Heritage in Translation: “A Dagur Story” as Historical Fiction and Sample Text for Learning Manchu—Part One

LI Lin
East China Normal University, China

Mavis Hing-yu FUNG
Independent Scholar

CHONG Man-lung
Lingnan University, Hong Kong

Loretta E. KIM
University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

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This article is the first of two that explore the challenges of translating a Manchu-language literary work about Dagur participation in campaigns against Russian incursion into Qing territory during the seventeenth century. The featured excerpts, translated into both Chinese and English, shed light on how indigenous peoples of the contested area participated in a historical moment which is generally treated as a conflict between imperial states, and how their experiences have been commemorated and re-imagined through a Manchu-language voice.

翻译中的遗产：作为历史小说与满文学习范例的“达斡尔故事”（上）

LI Lin 李林
华东师范大学

Mavis Hing-yu FUNG 冯庆瑜
独立学者

CHONG Man-lung 庄文龙
岭南大学

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本文探讨了一部满文文学作品在翻译过程中所面临的挑战，该作品叙述有关十七世纪，清朝时期达斡尔人参与抵抗俄国入侵的历史事件。全文分上下两篇刊载。本文摘取作品中的若干选段译为中英文，并藉由这些重点选段说明战略要地的原住部族如何参与到通常被视为帝国间冲突的历史事件之中，透过满文故事重塑及完整他们的历史。

翻譯中的遺產：作為歷史小說與滿文學習範例的“達斡爾故事”（上）

LI Lin 李林
華東師範大學

Mavis Hing-yu FUNG 馮慶瑜
獨立學者

CHONG Man-lung 莊文龍
嶺南大學

Loretta E. KIM 金由美
香港大學

本文探讨了一部满文文学作品在翻译过程中所面临的挑战，该作品叙述有关十七世纪，清朝时期达斡尔人参与抵抗俄国入侵的历史事件。全文分上下两篇刊载。本文摘取作品中的若干选段译为中英文，并藉由这些重点选段说明战略要地的原住部族如何参与到通常被视为帝国间冲突的历史事件之中，透过满文故事重塑及完整他们的历史。
Countless articles in this journal have shown the richness of Manchu literature as variously defined. Manchu literature includes texts that were originally composed in the Manchu language, translations into Manchu language from other languages, works that blend Manchu vocabulary and grammar with those of other languages, and writings that are not in the Manchu language but reflect Manchu “ethnic consciousness” (Ch. minzu yishi 民族意識). The work from which excerpts are translated and annotated in this article fits two of these criteria. It is a novel that was written in Manchu and is set in the mid-seventeenth century when the Qing state engaged in conflicts with Russians in the area that would become eponymously known as Manchuria and later as the Chinese northeast (dongbei 東北). What makes this text distinctive is that the protagonists are Dagurs, not Manchus, and that they work together with other indigenous populations such as the Orochen (Elunchun 鄂倫春), Fiyaka (Feiyaka 費雅卡 or Feiyaha 費雅哈), and Heje (Hezhe 赫哲) in the common cause of defending their homelands and communities against invading Russian forces. Since records from that time period produced by Dagurs are scarce, this fictional narrative gives rare insight into how they would have reacted to encountering Russians and to fighting to preserve control over their territory and to protect their families and material resources.1

Entirely written in Manchu but with only a Chinese formal title, Dahu'er gushi 達呼爾故事 (A Dagur story), the novel was published in Taipei by the Wenshizhe Press (Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社) in 1977.2 The author, Kūkejintai (Hugejintai 胡格金台) wrote a preface in Chinese and one in Manchu. The prefaces have similar but not identical content. Both explain the historical background of the story, emphasizing the significance of Dagur heroism against Russian incursions. The latter halves of the two prefaces are different in significant ways. Kūkejintai explains in the Chinese preface, which precedes the Manchu one, that he decided to write the manuscript in Manchu because Dagur people are accustomed to learning how to read Manchu from an early age, even though they speak a language that is considered to be Mongolic. Although very few Dagur study the Manchū language now, Kūkejintai’s statement reflects an earlier Dagur tradition of proficiency in Manchu from the Qing and into the Republican era. In the Manchu preface, Kūkejintai explains that the oral version of the story was recorded in Chinese, but he believed it would be more appropriate to tell a narrative of Dagurs fighting in Manchu. He thanked Chuang Chi-fa (Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發) for providing valuable assistance in translating from Chinese to Manchu.3

Kūkejintai’s choice of Manchu as the literary medium was also to inform learned individuals (xueren 學人). This judgment was certainly made with scholars of Manchu

1. There are other works of “ethnic literature” that are fictional accounts of the same time period and place, such as Xie Kun 謝昆 and Wang Feisha 王飛沙, Yakesa 雅克薩 (Yaksa) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1980).
2. The phrase “hahi edun mangga orho,” which appears right before the first chapter, might be considered a title for the whole story.
3. Dahu'er gushi, 3.
language and literature in mind. To the translators’ knowledge, the Chinese version has not been recorded and published as a text. Therefore, translating the story into Chinese, and also into English, is meaningful because it expands the potential audience for this novel and compels a thorough consideration of its cultural as well as linguistic meaning in the process of re-writing into in another language. It was fortuitous that Kūkejintai chose Manchu rather than Dagur transcribed in Mongolian script, or in Romanized form. Either medium would circumscribe the readership even further to persons who are fluent in Dagur and can read it in Mongolian, Romanized, or both forms. In Manchu, ideas that may be best if only expressed in Dagur may be compromised, but the international community of persons literate in Manchu can appreciate the story’s content. It is furthermore important as a work of “ethnic literature.” A Dagur Story fits both the criteria of ethnic literature describing an ethnic group’s experience and reflecting the perspective of someone belonging to that group.

The excerpts presented in this article and to be featured in a subsequent installment were produced collaboratively by a Manchu study group based in Hong Kong. The translation project began in June 2013 after extracurricular Manchu language courses held at Hong Kong Baptist University from September 2011 to May 2013 were adjourned. Some of the course participants decided to continue reading and translating Manchu texts. The original group grew to include members who had learned Manchu at other institutions. The whole team includes (with their affiliations at the time the project commenced): Monica Chang Kin-i (University of Macao), Chong Man-lung (Lingnan University), Mavis Fung Hing-yu (Hong Kong Baptist University), Li Lin (The Chinese University of Hong Kong), Gary Chi-hung Luk (University of Oxford), and Eugene Shun-yung Tam (Hong Kong Baptist University).

Since not all of the translators were living in Hong Kong during the project, and even those based in Hong Kong were at different universities, the group decided to divide the novel into sections and after completing draft translations, to compare and standardize them. Members, working individually or in pairs, could decide to translate the Manchu text into Chinese first, then English, or vice versa. The translation, in true twenty-first-century style, was generated on an online document that all participants read, added to, and corrected. This mode of collaborative translation was useful for all

4. WorldCat and other comprehensive search engines for publications do not have any records of Chinese versions.
5. See, for example, twenty-one narrative poems in Daor bitegei horiewu debtlien 5 (Dagur historical materials anthology 5), comp. Dawo’er ziliaoji bianji weiyuanhui yu quanguo shaoshu minzu guji zhengli yanjiushi (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2004), 710-98.
7. Li Lin is now a lecturer at East China Normal University.
group members to learn from one another and to generate a final output that reflects both individual and collective interpretations of the text.

This translation is not the first such collaborative translation of *A Dagur Story*. Midway through this process, the group learned of and consulted the Korean translation ((Collections of Korean Studies) by the Institute of Altaic Studies (한국알타이학研究所) at Seoul National University. The translators, Ch’oe Hakkŭn (최학근;崔鶴根), Kim Songyong (김송용;金宋龍), Pak Kiwan (朴基完;朴基完), and Hyŏn Ujong (현우종;玄禹淙) presented the original text organized in fascicles, a Romanized transliteration, and Korean translation.8

The excerpts below are similarly arranged in three sections: Romanized transliteration, Chinese translation, and English translation. To give readers a taste of the narrative as it is ordered in the seventeen chapters of the novel, the excerpts to be featured in this article are from Chapter 1, translated by Li Lin, and from Chapter 5, translated by Chong Man-lung and Mavis Fung Hing-yu. The next installment will present excerpts from the latter half of the novel.

Chapter 1, pages 4 and 5

*Li Lin*

**Transliteration (with proper nouns underlined)**

hahi edun mangga orho..

Uju ; Batu facuhŭn bade A Lun be ucaraha ..

emu aniya tuweri inenggi šumin dobori juwe ilan ging ni şurdeme Dahor niyalmai isandume tecehe gašan de holkünde9 niyalmai kaicara jilgan morin wahan i asuki sasa tucinjime ineku akjan akjara mederi murara i gese de niyalmai šan gemu lib seme dutu ome . geli cokū10 indahŭn i balai fekuceme ašašara asuki jai hehesi jusei surere jilgan . jing ni amgame bihe haha sebe güwacihiyalabume getebuhe .. tese dartai andande ilifi . uthai farhŭn i dolo meimeni beyebe karmatara agūra ; moo ,11 mukšan12 jergi jaka be ja-fafi gemu maikan ci sujume tucifi facuhūraha bade dobtolome dosifi Oros coohai emgi

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9. The Manchu writing style in this book might be influenced by Dagur or even Sibe scripts. The transcriptions are all based on the original manuscript; however some terms could not be found in the commonly used Manchu dictionaries. In such a scenario, the translator would infer whether a known word was actually intended instead of the unknown one. For instance, *holkünde* here is likely to be *holkonde* in Manchu, meaning “suddenly.”
10. *Cokū* is likely to be *coke* in Manchu, meaning “chicken.”
11. This punctuation mark seems to be gratuitous because “moo” (木頭) should modify “mukšan” (stick 棍棒).
12. This word is missing the two dots on the left-hand side of the letter “k.” It should appear: GeneratedValue in Translation

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Afaha .. Oros jihe hûdukan ergen be aitubu seme surere jîlgan shan de lakcarakû dosin-jimbi . ere erinde geren urse teni Oros coohai tabcilame jihe be saha . dacib seme jenduken bihe gašan tokso dartai andande encu arbun i kobulime⁶⁰ gelecuke ba oho .. bisirele niyalma gemu halhûn mucen i dorgi yerhuwe i adali fathašambi . damu ere ehe forgon ci ukame tucirengge umesi mangga . tuttu miyoocan de goiburakû oci uthai tuwa de deiğibumi . udu huhuri jui seme inu guwebubure jabšan akû .. ere fumereme afandure facuhûn de bisirele Dahor hâha gemu tesei beye ergen be šeleme bata i emgi afanduhabi .. terei dolo Batu sere gebungge baturu asigan¹⁴ niyalma emteli beye uduu Oros niyalma be sacime waha de güwa Oros niyalma Batu i ere gese horon hûsun de gemu bektereme geleme uthai amasi marime burulaha ..

Chinese

疾風勁草
一．巴圖在混亂之中遇到阿綸
一年冬天的深夜二、三更, 在達呼爾人聚居的鄉村裡，忽然間人的吶喊聲和馬蹄聲一齊並發，猶如雷鳴海嘯，刺耳欲聾。還有雞、狗狂奔亂跳的聲音，以及女人、孩子們的號叫聲，驚醒了正在睡覺的男人們。他們馬上起身，立刻在黑暗之中各自拿起木頭棍棒等防身之物，全部跑出帳房，衝進混亂之中與羅剎軍隊戰鬥。「羅剎來了！快救命！」的叫喊聲，不絕於耳。這時大家才知道，羅剎軍隊來搶劫了。原本杳然寂靜的村莊，瞬間變了樣，成為可怕的地方。所有人都像熱鍋裡的螞蟻，焦躁不安。但要逃離這厄運，極為困難。所以，不是被鳥槍射中，就是被火焚燒，就連嬰孩也未能倖免。在這場混戰之中，所有達呼爾男子全都捨身與敵人搏鬥。其中，名叫巴圖的年輕勇士，隻身斬殺了許多羅剎人，別的羅剎人都被巴圖這般威力嚇怕怔住，就敗退了。

English

Strong Storm, Tough Grass

(Chapter) One. Batu met Alun in the Turmoil

One winter, in the middle of the night,¹⁵ in the village where Dagur people gathered and lived, the screaming of crowds and the hoofbeats of horses suddenly burst out together, like the sea was roaring and the thunder was howling, as if the ears were to

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¹³. Kobulime is likely to be kâbulime in Manchu, meaning “to change, to revolt.”
¹⁴. Asigan is an alternative spelling of aishan in Manchu, meaning ”young, youth.”
¹⁵. This sentence actually refers to an indeterminate moment during the second and third geng. “Second geng” refers to the period of the day corresponding to 9 to 11pm and “third geng” is from 11pm to 1am.
be pierced into deafness. Also heard were the noises of chickens and dogs bolting and bouncing around recklessly, and the crying of women and children, which startled and awakened sleeping men. In a hurry they awoke and immediately took up wooden sticks and other objects in the darkness for self-defense. Then they all ran out from the yurts, rushing into the turmoil and fighting with the Russian troops. “The Russians have come, hurry and help!” Such crying was constantly reaching their ears/[being heard]. It was then that people all knew that the Russian army was there to plunder them. The originally peaceful and quiet hamlet changed into a frightening place. All of the people were frantic, like ants on a hot pan. However, it was extremely difficult to escape from the calamity. They were either shot by muskets or burnt by fire. Not even unweaned children were spared. Throughout the tumultuous battle, all of the Dagur men had committed to sacrifice themselves in fighting with the enemies, among whom was a young warrior called Batu who killed many Russians on his own. Other Russians were frightened and terrified by Batu’s formidable bravery, and thus retreated in defeat.

Chapter 5, pages 32 to 34

Chong Man-lung and Mavis Fung Hing-yu

Transliteration

musei da günin oci kimun bata be mukiyebure be neneme obuhabi . nede muse bata be dailara onggolo uthai musei dolo ishunde ehereci ombio sehe . ede geren gemu gisun akū oho .. udu biya duleme holkonde Ningguta i dergi julergi amba muru ilan tanggū bade Cang bai alin i dubede Mu dan dabagan i hanci emu etuhun hūsun ggē hūlha tucike . hūlhai da i gebu be Tiyei bei ha ming sembi . tese Fu iyei Ling ji juwe ulai angga i jergi kamni bade teme bisire irgen geli jugūn yabure urse be tabcilame jobobumbi .. suwayan tui kūwaran i tung ling ci A Te jiyanggiyun16 ere hūlhai mejige be donjifis uthai kūwaran gubci moringga yafahan be juwe meyen banjibume tucibu fi .
moringga cooha be Batu de afabufi . yafahan cooha be Ci na de afabume juwe jugūn dennede sasa fideme tucibuhe . Batu i moringga cooha goro baci yabume Yan tun šan ci Hūwa diyan be šurdeme jorime genere ba i baru genehe .. Ci na gung illibure be temšeme biyoo he be tucime Fu iyei ling baru ibeme genehe .. günihakū teni Fu iyei ling . Mu dan ling juwe dabagan i acana ha fahiraħūn holo i bade ini gubci cooha hūlhai meyen de hūsibu fi . ibere bedere de gemu mangga ohobi .. hūlhai meyen alin i dara ci lakcaraku sirdan be gbate tuwai orho be fahambi . holo i dolo weji i moo dartai andande tuwa de dabufi . Ci na i gajiha cooha emgeri dehi isire nyalma feye bahangge

16. This term should be jiyanggiyūn, meaning “general” or “military governor.”
「我們的原意是先消滅敵人，如今在消滅敵人前，我們內部何必反目成仇？」由此，眾人都不言語了。幾個月後，寧古塔的西南方約三百里處，長白山牡丹嶺的附近突然出現了一個強盜部落。該賊頭目叫做鐵貝哈明。他們掠奪打擾於FU IYEI，LING JEI兩河之口的關隘居住和過路人。ATE將軍從護軍營的統領聽到這個消息後，下令全營編成步兵和騎兵兩隊。騎兵由巴圖帶領，而步兵則由奇納調動，分兩路出發。巴圖帶領騎兵走到遠處，經過YAN TUN ŠAN則環繞HŪWA DIYAN往指定的方向移動。奇納卻立功心切，從BIYOO河出來一下子直接進入到FU IYEI LING。料想不到在FU IYEI LING和牡丹嶺之間的峽谷中會與敵軍糾纏，進退皆難。敵軍在山腰不斷向下放箭，又放火焚燒草地。山谷中森林之樹瞬間被焚燒了。奇納隊中有四十多人死傷，正當情況非常危急之際，三十多名騎兵突然前來會合，並對奇納說：「（我們）是來打散敵軍、援助你們的，但是因為傍晚才到達，令你們部隊受驚了。」

奇納想到剛才是被巴圖的人所救，心裡頓感羞愧，急忙問：「那你們的將領在哪裡？」那軍官說：「我們營的士兵正在前往消滅敵軍。」奇納急忙叫自己的士兵火速與巴圖隊一同前去攻打敵人。敵軍不久就戰敗，鐵貝哈瑪也被巴圖的軍隊活擒。奇納遇見巴圖時，感謝他的仁義，心中想到往日讒害巴圖，後悔差一點就無法表示自己的錯誤。回到寧古塔之後，奇納向巴圖認錯，亦發誓福禍同當，自此二人便情同兄弟。
“Our original intention was to vanquish our enemies. How is it that before we have de-
feated them, we are on bad terms with each other?” With this statement, the crowd was
silent. A few months later, about 300 li southeast of Ningguta, near the Mudan pass,
which is at the end of the Changbai mountains, powerful and strong bandits suddenly
appeared. The bandit chief was named Tiebei Haming. They plundered and mistreated
the people living in and traveling through the pass between the mouths of the Fu Iyei
Ling and Jei Rivers. After the general A Te heard the news (about the bandits) from
the commander of the imperial guards brigade, he ordered the whole battalion to form
cavalry and infantry brigades.

The cavalry was assigned to Batu, and the infantry troops were assigned to Cina.
They divided into two routes and left the battalion. Batu led the cavalry from a far
place, passing by Yan Tun mountain, going around Hua Dian, and then proceeding in
the designated direction. Cina wanted to compete (with Batu) and prove his bravery,
and he went out from the Biao River directly towards the Fu Ye range. It was not pos-
sible to predict that they would be encircled by the enemy in the canyon between the
Fu Ye range and the Mudan range and unable to move forward or retreat without dif-
ficulty. The enemy forces shot an unceasing stream of arrows from the mountainside
and set fire to the grass. The trees in the valley forest caught fire and burned down in-
stantaneously. About forty men in Cina’s brigade had been killed or injured, and just as
the situation was becoming perilous, about thirty cavalry suddenly appeared and joined
(Cina’s troops). (One official leading them) said to Cina: We have come to rout and
disperse the enemy and to save you. However, since we have arrived as night has fallen,
we have scared (your) battalion camp.”

Cina realized that he had been saved by Batu and felt quite ashamed. He asked anx-
iously, “Where is your commander?” The official said, “Our battalion troops are cur-
rently going forth to eliminate the enemy.” Cina hurriedly called his troops, “Go fight
with Batu’s brigade and crush the enemy.” Before long, the bandit chief Tiebei Haming
was taken alive as a prisoner by Batu’s troops. When Cina met up with Batu, besides
thanking him for his kindness in having saved him, Cina thought about how he had
slandered Batu in the past and regretted that he had almost lost his chance to express
his errors. After returning to Ningguta, Cina apologized to Batu and also pledged that
he wanted them to become like brothers who shared joys and sorrows.

The translators encountered several challenges in the process of interpreting the
Manchu-language text into Chinese and English versions. These problems revealed par-
ticular aspects of the original text’s content and style that will be discussed below.

Working between language families--Manchu representing the Altaic, Chinese the
Sino-Tibetan, and English the Indo-European—required translating concepts in culturally appropriate ways. Translators relied heavily upon reference works in which entries gave clear explanations of abstract ideas, such as the lexicons compiled by Haneda Toru 羽田亨, Hu Zengyi 胡增益, and Jerry Norman. Some implicit meanings were not immediately apparent even with the aid of such tools and had to be derived from context. A prime example of such interpretive analysis is the novel’s sub-title hahi edun mangga orho, translatable into Chinese as 疾風勁草. This phrase is further divisible into two sub-parts, each consisting of two words/Chinese characters, the first such section referring to the Russian invasion and the second to the two major protagonists, Batu and Alun, as representatives of leaders of the Dagur counteroffensive.

Translating proper nouns, especially personal names, was another significant difficulty related to cultural norms. Proper nouns without standardized English translations could be converted into Romanized forms according to the conventional Möllendorff system when presented in English. However, for translation into Chinese, proper nouns could be rendered in character combinations that are commonly used for non-Chinese terms such as 巴圖 for the name Batu, and place names could appear as recorded in Chinese-language geographical texts. However, for those personal or place names which could not be found in other sources, translators had to create new transcriptions such as 鐵貝哈明 for the bandit chief Tiyei bei ha ming and 奇納 for Ci na. Proper nouns without verifiable equivalents in Chinese were retained in Romanized form for both the Chinese and English translations or converted from Manchu to Chinese phonemes for the English translation based on standard practice. These two measures distinguish this translation from the Korean one in which such words could be capitalized in Romanized form to indicate that they are proper nouns and then converted into hangul such as 바투 for Batu. Because the Korean translation only included Chinese characters for common terms such as the Outer Xing’an Range 外興安嶺, it was not useful for determining which Chinese characters would be appropriate for a full Chinese translation.

Internal inconsistencies and consistent errors formed a second category of problems in translation. Examples of the former include the name of a bandit chief being first

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18. For the conversion between Manchu and Chinese phonemes, see Giovanni Stary, A Dictionary of Manchu Names (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 635-45. Translators checked for the Chinese equivalents of proper nouns in Qing-period primary sources such as Jilin tongzhi 吉林通志 (Gazetteer of Jilin), Jilin waiji 吉林外記 (Unofficial history of Jilin), Jilin yudi tushuo 吉林輿地圖說 (A pictorial description of Jilin), Ningguta jilüe 奈古塔紀略 (Concise record of Ningguta). Of particular note is that the general A Te may not have been an actual high-ranking regional official but was an intermediate-level officer because he is not listed in the roster of generals and lieutenant generals for Jilin in sources such as Jilin waiji, 4: 1a-14b.

19. Tahorū Kosa, 49.
introduced as Tiyei Bei Ha Ming and later as Tiyei Bei Ha Ma. However, each time such a discrepancy occurred, the translator(s) had to determine whether the two terms in question were actually related to one another. Internal consistencies in how the script deviated from customary Manchu orthography, which translators likewise had to reconcile, suggested that individual writing style or the fact of Dagur being a non-Manchu language might influence how Manchu handwriting is produced. One such consistent “error,” as judged by Manchu script for the Manchu language, is the substitution of “о” for “у” as seen in the first excerpt, such as “kūbulime” instead of “kobulime,” “holkūnde” instead of “holkonde,” and “cokū” instead of “coko.”

A third type of variance with Qing government documents and other “standard” Manchu texts that affected the translation process was punctuation. As seen in the table below, the original text used punctuation that was converted in the Romanized transliteration to conform with punctuation marks used conventionally. The marks in the table are in quotation marks for increased visibility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Text</th>
<th>Romanized Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pause in middle of sentence</td>
<td>“...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indication of a statement</td>
<td>“;”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of sentence</td>
<td>“=”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Punctuation for characters’ internal monologues and dialogues between characters was also frequently ambiguous. Translators therefore relied on verbs indicating speech such as “ hendume” 说, “ jabume” 答, and “ fonjime” 问 to determine the beginnings and endings of statements.

The two excerpts featured in this article illustrate the linguistic complexity of translating this text composed by a Dagur author based on Dagur-language ideas and the historical perspective of Dagurs as prime actors in what has been more commonly viewed as an episode in Qing-Russian, or Sino-Russian, relations. The next installment will explore other issues of translation and further demonstrate how Dagur historical memory is expressed in literary form.