The Manchu Book in Eighteenth-Century St. Petersburg¹

GREGORY AFINOGENOV

Georgetown University

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This Research Note follows the development of Manchu-language print and manuscript collections at the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. It focuses especially on the works collected in Beijing by Larion Rossokhin, the first graduate of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing to have any significant knowledge of Manchu. These collections formed the basis of one of the first large-scale Western Manchu translation projects, the publications of Aleksei Leont'ev in the 1770s and '80s, and eventually for the emergence of academic Manjuristics in the Russian Empire and beyond. Included in the note is a series of complete library catalogues from the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, documents hitherto largely unknown to the Western reader.

十八世纪圣彼得堡的满文书籍

Gregory Afinogenov 格里高利·阿芬真诺夫

乔治城大学

本篇研究札记探索圣彼得堡皇家科学院图书馆满文书刊和手稿的收藏历程，特别关注俄国东正教驻北京传教士团的首位掌握扎实满文知识的毕业生伊拉里昂·罗索欣在北京所收集的文献。这些文献为西方世界的首次大规模满文翻译项目——阿列克谢·列昂季耶夫在十八世纪七八十年代出版的翻译文献，以及满学研究最终在俄罗斯帝国及其他地区的兴起奠定了基础。本文还收录了俄罗斯科学院档案馆圣彼得堡分馆所收藏的一系列完整的图书目录，西方读者对这些文献迄今鲜有所闻。

1. I am grateful to Mårten Söderblom Saarela, Devin Fitzgerald, Matthew Mosca, and *Saksaha's* anonymous reviewer for feedback on previous versions of this material.

十八世紀聖彼得堡的滿文書籍

Gregory Afinogenov 格里高利·阿芬真諾夫
喬治城大學

本篇研究札記探索聖彼得堡皇家科學院圖書館滿文書刊和手稿的收藏歷程，特別關注俄國東正教駐北京傳教士團的首位掌握紮實滿文知識的畢業生伊拉里昂·羅索欣在北京所收集的文獻。這些文獻為西方世界的首次大規模滿文翻譯項目——阿列克謝·列昂季耶夫在十八世紀七八十年代出版的翻譯文獻，以及滿學研究最終在俄羅斯帝國及其他地區的興起奠定了基礎。本文還收錄了俄羅斯科學院檔案館聖彼得堡分館所收藏的一系列完整的圖書目錄，西方讀者對這些文獻迄今鮮有所聞。

Introduction

Today, thanks to the growing popularity of Manchu studies, the aspiring Manjurist can find texts and colleagues in dozens of cities outside of China, from Seattle to Leuven to Melbourne. The prospects were considerably grimmer during the era she hopes to study. At the height of the Manchu literary enterprise in the eighteenth century, meaningful book collections might have existed in five non-Qing cities: Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Hansŏng (Seoul), and Edo (Tokyo). This list is entirely speculative. Existing bibliographies of Western collections make little effort to discern the date of accession of the texts they catalog; this makes it difficult to distinguish between collections formed in the era of nineteenth-century imperial orientalism, when acquisitions were broad-based and indiscriminate, and those of the eighteenth, when they were much more circumscribed.² Etienne Fourmont's published 1739 catalog of the Paris collections is one of our few opportunities to get a glimpse of Manchu book culture as it arrived in Enlightenment Europe.³

The French Royal Library, owing to the well-funded efforts of the French Jesuits at the Beitang 北堂 mission compound in Beijing, contained the largest gathering of Chinese books in Europe. Manchu was a somewhat different story. Fourmont lists only six "codices tartarici" and one bilingual edition, but more were certainly acquired in the decades after 1739. At that point, its Russian competitor at the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg was hardly better off, with only a handful of books acquired from Jesuit correspondents and chance deliveries. Within fifteen years, the situation

2. See, e.g., Karl Friedrich Neumann, who in the early nineteenth century collected six thousand volumes of Chinese books—an order of magnitude greater than the eighteenth-century Russian or French libraries—despite being a scholarly dilettante. Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 371.

3. [Etienne Fourmont], *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae* (Paris: E Typographia regia, 1739), vol. 1.

was completely different. The Russian capital was suddenly home to dozens of Manchu and bilingual publications of every conceivable variety, from pamphlets to reference works and multivolume histories. This was a process unusually well-documented in archival sources. At the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Academy of Sciences (SPF ARAN), a series of catalogs from the 1740s and after traces how and why each book was acquired and, to some extent, even what happened to it in later years. This forms the prehistory of Julius von Klaproth's 1810 catalog of this library, published by Hartmut Walravens in 1988, and helps eliminate the gap Walravens identifies for the eighteenth-century period.⁴

The purpose of this essay is twofold. On the one hand, it contains a translation of every catalog of Manchu and Chinese books I have been able to find at SPF ARAN, making them available in English and in published form for the first time. On the other, it places each of them within its historical context, forming a history of Manchu book collecting at the eighteenth-century Academy of Sciences.⁵ Early Russian Manjuristics and its associated library practices were not just unusually substantial for their time. They were distinct in their guiding principles and institutional structure from the Jesuit projects that typically draw the attention of East Asian book historians.⁶ As I will suggest, the contingent circumstances of Manchu studies at the Academy helped to create a link between the strategic and intellectual priorities of the post-Petrine Russian state and the creation of the Manchu-oriented subfield of nineteenth-century European orientalism. This link took the form of books.

Rossokhin launches the collection, 1741

The man almost singlehandedly responsible for founding the study of Manchu in the Russian Empire was a Siberian priest's son named Larion Rossokhin. He arrived in Beijing as part of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in 1729 at the age of twelve and stayed there for over a decade, quickly learning the languages and making his way around the city.⁷ As a student, he was not a religious functionary; his primary role was to learn

4. Julius von Klaproth, *Katalog der chinesischen und mandjurischen Bücher der Bibliothek der Akademie der Wissenschaften in St. Petersburg*, ed. Hartmut Walravens (Berlin: C. Bell, 1988); Hartmut Walravens, "Chinesische und Mandjurische Bücher in St. Petersburg im 18. Jahrhundert," *Monumenta Serica* 46 (1998): 397–418.

5. See also the introduction to Tatiana A. Pang, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001). Events in the library more generally are cataloged in V. P. Leonov and N. V. Kolpakova, *Letopis' Biblioteki Rossiiskoi akademii nauk* (Sankt-Peterburg: BAN, 2004).

6. See, e.g., Noël Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning for China: Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission* (ca. 1650–ca. 1750), vol. 1, Logistics of Book Acquisition and Circulation (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2012).

7. On Rossokhin, see V. P. Taranovich, "Ilarion Rossokhin i ego trudy po kitaevedeniiu," *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie* 3 (1945): 225–41; P. E. Skachkov, "Znachenie rukopisnogo nasledia russkikh kitaevedov," *Voprosy istorii* 1 (1960): 117–23; M. I.

enough Manchu to serve in the College of Foreign Affairs as a translator for Russo-Qing diplomatic correspondence. This he was able to practice at the Lifanyuan 理藩院, where he was set to work translating letters from Russia in his spare time. Although he was not expected to purchase books, he began to accumulate a large collection, which came in handy when he was appointed to the Academy of Sciences upon his return to Russia in 1741.

The first catalog, compiled when Rossokhin sold his books to the Academy Library, records part of the contents of this collection, along with the prices Rossokhin claimed he had paid for each publication. A tael of Qing silver was worth a stable 1.2 rubles in the eighteenth century, so in theory this could represent a unique window into the book market of Yongzheng-era Beijing. Unfortunately, the drastically lower valuations given in the posthumous catalog of his remaining books (see below) suggest that the young man might have been marking up his books to take advantage of the fact that no one in St. Petersburg was in a position to gainsay him. This suspicion is further confirmed by comparing Rossokhin's prices to those reported by Timkovskii in 1821, which are drastically lower for roughly identical printings.⁸ They are nonetheless valuable indications in relative terms. The fact that a five-volume set of *Han i araha wargi amargi toktobuha bodohon* cost forty times more than a bilingual copy of the *Qian zi wen* 千字文 may not be surprising, considering the ubiquity of the latter item. But it is more revealing that Chinese-only books seem to have consistently cost less than Manchu even considering their more compact volume—and given the fact that they were purchased in the heart of Manchu territory in Beijing's Inner City. It is a clear indication of the premium that any Qing subject hoping to maintain literacy in Manchu needed to pay with each newly-acquired text.

Register of Chinese Books¹

[Manchu/Chinese, transcribed from Russian transliteration]		[Rossokhin's translation/explication of title]	Rubles	Kopecks
1	<i>Inenggidari giyangnaha si šu bithe</i>	An expanded book of day-by-day commentaries for Confucius's Four Books, 6 books in Manchu, 2 in Chinese, palace printing.	20	
2	<i>Daicing gurun i yooni bithe</i>	Qing lexicon with Chinese. Translated into Russian. 1 book.	25	
3	<i>Han i araha wargi amargi bade toktobuha bodohon</i>	Study of how His Imperial Majesty himself deigned to pacify and improve the western and northern regions; 5 books in Manchu, palace printing.	20	
4	<i>Ming gurun hung u han i oyonggo tacihyan</i>	Useful teachings of the Ming emperor Hongwu in Manchu, 1 book, palace printing.	4	
5	<i>Manju gisun i yongyame toktobuha bithe</i>	Manchu lexicon with grammar and Chinese translation, 2 books	10	
6	<i>Manju gisun si šu bithe</i>	Confucius's Four Books with brief commentary, 2 volumes in Manchu, 1 book Chinese.	5	

Radovskii, "Russkii kitaevved I. K. Rossokhin," in *Iz istorii nauki i tekhniki v stranakh Vostoka* (Moskva: Izd-vo vostochnoi lit-ry, 1960), 88–99.

8. Hartmut Walravens, "Fünfzehn Kamelladungen Gelehrsamkeit Russische Bücherkäufe in Peking im Jahre 1821," in *Florilegia Altaistica: Studies in Honour of Denis Sinor on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday*, ed. E. V. Boikova and Giovanni Stary (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 227–51.

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7	<i>Qingwen dianyao</i> <清文典要>	Rules for translating Chinese literary texts into Manchu, 1 book	2	
8	<i>Man Han zi shijing</i> <滿漢字詩經>	Confucius's Shijing with Manchu, 1 book	1	20
9	<i>Manju nikan gisun be jofoho acabuha bithe</i>	Manchu language dialogues with proverbs and Chinese translation, 1 book	3	//
10	<i>Man Han zi Qingwen qimeng</i> <滿漢字清文啟[sic] 蒙>	Manchu grammar with Chinese, 1 book	1	50
11	<i>Enduringge genggiyen šaringgiyaha bithe</i>	The will of His Holy Majesty in Manchu and Chinese, 1 book	1	
12	<i>Manju nikan hergen i kamciha si šu bithe</i>	Confucius's Four Books with Manchu, 1 book	2	
13	<i>Pan gu ši i uheri šošohon i bithe</i>	Brief historical chronology in Manchu, 1 manuscript book	3	
14	<i>Manju hergen i sun dz u dz bing fa</i>	Reflections on the military rules of the glorious ancient warriors Sunzi and Wuzi, 1 book Manchu, 1 book Chinese.	2	
15	<i>Manju nikan hergen i kamcime araha si siyan gi ucun i bithe</i>	Story about a student, with rather pretty songs, in Manchu and Chinese	1	50 //
16	<i>Manju nikan hergen kamciha tsai gen tan bithe</i>	Reflections on the nature of herbs in Manchu and Chinese, 1 book	1	50
17	<i>Man Han hebi xingli</i> <滿漢合璧性理>	The study of nature in Manchu and Chinese, 1 book	1	
18	<i>Tongwen guanghui quanshu</i> <同文廣彙全> [sic]	Manchu vocabulary with Chinese, by heading, 1 book	2	
19	<i>Dai yuan gurun i suduri bithe</i>	History of the Dai Yuan rulers, or Mongols, who ruled the whole Chinese state, in Manchu, 2 books	6	
20	<i>Tondo unenggi fan gūn ni wen ji bithe</i>	Story about how a Manchu warrior suffered for his loyalty and zeal for his country, 1 book, in Manchu	3	
21	<i>Nikan hergen i ubaliyambuha manju gisun i buleku bithe</i>	Mirror of Manchu with Chinese, 1 book	3	//
22	<i>Xiu xiang shuihu quan zhuan</i> <繡像水滸全傳>	Story of 108 famous bandits who lived in the era of the Song rulers, 2 vols, with pictures	6	
23	<i>Xiu xiang xiyou zhen quan</i> <繡像西遊真詮>	Story of the travels of an ecclesiastical figure to the western regions, with pictures, 2 books	6	
24	<i>Xiu xiang song jing zhong zhuan</i> <繡像宋精忠傳>	Story of a Song general field marshal and how he suffered for his loyalty, in Chinese with pictures, 1 book	3	
25	<i>Xiu xiang jin ping mei</i> <繡像金瓶梅>	Story of the exploits of a rich man named Ximen Qing, famous, with pictures, 2 books	6	
26	<i>Pin ji kao</i> <品級考>	Table of civil and military ranks in Chinese, 1 book	1	
27	<i>Zi hui</i> <字彙>	Chinese lexicon with interpretation	3	
28	<i>Ming gong shi</i> <名公詩>	Eulogies of famous people in Chinese, 1 small book		50
29	<i>Lucheng di yi shu</i> <路程第一書>	Gazetteer of the whole Chinese state in Chinese, 1 small book		80 //
30	<i>Baqi guan jue</i> <八旗官爵>	Table of all members of the Eight Manchu Banners, who serves where and what they are called, in Chinese, 2 notebooks	1	
31	<i>Zheng shen</i> <縉紳>	Table of civil ranks who serves where and how much annual salary they receive and how much annual revenue is collected for each source from each city, and of what is produced where, in Chinese, 2 notebooks	1	
32	<i>Zhong jue bei lan</i> <中(爵?)備覽>	Table of the Chinese army who serves where and what they are called and how much annual salary they receive, in Chinese, 2 notebooks	1	
33	<i>Wargi han gurun i bithe</i>	Story of the Western Han kingdom, in Manchu, 1 manuscript book	6	
34	<i>Dergi hese jakūn gūsa de wasimbuhangge</i>	Edicts to the Eight Banners in Manchu and Chinese, 2 books, palace printing	5	
35	<i>Hesei yabubuha hacilame wesimbuhe gusai baita</i>	Permitted responses to matters pertaining to the Eight Banners, in Manchu and Chinese, 2 books, palace printing	5	//
36	<i>Dergi hesei wasimbuha gusai baita be tahūme gisurefi wesimbuhangge</i>	Reports by imperial command from ministers in the second council, in Manchu and Chinese, 2 books, palace printing	5	
37	<i>Abkai fejergi eiten jaka be yongkiyaha bithe</i>	Geography of the whole Chinese state in Manchu, 2 books, manuscript	5	
38	<i>Lakcaha jecen de takuraha babe ejehe bithe</i>	Description of an embassy to distant lands, in Manchu, 1 book	5	
39	<i>Gu² yuzhi tianxia yitongzhi</i> <御製天下一統志>	Full geography of the whole Chinese state in Chinese, 4 books, composed by imperial command	8	

40	<i>Han i araha manju gisun buleku bithe</i>	Mirror of the Manchu language, composed by imperial command, 3 books palace printing	12	//
41	<i>Gu² yuzhi bishu shan zhuang shi</i> <御製避暑山莊詩>	Khan's verses on the summer palaces built for the heat, in Manchu and Chinese, 1 book with pictures	6	
42	<i>Gu² yu ding san yuan jia zi wan nian li</i> <御定三元甲子萬年曆>	Brief chronology in Chinese and calendars for a hundred years forward, 2 notebooks, palace printing	2	
43	<i>Shengjing zhi jie</i> <聖經值解>	Gospel for feast days translated into Chinese by Jesuits, 1 book, with brief commentary	6	
44	<i>Man han qian zi wen</i> <滿漢千字文>	Little thousand-word book in Manchu and Chinese		
45	<i>Man Han ming xian ji</i> <滿漢名賢集>	Proverbs of famous Chinese sages in Manchu and Chinese, 1 small book, translated into Russian	2	
46	<i>Man Han san zi jing</i> <滿漢三字經>	Little three-word didactic book in Manchu and Chinese, translated into Russian	2	//
47	<i>Nimeku be dasara bithe</i>	Medical book in Manchu, manuscript, 2 books	5	
48	<i>Tai šang ni acabume karulara bithe</i>	Just recompense in Manchu, with pictures, 1 book	5	
49	<i>Suan fa</i> <算 ³ 法>	Arithmetic in Chinese, 1 book		80
50	<i>Dai Qing lü</i> <大清律>	Laws in Manchu, 1 book	6	
51	<i>Man Han zeli</i> <滿漢則例>	New statutes in Manchu and Chinese, 2 books	8	//
52	<i>Enduringge tacihijan be badarambuha bithe</i>	Teachings of His Holy Majesty in Manchu and Chinese, 1 book	1	
			242	30

¹SPF ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 59, l. 203-208. Words in square brackets are added by the author. Words and characters in angle brackets are marginal or other annotations on the documents. A new page or side is marked with //. In this and subsequent tables, punctuation and abbreviations match those of the original Russian texts.

²The initial "gu" in the transcription of some of these titles is not reflected in the associated Chinese characters. The suggestion has been made that this is 故, "of the late [emperor]," which seems plausible as the character would not have appeared on the title page.

³In the catalog, this character is written with an incorrect middle portion.

New acquisitions, 1748

In 1747, the Academy suffered a catastrophic fire, which destroyed a number of precious Qing books and artifacts, including, apparently, much of Rossokhin's own collection. The next year Rossokhin submitted a memorandum in which he described how he had "procured newly published Qing books on historical, civil, and other subjects from various ranks of people," offering to sell these to the library. The people involved were likely the personnel of a caravan that had just returned from Beijing, including a number of students who were engaged in translating some of these books (like Ivan Bykov, who was working on the three conquest dynasty histories).⁹ These books were, of course, hardly "newly published"—unless Rossokhin meant "newly reprinted"—since many of them dated to the large-scale Manchu codification enterprises of the Kangxi era.

This collection seems to have established the basis for the library's subsequent focus on strategically relevant knowledge—historical, legal, military, and geographical works—as opposed to the classics and religion that had formed the mainstay of the

9. RGADA, f. 181, n. 421.

earlier Jesuit-supplied collection. This went hand-in-hand with a focus on Manchu, as documents relating to Qing policy were far more likely to be either Manchu or bilingual, whereas classics and commentaries were more likely to be in Chinese. Gathering the books Rossokhin collected represented a much more systematic investment in Manchu historical works than the library had hitherto attempted. The twenty-four-volume *Dz jy tung giyan g'ang mu bithe* was now the largest Manchu or Chinese work the library had ever possessed.

List of Books¹

	[Description/Category] ²	Price (Rubles) ³	Kopecks	This history is called in Chinese [sic]. ⁴	[Title] ⁵
Historical					
1	Three famous histories. The first: on the Dai Liao khans from Greater Tartary who possessed most of the Chinese state for 300 years until the arrival of the Aizhin [Aisin] khans	20		Dailiyoo gurun i suduri	Dai liau guruni suduri. History of the Dai Liao dynasty khans.
2	Second. On the Aisin (Dai Jin in Chinese) khans from the same Tartary, who upon destroying the aforementioned Dai Liao khans ruled over almost all of China for a hundred years.			Aisin gurun i suduri	Ai zhin' guruni suduri. History of the Aijin dynasty khans.
3	Third. On the Dai Yuan khans (who came from the same Tartary, of the famous Chinggis Khan) who not only destroyed the Aisin khans, but brought all of China with all the lands appertaining to it under their dominion, and ruled over it for up to one hundred years. These three stories are printed by the direct edict of the Manchu khan Shunzhi in the first year of his reign, in Manchu, 4 volumes in [Chinese] cloth.			Daiyuwan gurun i suduri	Dai iuan' guruni suduri. History of the Dai Yuan dynasty khans.
4	Newly corrected full chronicle of all the khans who have ruled over China. On the foundation of their governments. And of all the useful advice they have received at various times from their highborn ministers and from famous sages on good regulations for the constitution and rule of their state, with clear annotations, which is divided into three parts and printed in Manchu by direct order of the Manchu khan Kangxi in the 30th year of his reign, in twenty-four volumes, which is called Zizhi tongjian gangmu, in taffeta.	50		Dzi jy tung giyan g'ang mu bithe ciyan biyan ho biyan sioi biyan	Dzy dzhy tun gian' gan mu bitkhe, tsian' bian', khyu bian', siu bian'. General mirror to aid in ruling a state, containing part one, part two, part three.
5	History of the division of the Chinese state into three kingdoms, newly corrected and printed in Manchu and Chinese, six volumes, in Chinese cloth.	30		Manju nikan hergen i kamcime araha ilan gurun i bithe	Man'dzhu nikan khergeni kamtsime aracha, ilan' guruni bitkhe, i.e., history of the three kingdoms in Manchu and Chinese.
6	History of the exploits of a certain student, with didactic songs, newly corrected, in Manchu, one volume in cloth.	1		Tuwancihiyame dasaha si siyang gi bithe	Tuan'tsikhiamie dasakha si sian gi bitkhe, i.e., newly corrected history of Xi Xiang Ji [sic].
7	Manuscript history about two wise students and two wise maidens of a noble family, in Manchu.	2	50	Ping šan leng yan i bithe	Pin shan' lyn ian'i bitkhe, i.e., history of four learned persons.
8	Famous history of the exploits of a certain gentleman, which contains great didactic learning and all Chinese customs, printed under the Manchu khan Kangxi in the 41st year of his rule in Manchu, four volumes, in Chinese cloth.	25		Gin ping mei bithe	Gin' pin myi bitkhe, history of flowers blooming in a golden vessel

9	Newly corrected code of laws of the Manchu khans, with all the regulations issued to their boards, with a table of families [?] and tables of various types of courts, explained with detailed commentaries. Printed by the Manchu khan Yongzheng in the [blank] year of his reign. In Manchu. Four books in cloth.	30	Daicing gurun i
fafun i bithe,
suhe hergen
sindafi kooli be
kamcihabi	Daitsin guruni fafuni
bitkhe, sukhe hergen'
shindafi kouli be
kamtsikhabi Law
code of the Qing
state with detailed
commentaries and
regulations appended.
10	Edicts of the same Manchu khan, given to the Eight Banners, concerning various affairs, from the fifth to the eleventh year of his reign; one volume in Manchu, in blue taffeta.	6	Dergi hese
jakūn gūsa de
wasimbuhangge	Dergi khese
dzhakun' gusa de
vazhimbukhanngge.
Edicts of His Majesty
to the Eight Banners.
11	The Manchu khan Kangxi's investigations and methods for preventing various dangers to the populace from certain rivers. Two volumes in Manchu, covered with yellow silk, and the books, of which there are 16, are also bound in yellow silk. First, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth books contain the methods which the aforementioned khan developed between the 23rd and 45th years of his reign for the benefit of his subjects. The ninth contains a study of the river Huanghe-bira [Yellow River] in the provinces of Hunan and Shandong. The tenth contains a study of the same river in Jiangnan province, and of the towns of Gui jing di and Gao jia yan. The eleventh contains the same. The twelfth contains a study of the river Yun he, which is used to transport state reserves from the provinces of Shandong, Jiangnan, Zhejiang and from the Beijing districts. The thirteenth contains a study of the river Weihe-bira, and of the springs and streams in Shandong. The fourteenth contains the same, as well as the town of Jiu wang tai, and the rivers bordering Jiangnan province. In the fifteenth book he describes the appointment of commissars to investigate the rivers. In the sixteenth he describes how to build levees along riverbanks to forestall the danger [of flooding].	15	Arga bodogon	Arkha bodokhon'.
Methods and
investigations.
Philosophical				
12	A famous philosophical book compiled from different Chinese philosophers, which describes the structure of the world, the origin of things, of the essence and properties of heaven, earth, and humans, ethics, physics, and metaphysics, and mathematics, printed by direct edict of the Manchu khan Kangxi in the 56th year of his rule. One volume in Manchu. In Chinese cloth.	8	Sing li jing ei bithe	Sin li dzin i bitkhe.
Philosophical teaching
about nature and
of the properties of
heaven earth and
humans and of the
origin of things.
13	The teaching of true philosophy, composed by the famous philosopher Zhu Xi under the Song khans, and now printed in Manchu and Chinese. One volume. In taffeta.	2	30 Manju nikan
hergen i
kamcime araha
ju dz jiyei yoo
bithe	Mandzhu nikan'
khergeni kamtsime
arakha dzhu dze
iau bitkhe. Brief
philosophical
teaching, composed
by Zhuzi, in Manchu
and Chinese.

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14	Brief collection of pious sayings in Chinese and Manchu, one volume in cloth.	2	Koolingga gisun i oyonggo be šošoho bithe	Koulinga gisuni oiongo be shoshokho bitkhe. Brief collection of pious sayings.
15	Mirror of the Manchu language composed in dialogues, in Manchu and Chinese. One volume. In cloth.	2	Emu be tacifi ilan be hafukiyara manju gisun i buleku bithe	Emu be tatsifi ilan be khafukiara mandzhu gisuni buleku bitkhe. Mirror of the Manchu language which by means of the learning of one thing leads into the learning of three things.
Total		193	80	

¹SPF ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 114, l. 50-52

²Brief description of contents.

³Price as assigned by Rossokhin.

⁴Title as rendered in Manchu script.

⁵Russian transcription and translation of title.

New work from the Jellatschitsch caravan, 1755-1757

Rossokhin had another opportunity to augment the collection in the mid-1750s when the last official Russian caravan went to China. Accompanying it was a doctor named Franz Jellatschitsch (Jelačič), who was hired to act as a kind of procurement agent for the Academy. Although books constituted a minority of the goods he was asked to bring back, Rossokhin provided him with an extensive catalog of acquisitions. In compiling this he drew mostly on Fourmont's 1739 catalog of the Paris collections, perhaps deliberately aiming to improve the library's Chinese-language holdings as opposed to its Manchu ones. Jellatschitsch, perhaps with some assistance from the Beijing-trained caravan director Aleksei Vladykin, was remarkably successful, obtaining copies of almost all the requested books (the successful acquisitions are marked with a + here).¹⁰

10. SPF ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 808a, l. 11ff.

Number from Catalog of the Paris Library [Fourmont, <i>Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum</i> (1739)]			Description, copied out from Paris Library catalog, of each book that should be acquired for the St. Petersburg Imperial [Academy] Library
			Lexicons
+	14	篆字彙目	<i>Zhuan zi hui mu</i> (one vol.)
	15	傳字草書	<i>Chuan zi cao shu</i>
	19	西儒耳目資	<i>Xi ru ermu zi</i>
	22	蒙學法	<i>Meng xue fa</i>
+	23	篆字彙	<i>Zhuan zi hui</i> (one vol.)
+	25	正韻通	<i>Zheng yun tong</i> 2 vols
+	27	山海經	<i>Shan hai jing</i> one vol.
+	30	三才子	<i>San cai zi</i> one vol.
	32	雅謎	<i>Ya mi</i>
			Geographical
+	36	廣輿記	<i>Guang yu ji</i> 2 vols
	39	兩京十三省郡色	<i>Liang jing shi san jun se</i>
	40	人鏡陽秋	<i>Ren jing yang qiu</i>
	41	廣皇輿考	<i>Guang huang yu kao</i>
+	43	大明會典	<i>Da Ming hui dian</i> two vols
		大清會典	<i>Da Qing hui dian</i> Buy in each language, i.e., in Chinese and Manchu, in Manchu this book is called <i>Daicing gurun i uheri kooli</i>
			Historical
+	45	古文淵鑑	<i>Gu wen yuan jian</i> 5 vols in Manchu, 4 vols. In Chinese
+	46	歷史綱鑑補	<i>Lishi gang jian bu</i> 4 vols
+	47	通鑑直解	<i>Tong jian zhi jie</i> Two vols
+	48	春秋列傳	<i>Chun qiu lie zhuan</i> Buy in Manchu, Chinese not needed, 1 vol in Chinese
	56	太上三元三品三官法寶	<i>Tai shang san yuan san pin san guan fa bao</i>
	58	御製百家	<i>Yu zhi bai jia</i>
+	65	通鑑釋文辯誤	<i>Tong jian zhai wen bian wu</i>
+	66	史記	<i>Shi ji</i> 4 vols
+	44	資治通鑑綱目	<i>Zi zhi tong jian gang mu</i> Not the one composed by Sima Guang under the Song khans, but the one compiled and translated into Manchu by the Manchu khan Kangxi. Manchu version not needed. 10 vols.
+	67	西漢書	<i>Xi Han shu</i> Only in Chinese, 4 vols
+	74	北史	<i>Bei shi</i>
+		周書	<i>Zhou shu</i> Not about the khans who after the Hou Han dynasty ruled China starting from 951 AD until the Song khans, but the one which describes King Tian Wang—Liu Jing, whose son Na Zha San Tai Zi is mentioned <one vol.>
+	81	弘簡錄	<i>Hong jian lu</i> 8 vols
+	83	皇明史概	<i>Huang ming shi gai(?)</i> 5 vols
+	75	南史	<i>Nan shi</i> 2 vols
	85	皇明大事記	<i>Huang ming da shi ji</i>
+	94	國語國策	<i>Guo yu guo ce</i> <One vol>
			Legal
+	160	大清律	<i>Da Qing lu</i> Buy in Chinese only, composed under Khan Yongzheng <2 vols>
+		現行則例	<i>Xianxing zeli</i> <i>Ere yabubure kooli</i> in both languages <2 vols>
+		中樞考	<i>Zhong shu kao</i> in both languages <2 vols>
			Sacred
+	119	禮記大全	<i>Liji daquan</i> <2 vols> In Chinese and Manchu or in Manchu alone
+	240	文廟禮樂志	<i>Wen miao li yue zhi</i> <One vol>
+	112	詩經	<i>Shi jing</i> In Manchu alone with commentary, without commentary not needed <One vol in Chinese>

+	288	老子集解	<i>Laozi jijie</i> <One vol >
			Medical
	314	黃帝內經靈樞經	<i>Huangdi nei jing ling shu jing</i>
+	316	增補古人醫鑑	<i>Zengbu guren yi jian</i> <One vol >
+	317	醫宗必讀	<i>Yi zong bi du</i> <One vol >
+	319	萬病類經	<i>Wan bing lei jing</i> <Two vols and also three volumes of Jing Shi's works >
+	321	傷寒掌圖	<i>Shang han zhang tu</i> <One vol >
	329	本草通玄	<i>Bencao tongxuan</i>
+	330	本草蒙全	<i>Bencao mengquan</i> <One vol >
+	331	分部本草	<i>Fenbu bencao</i> <6 vols>
+	332	銅人針灸圖經	<i>Tong ren zhenjiu tu jing</i> <One vol >
			Astronomy and other mathematical sciences
+	335	月令廣義	<i>Yue ling guang yi</i> < One vol >
+	337	天文大成	<i>Tian wen da cheng</i> <4 vols>
	338	天問畧	<i>Tian wen lue</i>
	342	大清康熙十八年	<i>Da Qing Kangxi shiba nian</i>
	345	觀音靈課	<i>Guanyin ling ke</i>
	348	幾何要法	<i>Ji he yao fa</i>
+	350	曾補算法統宗全書	<i>Zeng bu suan fa tong zong quan shu</i> <One vol >
			Various arts
+	352	農政全書	<i>Nong zheng quan shu</i> < two vols >
+	353	武經	<i>Wu jing</i> <One vol >
+	355	羣書備考	<i>Qun shu bei kao</i> <One vol >
+	357	世事通考	<i>Shi shi tong kao</i> <Two notebooks in a case >
	358	天工開物	<i>Tian gong kai wu</i>
	363	畫答	<i>Hua da</i>
	379	日本國帝系畧	<i>Riben guo di xi lue</i> And also try to find a special description and good maps of Japan <Description in <i>Da Ming yitongzhi</i> is not needed, find another>
			Aside from these also try to find the books below
+	1	明朝史書 明朝末史	<i>Ming chao shi shu</i> And if not found, something about the last khans of the Dai Ming dynasty, how the bandit Li Zicheng destroyed this Dai Ming dynasty and how the Chinese state he controlled fell into the hands of the Manchus <I remember that the history of the last Dai Ming khan Chongzheng is called: Ming chao mo shi> <10 vols.>
	2	大清天下一統志	<i>Da Qing tianxia yi tong zhi</i> The new one, composed under the current Manchu khans, in Manchu and Chinese, not the one printed under the Dai Ming dynasty khans.
	3		<i>Ület i unenggi sekiyen</i> . This history of the origins of the Oirat or Kalmyk people cannot be obtained through anyone except the shubangs (archivists) at the Lifanyuan's Hou Si department, for it is kept in a manuscript archive and is therefore not found anywhere this history should be obtained from the shubangs through secrecy and favors and gifts, this history is needed and necessary because it also mentions the Kalmyks who live under the protection of the Russian monarch.
	4		Also a manuscript history of the Manchus and how they conquered the Chinese state, and 5) edicts from various years by the current khan Qianlong, in Manchu
	6		And also a map of the whole world in Chinese, which can be obtained from the Jesuits who are engaged in astronomical matters
	7		Detailed account of all the Chinese idols and goddesses
+	8	耕職圖	<i>Geng zhi tu</i> with detailed description in Chinese and Manchu, if it exists <in two cases covered in cloth>
	9	外記	<i>Wai ji</i>
+	10		<i>Hafu buleku bithe</i> in Manchu alone <8 vols.>

Rossokhin's posthumous library

Larion Rossokhin died in 1761 at the age of forty-four, leaving behind a wife and son. Although his wife managed to obtain a generous stipend from the Academy, she also found multiple other ways of monetizing her late husband's expertise. One of these was selling the books found at his house to the Academy Library. Although in some cases she apparently sold the library's own books back to it, it is clear that Rossokhin had kept many of his original Beijing purchases for himself instead of handing them over to the Academy. The fact that the total was verified by two officials with significant Chinese and Manchu expertise as being only thirty-two rubles may imply that Rossokhin was marking up the price earlier, that his books were all small pamphlets (as a significant subset clearly were), or that they were in such poor condition that they were no longer as valuable. Likely each of these factors played a role. Nonetheless, despite the imprecision of their descriptions, these specimens of High Qing ephemeral printing are in some ways unique: for instance, they provide our only evidence that the famous *Eating Crabs Youth Book* was in fact much older than previously believed.¹¹

Description of Chinese and Manchu Books¹²

1. Perpetual calendar in Chinese, with one page in Russian listing how long the khans of China have continued in a direct line and how many khans there were in each dynasty
2. Christian mysteries in both languages
3. The Khan's instructions to military men
4. Brief description of various historical affairs, etc.
5. Story of the learned man Linbo
6. Story of the grammarian Zhang
7. The rising and setting of five planets
8. Four Manchu calendars and a Mongol one in Chinese
9. Story of how a Manchu and his wife ate crabs
10. Pamphlet in verse called Ming xian zi and with it another, about how a little boy brought the great philosopher Confucius into doubt
11. A thousand Chinese characters in verse and translated into Manchu
12. Seven pamphlets about how to write memorials [?] to different people
13. Commentaries on the philosophical books of Confucius

11. Mark C. Elliott, "The 'Eating Crabs' Youth Book," in *Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Gender in Chinese History*, ed. Susan Mann and Yu-Yin Cheng (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 263–81.

12. SPF-ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 267.

14. Story of a nobleman named <blank>
15. Description of natural things, what natural effects they have on human nature
16. Description of human happiness, of which day in a month is auspicious for a person and what to do then
17. Didactic pamphlet about how to be faithful and respectful to one's emperor, father, and mother
18. Three-character verse pamphlet about filial piety and other obligations
19. Book by Xu Wen Gong [Zhu Wengong?] about various important state affairs
20. With testimonies given by wise men to that same khan.
21. Register of all the articles in the Chinese law code.
22. Mindan abecedarium, or Peguan in European, this state is called Pegu.
23. Mongol religious creed, also Kalmyk
24. Teaching of the wise khan Yongzheng to all ranks
25. Calculation of years elapsed since the founding of their Chinese state
26. On the Chinese economy and silkworms 2 books
27. A Chinese dice game for entertainment, two cards
28. Brief Chinese lexicon
29. Chinese calendar
30. Brief arithmetic
31. Last testament and regrets about losing his kingdom by the last Dai Ming khan named Chongzhen.
32. Assorted Chinese-Manchu vocabulary.
33. Grammatical pronunciation of Chinese letters.
34. Manchu prosody.
35. Commentary on the true Christian teaching.
36. Life of the Holy Mother of God and with it book of Christian confession in Chinese
37. On filial piety
38. Reflections of the wise khan Yongzheng on the extirpation of conspiracies by officials so that they do not do anything other than what is right and necessary by their emperor's order
39. On the assay of silver, good and bad
40. Three geographical pamphlets
41. Insert for those who are learning to write Chinese with which characters can be seen through the paper
42. Testament of the khan Yongzheng to his son
43. Manchu medical book also containing anatomy

44. Pamphlet inscribed All the rare characters contained in the books of the philosopher Confucius and translated into Manchu
45. Tables of solar and lunar eclipses in China
46. Ten thousand Chinese characters with commentary on who they were written by and why
47. A manuscript book like an Apothegmata containing various elaborate speeches
48. Reflections on the use of an army, and how it can be best deployed
49. Gazetteer of the whole Chinese state
50. Tables of all ranks employed in the Chinese state
51. Card and chess games
52. Various gazettes
53. Various comedies
54. Manchu alphabet with translation
55. Mirror of the Manchu language with Chinese
56. Most necessary grammatical terms

<The above books were inventoried by Collegiate Assessor Aleksei Vladykin. Their total price is thirty-two rubles. Signed: Collegiate Assessor . . . >

<That the above books cost thirty two rubles witnessed by translator Aleksei Leontiev>

Chinese and Manchu books at the Academy, 1798

Although the Academy continued to accumulate books produced in the Qing empire in the decades after Rossokhin's death, acquisitions appear to have been haphazard and episodic and did not generate detailed registers of new accessions. A comprehensive catalog was compiled by Rossokhin's sinological successor Leont'ev in 1766; it survives today in the Archive of Orientalists at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg.¹³ Gradually, the orderly collection described by this catalog began to fray around the edges, and finally in the 1790s the Academy librarian Ivan Busse decided to update it. The resulting "catalogus librorum sinicorum" was actually published in Busse's own German-language *Journal von Russland* (vol. 2, 1794) but here I have translated the archival version from Russian instead, whose observations on missing collection items facilitate tracking individual manuscripts as they moved through the decades. The printed German text, together with a preface not present here, was previously published by Hartmut Walravens.¹⁴

13. AV IVR, f. 152, op. 2, d. 9. On Leont'ev, see Hartmut Walravens, "Alexej Leont'ev und sein Werk," *Aetas Manjurica* 3 (1992): 404–31.

14. Walravens, "Chinesische und Mandjurische Bücher in St. Petersburg im 18. Jahrhundert."

*Catalogus librorum sinicorum*¹⁵

In compiling this Catalog of Chinese and Manchu Books, I took as a basis a catalog compiled in 1766 by the well-known translator of those languages, Leont'ev, which I used to once more bring into order the books that had since then fallen into chaos, as far as this was possible given my lack of knowledge in that language, following the numbers, sizes, and Chinese characters. Thus it is possible that in the future someone who knows these languages may find that they do not agree with those indicated in the Catalogs, and I myself am aware of several:

- No. 23. Copies of 1, from the privilege inscribed on a stone above the Jesuit church, given to them by Khan Shunzhi; 2, from the Jesuit petition about not destroying a church in one province; and 3, from the letter from a Chinese governor to arriving Europeans about finding a Jesuit—one bundle—are all missing entirely.
- 24. Reflections of a wise official named Depei on the immortality of the soul, in Chinese, vol. 1-2 are missing, there are only three notebooks.
- 32. Chinese commentary on the *Sishu* is missing entirely.
- 45. Collection of moral teachings of various authors, in Chinese, there are only four parts, the fifth is missing.
- 51. Poems of Khan Kangxi, missing entirely.
- No. 62, the printed images of how grain is grown and silkworms are raised, with inscriptions in Chinese, consists of two notebooks, not one.
- 63. Observations on the raising and training of falcons, in Chinese, consists of three notebooks instead of one.
- 111. Story of the famous bandit Jing Zhong, in Chinese, is missing entirely.
- 130. Travels of an idolater elder to the Western regions in order to receive scriptures from his god, known as *Xi-yu-ji*, in Chinese, missing.
- 142. 143. 144. Atlas of the Chinese state, Chinese provinces, etc., missing.
- 150. Depiction of the heavenly ways by which stars and planets travel, as well as globes, in Chinese, 2 volumes and 2 bundles, third bundle is missing.
- 175. Mirror of past and present philosophers about medical science, known as *Guji yijian*, in Chinese, missing.
- 177. Observations and recipes for various diseases, in Manchu, manuscript, only five notebooks, six are [is?] missing.
- 181. Manchu lexicon, three volumes instead of six, therefore three are missing.

15. f. 3, op. 1, d. 2263

The compositions listed in the catalog under the following numbers can also be considered incomplete: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33; for others, although there may be many of them and more than the number of missing notebooks may be found, due to the absence of inscriptions on them and due to their totally different headings in Russian, they cannot be distinguished.

Moreover, there are also eighteen other books, of which 10 and 5 seem to belong together due to the size and similarity of their Chinese headings. From this excess someone knowledgeable might compensate for the larger portion of the aforementioned gaps. Due to this, I have not excluded the missing compositions from the Catalog and noted them here only in case I should have to answer for them in the future.

As far as Mongolian and Tibetan books and images are concerned, it seems to me that the largest and best portion of these was given to the Academy by the Mongolian and Tibetan translator Jaehrig, during his residence here between 1788 and 1790; they are all found through Nos. 1-4, or rather, 1-25, No. 32-49 of images.

Of those first No. 1-4, or better 1-24, Shigimuni, on the right side: "25 total figures depicted in one image": I never found these and could not ask about them, because M. Jaehrig delivered the books and images to me in the summer of 1789, and the catalog shortly before his departure, in the winter of 1790. Meanwhile I found an image of a Mongol idol not listed in any catalog, in the middle of which there is a six-armed idol, apparently female, with many small heads around it, holding a trident in the upper left arm which goes behind the figure's back and whose other end is held by the upper right arm. At the top of the main figure there are two idols, red and yellow, a green one on the left, and blue and yellow idols below. Some of these figures are surrounded by wreaths of small heads. Although the number of heads in both small and large human figures, which includes three idol heads, totals twenty-five, it is nonetheless known that this is not the same image that Jaehrig describes. Meanwhile I have put it in the other's place until I have reliable information about it. M. Senior Grot, pastor of the local Lutheran church on Vasil'evskii Island, to whom I have sent J. Jaehrig's works for editing following the command of Her Highness Princess Dashkova, possesses other sheets in addition to the one listed under No. 32-49 in the catalog, which have not been listed; and maybe when M. Senior Grot finishes his labors, there may be others found among Jaehrig's manuscripts; in the same way I have entered into the *Kunstkamera* catalog, under the heading of Mongol books, several paintings in their frames, which belong there. In the appendix to the Mongol and Tibetan books, everything that the Academy library received from M. Jaehrig is indicated; most of those, especially the Tibetan works, do not belong together.

Finally the Japanese books were delivered to the Academy in part by the late State Councillor Laxman, in September 1791, in part by M. Dr. Schtitzer, doctor of the Dutch East India Company, in January 1795.

In St. Petersburg, 10 September 1798. Ivan Busse <Johann Heinrich Büsse>

Catalog Of Chinese and Manchu Books In the Library of the Academy of Sciences¹⁶

Jesuit

1. Gospel in Chinese with commentary	V. 1 ¹⁷
2. The same	V. 1
3. The same	V. 1
4. The same	V. 1
5. Theology, called <i>Zhou xing xiaoyou</i> , in Chinese	V. 1, 2, 3
6. Ten Commandments, in Chinese	V. 1
7. Proof of the truth of Christian teaching, called <i>Kao yi zhi qiu</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
8. On the future reward of the human soul, called <i>Cheng shi liu shuo</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
9. On the divine creation of all creatures, called <i>Sheng jiu qian shuo</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
10. On the Christian mysteries, called <i>Sheng shi li dian</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
11. On the Eucharist, called <i>Mi xi jing dian</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
12. On the Life and miracles of the Virgin Mary, called <i>Sheng mu xing shi</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
13. Prayer book in Chinese	V. 1
14. The same	V. 1
15. Conversation between a Chinese Philosopher and a Christian one on teachings, including verses from the Christian scripture	Notebooks 1, 2, 3.
16. Seven deadly sins, called <i>Qi ke</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1
17. Conversation between a Chinese Philosopher and a Christian one on various subjects, including the incarnation of Christ, in Chinese	V. 1, 2, 3.
18. Conversation between a Chinese Philosopher and a Christian one on heavenly bodies, and on Divinity, called <i>Tian wen lue</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1
19. Proof regarding a rock found in the earth, on which there is an inscription from the Christian faith, called <i>Jing jiu bei quan</i> . Attached is a printed copy of this inscription in Chinese.	V. 1
20. Proof of the existence of God, called <i>Wan wu zhen yuan</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1
21. Virtuous living, called <i>De xing pu</i> , in Chinese.	Notebooks 1, 2.
22. Questions and answers about Christianity in Chinese	Notebook 1
23. Copies, 1) from the privileges written on the rock by the Jesuit church, given to the Jesuits by the Khan <i>Shunzhi</i> , 2) from the Jesuit petition about not destroying a church in one province, 3) from the letter from the Chinese governor to arriving Europeans about finding a certain Jesuit	1 bundle

Philosophical, civil, and military

24. Reflections of a wise official named <i>De Pei</i> about the immortality of the soul, in Chinese	V. 1, 2. Two notebooks.
25. Moral and political teachings, called <i>Si shu</i> . In both languages. ¹⁸	V. 1
26. The same <i>Si shu</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
27. The same <i>Si shu</i> , in Manchu	V. 1, 2.
28. The same in both languages	V. 1
29. The same in Chinese	V. 1
30. The same	V. 1
31. Commentaries on the <i>Si shu</i> in Manchu	V. 6
32. The same commentary in Chinese	V. 2
33. Moral and political teachings, called <i>Shu jing</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1
34. Verses from moral and political teachings, called <i>Shi jing</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1
35. The same verses in both languages.	V. 1
36. Philosophical sayings, called <i>Nü zhi Tu wen</i> , in Chinese.	4 vols.
37. Moral and political teachings, called <i>Wu jing</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
38. Political rites, called <i>Li ji</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
39. Philosophical sayings, called <i>Ge yan</i> , in both languages.	4 notebooks
40. Philosophical sayings, called <i>Cai gen tang</i> , in both languages.	V. 1
41. Recompense for virtue and vice, from the idolatrous [Chinese] Buddhist faith, in Manchu.	4 notebooks
42. Verses from moral and political teachings, called <i>Bu yuan shi jing</i> , in Chinese	V. 1

16. This section begins from l. 7ff.

17. Unclear if this column denotes the number of volumes held or lists the volume(s) held!

18. I.e., Manchu and Chinese

43. Ceremonies and rites that take place in temples dedicated to past khans, called *Wei miao li you*, in Chinese V. 1
44. Moral and political teachings, called *Wu jing*, in Chinese. V. 1
45. Collection of moral teachings of various authors, in Chinese. V. 5
46. Ancient rites, called *Li ji da quan*, in Chinese. V. 2
47. Commentary on symbols, through which the foundation of learning is taught, called *Yi tu zu*, in Chinese. V. 1
48. Symbols, through which the foundation of learning is taught, called *Yi jing*, in Chinese. V. 1
49. Domestic conversation of the famous philosopher *Kong fu zi*, in Chinese. V. 1
50. Teachings for youth, called *Xiao xue*, in Chinese V. 1
51. Poems of Khan *Kangxi* to the cool places where Khans go in the summer to escape the heat, called *Bi shu shan zhuang shi*, in Manchu. 3 notebooks, V. 1
52. Teachings of Khan *Yongzheng* to his soldiers, called *Shi liu tiao*, in Chinese. V. 1, 3 or 4 notebooks?
53. Praise to the holy sages, called *Xin xian tu zang*, in Chinese. 4 notebooks.
54. Famous poems, called *Meng hong shi*, in Chinese. V. 1
55. Poems with a thousand Chinese characters, called *Qian zi wen*. V. 1
56. Reflections on various topics by the philosopher *Laozi*. V. 1

Civil and military

57. Regulations compiled under the present Manchu emperors, called *Dai Qing liu li*, in Chinese. V. 2
58. Military code, called *Jun qiu zhen kou*, in Chinese. V. 2
59. Reflections and methods for ruling a state, called *Guo yu guo chi*, in Chinese. V. 1
60. Military methods, called *Bing fa*, in Manchu V. 1
61. Agricultural and other country rites, called *Nong zheng quan shu*. In Chinese. V. 2
62. Printed pictures about farming grain and raising silkworms, with inscriptions in Chinese. 2 notebooks.
63. Reflections on raising and training falcons for hunting, in Chinese. 1 notebook.
64. Three-character Chinese poems. 1 notebook
65. On the obligations of civil and military ranks, called *Zeli*, in Chinese. Vol. 1, 2
66. Collected philosophical reflections of the ancient philosopher *Laozi*, and with itcommentaries on the chronicle *Zizhi tongjian*, in Chinese. V. 1
67. Concordance of years by the heavenly zodiac, and by terrestrial measurements, of how many years each khan ruled, called *Jia zi gui ji*, in Chinese V. 4
68. Testament of Khan *Yongzheng* to his heir, in Chinese. V. 1
69. Philosophical reflections, gathered from various books in Chinese. V. 1
70. Symbols, through which the foundation of knowledge is depicted, called *Lü jing*, in Chinese. V. 1
71. Military art, called *Yu jing san zi*, in Chinese. V. 1
72. Personal edict of Khan *Kangxi* on the trial of an official caught committing a crime, in both languages. V. 1
73. Account of the rites and regulations of the ancient dynasty of Zhou in Chinese. V. 2
74. Well-crafted oratorical speeches, in both languages. V. 1
75. Lessons of the Ming dynasty khan *Hongwu*, in Manchu. V. 1
76. The Khan's instructions to military men. 1 bundle
77. On filial piety and copies of edicts. 1 sheaf
78. Reflections on various topics by the famous philosopher *Zhu zi*, in both languages. V. 1
79. Similar reflections, called *Xing li*, in both languages. V. 1
80. Philosophical reflections on various topics with commentary, called *Xing li jing*, in Manchu V. 1
81. Annual registers of ranks and places, who is to be found where. 17 notebooks.
82. Table of ranks, called *Ping ji kou*, in Chinese. V. 1
83. Copies of reports and personal edicts of Khan *Yongzheng* in Manchu. V. 1
84. The same in both languages. 28 notebooks.
85. Copies of reports and personal edicts of Khan *Kangxi*, in Manchu, manuscript. V. 1
86. Law code composed under the Manchu khans, in Manchu V. 1-5.
87. State rights and obligations of the Khans of the Ming Dynasty, called *Dai Ming huidian*, in Chinese. V. 2
88. Wise counsels of ancient khans and officials, called *Gu wen yuan jian*, in Chinese. V. 1-4
89. The same *Gu wen yuan jian* in Manchu. V. 1-5

Historical and geographical

90. Mirror of ancient warring kingdoms with maps and tables, called <i>Chun qiu</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1, 2, 3.
91. Commentary on said mirror, called <i>Chun qiu zi</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1, 2
92. Register of all sages from each century, called <i>Wan xing tong pu</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1-4
93. State chronicle, called <i>Gang mu</i> , in Manchu.	V. 24.
94. Same chronicle in Chinese	V. 11
95. State chronicle, called <i>Tong jian</i> , in Chinese.	V. 12
96. Same chronicle, called <i>Tong jian zhi zi</i> , in Chinese.	V. 2
97. Short state chronicle, called <i>Hafu buleku</i> , in Manchu.	V. 8
98. Brief history, called <i>Pangushi</i> , concerning all the khans that have ruled China, manuscript in Manchu.	V. 1
99. Table of all Chinese khans, how many years each reigned, in Russian.	1 bundle
100. Brief history of the Dai Ming dynasty, called <i>Ming shi gai</i> , in Chinese.	V. 5
101. History of the western <i>Han</i> dynasty, manuscript, in Manchu.	15 bundles
102. History of three warring realms, in both languages.	V. 6
103. The same in Chinese.	V. 1, 2
104. History of the <i>Dai Liao</i> realm in Manchu	V. 1
105. History of the <i>Ai Jin</i> realm in Manchu	V. 1
106. History of the <i>Dai Yuan</i> realm in Manchu	V. 2
107. Comprehensive history of the Dai Ming dynasty, called <i>Ming shi</i> , in Chinese	Vols. 10
108. History of seven sages in Chinese	V. 1
109. History of an intemperate rich man, called <i>Jin ping mei</i> . In Manchu.	V. 4
110. The same in Chinese	V. 2
111. History of the famous bandit <i>Jing zhong</i> , in Chinese.	V. 1
112. History of a sage, <i>Lin erbao</i> , manuscript, in Manchu	5 notebooks
113. History of two philosophers and two learned women, called <i>Ping shan leng yan</i> , manuscript, in Manchu	10 notebooks
114. History of the famous Song bandits called <i>Shui hu</i> , in Chinese.	V. 2
115. History of the sage Zhang Sheng, in Manchu	V. 1
116. The same history in Manchu and Chinese	V. 1
117. Ancient history, called <i>Shi ji</i> , in Chinese.	Vols. 4
118. Fable of the crabs, in both languages.	1 notebook
119. Funny poems and fables	1 sheaf
120. Brief ancient history with tables of the dynasties, called <i>Li dai nian biao</i> , in Chinese	Vols. 8
121. Ancient history of various governments, known as <i>Lishi gang jian</i> , in Chinese	Vol. 4
122. History of the Khans of the ancient <i>Han</i> dynasty, in Chinese	V. 4
123. History of the Northern Khans and their officials, called <i>Bei shi na</i> , in Chinese.	V. 5
124. History of the Southern Khans and their officials, called <i>Nan shi</i> , in Chinese.	Vols. 2
125. History of the <i>Dai Yuan</i> realm, in Manchu.	Vol. 2
126. History of the Khans of the ancient <i>Zhou</i> dynasty and their officials, in Chinese	V. 1
127. History of the Khans of the five dynasties <i>Tang</i> , <i>Song</i> , <i>Mo</i> , <i>Yuan</i> , <i>Jin</i> , and their officials, in Chinese	Vols. 8
128. Journal of the faithful official <i>Fang bun</i> in Manchu.	Vol. 1
129. Journal of the continuation of the war with the Junghars and Mongols, in Manchu.	Vols. 5
130. Journey of an idolater elder into the Western Regions to receive teachings from his god, called <i>Xi yu ji</i> , in Chinese	V. 2
131. Journey of a Chinese envoy to the Kalmyk khan Aiuki, through Russian territories, in Manchu	V. 1
132. Description of the Manchu people and rule, called <i>Jakun gūsai tong jy</i> , in Manchu	Vols. 16
133. New state geography with maps, called <i>Dai Qing yi tong zhi</i> , compiled under the current Khan Qianlong, in Chinese	Vol. 24
134. State geography, called <i>Yi tong zhi</i> , composed under the Dai Ming khans, in Chinese	Vol. 4
135. Brief geography, called <i>Huang yu biao</i> , in Chinese	Vol. 4
136. Brief geographical description of European countries, in Chinese	V. 1
137. Brief geographical description, manuscript, in Manchu	Vol. 2
138. Appendix to Geography, called <i>Jin ding guang yu ji</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
139. The same	V. 1
140. State geography called <i>Yi tong zhi</i> , in Chinese	V. 4
141. Ancient atlas of the Chinese state, in Chinese	V. 1

142. Atlas of all Chinese provinces, with thirty-two maps. In Chinese.	4 bundles
143. The same	4 bundles
144. Atlas of all the steppe places and some of the provinces adjacent to the steppe,
22 maps in Manchu,settled provinces in Chinese	4 bundles
145. Copy of the treaty between the Russian Empire and the Chinese State, manuscript, in Manchu	1 notebook
146. Description of the roads of the whole state, called <i>Shi huo zhuxing</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
147. Description of the mountains and seas and the animals and birds living there, in Chinese	V. 1
148. Ancient geographical description of the Chinese state in Chinese, called <i>Tong zhi</i>	Vols. 15

Astronomical and Geometrical

149. Astronomy, known as <i>Hong tian yi shuo</i> , in Chinese	Vol. 1
150. Depiction of heavenly paths by which stars and planets travel, as well as globes, in Chinese	2 vols, 3 bundles
151. Depiction of spheres and astronomical instruments in Chinese	6 notebooks
152. Descriptions of lunar and solar eclipses that took place in one year and one month
under Khan Yongzheng, in Chinese	2 notebooks
153. Astronomy, called <i>Li xian kou</i> , in Chinese	Vols. 6
154. Astronomy, called <i>Yi xian ji</i> , in Chinese	Vol. 1
155. Description of heavenly signs, called <i>Jia ji</i> , in Chinese	Vol. 1
156. The rotation of the four seasons of the year, called <i>Yue ling guang yi</i> . In Chinese.	Vol. 1
157. Calendars of various years, in both languages.	38 notebooks
158. Perpetual calendar with table of all previous khans. In Chinese.	2 notebooks
159. On Astronomy, called <i>Tianwen dacheng</i> , in Chinese	4 vols.
160. On the planets and heavenly paths, known as <i>Yi xian kou</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
161. Arithmetic, known as <i>Xuan fa quan</i> , in Chinese.	4 notebooks
162. Geometrical calculations, in Chinese	Vols. 3
163. Appendix to geometry, called <i>Xing jian xuan fa</i> , in Chinese	Vol. 1
164. On Geometrical science, called <i>Ji he yuan</i> , in Chinese	V. 1

Medical

165. Medical book by <i>Zhang Shi</i> , in Chinese	V. 3
166. On surgery, on the human body, on all members and organs, called <i>Jian zhi da</i> , in Chinese	Vol. 2
167. Foundation of medical science with examples from animals, birds, grasses, and roots,
called <i>Bencao gangmu</i> . In Chinese	V. 7
168. On the treatment of fever, in Chinese	V. 1
169. Description of various medicines, for which sicknesses they are used, called <i>Bencao meng wang</i> . In Chinese	V. 1
170. The same	Vols. 7
171. The interpretation of pulses, called <i>Mo jue</i> , in Chinese	Vols. 2
172. Medical book for external illnesses, called <i>Wai ke zhen zong</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
173. Medical science, called <i>Lei jing</i> , in Chinese	Vols. 2
174. Foundations of medical science, called <i>Yi zong bi du</i> , in Chinese	Vols. 1
175. Mirror of past and present philosophers concerning medical science, called <i>Gu ji yi jian</i> , in Chinese	Vols. 1
176. On medical science, by <i>Li Shicai</i> , in Chinese	V. 1
177. Reflections and recipes for various illnesses, in Manchu, manuscript	11 notebooks

Pedagogical

178. Chinese lexicon with pronunciation of characters, in Chinese.	Vols. 2
179. Mongol lexicon with Manchu translation	Vols. 2
180. Old Manchu lexicon with Chinese translation	V. 1
181. Manchu lexicon	Vols. 6
182. Chinese lexicon, called <i>Kangxi zidian</i>	V. 6
183. Chinese lexicon, called <i>Zhengzi tong</i>	Vols. 4
184. Chinese lexicon, called <i>Hai pian</i>	V. 1
185. Manchu lexicon, with Chinese translation, called <i>Qing [wen]jian</i>	V. 1
186. Chinese lexicon, called <i>Feng yi zi</i>	V. 1
187. Chinese lexicon, called <i>Hua xu zi</i>	V. 1
188. Mongol lexicon with Manchu translation	V. 2

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189. Brief Chinese lexicon	V. 1
190. Lexicon of ancient Chinese characters	V. 2
191. Lexicon in both languages	V. 1
192. Grammatical rules and dialogues	1 sheaf
193. Manchu grammar with Chinese translation	Vol. 1
194. Dialogues in both languages	V. 2
195. Manchu abecedarium with Grammar	4 notebooks
196. Chinese vocabulary with Manchu translation, divided into sections	Vol. 1
197. Necessary vocabulary in both languages	V. 2
198. Explication of ancient Chinese proto-characters	V. 1
199. Demonstration of how to pronounce Chinese characters	Vol. 1
200. Dialogues in Chinese and Manchu	Vol. 1
201. Vocabularies in both languages.	Vol. 1
202. Various vocabularies, with stories, and reflections on Arithmetic and Geography.	1 sheaf

On various topics, incomplete, damaged, or decayed from age

1. Register of points of a law code	1.
2. Mindan abecedarium	1.
3. Khan's instructions	1.
4. Reflections on agriculture and silk production	
5. Brief Chinese lexicon	
6. Reflections on the assay of silver	
7. Discourse on the last khan of the Dai Ming dynasty	1 [??]
8. Miracles of the Virgin Mary	
9. [empty]	
10. Refutation of the idolaters' teaching	
11. Proof of the veracity of Christian teaching	
12. Question of a small boy that cast the famous philosopher <i>Kong fu zi</i> into confusion.	1
13. Mongol confession of faith	1
14. Humorous stories and games	
15. Card, chess, and dice games	1
16. Count of years of all the Chinese khans	1
17. Manchu dialogues with Russian Ztranslation	
18. Topics given to learned men during exams	1
19. Reflections by the philosopher <i>Xue wen gong</i> on various topics	
20. Three-character moral verses	
21. On loyalty to the sovereign	1
22. Geographical descriptions	
23. Various poems and songs	
24. Poems of a thousand characters	1
25. Interpretations of philosophical terms	
26. Demonstration of how to write reports and to whom	1
27. Manchu abecedarium with translation	1
28. On the rise and setting of five planets	1
29. History of the learned <i>Zhang</i>	
30. Overlay for students of Chinese writing, through which characters can be seen	1
31. Medical book	
32. Table of solar and lunar eclipses	
33. Ten thousand Chinese characters	1
34. Reflections on the military art	5 sheaves total
35. Notebook written in Chinese, apparently astronomical, sent by Professor Beutler from Mitau; transferred by the Conference on 20 October 1796	1
36. Printed political document from 31 October 1796 [sic! actually 1706], in Chinese and Manchu with Latin translation, which was meant to be distributed to all foreigners arriving in China; signed by many Jesuits	1

Note: Chinese transliterations here are inaccurate, most are pure guesswork on my part and no attempt has been made to correlate them to other documents.

Klaproth's stolen books, 1812

One of the academy's most illustrious employees was Julius von Klaproth, who nearly made it to China with the 1805 Golovkin embassy but was forced to turn back at the Mongolian border. He performed valuable services for the academy's library, especially by creating a *catalogue raisonné* of the Qing-language collections in 1810. But after he left St. Petersburg for Paris that year in order to procure Manchu type for a new grammar, he decided not to come back. The result was an acrimonious dispute in which Klaproth and the Academy's leadership exchanged furious semi-public letters; among other concerns, it involved the accusation that Klaproth had stolen books from the Academy, falsely claiming to have returned everything before his departure. Russian representatives tried for years to locate the missing books—once even stumbling on an abandoned collection of *other* Qing-language texts Klaproth left behind in Florence as collateral for a debt he failed to pay, which did not prove to be the works in question. Klaproth's purloined texts were never found, but he clearly used them in his work, and it is likely that the bilingual *G'in ping mei* in his Paris archive is the very same copy Rossokhin purchased for the library in 1748.¹⁹

Attachment A²⁰

List of books, manuscripts, and maps taken from the Library of the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences by M. Klaproth and still not returned by him, even though there are receipts for those books at the Academy signed by him.

1. Manuscripts:

No. 202 of the Old Chinese Catalog: Manchu Dictionary, with Chinese and Russian. 1 vol. fol.

By receipt from 25 January 1810

No. 37 of the General Catalog of Manuscripts: "Bayeri Geographia Mangjurica et Mungalica." 1 vol.

By receipt from 14 January 1807

2. Chinese books and maps

No. 142 of the Old Chinese Catalog: Chinese atlas of China in 32 sheets. Signed 8 May 1805

No. 198 of the Old Chinese Catalog: Old Chinese dictionary. 1 vol. Signed 14 January 1807

19. Hartmut Walravens, *Julius Klaproth (1783-1835): Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 229. I am grateful to Sarah Primmer for pointing me in this direction.

20. RGIA, f. 733, op. 12, d. 18, l. 110ff.

No. 158 of the Old Chinese Catalog: *Wan-nian-chou*. Chronology of Chinese emperors. 2 notebooks. Signed 25 May 1809.

No. 133 by the old and 121 by the new Catalog: *Tai-Hsing-i-thoung-tschi*, or the General Chinese Geography, last, i.e., 24th vol. Signed 10 August 1810.

No. 127 of the Old Catalog. Chinese History of five different dynasties. First notebook taken, signed 21 March 1810; (three notebooks taken signed 8 November 1809, but then crossed out). All five volumes of this composition are missing from the Academy.

3. Books and maps

Abulfedae Anaes Muslimici. Comp. I. I. Reiske. (1 vol.) No. 34. Cat. Scriptores historiae graecae. Signed 26 March 1809.

Büsses Journal von Rußland. 1 und 2 band. N. 168a Oct. das Katal. der Scriptor. his. Russ. Signed 25 August 1807.

Reinegys beschreibung der Caucasus. 2 Theil in 1 Band: N 206 Oct der Script. Exot. Signed 23 August 1807.

Atlas of the Russian Empire by the latest division into Provinces and oblasts. Compiled at the Main School of Inscriptions (?) 1807. No. 13 of Russian History Catalog. Signed 7 December 1809.

Translation verified by: Sergei Uvarov

Attachment B

List of Chinese and other compositions, of which it appears that M. Klaproth withdrew them from the Library of the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences, but which are no longer to be found there, despite the fact that they are erased in the signed receipts of M. Klaproth, or were represented in his note of 23 December 1810 as having been returned.

No. 184 of the Old Chin. Catalog: *Hai-phian*. Chinese dictionary 1 vol.

No. 190 of the old, 187 of the new Chinese Catalog: *Tchouan-tseu-uei*. Ancient Chinese dictionary in 12 notebooks; notebooks 3 and 4

No. 199 of the Old Catalog: *Ou fang guan yen*. Chinese pronunciation dictionary.

These three items are erased on the register of 8 May 1805.

No. 109 of the Old Chin. Catalog: Manchu translation of the novel *King-ping-mei*, 4 vols. Signed 8 June 1809, shown as received in note of 23 December 1810.

No. 120 of the Old Chin. Catalog: *Li-dai-gu-vin-dsian*. 8 vols. Signed 5 April 1807, shown as received in note of 23 December 1810.

No. 121 of the Old Chin. Catalog: *Li-schi-gan-dsian* 4 vols. Signed 10 August 1810, shown as received in note of 23 December 1810.

Shah-nateh Firdusii [sic]. Persian manuscript. No. 1 of Brief catalog of Persian manuscripts. Signed 2 March 1810 as Persian Manuscript No. 1 with No. 2 and No. 3 4 vols. Total. Note of 23 December 1810 shows three Persian books returned as No. 1, 2, and 3.

No. 58 of the Old Manuscript Catalog: *Abul-gazi-bagadur-khan*, Mongol-Tatar-Turkish Genealogy, translated from original in 1736 (incomplete). Crossed out on signature from 16 November 1809 as well as 7 January 1807.

Translation verified by: Sergei Uvarov

Nº 184	Nº 199	Nº 133	Nº 190	Nº 158	Nº 109
海 hai 篇 pian	五 ou 方 fang 元 youan 音 Yen	大 tai 清 thsing 一 i 統 thoung 志 Tchi	篆 tchouan 字 tseu 彙 Wei	萬 wan 年 nian 書 chou wan 年 nian 書 chou	Gin ping mei bithe

Conclusion

The legacy of Klaproth's theft points to one way in which the book collecting practices of the eighteenth century were not rendered obsolete by the vastly increased volume of acquisitions in the ensuing years. Their accumulation in Russia helped seed one of the most prolific Manjuristic establishments of the period, and by making possible the careers of Klaproth and other scholars, these books provided a powerful impetus for the emergence of the field in Western Europe. Neither Rossokhin nor the academic paymasters who funded him could have contemplated these effects—considering how meager the results of their work were in their own era—but they facilitated them nonetheless. This remarkably ad-hoc effort survived considerably longer than might have been imagined, given how quickly Rossokhin's initial contribution was destroyed by fire. Largely undispersed even to this day, the Manchu collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts still contain books that almost certainly date back to those original purchases. Now we can follow them through time.