

華西協合大學中國文化研究所集刊

STUDIA SERICA



STUDIA SERICA

IX

PART 1

WU 6-6 / 0002

1950



STUDIA SERICA

Editors: WEN YU and WOLFGANG FRANKE

Volume IX, Part 1

September 1950

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Published by the Editors
PEKING AND CHENG TU
1950

EXPLANATORY NOTES ON TULIŠEN'S *I-YÜ-LU*

especially on the Manchu Text.

BY IMANISHI SHUNJŪ 今西春秋

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The following are explanatory notes prepared for my work *Revised I-yü-lu with Notes* consisting of the transcription of the Manchu *I-yü-lu*, its Chinese and Japanese versions with notes, the recently discovered Chinese *I-yü-lu* (see the text) and the Chinese and Japanese versions of SCHNITSCHER'S *Nachricht von den Ayukischen Calmücken*. As the publication of my work, under present conditions, is not to be expected in the near future, I am glad to have the opportunity of publishing the notes to ask the reader's corrections. I hope the full text will be made available as soon as possible.

§ 1 What is the *I-yü-lu* 異域錄

The *I-yü-lu* or "Description of Foreign Countries" was written by TULIŠEN 圖理琛, a Manchu official. The author wrote the book both in Chinese and in Manchu. The motive for this work can be seen in the book itself.

In the fifth month of 1712 (51st year, K'ang-hsi) TULIŠEN and his colleagues, in order to convey an imperial message to the Ayuki Khan of Turgūt (the Tourgouths), a nomadic people living in the area north of the Caspian Sea, started from Peking and traveled via Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia and Russian territory which was under the rule of Peter the Great at that time. He returned to Peking in the third month of 1715 (54th year, K'ang-hsi) after he had finished his mission at Ayuki

Khan's Court¹. As a diplomatic mission, this was a trip unprecedented in Chinese history².

The *I-yü-lu* was a record of TULIŠEN's personal experiences during the trip which he wrote in both Chinese and Manchu and published under the Emperor's authority.

From ancient times, there had been numberless journals and topographical descriptions in China. However, the greater part of them were either written merely on the basis of information obtained from other descriptions or were prose and poetry admiring the scenic beauty or grieving over the natural hardness of foreign countries. Therefore, no really accurate information concerning topography and culture could be expected from these books.

The *I-yü-lu* was a description quite different from these books. It was not only an accurate record of the author's personal experiences in traveling over territory previously unknown to any Chinese but was also a scientific report on the mountains and rivers he passed on route, races, habits and customs, production, population, armaments in the towns and even the mode of address in foreign countries. This was scientific to a

1. About the motive of despatching the mission see the version and the note of the text.

2. The mission did not come under the notice of the *Ch'ing-shih-lu* 清實錄, though we can't say whether the oversight was from carelessness or was deliberate. Only under the item "Authentic Record of the fifth month, the 54th year of K'ang-hsi" a few words about the fact of mission appeared in an Edict instructing Tulišen to go on the second mission to Russia, which we quote, "Instruction to the ministry participating in the administration (議政大臣等). Tse'wang Rabtan 策旺阿拉布坦 has recently invaded and attacked Hami 哈密 unreasonably. Now on the occasion of our great troops marching for subjugation, instruction should be despatched to the Chief of Ch'u-k'u-pai-hsing 楚庫拜城, located in the boundary area of Russia, to let him be careful of the frontier defense and let him intern the people of Tse'wang Rabtan, if any, who flee to him. Tulišen, ranked as a Reader of the Grand Secretariat, should go on the mission because he had acquaintance with the Chief when he went to Tourgouths via Russia".

Therefore, we would have no knowledge about the mission, despite of its scale, were it not for the *I-yü-lu*. In Russia, however, the mission has been recorded in detail. Comparing with Russia's historical materials and the *I-yü-lu*, CAHEN, in the *History of Russo-China Relations*, has an excellent interpretation on the delicate and complicated relations between Ch'ing dynasty, Russia and Tourgouths at that time.

CAHEN'S *Russo-China Relations*: CAHEN, Gaston: *Histoire des relations de la Russie avec la Chine sous Pierre le-Grand (1689-1730)*, 1912, Paris. This may be the best work regarding the relations between Russia and China at the beginning of Ch'ing dynasty. The *I-yü-lu* was very much utilized in everywhere of the work. Especially the chapter "L'ambassade de T'ou-li-tchen chez les Tourgouthes" indicates the great necessity of reading the *I-yü-lu*.

CAHEN'S work has been translated into English by W. S. RIDGE under the title *Some early Russo-China Relations* in 1914 and re-translated, from English, into Japanese by the Society of Investigation of the Diplomatic History of Asia under the title *Introduction to Russo-China Relations*. The English version and consequently the Japanese, however, was greatly abridged. Therefore, for the detail, the original, in French, is necessary. Both the original and the English version have been reprinted in Peking.

degree rarely seen at that time³. HO CH'IU-T'AO 何秋濤, who edited the famous *Shuo-fang pei-sheng* 朔方備乘 by collecting and revising various books regarding border areas, complimented the *I-yü-lu* as being the only reliable description made by a Chinese envoy who had actually set foot in Russian territory.

During the 200 years following the publication of the *I-yü-lu*, Ch'ing scholars could get no more knowledge about the western areas than that contained in this book. Not only did CH'I YUN-SHIH's *Fan-pu yao-lieh* 祁韻士, 藩部要略, CHANG MU's *Meng-ku yu-mu chi* 張穆, 蒙古遊牧記, and HO CH'IU-T'AO'S *Shuo-fang pei-sheng* mentioned above all get their data from the *I-yü-lu*, but also official Ch'ing publications such as *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* 大清一統志 and *Huang ch'ao wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 皇朝文獻通考 were, so far as their articles on Russia were concerned, mere imitations of it. Thus we can easily see why this book should be referred to as a basic historical source.

§ 2 The *I-yü-lu* in Chinese

The *I-yü-lu*, as stated above, was published both in Chinese and in Manchu. Needless to say, however, Chinese texts were much more common than Manchu. There were several texts published either in separate volumes or in collections.

The original was a single volume with eighty-two sheets of text, two sheets of map, and forty-one sheets of prefaces and postscripts written by CHIANG T'ING-HSI 蔣廷錫, NIEN HSI-YAO 年希堯 and seven other authorities of the time⁴. Although the date of publication printed on the overleaf of the map was the ninth month of 1723 (1st year, Yung-cheng), nevertheless the actual date of publication must be later than the fifth month of 1724 because the last preface was dated "Before the Ku-yü of the second year of Yung-cheng." (雍正二年殺雨前)

3. The accuracy of the *I-yü-lu*'s records, as has been pointed out by STAUNTON, its early English translator, was a matter to be compared with JOHN BELL'S work (Preface to the English *I-yü-lu*). BELL, an English physician at the service of the Russian Emperor, came to Peking in 1719 to 1721 as a doctor attached to a Russian caravan. He came retraced in the opposite direction the course Tulišen had taken to the Tourgouths several years after Tulišen. He published his journal, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to various parts of Asia*, the first edition at Glasgow in 1763 and the revised edition at Edinburgh in 1806. STAUNTON has precisely referred to both BELL and TULIŠEN'S works and frequently used BELL'S records for the notes in his English edition of the *I-yü-lu*.

"The map made by TULIŠEN (appearing at the beginning of the *I-yü-lu*)" said GAHEN, "not only compares quite well with the maps of Europe made in the same period but even surpass them in its accuracy." (*Russo-China Relations*, p. 13)

4. Every biography of Tulišen in the *Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih*, the *Man-chou ming-ch'en-chuan* 滿洲名臣傳, the *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan* 清史列傳 and etc. has the same record "The *I-yü-lu*, one volume."

The next was the *Ssu-k'u-ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書 text. Which however, arbitrarily changed the original form into two volumes. As we will see later on, the Manchu text was originally published in two volumes. But the *Ssu-k'u-ch'üan-shu* text divided the original in a form quite different from that of the Manchu text. They were different in the place of division. The original prefaces and maps also have been struck out and the "Explanatory note of *Ssu-k'u*" put in in their place. Moreover, all the original usage of personal and geographical names have been changed into the Ch'ien-lung form, for example, 葉合 has been changed into 葉赫, 阿玉氣 into 阿玉奇, 圖謝土 into 土謝圖 and so on.

After the *I-yü-lu* has been collected into the *Ssu-k'u*, it was later again included in various collections such as the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書, *Chieh-yüeh shan-fang hui-ch'ao* 借月山房彙抄, *Tse-ku-chai ts'ung-ch'ao* 澤古齋叢抄, *Chih-hai* 指海, *Hsiao-fang-hu yü-ti ts'ung-ch'ao* 小方壺輿地叢抄 and *Shou-shan-ko ts'ung-shu* 守山閣叢書 which was a photographic reprint from *Chih-hai*. HO CH'IU-T'AO also included it in his *Pei-chi hui-pien* 北激彙編. The latter was a book edited by others under HO CH'IU-T'AO'S name.

The texts in these collections, however, were, except for that of the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu*, copies of the *Ssu-k'u-ch'üan-shu* text. While YANG HSIA-CHI 楊夏吉, the editor of the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu*, replaced one of the prefaces originally prepared by TS'AI YÜ 蔡瑜 by another postscript written by himself, his text was the only one which was fairly faithful to the original.

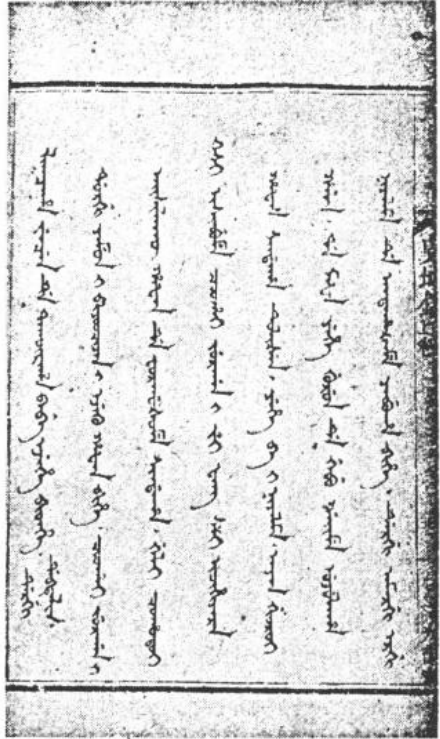
Commenting on the popularity of the *I-yü-lu*, HO CH'IU-T'AO, in the preface to the *Revised I-yü-lu*, said, "Since the book has been collected into the *Ssu-k'u*, scholars and officials are anxious to see its whole text. Thus, Mr. CH'EN of Chin-shan 金山錢氏, the editor of *Chih-hai*, and Mr. YANG of Chen-tse 震澤楊氏, the editor of the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu*, have included it in their collections." In order to meet the requirements of the world HO CH'IU-T'AO revised the *I-yü-lu* on the basis of these two texts. While it is not to be regarded as an important piece of research today, it was, nevertheless, compared with the texts contained in other collections of that time, a prominent and significant achievement.

As for the other separate volumes, there was a handy one published merely by cutting out the volume number from the central part of the printing block of the pretended HO CH'IU-T'AO'S *Pei-chi hui-pien* text. In *Che-chiang t'u-shu-kuan ts'ung-shu* 浙江圖書館叢書, there was a book with the title *I-yü-lu ti-li k'ao-cheng* 異域錄地理考證 consisting of only the chief text concerning geography edited by TING CH'EN-I 丁謙益. This investigation, likewise, is of little use today. We have already mentioned

above the textes in the *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* and the *Huang ch'ao wen-hsien t'ung-kao ssu-i-k'ao* 四裔考.

§ 3 The *I-yü-lu* in Manchu

As we have seen above, there were various publications of the *I-yü-lu* in Chinese. The Manchu text, however, is scarcely ever seen today. There are, so far as we know, only two copies in the world. One of them was introduced by G. CAHEN in his *History of Russo-China Relations*, in which he wrote (p. 124), "It is certain that T'u Li Ch'en wrote his 'Journal' in two versions, one Chinese and the other Manchu. Where the Manchu version now is it is impossible to say, but it is possibly in Russia, either in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, or in the Oriental Language Department of the University, in either case waiting to be discovered."⁵ The other was introduced by P.G. von MÖLLENDORF, an authority on the Manchu language, in his work *Essay on Manchu Literature* (1889), where he wrote (p. 32), "*I-yü-lu*, two volumes, 1723, hand-transcribed and printed, description of border countries with an appended map, a translation from Chinese text."⁶



The *I-yü-lu* in Manchu

The printed copy originally belonged to Möllendorf's personal library⁷ is now probably in the Berlin State Library. Dr. W. Fuchs has told the present author that he had seen it there. The other printed copy which CAHEN said was "probably in Russia" is now still a

5. This conclusion by CAHEN was based on the fact that the Russian version of the *I-yü-lu* has been published in Russia (see § 5).

6. See the item "The original *I-yü-lu* was in Manchu" under the present paragraph.

7. Möllendorf's collection had been divided into two groups of the books in Manchu and others; the former was sold to the Berlin State Library and the latter to the Peking National Library.

mystery because no further information can be obtained about it. As for the transcribed copy belonging to Möllendorf, we have not the least knowledge of its real form or appearance.

Recent appearance of the Manchu Text.

Several years ago, however, the present author unexpectedly found the rare Manchu *I-yü-lu* in a book store in Peking.

Although the book has a long Manchu title "A Book describing the Embassy to distant Territories," it also has the title *I-yü-lu*—in Chinese characters—on the center of the printing block. The book is divided into two volumes. The characters Chiu-nai-t'ang 九耐堂 on the lower part of the block might be the title of the author's library and it indicates that the book was a private publication undertaken by the author himself. Although neither the title page nor the fly-leaf are preserved, still the beginning of the book, like the original Chinese text, has on the overleaf of the map a stamp bearing the characters "The good day of the ninth month of the first year of Yung-cheng" (雍正元年九月吉日) indicating the date of publication. We can see, therefore, that the Chinese and Manchu texts were prepared at the same time. Instead of the prefaces of NIEN HSI-YAO. HUI SHIH-CH'Ī 惠士奇 and others, there is the author's preface which is more important than all the others and the petition he submitted to the Emperor at the end of the book, by which we can clearly see the origin of the *I-yü-lu*.

The manuscript of the *I-yü-lu* was made up in the third month of 1715 (54th year, K'ang-hsi) immediately after Tulišen's return to Peking. This was a fact which we can see, in the text of the *I-yü-lu*, from his report submitted to the Emperor in which he said, "As we respectfully address the narrative of our proceedings to his Imperial Majesty, we append a sketch of the mountains and rivers passed on our route, which has been humbly inscribed on yellow paper, to be submitted for his Majesty's inspection." This report, however, was not immediately the *I-yü-lu* itself. Tulišen has another address submitted to his Majesty dated eleventh day, first month, 1716 (55th year, K'ang-hsi) and has been given an Imperial sanction. In this address he said, "We respectfully beg his Majesty to approve the report regarding our proceedings made in obedience to his Majesty's order and the description of narratives we got during the mission, both with a supplementary Chinese text, and forward them to the proper department."

This address appears on the last page of the Manchu text as an appendix. It is clear that "the report regarding our proceedings" means the report submitted the previous year and "the description of narratives" means the yellow paper. Namely, he was desirous of publishing the

report together with the yellow paper. This we can see clearly from the text of the *I-yü-lu*. That is, the first part of the *I-yü-lu*, from the beginning to Tulišen's return to Peking in the third month of 1715 (54th year, K'ang-hsi), was the description which appeared in the yellow paper and the second part was that which appeared in the report. Thus the contents of these two parts are quite the same, although the second part (the report) was actually only a summary of the first part (the yellow paper). However, Tulišen added a chapter, on his own life story and some of his personal activities, to the yellow paper part and another chapter, another mission of his to Selenginsk (Cuku-Baising, 楚庫栢興), the Russian frontier, where he was sent during the fifth month of the same year immediately after his return from the Toungouths, to the report part. These two chapters, of course, were added on Tulišen's own volition without Imperial sanction. This is seen from his statement in the author's preface, "I wrote down the narrative together with the course of events of my going to the mission."

The original *I-yü-lu* was in Manchu

The more important point is the phrase "with a supplementary Chinese text" in the address submitted to the Emperor. We can see from this that the *I-yü-lu* was originally written in Manchu. MÖLLENDORF's thinking that it was a translation from Chinese was an error, probably due to the fact that he did not read the address and the author's preface.

If we check over the Chinese and Manchu texts, we find that several supplementary notes have been added to the Chinese text, that some incomplete wording and phrases in the Manchu have been modified in the Chinese, and many traces showing the revision of the Chinese text have been made on the basis of the Manchu. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese text is better than the Manchu. The Chinese text not only omits the important address and the author's preface showing the origin of the book but also has many omissions and shortcomings in the text which prevent complete understanding of the context and the historical facts. Thus the Manchu version of the *I-yü-lu* is significant not only for its rarity alone.

It was as a natural result of this that CAHEN said, "The Russian version by ROSSOKHIN is a complete one, but the English version by STAUNTON has some omissions," (*History of Russo-China Relations*, p. 125) because ROSSOKHIN'S version was made on the basis of the Manchu text while STAUNTON'S was based on the Chinese. (These versions will be touched upon again later on.) As STAUNTON made his translation word by word from the Chinese text, it was impossible that there should be any intentional shortcoming or omission.

The Manchu text was a rough print

Despite the fact that the publication of the Manchu text has dated the ninth month of 1723 (1st year, Yung-cheng), this was not the actual date of publication, like the Chinese text, because the author's preface was dated the eleventh month of 1723. The engraving of the printing-block and the printing, however, must have been finished by the ninth month, because the author, in the final line of his preface, said, "As the writing, editing, engraving and printing of the *I-yü-lu* has been finished, I now write a preface....."

The engraving and printing of the Manchu text of the *I-yü-lu*, however, was a very roughly done job. For example, errors in punctuation, omission of circles for emphasis or carelessly putting circles in unnecessary places, mistaking "a" for "i", "j" for "c" or, conversely, mistaking "i" for "a", "c" for "j" and even using some characters quite out of the form of Manchu characters make it appear as though the book was published without proof-reading.

The reason is as follows. According to the biography of Tulišen in the *Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih* 八旗通志 and other places, he had been sent to Kwangtung in the seventh month of 1723 to audit the provincial treasury, elected to the Provincial Governor of Kwangtung in the ninth month of the same year and again to the Provincial Governor of Shensi in the first month of 1725 (3rd year, Yung-cheng). Judging from this we can see that he must have entrusted the publication of the *I-yü-lu*, dated the ninth month of 1723, to someone else as it neared completion and that the author's preface, dated the eleventh month of the same year, had been sent from the author's post.

In the preface to the Chinese text YANG LIN 楊琳 said, "Tulišen came to Kwangtung in the autumn of this year by the Emperor's order. When I had the opportunity of meeting him, he showed me his work, the *I-yü-lu*, which I read again and again feeling myself in the distant countries." And NIEN HSI-YAO said, "When Tulišen happened to come to Kwangtung in the fall of 1723, he took out the new volume from his baggage and showed me." The volume here in question was, of course, the Chinese text, but we can see in any case that the *I-yü-lu* was published hastily. In short the engraving and printing of the *I-yü-lu* was done in circumstances under which, since the author could not personally supervise the work, carelessness inevitably crept in. It must be certain that the omissions and shortcomings in the Chinese text took place under the same circumstance.

§ 4 The Recently Discovered Chinese Text

Besides the above mentioned Manchu and Chinese texts, I have

recently discovered an important Chinese text in the Peking University Library. The main part of this text was made up by the text of the *Chieh-yüeh shan-fang hui-ch'ao* with hand-copied parts at the beginning and the end. It begins with prefaces written by SHIH WEN-CHO 石文焯, CHIANG T'ING-HSI, YEN SHAO-CHIEH 顏紹价, PAI HUANG 白潢, YANG LIN, NIEN HSI-YAO, HUI SHIH-CH'I, TS'AI YÜ, WANG KUO-TUNG 王國棟, the author, and the maps, and ends with inscription by Kuei-yen lao-ch'iao 桂岩老樵, appendix (or what can be regarded as an appendix) to the *I-yü-lu* and postscripts by TS'AI YÜ and HU YEN-YING 胡彥穎. The prefaces from CHIANG T'ING-HSI to WANG KUO-TUNG, and the maps and the postscripts by TS'AI and HUI are exactly the same as those in the original Chinese text, and the author's preface has the same meaning as that of the Manchu version. The copying was done recently and the map was done by pen. The paper were especially prepared for the copying with wood-block printed "*I-yü-lu*"—in Chinese characters—in the center. It is probable that someone had planned to copy several volumes from some original source still unknown to the world which, we may assume, was supplemented and edited by TULIŠEN himself.

In the initial preface SHIH WEN-CHO writes, "Governor T'u, who came to govern Hsi-an Province in the fifth month of 1725 (3rd year, Yung-cheng), showed me his work, the *I-yü-lu*." Probably TULIŠEN brought him the already-printed edition of the *I-yü-lu* and requested from him another preface.

The author's preface is the same as the Manchu version except for one place where the wording is inverted.

It is a moot question why the author did not put his preface in the original Chinese text. It might be that the author had considered the phrase "with a supplementary Chinese text." In the Ch'ing dynasty, of course, while Manchu was the authorized language, but Chinese was in fact actually used. This was why the Manchu version of the *I-yü-lu* was not generally used and even the traces of it were lost despite its completeness. TULIŠEN's problem was how to reconcile the phrase "with a supplementary Chinese text" and his hope of having the book actually read. If he expected the book to be read, it was not wise to treat it secondarily with the phrase "supplementary." On the other hand, as the phrase has been used formally in his address to the Emperor, it was impossible to revise or arbitrarily omit it. So the author finally cut out his preface from the Chinese text and inserted instead the prefaces of contemporary authorities.

The appendix of the *I-yü-lu* comprises two descriptions. One of them concerns the negotiations on the problem of Dzungaria between

Tulišen and L. V. Izmailoff, the Russian ambassador, at Selenginsk (Cuku-Baising) in the fifth month of 1720 (59th year, K'ang-hsi). The other concerns the negotiations on the same problem between Tulišen and L. Lang, the Russian ambassador at Peking, which negotiations took place in Dzungaria, where Tulišen saw Lang as the latter was returning to Russia. Rather than writing anything new about the development of the matter, the author only collected several pertinent addresses which are now of great importance.

While TULIŠEN, near the end of the *I-yü-lu*, says that he had been sent to Russia twice more after his return from the Tourgouths, nevertheless, only one of these trips is described in the *I-yü-lu*. Moreover, it was described in so unsystematic a fashion that HO CH'IU-T'AO, in his postscript to the *Revised I-yü-lu*, long ago pointed out that there must have been some omission in the final part. That is correct.

If we add the two above mentioned descriptions to the one in the original *I-yü-lu*, we get three altogether. This cannot be regarded as the original form planned by TULIŠEN. What, then, can the explanation be?

The oldest one of the prefaces to the *I-yü-lu*, that by CHIANG T'ING-HSI was dated the 20th day of the fifth month, 1720 (59th year, K'ang-hsi). Tulišen was then on his mission to Russia. Thus we can assume that Tulišen had stopped his writing before his second trip to Russia, planning to continue it on his return. He did, however, finally publish his unfinished work. It might be because of carelessness or negligence or probably, as stated above, the fact that he was too busy to continue it.

The newly-found appendix, however, is significant because the negotiations referred to in it are historical facts which appear only in Russian materials (see CAHEN'S *Russo-China Relations*, Chap. VII, "L'ambassade de Léon Vasil'evitch Izmailov, 1719—1722"). So far as we know, no description of these negotiations appears in any Chinese historical material. Thus this basic material, edited directly by the person concerned, is here introduced to the world for the first time and is thus of great importance.

The text of the newly discovered Chinese *I-yü-lu* is of no importance, as stated above, since it is merely a borrowing of the text of the *Chieh-yüeh shan-fang hui-ch'ao*. In my work which is to be published later, however, the original Chinese text, which is not only very rare now but which even HO CH'IU-T'AO was unable to find, is used.

§ 5 European versions of the *I-yü-lu*

The *I-yü-lu* was not only held in esteem by the scholars of the

Ch'ing dynasty. Its magnificent scale, striding over Asia and Europe, and its accurate descriptions early attracted the attention of European scholars and it was translated successively into French, Russian, German, and English. CAHEN discussed it in detail in his *History of Russo-China Relations* (pp. 124—25). The following are summary quoted from CAHEN⁸.

The first translation, into French, was made by GAUBIL, with the long title *Description by a Chinese about his proceeding from Peking to Tobol, from Tobol to Tourgouths*⁹ and published in the first volume of SOUCIET'S *Observations*¹⁰. GAUBIL was in Peking when the *I-yü-lu* was published and had the manuscript of his translation sent to SOUCIET within three years after the original's appearance. This was, according to CAHEN, a partial translation from the Chinese text. — (GAUBIL was well versed in Manchu, and it is difficult to say why he did not use the Manchu text. Probably he did not see it.)

This version was re-translated into German and appeared in MÜLLER'S *Collection of Russian History*¹¹ with some supplementary notes and revisions which show that the French version was an abridged translation of the geographic portions alone. While of little importance today, the GAUBIL version is interesting as an indication of how early the *I-yü-lu* was translated into European languages.

There are two Russian versions. One, as mentioned above was made by ROSSOKHIN under the title *A Russian Journal by the Chinese Embassy to the Karmuk Ayuki Khan situated on the Volga in 1714*¹² which appeared in the *Monthly Treatise on Scientific Problems*¹³ edited by MÜLLER, published by the St. Petersburg Scientific Academy in 1764. The other was made by LEONTIYEV¹⁴ under the title *Proceeding of the Chinese Embassy to the Karmuk Ayuki Khan with supplements regarding Territories and Customs of Russia*, published by the same Academy in 1782.

8. H. COUJER'S *Bibliotheca Sinica* (Vol. I, p. 637) also has a record about the European translated *I-yü-lu*; but CAHEN'S is preferable because of its being detailed and to the point.

9. GAUBIL, le P.: *Relation chinoise contenant un Itinéraire de Peking à Tobol, et du Tobol au Pays des Tourgouts Traduite.*

10. SOUCIET, le P. E.: *Observations mathématiques, astronomiques, géographiques, chronologiques et physiques, Tirées des Anciens Livres Chinois, ou faites nouvellement aux Indes et à la Chine Par les Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus. Rédigées et Publiées Par le P. E. SOUCIET, de la même Compagnie.* Paris, 1729-1732. 2 vols.

11. MÜLLER, G. Fr.: *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, 1760. Bd. III. S. 527-558.

12. ROSSOKHIN, H.: *Описание путешествия к южн. еязики китайские посланники в Россию бывшие в 1714 году у калмыцкого хана Аюки на Волге.*

13. MÜLLER, G. Fr.: *Ежемесячные Сочинения и Известия о ученых делах.*

14. LEONTIYEV, A.: *Путешествие Китайского посланника к Калмыцкому Аюк-Хану, с описанием земель и обычаев Российских.*

ROSSOKHIN (1707—1770)¹⁵ was the most distinguished Russian student in Peking at the beginning of the 18th century. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1741, and was appointed translator of Chinese and Manchu, and also Professor of Oriental Languages. He translated several books from Manchu, among which was the *I-yü-lu*, which he especially presented to the historian MÜLLER. His version was made from the Manchu text and preserved completely the original form of the *I-yü-lu*. His translation was accurate and was a considerable contribution, particularly with regard to personal and place names.

REONTOYEV also translated from Manchu. In spite of the fact that his version appeared after ROSSOKHIN's, it was not only quite confused in translating sections about geography and conversations but also omitted difficult portions, the prefaces and the addresses. It is a very inferior version.

A later version is the English translation by STAUNTON, a member of Macartney's Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1792—1794. It was published in London in 1821 with the long title *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, in the years 1712, 13, 14, 15, by the Chinese Ambassador, and published by the Emperor's Authority at Peking, 1821*¹⁶. As it was translated from Chinese, it was inevitable, as CAHEN has pointed out, that it had several omissions. It was however, popular because it was in English. The first edition of STAUNTON'S translation is difficult to find because only 150 copies were published; it was, however, reprinted in Peking in 1939.

This, together with MÜLLER'S German version, were the only translation I have been able to refer to at this time. Both contain some ridiculous errors and have very unsatisfactory annotations. ROSSOKHIN'S version is believed to be the best, but unfortunately I have not yet an opportunity to see it.

Besides the above-mentioned European versions, an abridged Japanese translation entitled *Siberia before Two and a Half Centuries* has been attempted by KANAFU MICHIO 金生道生 and *Explanatory Notes on the I-yü-lu* worked out by YAYOI MITSUNAGA 彌生光長¹⁷.

15. See CAHEN'S *History of Russo-China Relations*, p. 264.

16. The book has an appendix consisting of abstract translation from *Yü-chiao-li* 玉嬌李, *Yüan-ch'ü po-hsian* 元曲百選, etc. which are no connection with the *I-yü-lu*.

17. KANAFU MICHIO'S *Siberia Two and a Half Centuries ago* appeared in the *North Window* (北窗) Vol. III, No. 42, published by the Harbin Library of the Southern Manchurian Railway Company (滿鐵哈爾濱圖書館).

YAYOI MITSUNAGA'S *On the I-yü-lu, the most authoritative Work on the Topography of Asia Continent* appeared in the *Material Gazette* (資料報告) Vol. III, No. 11, published by the Preparatory Office of Hsinking Central State Library (新京國立中央圖書館籌備處).

Y. Schnitscher: *Nachricht von den Ajuckischen Calmücken*

This is a narrative of the Tourgouths, not directly from the *I-yü-lu*, by a Swede named Yo. Christ SCHNITSCHER who was one of the members of Tulišen's expedition in Tourgouths' districts. It gives us not only an outline of the Tourgouth territories, customs, religion and other things, but also an interesting side-observation on conversations between Tulišen and the Khan. MÖLLER had it translated into German, added some notes, and published it in the *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*.

Its Chinese and Japanese versions in my work to be published later is a re-translation from German which I believe may be interesting to the readers.

§ 6. Life Story of Tulišen

Although Tulišen's life prior to his diplomatic missions is described at the beginning of the *I-yü-lu*, the circumstances and dates of his appointments are not clear and there is, of course, no record concerning his later life. The following supplementary notes have been prepared on the basis of information in the *Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih* and other sources.¹⁸

Tulišen's father was a man of Yehe,¹⁹ a Manchu with the surname Ayan Gioro 阿顏覺羅 who belonged to the Plain Yellow-Banner 正黃旗. He was born in 1667 (6th year, K'ang-hsi). His family was poor and he was a weak and sickly child. As he arrived at the proper age he began the study of the Manchu and Chinese languages. GAUBIL said, "Tulišen was a Manchurian noble who understood Mongol, Manchu, and Chinese, as well as some Russian." (*Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, Vol. IV, p. 328). Mongol and Russian may perhaps have been the languages which he learned by the chance when he visited the Tourgouths.

He was appointed a regular student of the Imperial Academy (國子監) in 1686 (25th year, K'ang-hsi) and engaged in translating the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* 通鑑綱目 into Manchu. It was this fact which GAUBIL

18. No further data could be found except for those from the life story of Tulišen appeared in the *Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih*, Vol. 125 and his description of himself in the *I-yü-lu*. Those that appeared in the *Man-chou ming-ch'ien-chuan*, *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng ch'u-pien* 國朝獻類初編, *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan* and the *Ch'ing-shih-kao* 清史稿 are all the same, or abridged, to that in the *Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih*. They might have been made on the basis of the *Kuo-shih-kuan pen-chuan* 國史館本傳.

19. In the *History of Russo-China Relations*, p. 125, CAHEN had a quotation from STAUNTON'S English version of the *I-yü-lu* saying, "Tulišen, according to his own record, was born in Jehol in 1667." Needless to say, Jehol is 熱河. In translating the original phrase "國理原本 塞合人" STAUNTON used the phrase "I, Tulišen,, am originally from the country Ye-ho. . . ." CAHEN has not only misread "Ye-ho" as "Je-ho" and then changed it into "Jehol," but also mis-interpreted "I am originally from" as "I was born." Tulišen's statement only indicates that he was a native of Yeho and no indication of where he was born. Probably he was born in Peking.

pointed out in observing that Tulišen "had made a great contribution to translating Chinese ancient history into Manchu."

The next year he was appointed Clerk of the Office for Editing Public Records (中書舍人), which marked the beginning of his official life. From that date he served for ten years in the same office and was promoted to the position of Secretary in Charge of Seal (中書科掌印) in 1697 (36th year, K'ang-hsi) and then to Document Reader of the Grand Secretariat (內閣票簽侍讀).

In 1702 (41st year, K'ang-hsi) he was sent to Wu-hu 蕪湖 as tax inspector and the following year was named Superintendent and Custodian of the Sacred Animals in the Department of Rites (禮部牛羊羣總監). Unfortunately he had to leave official life in 1705 (44th year, K'ang-hsi) on the charge of having lost cattle while he was in office. He then retired to his mountain home, where he remained for seven years, devoting himself to the service of his parents and the cultivation of his farm.

When he heard, in 1712 (51st year, K'ang-hsi), that a special mission was to be sent to the Kingdom of the Tourgouths, he addressed a petition to the Emperor requesting that he be employed on the occasion. He was at that time forty-three years of age.

He must have been deeply moved by the benevolence of the Emperor, who selected him from among many candidates and restored him to his former rank to proceed upon the mission. As CAHEN has said (p. 125), he was neither sole envoy to the Tourgouths nor chief of the delegation. According to the description of the *I-yii-lu* there were in the delegation two other Manchus named Injana 殷札納 and Nayan 納彥 who were on the same level with Tulišen. Having been deeply inspired, however, Tulišen was the most diligent and faithful in his duties and, moreover, produced the *I-yii-lu*. It was a natural result that the mission is known to the world today under his personal name.²⁰

After his return from the Tourgouths he was appointed Assistant Secretary in the War Department (兵部員外郎) in the third month of 1715 (54th year, K'ang-hsi) and especially raised to the position of Secretary of the Bureau of Topographical Affairs in the War Department (兵部職方司郎中) in the fourth month of the same year.

20. In the English version of the *History of Russo-China Relations* (p. 54) RIDGE said. "He was not sole ambassador, or even chief of the embassy, but as he was the only one to write an account of the mission, and as he did not mention his companions in it, considerable misconception has arisen in connection with the mission, which is for these reason generally known as the embassy of Tulišen."

It was a matter of fact that Tulišen not only stated nothing of his own position and of his companions in the mission but even there were points which made it suspicious that he had the intention of attributing the merit of mission to himself. It may safely be said, on the other hand, it was this character which made him the most active one in the mission and, in consequence, enabled him of handing down us the imperishable work.