen „Fünfsprachenspiegel“: Systematisch angeordneter Wortschatz auf Manjurisch, Tibetisch, Mongolisch, Turki und Chinesisch*, ed. Oliver Corff et al., 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Harrassowitz, 2013), v. 1, pp. xxiv–xxvi; Chunhua, “Yuzhi wuti *Qingwen jian' bianzhe ji bianzuan niandai kao*” 《御制五体清文鉴》编者及编纂年代考, *Manyu yanjiu* 满语研究, no. 1 (2014): 28–33.

²⁹ Fūgiyūn [Jingzhai 敬齋], *Sanhe bianlan* 三合便覽 / *Ilan hacin i gisun kamcibuha tuwara de ja obuha bithe / Turban jüil-ün üge qadamal üjehüi-dür kilbar bulγaysan bičig*, 12 vols. (1780; rpt., Beijing: Minggui tang, 1792).

³⁰ Fūgiyūn, “Menggu, Tuote huiji” 蒙古托忒彙集 / *Monggo tot hergen i acamjaha isabu[ha bithe] / Mongyol tod üsüg-iyer neileltüküluü čuyula[γsan bičig]* [1797]; mimeographed chirograph, call no. NC 5980.6 3624, Peking University Library, Beijing. Fūgiyūn's dictionary is described in Chunhua, *Qingdai Man-Mengwen cidian yanjiu*, pp. 314–17, and in *Tongwen zhi sheng: Qinggong cang minzu yuwen cidian* 同文之盛: 清宮藏民族語文辭典, ed. Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2009), pp. 48–49, which includes a few pictures.

Since the Manchu language in Qing works of reference or language pedagogy was translated, transcribed, and described using vernacular Chinese—often specifically Mandarin—that language was a *sine qua non* for learning Manchu. A link between Manchu and vernacular Chinese latently existed in the books that reached Korea and Japan, where whoever read them needed to also acquire some knowledge of vernacular Chinese. Yet, as I show, the presence of vernacular Chinese in Manchu reference works enabled Korean and Japanese scholars to use these works for purposes likely unintended by their original authors.

Manchu Studies and Mandarin in Chosŏn

The geopolitical importance—and by extension perhaps also the linguistic importance—of Manchuria was beyond doubt in eighteenth-century Chosŏn. Interpreters were charged by the government to study and translate Manchu in diplomatic contexts. There was, furthermore, among Korean intellectuals outside the group of interpreters, a general acknowledgment that Manchurian geography and Qing communications needed to be understood. Chosŏn officials and concerned intellectuals wanted knowledge that would allow them to secure their northern border in the case of a successful Chinese revolt, for a Manchu withdrawal from Beijing could lead to their banner armies passing through or invading the Korean peninsula.³¹

In the context of an uneasy Chosŏn-Qing relationship, the Manchu language was not studied disinterestedly or in isolation from political developments. It was in this context that four reference works were compiled in eighteenth-century Chosŏn that were directly or indirectly influenced by Manchu thesauri produced in Qing China. As evidenced by the late eighteenth-century *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* 漢清文鑑 (Mirror of the Chinese and Manchu languages), the official interpreters in Hansŏng made creative use of the Qing sources to create books where vernacular Chinese took precedence over Manchu.

Official interest in the linguistic situation on the continent predated the rise of the Manchus. The Chosŏn government maintained

³¹ Bae Woosung, "Literature on Manchuria during the Qing Period and Korea's Perception of Manchurian Geography during the Late Joseon Period," *Journal of Northeast Asian History* 5.2 (2008): 55–84.

a staff with a working knowledge of the continental languages, such as Mongolian and Mandarin from the fall of the Mongol empire (in the late fourteenth century).³² During the fifteenth century, the Chosŏn court created a new alphabet (now called hangul; *han'gŭl* 한글) to help define what counted as proper literary Chinese within its territory and thus secure the monarchy's role domestically as well as Chosŏn's place in the new international order centered on Ming China.³³

Chosŏn also had a long history of interaction with the Jurchens, who were the Manchus' ancestors.³⁴ The country was involved in the Chinese-Manchu conflict and was twice invaded by the emerging Qing during the 1620s and 1630s.³⁵ By the eighteenth century, much of the Chosŏn elite considered their country to represent the continuation of the great cultural tradition that had been crushed in China with the advent of Manchu rule.³⁶

Some knowledge of the Jurchen language and script were maintained by some Chosŏn government interpreters during the centuries preceding the emergence of the Qing. The interpreters gained their professional status by passing an examination (K. *yŏkkwa* 譯科) in their language of specialization (Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, or Jurchen [later Manchu]). They were appointed to the staff of

³² Sixiang Wang, "The Sounds of Our Country: Interpreters, Linguistic Knowledge, and the Politics of Language in Early Chosŏn Korea," in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000–1919*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 58–95.

³³ Chŏng Taham 정다함, "Yŏmal Sŏnch'o ūi Tong'asia chilsŏ wa Chosŏn esŏ ūi Hanŏ, Han imun, Hunmin chŏng'ŭm" 麗末鮮初の 동아시아 질서와 朝鮮에서의 漢語·漢吏文·訓民正音, *Han'guksa hakpo* 韓國史學報 36 (2009): 269–305; Chŏng Taham, "'Chungguk (tyunggwik)' kwa 'Kuk chi ōum (naranmalsŭm)' ūi sai—Sŏnch'o Hanmun, Han imun, Hanŏ wa Hunmin chŏng'ŭm kwan'gyesŏng ūl chungsim ūro" '中國 (통국)' 과 '國之語音 (나라말씀)' 의 사이—鮮初漢文·漢吏文·漢語와 訓民正音의 관계성을 중심으로, *Pigyo munhak* 비교문학 60 (2013): 255–80.

³⁴ Kenneth R. Robinson, "Policies of Practicality: The Chosŏn Court's Regulation of Contact with Japanese and Jurchens, 1392–1580s" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 1997); Adam Bohnet, "On Either Side of the River': The Rise of the Manchu State and Chosŏn's Jurchen Subjects," in *The Exploitation of the Landscape of Central and Inner Asia: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Michael Gervers, Uradyn E. Bulag, and Gillian Long (Toronto: Asian Institute, University of Toronto, 2008), pp. 111–25.

³⁵ Erling von Mende, "Korea between the Chinese and Manchu," *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 27 (2003): 45–62.

³⁶ Adam Clarence Immanuel Bohnet, "Migrant and Border Subjects in Late Chosŏn Korea" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2008); Adam Bohnet, "Ruling Ideology and Marginal Subjects: Ming Loyalism and Foreign Lineages in Late Chosŏn Korea," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15.6 (2011): 477–505.

the Translation Office (Sayögwön 司譯院; also known by its old name T'ongmun'gwan 通文館).³⁷

When Manchu lexicography emerged in Beijing beginning in the late seventeenth century, the Manchu language in written form was already studied by the interpreters in Hansöng (present-day Seoul) and elsewhere.³⁸ The main task of these interpreters was to accompany and assist the Korean missions that, numbering several hundred individuals, traveled overland from Hansöng to Beijing several times per year. Many culturally and politically prominent figures took part in the embassies, in which the interpreters held various relatively low positions.³⁹ The importance of Manchu as an everyday language in Beijing decreased during the eighteenth century, but the Chosön embassies still had need for individuals knowledgeable in the language. State ceremonies in which Korean delegations took part were carried out at least partially in Manchu, and the letters, written in literary Chinese, that the Koreans brought to the Qing court had to be translated into Manchu before presentation to the throne.⁴⁰ Unless the Chosön representatives were content to depend entirely on their Qing handlers for assurances that the meaning of the Manchu rituals and written communications was in accord with their interests, they could not do without a knowledge of Manchu.

Manchu lexicography in Chosön was largely the work of scholars from the interpreter milieu, but their efforts did not leave more prominent and socially elevated scholars unaffected. Korean scholarship of the period shows an interest in intellectual developments in Chinese and Korean history, geography, and language. What we might call lexicology or etymology as well as lexicography developed substantially

³⁷ Ki-joong Song, *The Study of Foreign Languages in the Chosön Dynasty (1392–1910)* (Seoul: Jimoondang International, 2001), pp. 1–50.

³⁸ See, for example, Erling von Mende, “Zur Kompetenz des Jürčenischen und Manjurischen bei Koreanischen Dolmetschern während der Ming-und-Qingzeit,” *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları* 30.1–2 (1992): 197–99.

³⁹ Gari Ledyard, “Korean Travelers in China over Four Hundred Years, 1488–1887,” *Occasional Papers on Korea* 2 (1974): 3, 5. *Man'gi yoram* 萬機要覽, comp. Sö Yöngbo 徐榮輔, new ed., 3 vols. (1808; Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1971), v. 1, pp. 201–2, 542–45; *T'ongmun'gwan chi* 通文館志 (1720, expanded and revised in 1778, material appended in 1888–1907), 12 *kwön* 卷 in 2 vols., comp. Kim Kyöngmun 金慶門 et al. (1907; rpt., Kyöngsöng: Chösen sötokufu [Chosön ch'ongdokpu], 1944), v. 1, j. 3, pp. 1a–5a.

⁴⁰ Wang Yinfeng 汪銀峰 and Yao Xiaojuan 姚曉娟, “Chaoxian Yanxing shi bixia de Manyu” 朝鮮燕行使筆下的滿語, *Manyu yanjiu*, no. 2 (2014): 25–26.

during this time.⁴¹ Chosŏn intellectuals' heightened awareness of linguistic difference between China and Korea stimulated their study of the vernaculars of both places.⁴²

The beginnings of Manchu language studies in Chosŏn during the seventeenth century are obscure, as the early Manchu language studies titles produced there have been lost (they are extant only in revisions from the eighteenth century). The first generations of Chosŏn scholars of Manchu had access to books produced by the Qing court and adapted them for their own purposes. For instance, the Chosŏn pedagogical work *Samyŏk ch'onghae* 三譯總解 (Synthesized explanations of [*Romance of the*] three [kingdoms]), in use from 1684, included translations from the 1650 Manchu version of the Chinese historical fiction *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. *Samyŏk ch'onghae* thus made use of Manchu literature imported from the Qing, but the transformation of that literature into a book of language studies was largely the work of its Korean editors.⁴³ An exception to this tendency is the Chosŏn use of a Manchu-Chinese version of *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand character essay), which was also a didactic work in its original Qing context. An extant copy of this book with Korean glosses—probably dating from before 1778 but considerably later than 1690⁴⁴—suggests that it was used as a textbook in the Chosŏn Translation Office. Originally printed in Chinese with Manchu sound glosses that reflect a Mandarin pronunciation, a Chosŏn hand has added hangul transcriptions to both. A student would be unable to learn the Manchu language using this text. It could be, and probably was, used to practice reading the Manchu script. Because the syllables expressed the Mandarin pronunciation of the Chinese characters—that is, they did not

⁴¹ Fujitsuka Chikashi 藤塚鄰, *Shinchō bunka tōden no kenkyū: Kakei Dōkō gakudan to Richō no Kin Gendō* 清朝文化東傳の研究: 嘉慶、道光學壇と李朝の金阮堂 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1975); Yi Pyŏnggŭn 이병근, "Sirhak sidae ūi ōnō yŏn'gu" 실학시대의 언어연구, *Han'guksa simin kangjwa* 한국사 시민강좌 48 (2011): 113–33.

⁴² Cho Sŏngsan, "18 segi huban-19 segi chŏnban Chosŏn chisigin ūi ōmun."

⁴³ *Kyujanggak sojang ōmunhak charyo* 奎章閣所藏語文學資料, vol. 2: *Ōhak p'yŏn haesŏl* 語學篇 解說, ed. Sŏul taehakkyo Kyujanggak 서울大學校奎章閣 (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 2001), pp. 170–71; Ch'oe Tonggwŏn 최동권, *Yŏkchu "Ch'ŏngŏ Nogŏltae sinsŏk"* 譯註『清語老乞大新釋』 (Seoul: Pangmunsa, 2012), p. 6. Cf. Chŏng Kwang 정광 [鄭光], *Chosŏn sidae ūi oegugŏ kyoyuk* 조선시대의 외국어 교육 (P'aju: Kimyŏngsa, 2014), p. 447.

⁴⁴ Kishida Fumitaka 岸田文隆, "Pari Kokumin Toshokan shozō no Man-Kan Senjimon ni tsuite" パリ国民図書館所蔵の満漢「千字文」について, pt. 1, *Toyama daigaku jinbun-gakubu kiyō* 富山大学人文学部紀要 21 (1994): 77–133.

represent Manchu words—this text could also serve to learn Mandarin pronunciation.

The earliest extant major work of Manchu language studies to be produced in Chosŏn on the basis of Qing originals is the thesaurus *Tongmun yuhae* 同文類解 (Classified explanations in standardized writing) from 1748 (it replaced a simpler work from 1691, now lost).⁴⁵ The thesaurus lists Chinese headwords arranged by theme and translates them into Korean and Manchu—there is no Manchu script; the Manchu words are provided only in hangul transcription. The Chinese headwords are often terms shared by literary and vernacular Chinese, but on many occasions—especially in the case of verb phrases—it is clear that the language represented is in fact the vernacular. The choice of vernacular Chinese appears deliberate: the compilers used a thesaurus originally produced to teach Mandarin to Chosŏn interpreters when they selected headwords for inclusion in *Tongmun yuhae*.⁴⁶ A grammatical treatise based on Qing publications followed *Tongmun yuhae*'s word list, in which, among other things, Manchu particles are explained in reference to literary and vernacular Chinese and Korean grammar.⁴⁷

The thesaurus has a postface (K. *pal* 跋) by An Myŏng'yŏl 安命說 (n.d.), which states that Hyŏn Munhang 玄文恒 (n.d.) and other teachers at the Translation Office acquired several Manchu reference works from the Qing that they used to compile *Tongmun yuhae* during six years of work.⁴⁸ The result, which indicates an advanced knowledge

⁴⁵ *Tongmun yuhae*, comp. Hyŏn Munhang 玄文恒, in *P'alsea, Samyŏk ch'onghae, Soaron, Tongmun yuhae* 八歲兒 三譯總解 少兒論 同文類解 (1748; rpt., Seoul: Yŏnse Taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1956); this thesaurus is described in Ogura Shinpei 小倉進平, *Zōtei hochū Chōsen gogakushi* 增訂補注朝鮮語学史, ed. Kōno Robuō 河野六郎, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Tōkō shoin, 1964), pp. 615–16. On the 1691 Manchu vocabulary, see Sŏng Paegin 成百仁 [성백인], “*Tongmun yuhae wa Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam*” 《同文類解》와 《漢清文鑑》, in *Manjuŏ wa Alt'aiŏhak yŏn'gu* 만주어와 알타이어학 연구 (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1999), pp. 75–77.

⁴⁶ On the vernacular Chinese thesaurus (*Yŏgŏ yuhae* 譯語類解) that influenced *Tongmun yuhae*, see Chŏng Kwang, “Yuhaeryu yŏkhaksŏ e taehayŏ” 類解類 譯學書에 대하여, *Kugŏhak* 國語學 7 (1978): 174–77.

⁴⁷ Pak Ŭnyong 朴恩用, “*Tongmun yuhae' ōrokhae yŏn'gu* (sang)—Yijo sidae ūi Manjuŏ munbŏpsŏ e taehayŏ” 同文類解語錄解研究 (上)—李朝時代の 滿州語文法書에 대하여, *Yŏn'gu nonmunjip* 研究論文集 4.3 (1968): 185–224. (NB: This journal's full title is *Taegu hyosŏng Kat'ŏllik taehakkyo yŏn'gu nonmunjip* 大邱가톨릭曉星大學校 研究論文集.)

⁴⁸ See the postface to *Tongmun yuhae*, pp. 281–82. I transcribe An Myŏng'yŏl's name

of Manchu and a careful handling of the textual sources, is an elegant publication (An's postface is reproduced in running calligraphy) published by the Book Collation Office (Kyosögwān 校書館 or Un'gak 芸閣), an organ of the central government, under the supervision of the high-ranking civil official Yi Chujin 李周鎭 (1691–1749).⁴⁹ One of the Manchu-studies scholars involved in the project was Kim Chinha 金振夏 (fl. 1748–1780), who also contributed to the revision of several Manchu-language-studies works a few decades later.⁵⁰

The Qing books consulted during the compilation of the 1748 *Tongmun yuhae* included both commercial publications and imperially sponsored publications (table 1), though the Chosŏn scholars made greatest use of the Qing court's 1708 monolingual Manchu thesaurus. Söng Paegin shows that the spelling of Manchu words in *Tongmun yuhae* generally follows that of the Qing court's 1708 thesaurus, demonstrating the centrality of that work to the Korean compilers.⁵¹ Even though the majority of their Qing sources used Manchu as the leading language, and in one case did not even include any Chinese, Hyön Munhang and his colleagues chose to compile a thesaurus in which the leading language was vernacular Chinese. Indeed, the list of contributors that concludes the thesaurus names more Chinese-studies officials than Manchu scholars, and the Chinese-studies officials are listed first.⁵²

Pang'ön yusök 方言類釋 (Classified glosses to the regional languages; 1778), a multilingual thesaurus that juxtaposed the languages of Chosŏn's neighbors, also included Manchu words.⁵³ This book

following Chöng Kwang, "Ch'öng'ö Nogöltae sinsök kwa Ch'önghak sasö" 『清語老乞大新釋』과 清學四書, in *Yökhaksö yön'gu* 역학서연구 (Seoul: J & C, 2002), p. 630.

⁴⁹ On the compilers' knowledge of Manchu, see Söng Paegin, "*Tongmun yuhae* wa *Han-Ch'öngmun'gam*," p. 86. On the Book Collation Office, see Pang Hyosun 方孝順, "Un'gak ch'aektorok ül t'onghae pon Kyosögwān changsö e kwānhan yön'gu" 「芸閣冊都錄」을 통해 본 校書館 藏書에 관한 研究, *Söjihak yön'gu* 書誌學研究 8 (1992): 109; Ch'ön Hyebyong 千惠鳳, *Han'guk chönjök inswaesa* 韓國典籍印刷史 (Seoul: Pömsa, 1990), p. 140.

⁵⁰ On Kim Chinha, see Chöng Kwang, "Ch'öng'ö Nogöltae sinsök kwa Ch'önghak sasö," pp. 631–33, including the notes.

⁵¹ Söng Paegin, "*Tongmun yuhae* wa *Han-Ch'öngmun'gam*," p. 83.

⁵² *Tongmun yuhae*, pp. 283–84.

⁵³ *Pang'ön yusök*, 4 kwön in 2 vols., comp. Hong Myöngbok 洪命福 et al. [ca. 1781]; Microfilm No. K00205, East Asian Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, <https://pulssearch.princeton.edu/catalog/3899466> (title given as *Pang'ön chipsök* 方言集釋).

TABLE 1: Qing Sources Available to the Compilers of the 1748 Korean Thesaurus *Tongmun yuhae* 同文類解

SOURCE ^a	YEAR EDITION PRINTED	PRINTER TYPE
<i>Da Qing quanshu</i> 大清全書	1683, 1713	Commercial
<i>Man-Han tongwen quanshu</i> 滿漢同文全書	1690	Commercial
<i>Xinke Qingshu quanji</i> 新刻清 書全集	1699 & undated	Private & probably commercial
<i>Man-Han tongwen leiji</i> 滿漢同 文類集 ^b	Unknown	Commercial
<i>Man-Han leishu</i> 滿漢類書 ^{b,c}	1700, 1701, 1706	Private, provincial govt. & commercial
<i>Tongwen guanghui quanshu</i> 同文廣彙全書 ^b	1693, 1700, 1702	Commercial
<i>Han i araha manju gisun i buleku bithe</i>	1708	Imperial
<i>Qingwen beikao</i> 清文備考	1722 (two eds.) & one possibly later	Private
<i>Yin Han Qingwen jian</i> 音漢清 文鑑	1735 (several eds., some possibly later)	Commercial

^a Korean sources used for the compilation are not shown. On the degree to which the Qing books influenced *Tongmun yuhae*, see Söng Paegin, “*Tongmun yuhae wa Han-Ch’ongmun’gam*,” pp. 77–86.

^b Titles differ between printed copies.

^c This title was probably available to the Korean compilers.

was never printed, but it was presented to the Chosŏn throne by Sŏ Myŏng’üŋ 徐命膺 (1716–1787), a prominent official and intellectual.⁵⁴ Sŏ prefaces the thesaurus with a brief account of regional linguistic differences from Chinese antiquity and of the lexicographical work carried out by Chinese scholars to map them. The need for *Pang’ŏn yusŏk*, presented as a continuation of that Chinese tradition, stemmed from Chosŏn’s frequent international contacts:⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Kim Munsik 김문식, “Sŏ Myŏng’üŋ üi saeng’ae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong” 徐命膺의 생애와 규장각 활동, *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* 정신 문화 연구 2 (1999): 151–84.

⁵⁵ Sometime after Sŏ Myŏng’üŋ’s death, the term *yusŏk* in the title was changed to *chipsŏk* 集釋 (collected glosses), see Yasuda Akira 安田章, “Hŏgen shūshaku shōkō” 『方言集釈』小考, *Chōsen gakuhō* 朝鮮學報 89 (1978): 72; cf. *Kyujanggak sojang ōmunhak charyo*, v. 2, p. 135. There are only 13 sections (out of 25) in the only extant manuscript; see



FIG. 2 Redrawing of an Entry in the 1778 Korean Thesaurus *Pang'ŏn yusŏk*. The upper half of the entry contains the Chinese lemma 木匠 (woodworker) and its Korean translation *moksyu* 목수 (= *moksu*). The lower half of the entry records translations and, in the case of Chinese, transcriptions of the lemma using hangul. The language name is circled. For Mandarin Chinese (*Han* 漢), the Chinese characters of the lemma are repeated, with a hangul transcription following each character: Ch. *mu* 木, hangul *mu* 무 and Ch. *jiang* 匠, hangul *chyang* 장. For other languages, only a translation written in hangul is provided: Manchu (named *Ch'ŏng* 淸) hangul 모외, 박시 *mooe faksi* for Mnc. *mooi faksi*; Mongolian (*Mong* 蒙) 모돈, 누, 우란 *modon nu uran* for Mon. *modon-u uran*; and Japanese (*Wae* 倭) hangul 모구, 슈 *mogu syu* for J. **mokushu* (this word is unattested in Japanese). Source: *Pang'ŏn yusŏk*, v. 1, k. 1, p. 34b.

To the west, our country is connected to the central regions [of China]. In the north, we border on the Qing (K. Ch'ŏng) [that is, the Manchus] and the Mongols. In the south, we are linked to the Japanese barbarians. Because envoys come and go, there is hardly a year when there is no contact.⁵⁶

Such frequent contact with neighboring countries necessitated knowledge of foreign languages. However, Sŏ argues that the interpreters who accompanied the envoys did not study the foreign languages as actually used. He therefore had ordered Hong Myŏngbok (b. 1733), who passed the translation examination in 1753,⁵⁷ as well as other interpreters under Sŏ's charge, to compile an updated, thematically arranged work of the region's languages that used hangul for its phonetic glosses.

The lemmata list of the thesaurus that Hong and his colleagues produced consists of Chinese-character words and phrases, much like those in *Tongmun yuhae*, glossed in several languages using hangul (see fig. 2). Entries begin with the Chinese-character lemmata at the

the partial reprint and summary, [*Pang'ŏn chipsŏk*] “Haeje” [方言輯釋] 解題, *Ilbonhak* 일본학 6 (1987): 222. See also Kim Panghan 金芳漢, “*Samhak yŏgŏ*, *Pang'ŏn chipsŏk* ko: churo Monggoŏ charyo e kwanhayŏ” 「三學譯語」, 「方言集釋」考——主로 蒙古語資料에 關하여, *Paeksan hakpo* 白山學報 1 (1966): 101–5.

⁵⁶ Hong Myŏngbok's introduction (sŏ 序) to *Pang'ŏn yusŏk*, v. 1, prefatory materials, p. 1b.

⁵⁷ “Hong Myŏngbok 洪命福,” s.v. “홍명복 (洪命福),” in *Han'guk yŏktae inmul chonghap chŏngbo sisŭt'em* 한국역대인물 종합정보시스템, comp. Han'gukhak chung'ang yŏn'guwŏn 한국학중앙연구원 (Bundang, Seongnam, Gyeonggi-do, South Korea: Academy of Korean Studies, 2011?–), accessed July 27, 2017, <http://people.aks.ac.kr/>.

top. Immediately below are the Korean translations followed by a hangul guide to reading the Chinese characters in Mandarin and then the lemmata's translation into some combination of Manchu, Mongolian, and Japanese (not all these languages are given for each entry). All languages except Chinese are written only in hangul transcription, not in their native script.

Many of the headwords exhibit vernacular morphology and syntax. As in *Tongmun yuhae*, the leading language of the thesaurus is again vernacular rather than literary Chinese. The hangul transcriptions of the vernacular Chinese words, furthermore, determine the vernacular Chinese as Mandarin. Some of *Pang'ŏn yusŏk*'s sections contain appendices titled "Local Expressions of the Central Regions" (K. *Chungju hyang'ŏ* 中州鄉語), listing expressions that the Chosŏn editors apparently did not consider to be Mandarin. They probably gleaned these words from Chinese regional treatises and other reference works,⁵⁸ which explains that, in most cases, these words have no Mandarin transcriptions in hangul.

Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam appeared around the same time. Its compilation probably began in 1779 or earlier, and it was probably printed before 1788.⁵⁹ Kim Chinha was involved in its compilation, but most of the work appears to have been carried out by Yi Tam (also known as Yi Su 李洙; 1721–1777), an interpreter specializing in Mandarin Chinese.⁶⁰ In total, about forty individuals worked on the thesaurus, which was printed by the Translation Office.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Ōtsuka Hideaki 大塚秀明, "Hōgen shūshaku no 'Chūshū kyōgo' ni tsuite: Chōsen shiryō ni nokoru Chūgoku hōgen kiroku" 『方言集釈』の「中州郷語」について——朝鮮資料に残る中国方言記録, *Gengo bunka ronshū* 言語文化論集 31 (1990): 83–94.

⁵⁹ The original xylograph of *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* was compiled by Yi Tam 李湛 and Kim Chinha. The book was reprinted under a title invented by the reprint's editors: *Han-Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* 韓漢清文鑑, 15 kwŏn, with an introduction by Min Yŏnggyu 閔泳珪, ed. Yŏnhŭi taehakkyo tongbanghak yŏn'guso 延禧大學校東方學研究所 (Seoul: Yŏnhŭi taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1956). The original year of printing is conjectural. The editors' introduction to *Han-Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam*, p. 8, proposes 1779, and Ogura Shinpei, *Zōtei hochū Chōsen gogakushi*, pp. 619–20, proposes 1775.

⁶⁰ Ogura Shinpei, *Zōtei hochū Chōsen gogakushi*, p. 619; Chōng Kwang, "Ch'ŏng'ŏ Nogŏltae sinsŏk kwa Ch'ŏnghak sasŏ," p. 635; Yi Kap 李押, *Yŏnhaeng kisa* 燕行記事 [1778], in vol. 20 of *Hanguo Hanwen Yanxing wenxian xuanbian* 韓國漢文燕行文獻選編 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2011), p. 31.

⁶¹ Sōng Paegin, "Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam haeje" 《漢清文鑑》解題, in *Manjuŏ wa Alt'ai'ŏhak yŏn'gu*, p. 12.

The finished book represents a high point in Chosŏn foreign-language studies in its use of the Manchu script and a reasoned form of phonetic transcription. *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* is a re-edition, with Korean translations and sound glosses, of the imperial 1773 Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, which the Koreans had purchased in Beijing.⁶² *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* is not, however, simply a Korean annotation of the Qing original: "Above all," writes Sŏng Paegin, it is a "one-of-a-kind, comprehensive research monograph on" the Qing thesaurus, written by individuals having a "profound and extensive knowledge of the Manchu and Chinese languages."⁶³ As can be expected of such a work, *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* prefaces the lemmata list with a statement of editorial principles (K. *pŏmnye* 凡例) that primarily addresses pronunciation and phonetic transcription. Yi Tam and his team were familiar with the system of phonetic transcription used in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, which they referred to in establishing the hangul transcriptions of both vernacular Chinese and Manchu. Strengthening oral proficiency in both these languages among the Chosŏn interpreters was a major goal of the editorial project.

Thus the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*—a work produced to strengthen the position of the Manchu language in China—became used as a resource for learners of Mandarin Chinese in Korea. The Chosŏn editors explicitly treated the bilingual thesaurus as a source on the contemporaneous Chinese language, to wit Mandarin, including both its pronunciation and lexicon. In their own words:

[*Yuzhi zengding*] *Qingwen jian* was originally produced in order to correct the Manchu language (K. *Ch'ŏng'ŏ* 清語), which is consequently treated as paramount [in that book]. All kinds of things are included in the book, which, replete with annotations and explanations, constitutes a complete source of the Manchu language. As for vernacular Chinese (*Hanŏ* 漢語), it was merely appended for reference. Yet the [Chinese] words (*ŏ* 語) represented are plain and candid, in line with our times [that is, they are vernacular]; they too can serve as a path for students. In addition, much can be gleaned from [the Chinese] regarding [Qing] regulations and affairs.

⁶² Hong Sŏnp'yo 홍선표 et al., *17, 18-segi Chosŏn ūi oeguk sŏjŏk suyong kwa toksŏ silt'ae: mongnok kwa haeje* 17, 18 세기 조선의 외국서적 수용과 독서실태—목록과 해제 (Seoul: Hyeon, 2006), p. 169.

⁶³ Sŏng Paegin, "*Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam haeje*," p. 25.

However, the drawback [of the original thesaurus] is simply that [the Chinese words] have no annotations or explanations. Unless they are annotated using literary Chinese (*mun* 文) or explained using vernacular Korean (*ŏn* 諺) [that is, written in hangul], there would be no way to understand them. For that reason, we have edited [the original text] and changed the structure to first list vernacular Chinese, to which we have provided new annotations. Below we have appended the Manchu, retaining the original [Manchu] explanation. It is our hope that both the vernacular Chinese and Manchu languages will thereby have been made clear, concise, and balanced for easy reading and reference.⁶⁴

Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam turned on its head the linguistic order that was promoted by the court in Beijing and that placed Manchu at the center of all language comparison. In *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam*, as in *Pang'ŏn yusŏk* (fig. 2), Mandarin was at the beginning of each entry, and Manchu did not immediately follow but was relegated to third position beneath either the hangul transcription and the Korean translation or the literary Chinese annotation of the vernacular Chinese words. All Manchu words were also removed from the table of contents; the Chosŏn publication contained only the Chinese headings of the thesaurus's sections. Imanishi Shunjū asserts that *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* was “primarily a dictionary of Chinese” (J. *Chūgokugo* 中国語), specified as “the Beijing Mandarin (*Pekin kanwa* 北京官話) of its time.”⁶⁵ Like its Korean predecessors and in direct contrast to its Qing source, Yi Tam's *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* gave a more prominent place to Mandarin Chinese than to Manchu.

Indeed, Sŏng Paegin shows that the Chosŏn editors of *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* downgraded Manchu in other ways as well. When the names of peoples or languages were listed in the thesaurus, Yi Tam and his team changed the original order, placing Manchu first, followed by Jurchen, Mongol, Korean, and Chinese, to establish a new order that places Chinese first, followed by Korean, Manchu, Jurchen, and Mongol.⁶⁶ Placing Chinese ahead of Korean may have appeared reasonable

⁶⁴ The Chōson editors' statement of editorial principles (*pŏmnye*), reprinted in *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam*, prefatory materials, p. 1a; the translation draws on Sŏng Paegin, “*Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* haeje,” p. 23.

⁶⁵ Imanishi Shunjū, “*Kan-Shinbunkan kaisetsu*” 漢清文鑑解說, *Chōsen gakuho* 12 (1958): 29.

⁶⁶ Sŏng Paegin, “*Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam e taehayŏ*,” pp. 42–43. For example, compare

to the cosmopolitan scholars of the Chosŏn Translation Office, but they could not accept having Manchu in that position.

More important, however, is that the compilers of *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* saw the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* as a source for Mandarin Chinese. By contrast, in China, that book was a publication in a series that had always been considered as primarily concerned with Manchu language studies (Qianlong's court bibliographers' comment about being able to use it to learn Chinese notwithstanding). The Korean scholars who made *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* considered the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* especially useful as a source for Mandarin pronunciation, knowledge of which they valued:

Whenever people among us (K. *ain* 我人) fail to make themselves properly understood when socializing in vernacular Chinese (*Hanŏ*), it is precisely the result of inappropriate pronunciation of the characters (*cha* 字).⁶⁷

The editors go on to explain that many Korean students of Chinese “as a rule learn Chinese pronunciation” using a rhyme book, *Sasŏng t'onghae* 四聲通解 (Comprehensive explanations of the four tones; 1517).⁶⁸ At that time, this rhyme book was more than two centuries old; in it, both the sound value of the characters and the method of their transcription (K. *sŏgŭm* 釋音) were “already very different” from those in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*. The older Korean rhyme book indicated the Chinese pronunciation using a single-syllable hangul gloss, whereas the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* used a system of phonetic transcription in which Mandarin character readings were transcribed in Manchu script (fig. 1). Once a reader “knows this method, then he can approximate the pronunciation of a character” better than he could using the older hangul system.⁶⁹ To more accurately convey the contemporaneous Mandarin pronunciations, Yi Tam and his team thus added new hangul sound glosses in *Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam* based on the Manchu-script transcriptions in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*. The fact that many of

Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian, v. 1, j. 10, pp. 3b–5a, with *Han-Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam*, k. 5, pp. 28a–b.

⁶⁷ The Chŏson editors' statement of editorial principles, reprinted in *Han-Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam*, prefatory materials, p. 1b.

⁶⁸ Ch'oe Sejin 崔世珍, *Sasŏng t'onghae*, microfilm of xylograph [1614]; No. 奎貴 1593, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University, Seoul.

⁶⁹ The Chŏson editors' statement of editorial principles, reprinted in *Han-Han-Ch'ŏngmun'gam*, prefatory materials, p. 1b.

the corrections undertaken between the penultimate draft of *Han-Ch'öngmun'gam* and its final version concerned these sound glosses testifies to their importance to the compilers.⁷⁰ The Mandarin content encoded in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* was thereby made accessible to the Korean reader of *Han-Ch'öngmun'gam* using a phonetic notation that owed much to the Qing tradition of Manchu language studies.

Han-Ch'öngmun'gam was used beyond the interpreter milieu. Yi Ŭibong 李義鳳 (originally named Yi Sangbong 李商鳳; 1733–1801), a sororal nephew of Sö Myöng'üng and a member of the official elite,⁷¹ used this new thesaurus in his massive, twenty-three volume manuscript compendium *Kogŭm söngnim* 古今釋林 (Forest of glosses from past and present) from 1789.⁷² The compendium gathered words and expressions culled from 1,400–1,500 works covering the entirety of the Chinese and Korean literary traditions. The material was arranged according to the date and place of composition and the genre of the source from which it was taken, and, within sections, according to the number of characters in the listed expressions. The languages represented in the compendium include Japanese, Mongolian, and Manchu (transcribed in Chinese characters). Yi Ŭibong treated Yi Tam's *Han-Ch'öngmun'gam* as a source only for vernacular Chinese, not for Manchu. He excerpted vernacular Chinese lemmata from Yi Tam's thesaurus, including their Korean translation and their transcription in Mandarin using hangul. For example, the vernacular Chinese particle *ba* 把 is followed by its translation as the Korean instrumental particle (*ü*)ro (으)로 and then by its Mandarin transcription *pa* 마. The Manchu text from this entry in Yi Tam's thesaurus was not excerpted.⁷³

⁷⁰ Yi Tam and Kim Chinha, *Han-Ch'öngmun'gam*, a first-print xylograph with marginalia, 7 vols. (*ch'aek* 冊), v. 2, p. 8a [1780s?]; No. J10264 E44 C 五 30.00 1–7 法研, Faculty of Law Library, University of Tokyo, Tokyo. See also Söng Paegin, “*Tongmun yuhae wa Han-Ch'öngmun'gam*,” pp. 34–37; Pak Ŭnyong, “Ch'ogan *Han-Ch'öngmun'gam* e taehayö” 初刊漢清文鑑에 대하여, *Yön'gu nonmunjip* 8.1 (1971): 145–46.

⁷¹ See the editors' introduction to Yi Sangbong [Yi Ŭibong], *Pugwönnok* 北轅錄, vols. 16–17 of *Hanguo Hanwen Yanxing wenxian xuanbian*, v. 16, p. 3.

⁷² Yi Ŭibong [Yi Sangbong], *Kogŭm söngnim* 古今釋林, 40 kwön in 4 vols. (1789; rpt. Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1977). See also Chöng Inbo 鄭寅普, *Tamwön kukhak san'go* 齋園國學散藁 (Seoul: Mun'gyosa, 1955), pp. 6–9; Kim Panghan, “*Samhak yögö, Pang'ön chipsök ko*,” pp. 93–101; Chön Sugyöng 전수경, “1760 nyön Yi Hwijung, Yi Ŭibong puja ka mannan sögu: *Pugwönnok ü* chungsim üro” 1760 년 이휘중 (李徽中) · 이의봉 (李義鳳) 부자가 만난 서구: 『북원록 (北轅錄)』을 중심으로, in “*Han'guk munhak üi öndö hoengdanjök silch'ön kwa Tong'asia*” 한국문학의 언어횡단적 실천과 동아시아, special issue, *Minjok munhaksä yön'gu* 민족 문학사 연구 55 (2014): 12.

⁷³ Yi Ŭibong [Yi Sangbong], *Kogŭm söngnim*, v. 3, k. 23, p. 325.

Indeed, outside the interpreter milieu, an interest in Manchu correlated with an interest in vernacular Chinese. For example, Yu Tükkong 柳得恭 (1748–1807), most famous as a historian, wrote a short essay on “The Manchu language” (*Manjuŏ* 滿洲語), referencing *Han-Ch’öngmun’gam*, in which he expresses the idea that the pronunciation of vernacular Chinese was a consequence of the “intermingling of the Chinese with [the people of the empire’s Inner Asian] dependencies” (K. *pön*, *Han sangjap* 蕃漢相雜).⁷⁴ For Yu, Mandarin Chinese was, in a sense, also a Manchu language. Mandarin was clearly favored over actual Manchu as a means of international communication by Korean intellectuals. When a Muslim (K. *hoehoe* 回回) king who had come to China proper from Qing Central Asia asked whether Pak Chiwön 朴趾源 (1737–1805) spoke Manchu or Mongolian, Pak “jokingly responded [in Chinese] that ‘As a member of the high-ranking official elite (K. *yangban* 兩班), how would I know Manchu or Mongolian?’”⁷⁵

Knowledge of spoken Manchu probably also deteriorated in Chosön during the late eighteenth century among the interpreters.⁷⁶ The scholars at the Translation Office undertook no more major editorial projects, such as thesauri or textbooks. By the mid-nineteenth century, at the latest, the interpreter examination does not seem to have been very demanding.⁷⁷ At that point, proficiency in vernacular Chinese was probably sufficient for most business in Beijing. And for learning that language, the Chosön interpreters possessed several reference works, some based on Manchu sources.

⁷⁴ Yu Tükkong, *Naengjae sōjong* 冷齋書種, chirograph in 4 vols. [1796], v. 2, pp. 100, 104; No. 畵貫古朝 90-4, Digital Reading Hall collection, National Library of Korea, Seoul, accessed through <http://www.nl.go.kr/nl/index.jsp>.

⁷⁵ See the entry for Qianlong 55 [1790]/10/22 in Sō Hosu 徐浩修, *Yōnhaenggi* 燕行紀, 4 kwön, in vol. 4 of *Yanxing lu quanbian* 燕行錄全編, 3rd ser., ed. Hong Huawen 弘華文 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2013), k. 4, p. 481. See also Pak Chiwön’s record of a 1780 journey, *Yōrha ilgi* 熱河日記, 26 kwön in vols. 22–23 of *Hanguo Hanwen Yanxing wenxian xuanbian* (1932; rpt., Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2011), v. 23, k. 14, p. 81a.

⁷⁶ Yi Kap, *Yōnhaeng kisa*, p. 393; Mende, “Zur Kompetenz des Jürčenischen und Manjurischen,” p. 205; Pak Wön’gil 박원길, *Chosön kwa Monggol: Ch’oe Tōkchung, Pak Chiwön, Sō Hosu üi yōhaenggi e nat’anan Monggol insik* 조선과 몽골: 최덕중 · 박지원 · 서호수의 여행기에 나타난 몽골 인식 (Seoul: Sonamu, 2010), pp. 421–22, 429–30; Wang Yin-feng and Yao Xiaojuan, “Chaoxian Yanxing shi.”

⁷⁷ I reach this conclusion from the description in Chōng Kwang, “Yōkwa Ch’ōnghak kwa Ch’ōnghaksō” 譯科清學과 清學書, in *Yōkhaksō yōn’gu*, pp. 532–49, and Chōng Kwang, *Chosön sidae üi oegugō kyoyuk*, pp. 451–66.

Manchu, Mandarin, and the Languages of the World in Tokugawa Japan

The situation in Japan was very different from that in Korea. Japan had no official contacts with the Qing and there was no government-supported study of the Manchu language in Japan until the early nineteenth century. The circumstances under which that study was initiated had little to do with the Manchu empire per se and much to do with a changing geopolitical reality in Japan's northern periphery. Furthermore, Japanese intellectuals came to the study of Manchu language with the experience of having studied Dutch, which colored their encounter with Manchu. Yet in Japan, as in Chosŏn, the Manchu language was approached through vernacular Chinese and repeatedly subordinated to it in the structure of linguistic compendia.

When the Manchus conquered Beijing, Japan had already been ruled by the Tokugawa shogunate (J. *bakufu* 幕府) based in Edo (Tokyo) for a few decades. The Pax Tokugawa succeeded a period of political division and warfare, in which Japan had been exposed to a variety of foreign cultures. Trade and interaction with the Chinese, Dutch, and Koreans continued during the Tokugawa period primarily in a few domains in southwestern Japan and during periodic visits of the Dutch to Edo.⁷⁸

During the eighteenth century, many Japanese intellectuals distrusted the Manchu regime on the continent and portrayed it as culturally inferior both to the Chinese state that preceded it and to Tokugawa Japan. At the same time, knowledge of literary and vernacular Chinese increased in Japan. A few even tried to learn to speak vernacular Chinese in some kind of northern pronunciation.⁷⁹ Both the Chinese and Japanese languages became the focus of concentrated linguistic study during this period.⁸⁰ Dutch, vernacular Chinese, and several Southeast

⁷⁸ For example, Robert I. Hellyer, *Defining Engagement: Japan and Global Contexts, 1640–1868* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

⁷⁹ For example, Emanuel Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing as a Material Language: Ogyū Sorai's *Yakubunsentei*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001): 119–70.

⁸⁰ Susan L. Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Viktoria Eschbach-Szabo, "La réflexion linguistique au Japon," in vol. 1 of *Histoire des idées linguistiques*, ed. Sylvain Auroux (Liège: Pierre Mardaga, 1989), pp. 459–64.

Asian languages were studied first by interpreters and merchants in the southwest (Nagasaki and the nearby island of Tsushima) for purposes of trade.⁸¹ Later, scholars of medicine and astronomy in Edo also took an interest in Dutch in particular.⁸²

Lexical items presented as words from the Manchu language appeared in seventeenth-century Japanese reports concerning a group of Japanese merchants or fishermen stranded in China.⁸³ The words may have come from the mariners, but it is possible that such glosses were also drawn from written Jurchen vocabularies that predated Manchu rule in China.

There is no evidence of sustained study of the Manchu language in Japan before the work of brothers Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) and Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北溪 (1673–1754) during the 1710s and 1720s. Sorai's studies were made possible by the arrival of two texts of Manchu language pedagogy: a Manchu syllabary with Chinese glosses, which probably arrived in Japan around the turn of the eighteenth century, and a Manchu-Chinese *Qianzi wen*, which was printed in China during 1685 and was republished in Japan in 1698 and again thereafter.⁸⁴ Sorai's Manchu studies resulted in an analytic syllabary probably written between 1711 and 1716.⁸⁵ Sorai neither knew how to speak Manchu nor

⁸¹ Wada Masahiko 和田正彦, "Nagasaki Tōtsūji chū no ikoku tsūji ni tsuite: Tonkin tsūji o chūshin to shite" 長崎唐通事中の異国通事について—東京通事を中心として, *Tōnan Ajia: rekishi to bunka* 東南アジア—歴史と文化 9 (1980): 24–50; Tashiro Kazui 田代和生, "Tsushima-han no Chōsen-go tsūji" 対馬藩の朝鮮語通詞, *Shigaku* 史学 60.4 (1991): 59–90.

⁸² Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch, 1600–1853* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon, 2000), pp. 33, 37, 47, 66.

⁸³ For the 1646 merchant reports, see Shinmura Izuru 新村出, "Honpō Manshūgogaku shiryō danpen" 本邦滿洲語學史料斷片, in *Tōhō gengoshi sōkō* 東方言語史叢考 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1927), pp. 98–99. The Manchu words are hardly recognizable, for example: *sake* 酒 (alcoholic beverage) is glossed as *atsuke* アツケ or *akke* アツケ (*arki?*) and *uma* 馬 (horse) as *mōre* モウレ (*morin?*). For fishermen narratives from 1644, see Naitō Konan 内藤湖南, "Nihon-Manshū kōtsū ryakusetsu" 日本滿州交通略説, in vol. 8 of *Naitō Konan zenshū* 内藤湖南全集 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1969), p. 252.

⁸⁴ Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫, "Ogyū Sorai no 'Manbun kō' to *Shinsho Senjimon*" 荻生徂徠の『滿文考』と『清書千字文』, in *Shinchōshi ronkō* 清朝史論考 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2005), pp. 418–31; Walter Fuchs, "Neue Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur," *Monumenta Serica* 7.1/2 (1942): 22.

⁸⁵ See Ogyū Sorai, "Manbun kō" 滿文考, in *Gengo hen* 言語篇, vol. 2 of *Ogyū Sorai zenshū* 荻生徂徠全集, ed. Kanda Nobuo and Togawa Yoshio 戸川芳郎 (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1974), pp. 698–726; Kanda Nobuo, "Ogyū Sorai no 'Manbun kō'"; Uehara Hisashi 上原久, "Manji kō ni tsuite" 『滿字考』について, *Saitama daigaku kiyō, jinbun Kagaku hen* 埼玉大学紀要, 人文科学篇 37 (1988): 3.

was able to properly vocalize Manchu writing. The fact that Sorai was able to make any sense whatsoever from the relatively simple Manchu publications at his disposal can only be attributed to his knowledge of vernacular Chinese, which he also studied with interest.⁸⁶ By learning the vernacular pronunciation of the Chinese-character sound glosses, Sorai could approximate the pronunciation of the Manchu text.

Ogyū Hokkei's study of the Manchu language appears to have been limited to deciphering Manchu words that occurred in Chinese transcription in the Qing legal statutes, which arrived in Japan in 1720. Hokkei ran into difficulties with the Manchu-derived terms, so he consulted records of interviews on Chinese legal matters, conducted with Chinese individuals in Nagasaki, and carried out such interviews himself. The Chinese informants were able to explain some of the terms, partially through paraphrases given in vernacular, not literary, Chinese.⁸⁷

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Tokugawa intellectuals sought information on the Manchu language as part of larger efforts to gather information on China in general. In 1774–1775, Hirasawa Kyokuzan 平澤旭山 (Gengai 元愷; 1733–1791), at that time an attendant to the Nagasaki magistrate, interviewed a visiting scholar from the Hangzhou area on the Mongolian and Manchu languages, Manchu customs, and other topics.⁸⁸ Moreover, scholars without access to Manchu sources compiled multilingual books. In Nagasaki, some knowledge of the languages brought by merchants during the seventeenth century, before stricter shogunal regulations on trade were put into place, remained into the late eighteenth century. For example, one compilation dated to 1796 (Kansei 8) was based on earlier sources and oral tradition among the interpreter households. One interpreter

⁸⁶ Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing." See also chap. 3 of Emanuel Pastreich, *The Observable Mundane: Vernacular Chinese and the Emergence of a Literary Discourse on Popular Narrative in Edo Japan* (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 2011); Olof G. Lidin, "Vernacular Chinese in Tokugawa Japan: The Inquiries of Ogyū Sorai," *Japonica Humboldtiana* 14 (2011): 5–36.

⁸⁷ For example, *guniang* 姑娘 for Manchu *gege* (older sister, princess); Kusunoki Yoshimichi 楠木賢道, "Jianghu shidai Xiangbao nianjian Riben youguan Qingchao ji Manyu yanjiu" 江戸时代享保年间日本有关清朝及满语研究, trans. Alta 阿拉腾, *Manyu yanjiu*, no. 1 (2013): 78

⁸⁸ Osamu Ōba, "Chinese Travelers to Nagasaki in the Mid-Qing Period: The Case of Wang Peng," in *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors: Chinese Views of Japan in the Ming-Qing Period*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2002), p. 120.

of Vietnamese descent included his ancestral language and Mughal Persian. It is possible that the collection was commissioned by the shogunal authorities in the city.⁸⁹

When Manchu sources were used, they were often limited to the Manchu-Chinese syllabary that Sorai had used. In one telling example of the broad interest in foreign scripts at this time, in 1791 Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良澤 (1723–1803), a scholar of Dutch studies initially specializing in medicine, mentioned a book project titled *Hasshuji kō* 八種字考 (Examination of eight kinds of characters). This book is not extant, but it reportedly included script specimens from Korean, Mongolian, “Tartar” (which almost certainly meant Manchu), Indic, Malay, Greek, Hebrew, and Dutch, later complemented with Russian.⁹⁰ Other Dutch-studies scholars are said to have studied a similar repertoire of languages or scripts.⁹¹ Maeno’s awareness of Northeast Asian languages is not surprising, nor perhaps is his mention of languages spoken in Southeast Asia, which was connected to Japan via the Chinese-dominated trade with Nagasaki. The Buddhist tradition also maintained some knowledge of Indic scripts, and the ancient languages of Judeo-Christianity may have been referenced in the Dutch literature available in Japan. The Russian language could certainly have been mentioned in the Dutch literature as well, but Maeno was probably alerted to its importance by the presence of Russian ships around the Japanese archipelago from the late eighteenth century.⁹²

The international state of affairs around the turn of the nineteenth century profoundly affected the life of Takahashi “Johannes Globius”

⁸⁹ Nagashima Hiromu 長島弘, “Yakushi chōtanwa’ no mourugo ni tsuite: kinsei Nihon ni okeru Indo ninshiki no issokumen” 『訳詞長短話』のモウル語について—近世日本におけるインド認識の一側面, *Nagasaki kenritsu kokusai keizai daigaku ronshū* 長崎県立国際経済大学論集 19.4 (1986): 133–68; Wada Masahiko, “Nagasaki Tōtsūji chū no ikoku tsūji ni tsuite,” pp. 33–34.

⁹⁰ Shinmura Izuru, “Manshūgogaku shiryō hoi” 滿洲語學史料補遺, *Geibun* 藝文 5.7 (1914): 78. Maeno Ryōtaku purportedly also wrote a treatise on “the pronunciation of Mongolian characters” (J. *Mōko jion* 蒙古字音); Sugimoto Tsutomu 杉本つとむ, *Edo jidai Rangogaku no seiritsu to sono tenkai* 江戸時代蘭語学の成立とその展開, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1976–1982), v. 2, p. 175.

⁹¹ Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 79, 144–45; William David Fleming, “The World Beyond the Walls: Morishima Chūryō (1756–1810) and the Development of Late Edo Fiction” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2011), p. 462; Shinmura Izuru, “Honpō Manshūgogaku shiryō danpen,” p. 100.

⁹² Brett L. Walker, “Mamiya Rinzō and the Japanese Exploration of Sakhalin Island: Cartography and Empire,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007): 292–94.

Kageyasu 高橋景保 (1785–1829), pushing him to become the most productive scholar of Manchu language studies in Tokugawa Japan.⁹³ Following in the footsteps of his father, a shogunal astronomer with great interest (but lesser knowledge) of Dutch, Takahashi worked in the *bakufu*'s Astronomical Bureau (Tenmon kata 天文方), on Japanese and world map-making, and, after 1811, on translating Dutch books at an office instituted for that purpose on his suggestion.⁹⁴ Around that time, the *bakufu* appealed to Takahashi's experience with foreign languages to handle the Russian situation because, in an attempt to resolve problems from occasional violent interactions between Russian vessels and the Japanese authorities, the czarist government sent diplomatic letters to Japan. The Russians, however, were unable to produce proper and consistently intelligible Japanese versions, so they appended translations in several other languages, including not only Manchu but also French.⁹⁵ The use of Manchu as an international language without any Qing involvement followed from its role in Russian communications with China through Irkutsk, whence the letters were sent, and probably also from the general propensity of Western scholars during this period to prefer Manchu over literary Chinese.

The need to properly decipher the letters was the immediate cause of Takahashi's Manchu studies. Takahashi enjoyed the assistance of Baba Sajūrō 馬場佐十郎 (1787–1822) and Yoshio Chūjirō 吉雄忠次郎 (1787–1833), who were both Dutch-studies interpreters, as well as experts on vernacular Chinese. Baba, knowledgeable in several languages, probably helped Takahashi get acquainted with the Manchu language. Indeed, Sugimoto Tsutomu argues that Takahashi was first and foremost “a politician, the high-level official type, rather than a scholar.”⁹⁶ Regardless of who did what, Takahashi was not alone

⁹³ Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Edo jidai Rangogaku*, v. 4, p. 524; Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 128, 187.

⁹⁴ Yulia Frumer, “Before Words: Reading Western Astronomical Texts in Early Nineteenth-Century Japan,” *Annals of Science* 73.2 (2016): 170–94; Shinmura Izuru, “Takahashi Sakuzaemon Kageyasu no jiseki” 高橋作左衛門景保の事蹟, in *Shinmura Izuru senshū* 新村出選集, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Kōchō shorin, 1943), v. 2, pp. 123–28.

⁹⁵ Mariya Sevela, “Aux origines de l'orientalisme russe: Le cas des écoles de japonais (1705–1816),” *Archives et documents de la Société d'histoire et d'épistémologie des sciences du langage*, 2nd ser., 9 (1993): 1–66; Peter Kornicki, *Castaways and Orientalists: The Russian Route to Japan in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Paolo Beonio-Brocchieri Memorial Lectures in Japanese Studies (Venice: Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 1999).

⁹⁶ Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Edo jidai Rangogaku*, v. 4, pp. 544, 550.

in studying the Qing dynastic language during these years. “A kind of boom in Manchu language study seems to have happened among intellectuals in [the 1810s] as a response to the *bakufu*’s order of 1808 (Bunka 5) that the Chinese interpreters [of Japan] study Manchu.”⁹⁷

Takahashi and his team accomplished the translations of the Russian letters by relying on Qing reference works, including the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*.⁹⁸ Takahashi’s translation into Japanese was mediated through the written vernacular Chinese recorded in these reference books (see fig. 3).⁹⁹ Takahashi or his assistants translated some Manchu words, notably grammatical particles (such as the genitive and accusative markers *i* and *be*), first into their “Chinese vernacular” (J. *Kando no zokugo* 漢土ノ俗語) counterparts (*de* 的 and *ba* 把) and only thereafter into Japanese.¹⁰⁰

The Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* remained central to all of the books on Manchu language subsequently produced under Takahashi’s supervision, none of which was ever printed. Throughout their work on Manchu, Takahashi and his subordinates relied on vernacular Chinese. They learned the meaning of the Manchu words through their vernacular Chinese translations in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* and their pronunciation through its phonetic transcriptions, which presupposed a Mandarin pronunciation. Takahashi faced the same problem as Ogyū Sorai before him.

In “Manji zuihitsu” 滿字隨筆 (Notes on Manchu characters), written before 1816, Takahashi offers an introduction to written Manchu

⁹⁷ Sugimoto Tsutomu, “Takahashi Kageyasu hen A-Ō gotei no shōsatsu” 高橋景保編『垂歐語鼎』の小察, *Waseda daigaku toshokan kiyō* 早稲田大学図書館紀要 18 (1977): 12.

⁹⁸ Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū* 高橋景保の研究 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), pp. 89s–99, 908–13; Okada Hidehiro, “The Manchu Documents in the Higuchi Ichiyō Collection on the Takadaya Kahee Incident and the Release of Captain V. M. Golovnin,” in *Tumen jalafun jecen akū: Manchu Studies in Honor of Giovanni Stary*, ed. Alessandra Pozzi, Juha Antero Janhunen, and Michael Weiers (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Harrassowitz, 2006), p. 199. Two copies of *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian* entered Nagasaki on Chinese ships in 1810 (Bunka 7); Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Edo jidai ni okeru tōsen mochiwatarisho no kenkyū* 江戸時代における唐船持渡書の研究 (Suita: Kansai daigaku shuppanbu, 1967), pp. 424–25.

⁹⁹ Contra Clements, *A Cultural History of Translation*, p. 183.

¹⁰⁰ Takahashi Kageyasu 高橋景保, “Roshiakoku teisho Manbun kunyaku kyōkai” 魯西亞國呈書滿文訓譯強解 [1810]; MS no. 和 42854, Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫 Collection, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo. There is no pagination in the manuscript; for the quote from Takahashi, see the section headed by the Manchu phrase *elhe be baime* (see also fig. 3).

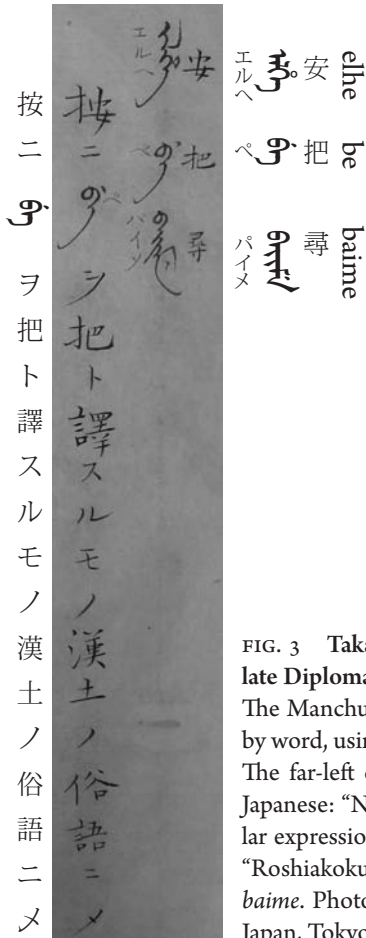


FIG. 3 Takahashi Kageyasu Using Mandarin to Translate Diplomatic Letters from Russia Written in Manchu. The Manchu greeting *elhe be baine* is first glossed, word by word, using vernacular Chinese (*an* 安; *ba* 把; *xun* 尋). The far-left column gives the translator's annotation in Japanese: "Note: *ba* 把, the translation of *be* is a vernacular expression from China." Source: Takahashi Kageyasu, "Roshiakoku teisho Manbun kunyaku kyōkai," sec. *elhe be baine*. Photograph courtesy of the National Archives of Japan, Tokyo.

on the basis of a popular textbook published in Beijing in 1730.¹⁰¹ A note appended to Takahashi's presentation of the Manchu syllabary explains how he went about learning the language. Manchu is written in a phonographic script, but without an independent source of information, the characters' sound value remained obscure to an individual who had never heard Manchu spoken. The syllabary in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, to which Takahashi had access, included Chinese-character pronunciation glosses. Takahashi made use of them, and

¹⁰¹ Takahashi Kageyasu, "Manji zuihitsu" 滿字隨筆, with an introduction by Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄 [1918]; MS no. 103-392, Kansai-kan Collections of the National Diet Library, Kyoto. On the date of its writing, see Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Edo jidai Rangogaku*, v. 2, pp. 330–45. The Beijing textbook is Wuge's *Man-Hanzi Qingwen qimeng*.

wrote katakana transcriptions next to the Manchu syllables which followed the structure of the original.¹⁰² The problem was that the original Qing glosses were intended to be read in Mandarin Chinese pronunciation, which Takahashi did not know:

The sound glosses appended in [*Yuzhi zengding*] *Qingwen jian* all represent the sounds of Shuntian Prefecture [Beijing]. They are somewhat different from the pronunciation of the Chinese (J. *Kajin* 華人) who nowadays land in Kiyō [that is, Nagasaki], which is probably because the latter are all from the Zhejiang area [in the lower Yangzi region of China, where Mandarin is not spoken].¹⁰³

To solve this problem, Takahashi obtained some help from Ishizuka Kakusai 石塚確齋 (1766–1814/17), a “pronunciation expert” (J. *onka* 音家), who knew the Beijing pronunciation. Ishizuka was originally a Dutch- or Chinese-language expert from Nagasaki, later recruited as a retainer by a lord in Satsuma.¹⁰⁴ Ishizuka may have already been in Edo in 1807 (Bunka 4).¹⁰⁵ Takahashi’s appeal to Ishizuka’s Chinese-language skills shows that Takahashi’s knowledge of Manchu was intimately tied to knowledge of Mandarin Chinese and, more generally, of written vernacular Chinese. It is not impossible that Ishizuka also knew some Manchu.¹⁰⁶

Two of Takahashi’s manuscripts are unusual because, unlike his other works involving the languages of the Qing empire, vernacular Chinese is not structurally elevated over Manchu in these books. Takahashi’s first attempt at a Manchu dictionary, which burned in a fire in 1813, appears to have rearranged the semantically organized Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* in syllabic or alphasyllabic order.¹⁰⁷ “Manbun

¹⁰² For example, for Manchu *nioi*, Takahashi put *niei* ニエイ, corresponding to *niwuyi* 尼烏衣 in *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*; Takahashi Kageyasu, “Manji zuihitsu,” p. 7a; “*Juwan juwe uju*,” in *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, v. 1, prefatory materials, p. 4b. Note that when transcribed into the Roman alphabet, the Manchu term requires four letters; Takahashi and *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, neither operating with letters, both use three characters, which shows the affinity of their transcription methods.

¹⁰³ Takahashi Kageyasu, “Manji zuihitsu,” p. 8b.

¹⁰⁴ Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, pp. 925, 972; Mutō Chōhei 武藤長平, “Satsuma Taishu Shimazu Shigehide kō” 薩摩太守島津重豪公, *Geibun* 5,7 (1914): 52.

¹⁰⁵ Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Edo jidai Rangogaku*, v. 3, p. 1028, and v. 4, pp. 1140–41, note titled “1005+8.”

¹⁰⁶ Sugimoto Tsutomu, “Takahashi Kageyasu hen A-Ō gotei,” p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, pp. 913–14.

shūin” 滿文輯韻 (Collection of Manchu rhymes), a continuation of that project, was finished between 1816 and 1820.¹⁰⁸ Takahashi explains that he relied on a variety of Qing literary sources and language-studies texts, including commercially published dictionaries and textbooks. The primary foundation, however, remained the imperial Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*. In his statement of editorial principles (J. *hanrei* 凡例), Takahashi reiterates that the sound glosses in the Qing thesaurus were based on Beijing pronunciation, whereas it was the Zhejiang pronunciation that generally reached Japan.¹⁰⁹ He explains that he relied on the help of his informant from Satsuma as well as on geographical works that listed Manchu place names in transcription (including European works). He had also consulted vernacular Chinese glossaries (J. *zokugokai shosho* 俗語解諸書). The Chinese “vernacular” (J. *zokugo* 俗語) was still causing him difficulties. In an appendix to “Manbun shūin,” written five months after its preface, he remarked that “in general,” the headwords in “Manchu dictionaries are translated into the colloquial language of China” (J. *Kando rigen* 漢土俚言), the “vernacular speech” (J. *zokuwa* 俗話) that he had never learned.¹¹⁰ He alerts the reader that errors in his Japanese reading marks therefore remain. “Manbun shūin” and its revision, “Zōtei Manbun shūin” 增訂滿文輯韻 (Collection of Manchu rhymes, expanded and emended)—left unfinished at Takahashi’s death—are noteworthy for being the only two of his works to retain Manchu as the leading language in the lemmata list.¹¹¹

Using Chinese as its leading language, Takahashi’s *A-Ō gotei* 亞歐語鼎 (Asian-European triglot)—produced in collaboration with Baba Sajūrō and, after the latter’s death, Yoshio Chūjirō—was apparently finished before 1823.¹¹² It is a manuscript thesaurus, reproducing the

¹⁰⁸ Takahashi Kageyasu, “Manbun shūin,” photocopied manuscript [1816–1820]; not yet cataloged, Gest Collection, East Asian Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. The original is held (as no. 401 · 82) at the library of the Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo.

¹⁰⁹ Statement of editorial principles (*hanrei*) in vol. 1 of Takahashi Kageyasu, “Manbun shūin,” prefatory materials (*shukan* 首卷, no pagination).

¹¹⁰ Takahashi Kageyasu, “Manbun sangokai” 滿文散語解, in *kan* 卷 1, vol. 1 of “Manbun shūin,” last page of the introductory text (no pagination). See also Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, pp. 913–27; Takahashi is quoted on pp. 925–26.

¹¹¹ Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, pp. 939–50.

¹¹² *A-Ō gotei*, comp. Takahashi Kageyasu with Baba Sajūrō and Yoshio Chūjirō [1823?]; MS no. 和 43490 in 5 vols. (*satsu* 冊), Naikaku Bunko Collection, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo.

general structure of the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, which contains vernacular Chinese words or phrases followed by their Manchu and Dutch translations (Takahashi probably used a Dutch-French dictionary for this purpose).¹¹³ Occasionally, Russian or English translations were appended. (The *bakufu* repeatedly requested Russian dictionaries from the Dutch during these years, and Baba Sajūrō and Yoshio Chūjirō were ordered to study both languages after an incident with a British ship in Nagasaki in 1808.)¹¹⁴ Some of the Chinese headwords were commonly used in literary Chinese, and thus would have been known to Japanese readers, but many were not.¹¹⁵ Takahashi glossed such unfamiliar, vernacular Chinese words in Japanese, written next to the headword.

Entries of the type in figure 4 show the difficulty of treating the words in *A-Ō gotei* as equivalent for the purposes of translation—cognizant of the differences among Confucianism, Buddhism, and Protestant Christianity, would the scholars at the Astronomical Bureau have seen fit to translate *jing* 經 as *psalm*?—but then I have found no evidence that Takahashi conceptualized the book as a reference work with practical application. Uehara Hisashi conjectures that, for Takahashi, *A-Ō gotei* was but the first step toward a multilingual thesaurus in which Japanese lemmata were translated into the Asian and European languages of use to the staff at the *bakufu*'s translation office.¹¹⁶ In its extant form, however, Takahashi's thesaurus is centered not on Japanese but on vernacular Chinese. Similar to the Manchu thesauri produced in Chosōn, *A-Ō gotei* privileged Chinese over Manchu by removing the latter entirely from the table of contents and relegating

¹¹³ The collective authorship of the thesaurus and the use of a Dutch-French dictionary are treated in Sugimoto Tsutomu, "Takahashi Kageyasu hen *A-Ō gotei*," pp. 10–11; Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Edo jidai Rangogaku*, v. 3, pp. 1003–39. The dictionary is also discussed, without reference to Takahashi, together with its Japanese adaptations, in Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch*, pp. 140–41. For Dutch dictionaries in Japan, see also Jacques Proust, "De quelques dictionnaires hollandais ayant servi de relais à l'encyclopédisme européen vers le Japon," *Dix-huitième siècle* 38 (2006): 17–38.

¹¹⁴ J. Mac Lean, "The Introduction of Books and Scientific Instruments into Japan, 1712–1854," *Japanese Studies in the History of Science* 13 (1974): 54–55; Tomita Hitoshi 富田仁, *Furansugaku no akebono: Futsugaku kotohajime to sono haikei* 佛蘭西學のあけぼの: 佛學事始とその背景 (Tokyo: Karuchā shuppansha, 1975), p. 131.

¹¹⁵ For example, phrases such as *feng pingle* 風平了 (Ch., the wind has stopped) are written in vernacular Chinese, not literary Chinese; see "Tenmon" 天文, in *A-Ō gotei*, v. 1, p. 10a.

¹¹⁶ Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, p. 930.

經
ᡤᡠᡵᡠ
psalm

FIG. 4 A Multilingual Entry in Takahashi's *A-Ō gotei*. The (literary) Chinese term *jing* 經 ([Confucian] classic; sutra) is translated first into Manchu *nomun* and then into Dutch *psalm* (a song or poem praising God). Although *psalm* may capture some of the meaning of a sutra, it does not capture the concept of a Confucian classic inherent in the Chinese and Manchu words. Source: "Wenxue bu, Shulei" 文學部書類, in *A-Ō gotei* (there is no pagination in this section). Re-drawn after photograph courtesy of the National Archives of Japan, Tokyo.

it to the second row in the main body. In the extant book, Manchu, Dutch, English, Russian, and even Japanese are all grouped around vernacular Chinese.

As an early nineteenth-century polyglot thesaurus, *A-Ō gotei* is similar to some of the products of the Nagasaki interpreters' work on Dutch and French, which were similarly prompted by French letters sent by the Russians.¹¹⁷ Just as Takahashi Kageyasu, Baba Sajūrō, and Yoshio Chūjirō approached Manchu through Chinese in order to translate Russian diplomatic letters, the interpreters in Nagasaki approached French through Dutch.¹¹⁸ The Nagasaki interpreters introduced vernacular Chinese glosses into the pedagogical compendia that they had made on the basis of French-Dutch bilingual books.¹¹⁹

The key role that members of the Nagasaki interpreter community played for Takahashi's lexicographical work helps explain the many references to Dutch words and grammar when elucidating Manchu. It is perhaps all the more remarkable that, despite the good grounding that Baba Sajūrō, for example, had in Dutch, vernacular

¹¹⁷ Takahashi Kunitarō 高橋邦太郎, "Futsugo kotohajime no haikai" 仏語事始の背景, *Seijō bungei* 成城文藝 44 (1966): 24–33.

¹¹⁸ Shin'ichi Ichikawa [市川慎一], "Du français au japonais par le truchement du hollandais. Difficultés rencontrées par nos premiers traducteurs: À propos de la *Nouvelle méthode des langues française et hollandoise* par Pieter Marin (Amsterdam, 1775)," *Waseda daigaku Bungaku kenkyūka kiyō* (*bungaku, geijutsugaku hen*) 早稲田大学文学研究科紀要 (文学・芸術学篇) 39 (1993): 15–27; Yoshioka Akiyoshi 吉岡秋義, "Furansu jihan' genryū kō" 「仏郎察辞範」源流考, *Nagasaki daigaku Kyōyōbu kiyō* (*jinbun kagaku*) 長崎大学教養部紀要 (人文科学) 4 (1964): 62–80, <http://hdl.handle.net/10069/9508>; Yoshioka Akiyoshi 吉岡秋義, "Furansu jihan' to 'Wa-Futsu-Ran taiyaku gorin' ni tsuite" 「仏郎察辞範」と「和仏蘭対訳語林」に就いて, *Nagasaki daigaku Kyōyōbu kiyō* (*jinbun kagaku*) 長崎大学教養部紀要 (人文科学) 5 (1965): 83–92, <http://hdl.handle.net/10069/9517>.

¹¹⁹ Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Edo jidai Rangogaku*, v. 3, pp. 371–440.

Chinese remained as a rule the privileged language in the Manchu-studies books compiled in Edo.

Yakugo shō 譯語抄 (Annotated translations), a related but undated product of Takahashi's continuing work on the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, shows even more clearly the importance to him of that Qing thesaurus as a source on written vernacular Chinese.¹²⁰ Similar to the triglot, *Yakugo shō* retained the general structure of the Qing thesaurus. Yet it was not a work of Manchu language studies, for Takahashi removed the Manchu lemmata and thus transformed the Chinese translations in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* into headwords in *Yakugo shō*. He added Japanese translations to the more obscure Chinese phrases and, in one of the volumes, also added translations into Dutch. As he had mentioned in the context of his 1816 Manchu dictionary, many vernacular Chinese expressions were not immediately intelligible to him, so they required research. A note slip inserted into the manuscript referencing a popular Chinese dictionary of Qing provenance shows that *Yakugo shō* was a product of Takahashi's continued studies of vernacular Chinese.¹²¹ However, the meaning of many words, especially plants, remained "unknown" (J. *pushō* 不詳) to Takahashi. The multilayered annotations (in black, blue, and red ink) in the sections on plants suggest that Qing botany was of some interest to him or his collaborators at the Astronomical Bureau.¹²²

Takahashi's interest in the environment and society of China, as represented by the vernacular Chinese lexicon, is evident in yet another one of his manuscripts: "*Shinbunkan*" *meibutsu goshō* 清文鑑名物語抄 (Nouns with annotations from the [*Yuzhi zengding*] *Qingwen jian*) from 1827.¹²³ This work, somewhat similar in appearance to the Chosŏn thesaurus *Tongmun yuhae*, lists Chinese headwords with a Manchu translation underneath, followed by an explanation

¹²⁰ *Yakugo shō* 譯語抄, comp. Takahashi Kageyasu, 7 vols. (*satsu*) [before 1829]; MS no. 和 18555, Naikaku Bunko Collection, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo.

¹²¹ The note slip is in the (unpaginated) section 懦弱類 (Ch. *nuoruo lei*; J. *dajaku rui*), in *Yakugo shō*, v. 4. The dictionary referenced is Zhang Zilie and Liao Wenying's *Zhengzi tong*.

¹²² Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, pp. 930–32. Plants are in *Yakugo shō*, v. 5.

¹²³ "*Shinbunkan*" *meibutsu goshō*, comp. Takahashi Kageyasu, 6 vols. (*satsu*) [1827]; MS no. 和 18554, Naikaku Bunko Collection, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo. The meaning of *meibutsu* is discussed in Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, p. 1073.

in (occasionally distinctively vernacular) Chinese. Again, the general structure is derived from the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, but only some of its sections are excerpted. As indicated by its title, the focus of this work is more encyclopedic than lexicographic. The Chinese headwords here primarily act as sources of information on the socio-political order and natural environment of the Qing empire. Takahashi repeats his statement that the Chinese translations of the Manchu lemmata in the Qing thesaurus were all written in “colloquial language” (J. *rigo* 俚語), but this fact is less obvious in “*Shinbunkan*” *meibutsu goshō* than in Takahashi’s other compilations.¹²⁴ The focus on things rather than language as such had the consequence that fewer verb phrases are listed in the book, thus removing some of the syntactic patterns characteristic of vernacular Chinese from the headwords. Yet Takahashi felt that the lemmata he excerpted into this Chinese encyclopedia represented a foreign language containing words for foreign things. He relied on a number of Qing publications to make sense of those words, including books on Qing political history, statecraft and law, and botany, as well as books of travel writing about the Manchus’ new possessions in Inner Asia.¹²⁵ Takahashi noted quotes from such literature in the margins of his manuscript.¹²⁶ His sources were written in literary Chinese, but he used them for their specifically Qing vocabulary that was not shared by the literary Chinese used in Japan.

Manchu language studies continued in Japan after Takahashi and these later studies confirm that the road to a knowledge of Manchu passed through vernacular Chinese, specifically Mandarin. When some of the Chinese interpreters in Nagasaki studied Manchu on shogunal orders during the early 1850s—a period of conflict between the Qing and European powers and thus a period of uncertainty regarding the Manchu empire’s future—these interpreters, like Takahashi, concentrated their efforts on the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*. More than a dozen young interpreters undertook to compile Manchu reference works by

¹²⁴ See Takahashi Kageyasu’s (unpaginated) postscript (*fugen* 附言), in “*Shinbunkan*” *meibutsu goshō*, v. 1.

¹²⁵ Botany is in “*Shinbunkan*” *meibutsu goshō*, v. 6.

¹²⁶ It appears Takahashi was excerpting from his own personal copy of the Qing thesaurus, which shows similar annotations: *Yuzhi zengding Qingwen jian*, with marginalia by Takahashi Kageyasu (Beijing: Wuying dian, 1773); No. 漢 4983, Naikaku Bunko Collection, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo. See also Uehara Hisashi, *Takahashi Kageyasu no kenkyū*, pp. 933–35.

translating portions of this Qing thesaurus and rearranging the material.¹²⁷ The link between the Chinese vernacular and Manchu is apparent not only in the Nagasaki students' professional identity as interpreters of Chinese, not Manchu, but also from the statement of editorial principles in their unfinished dictionary *Honyaku Mango sanhen* 翻譯滿語纂編 (Compilation of translated Manchu terms; 1851–55):

Pronouncing the sound of the Manchu characters (J. *Shinbun jion* 清文字音) by following the phonetic glosses written in Chinese characters is most subtle. Even though we have now added detailed sound glosses in national script [that is, Japanese], it is not possible to make them accurately bring out [the pronunciation of the Manchu]. If one does not know the Chinese pronunciation (*Kan'on* 漢音) very well, it is even more difficult to pronounce them.¹²⁸

The Manchu-Chinese *Mirror's* phonetic transcription system using groups of Chinese characters seems to have been the Nagasaki interpreters' ultimate source of knowledge for the pronunciation of the Manchu script. Yet as they explained, this complex system demanded a good command of Mandarin.

Around the same time as the Nagasaki interpreters worked with the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*, other products of Qing Manchu language studies influenced Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山 (1811–1867), a scholar of Chinese and Dutch studies famous for his plans for Japan's coastal defense and use of Western technology. Already trained in literary Chinese when he took up the study of Dutch, Sakuma, dissatisfied with the available Dutch dictionaries, compiled a revised version and sought to have it published. Those plans came to naught in 1850,

¹²⁷ Shinmura Izuru, "Nagasaki Tōtsūji no Manshūgogaku" 長崎唐通事の滿洲語學, in *Tōhō gengoshi sōkō*, pp. 80–92; Uehara Hisashi, "Nagasaki tsūji no Manshūgogaku" 長崎通事の滿洲語學, *Gengogaku ronsō* 言語學論叢 11 (1971): 13–24; Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, "'Shinbunkan wage,' 'Mango sanhen' kaisetsu" 清文鑑和解、滿語纂編解説, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 1.6 (1936): 547–52, <http://hdl.handle.net/2433/138716>.

¹²⁸ Statement of editorial principles (*hanrei*), in *Honyaku Mango sanhen*, comp. Hirano Shigejūrō 平野繁十郎, Tei Kanpo 鄭幹輔, Egawa Tōzaburō 穎川藤三郎 et al., 6 vols. (*satsu*), v. 1, <http://repo.komazawa-u.ac.jp/opac/collections/497/?tm=1448496000193>. I am grateful to Sven Osterkamp and Anna Andreeva for help with this passage. It is also quoted in Uehara Hisashi, "Nagasaki tsūji no Manshūgogaku," p. 15. For a discussion of the reasons for compiling this book, see Matsuoka Yuta 松岡雄太, "'Honyaku Mango sanhen' to 'Shinbunkan wage' no hensan katei" 『翻譯滿語纂編』と『清文鑑和解』の編纂過程, *Nagasaki Gaidai ronsō* 長崎外大論叢 17 (2013): 64.

but Sakuma had an even greater ambition: to compile a linguistic reference work that would include Manchu, Indic (J. *Tenjikuji* 天竺字), French, Dutch, and Russian.¹²⁹ Inspired by the Qing military successes of the eighteenth century, he referenced Qing court-sponsored multilingual publications both in the preface and title of his planned compilation, as well as in letters.¹³⁰ Sakuma reportedly wrote out an excerpt of his planned book that “followed the format” (J. *rei ni yori* 例に依り) of some Qing-sponsored works.¹³¹ Sakuma probably did not follow the Qianlong emperor in according the greatest importance to Manchu in his projected book. The Manchu-language-studies publications of the Qing court seem to have been interesting to Sakuma because they attempted to gather and present linguistic information from various sources on the same page.

Manchu studies began later in Japan than in Korea, and unlike their pensinsular neighbors, Japanese scholars undertook Manchu lexicographical projects well into the nineteenth century. Except for some of Takahashi Kageyasu’s manuscript compendia, none of them were completed. The difference in timing notwithstanding, Japanese scholars—like their Korean counterparts—used vernacular Chinese to bridge the distance between their own language and Manchu. Also, in Japan, as in Korea, vernacular Chinese occupied the leading position in several of the compendia that Japanese scholars compiled on the basis of their Manchu-dominated Qing sources.

Conclusion

From its early beginnings in Beijing during the late seventeenth century, Qing Manchu-language studies were intimately connected to both spoken and written forms of vernacular Chinese. The Qianlong emperor’s court sponsored the writing and compilation of bi- and

¹²⁹ Shinmura Izuru, “Rangakusha toshite no Shōzan sensei” 蘭学者としての象山先生, in *Shinmura Izuru zenshū* 新村出全集, 15 vols. (1916; rpt., Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971–1973), v. 9, pp. 569–73; Sugimoto Tsutomu, “Sakuma Shōzan Zōtei Oranda goi no shōsatsu” 佐久間象山『増訂荷蘭語彙』の小察, *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 415 (1982): 1–18.

¹³⁰ Sakuma Shōzan, “Kōkoku dōbun kan’jo” 皇國同文鑑序, in *Shōzan zenshū* 象山全集, rev. ed., edited by Shinano kyōikukai 信濃教育會, 5 vols. (Nagano: Shinano mainichi shinbun, 1934–1935), v. 1, pp. 55–56; Sakuma Shōzan, “Seiken roku” 省譽錄, in *Shōzan zenshū*, v. 1, pp. 12–13.

¹³¹ Sakuma Shōzan to Mochizuki Mondo 望月主水, May 13, 1850 (Kaei 3?/4/2), in *Shōzan zenshū*, v. 3, p. 555. I have been unable to identify the recipient of this letter.

multilingual thesauri and other books to create an imperial linguistic order with Manchu at the center, but even in these books, vernacular Chinese, often unambiguously a form of Mandarin, had an important presence. In Korea and Japan, the Qing imperial order was turned on its head when vernacular Chinese became the central language.

In the three Northeast Asian countries, certain shared conditions made the polyglot thesauri possible. Intensified contacts in the region led to increased awareness and knowledge of foreign languages. Beijing had become the center of a multilingual Inner Asian empire, which the Koreans witnessed firsthand during their frequent embassies. Japan, meanwhile, obtained foreign books through maritime trade carried out largely through merchants operating out of that empire.

To some extent, the circulation of Manchu books eastward from Beijing was facilitated by the same trade networks that also brought Dutch and Chinese books to Nagasaki and Edo. Imperially sponsored Manchu thesauri were available for sale in Beijing's book markets, whence they were brought overland to Korea or to Ningbo on the Zhejiang coast for further shipment to Japan. Political and commercial integration of continental and maritime Inner and Northeast Asia in the context of a flourishing print culture meant that languages circulated very widely in written form. The compilation of multilingual collections in China, Korea, and Japan reflected, I think, a desire to understand the expanding and increasingly well-connected known world. In Beijing, the Qing court's scholars brought order to the linguistic diversity of the region by relating all languages to Manchu. In Korea and Japan, Hong Myōngbok and Takahashi Kageyasu instead arranged the languages known to them around vernacular Chinese.

The tendency in Korea and Japan to introduce both Manchu and vernacular Chinese words, acquired from Qing thesauri, into their original multilingual compendia sheds some light on the polyglot publications of the Qianlong court. As noted in earlier scholarship, one purpose of such books was clearly ideological: to reflect "the luminosity of imperial intelligence in the eyes of a staggered public."¹³² Just as the Manchu language was at the center of Qianlong-sponsored publications, so was the Manchu emperor himself the center of a universal

¹³² Crossley, *Translucent Mirror*, p. 265. See also James A. Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 197–99.

polity that only he could grasp in its totality and diversity. In the lexicographic work of some high-ranking officials wedded to the Manchu imperial project, including that of Fūgiyūn, the purpose of gathering several languages on one page was probably prompted less by ideological imperative than by a perceived need for administrators to have a good grasp of the languages used by people under their jurisdiction. Thus, what has been seen as an imperial ideology might have also served practical purposes in the eyes of its scholar-official creators.

However, both administrative exigency and imperial ideology are less probable motivations for Korean and Japanese multilingual thesauri. The Chosŏn and Tokugawa governments had good reason to compile reference works for languages with which they were in contact, including some combination of Manchu, vernacular Chinese, Dutch, and Mongolian. But I find it difficult to believe that the inclusion of script specimens from Hebrew and Greek or words from the languages of medieval Inner Asian states in envisioned or finished polyglot thesauri can be entirely explained as a response to the needs of foreign relations. The presence of these latter languages suggests a desire, shared by scholars in Korea and Japan, to represent the linguistic diversity of the known world in a controlled and organized manner. Organization and control similarly gave Qianlong's books their ideological thrust.

The multilingual projects in Qing China did not include languages outside the Manchus' main sphere of interest in Inner Asia. Notably, Korean and Japanese were entirely absent from the Manchu imperial linguistic order. Still, by giving vernacular Chinese a place in that order, the thesauri sponsored by the Qing court allowed Chosŏn and Tokugawa scholars to access the Qing language complex. Indeed, several Korean and Japanese scholars used the Mandarin present in the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror* as a bridge between their own languages and Manchu. It is interesting with regard to the linguistic hierarchy of early modern Northeast Asia that in both Chosŏn Korea and Tokugawa Japan, vernacular Chinese—not Korean or Japanese—usually assumed the place of the leading language in reference works produced on the basis of the Manchu-Chinese *Mirror*. The Qianlong emperor and his scholar-officials set out to promote Manchu; but abroad, the books they produced confirmed the importance of knowing vernacular Chinese.

The linguistic hierarchies, as well as the languages that comprised them, differed among the books compiled in China, Korea, and Japan. Yet they all reflected comparable desires and shared realities that extended beyond the Northeast Asian region in the early modern period. In seventeenth-century Europe, as more languages were becoming known and represented in print, scholars compiled comparable multilingual works of lexicography.¹³³ Europeans involved in such projects wanted to enrich them with material from Manchu dictionaries.¹³⁴ Such materials were, however, very difficult to acquire at a time when Manchu lexicography was only beginning in Beijing. Manchu was transmitted to Europe later than Chinese, but several European learners found the language comparatively easy. The Europeans succeeded in printing a Manchu-French dictionary, based on a Manchu-Chinese dictionary published in Beijing, decades before the first Chinese dictionary was published in a Western language. At least one major sinologist, Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832), learned Chinese (of which he recognized a literary and a vernacular register) through the help of the Manchu-French dictionary and its Qing predecessors.¹³⁵ To a certain extent, European scholars used Manchu in the way that the Koreans and Japanese used vernacular Chinese: as a bridge to another, more alien language.

In 1914, the Japanese scholar Shinmura Izuru (1876–1967), writing at a time when Japan was an ascendant empire in East Asia in open rivalry with the European powers, compared the lexicographic works of Tokugawa Manchu studies' most famous representative, Takahashi

¹³³ John Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 288–313.

¹³⁴ See, for example, the letter by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to Antoine Verjus, August 18, 1705, in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuiten in China (1689–1714): Französisch/Lateinisch–Deutsch*, ed. Rita Widmaier, trans. Malte-Ludolf Babin (Hamburg, Ger.: Felix Meiner Verlag, 2006), pp. 476–83; John Considine, “Leibniz and Lexicography,” in *Yesterday's Words: Contemporary, Current and Future Lexicography*, ed. Marijke Mooijaart and Marijke van der Wal (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp. 41–52.

¹³⁵ Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat, “Discours prononcé à l’ouverture du cours de langue et de littérature chinoises, au Collège Royal, le 16 janvier 1815, sur l’origine, les progrès, et l’utilité de l’étude du chinois en Europe,” in vol. 2 of *Mélanges asiatiques* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1826), p. 13; Vivianne Alleton, “L’oubli de la langue et l’« invention » de l’écriture chinoise en Europe,” *Études chinoises* 13.1–2 (1994): 262. Cf. Isabelle Laundry-Deron, “Le Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin de 1813,” *T’oung Pao* 101.4–5 (2015): 429, which does not mention that Abel-Rémusat would have used the Manchu-French dictionary in addition to the Manchu-Chinese dictionaries, as I conjecture.

Kageyasu, with those of his European contemporaries. Shinmura's comparison served to portray Tokugawa scholarship on a par with or even better than that of Europe.¹³⁶ Interesting parallels can certainly be drawn between the work of Abel-Rémusat's colleague Julius Klaproth (1783–1835), who published the multilingual compendium *Asia Polyglotta* in 1823—in character more similar to the previously mentioned seventeenth-century polyglot tradition than to the nascent linguistics of Klaproth's day¹³⁷—and the work and aspirations of Takahashi and his Japanese contemporaries. Yet comparing Takahashi with early European sinologists should not be done at the expense of taking him out of his Northeast Asian context. What Takahashi and Klaproth have in common they both also share with Hong Myōngbok, Yi Üibong, and perhaps to some extent even Fūgiyūn. Not only did they all strive to gather the various languages with which they came into contact on the same manuscript or printed page, but the books that all of them shared originated in the Qing capital at Beijing, especially its imperial print shop. The collection of languages represented in their books was rarely entirely the same, but all of them, including Klaproth, made use of the court-sponsored Manchu thesauri published in Beijing. The relevance of the Qing capital in the early modern endeavor of polyglot studies in both Europe and Northeast Asia is beyond doubt.

The Qianlong emperor probably would have wished that the importance of his court to linguistic studies at both ends of Eurasia had translated into a comparable status for Manchu language in the books that resulted from those studies. Indeed, an interest in Manchu spread far outside the Qing empire's borders largely as a result of the military victories of the eighteenth century. However, I do not think that Qianlong would have anticipated that in Hansōng and Edo it was not the Manchu language of his dynastic house but the vernacular Chinese of Beijing—born from the demotic mix of Chinese civilians and north-eastern bannermen—that at times incited the greatest interest.

¹³⁶ Shinmura Izuru, "Takahashi Kageyasu no Manshūgogaku" 高橋景保の満洲語学, *Geibun* 5.6 (1914): 20–23.

¹³⁷ Hartmut Walravens, *Julius Klaproth (1783–1835): Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Harrassowitz, 1999), p. 5.