

РОССИЯ И ВОСТОК

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The Russian Understanding of Manchu in the Second Half of the 19th Century: Focusing on Zakharov's Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary and the Contemporary Works*Yu-chi Su*

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Sinology and Manchu studies in Russia are famous for their traditions and their own path of development. Since the 18th century, members of the Russian Orthodox mission devoted themselves to sinology and Manchu studies, especially in the second half of the 19th century, when they carried out a large number of studies on the history of the Qing dynasty and the Manchu language that deserve our attention. This article analyzes entries related to Manchu in the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* by I. I. Zakharov. By comparing selected entries of the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* with two OTHER Manchu Dictionaries, namely *Da Qing Quan Shu* and *Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian*, the article demonstrates how I. I. Zakharov defined the vocabulary and differences of interpretations in these dictionaries. By comparing entries with information from contemporary works, such as *Works on Chinese Issues by Russian Missionaries in Beijing in the Mid-19th Century* and the travel note *Travel to China*, this article provides an image to understand how vocabulary reflects Russians' understanding and perception of the Qing Dynasty and Manchu in the second half of the 19th century.

Keywords: Manchu-Russian Dictionary, Ivan Zakharov, Sino-Russian relations, Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing, Manchu, Qing dynasty.

Since the mid-1990s, with the rise of “New Qing History” in the United States, the study of Qing history has become popular among the international academic community once again. The concept of Manchu and its significance have also been revised. The characteristics of “Manchu” of the Qing empire were distinguished from those of “Han (Chinese)”.

Issues of the “Manchu” aspects of the Qing Dynasty including the Manchu identity of the rulers, and the importance of the official language of Manchu drew researchers’ attention [1; 2]. The relations between the Russian Empire and the Qing Dynasty began in the 17th century. Since 1715, Russian Orthodox missions formally settled in Beijing. Members of these missions began to research China and the Qing Dynasty. By the 19th century, these studies had already taken shape. Among them, V. V. Gorskij’s two works on the history of the Qing Dynasty and the origin of Manchu provide us with some initial understanding, and I. I. Zakharov’s *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* (Полный маньчжурско-русский словарь) is the most important work on Manchu language. However, the issue of how Russians viewed “Manchu” at that time has not yet been fully discussed. This article aims to analyze the Russian understanding of Manchu at the time by comparing I. I. Zakharov’s *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* with other contemporary works.

Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary is a bilingual dictionary compiled by I. I. Zakharov, who was a student of the 12th Russian Orthodox mission in Beijing that accumulated thirty years of study and practical experiences [3]. In 1875, *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* was published in St Petersburg and featured 15,000–15,500 entries [4, p. 31]. This dictionary includes the Manchu vocabulary. The Manchu language was the official language of the Qing dynasty, and it was used mainly by the emperors and the Manchu elites. After the publication of *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, which attracted extensive attention and won I. I. Zakharov the Konstantinovsky Medal, the highest award of the Russian Geographical Society in 1877, it gained I. I. Zakharov the reputation of “the one and only expert in the Manchu language” [5, p. 580]. The dictionaries are currently kept in the M. Gorky Scientific Library of St Petersburg University and the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg.

This article touches on the entries related to “Manchu” in I. I. Zakharov’s *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* and compares it with contemporary works, such as *Travel to China* [6; 7] by E. P. Kovalevskij. The latter was a travel note E. P. Kovalevskij made as guardian during the time he accompanied the 13th Russian Orthodox mission to Beijing and the transition period of the 12th and 13th missions in Beijing. At that time, I. I. Zakharov used to guide him around the capital, and thus the events recorded in this travel note are likely to overlap with what I. I. Zakharov saw or heard; or perhaps the travel note itself was the information provided by I. I. Zakharov at the time of guidance, and only through E. P. Kovalevskij’s note were they known to future generations. In addition, *Works on Chinese Issues by Russian Missionaries in Beijing in the Mid-19th Century* is an important work that contains several reports, notes, and research on Beijing and the Qing dynasty by the members of the 12th mission. Therefore, it is expected to show an understanding and views of members of the same period with I. I. Zakharov on Manchu and China. Therefore, I will use these two works to explore the views on “Manchu” of I. I. Zakharov and his contemporary Russians.

I will also compare interpretations of entries in *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* with entries in two other dictionaries: *Da Qing Quan Shu* and *Yuzhi Zengding Qing Wen Jian*. *Da Qing Quan Shu* is the first publicly published dictionary on Manchu and the Chinese language during the Qing Dynasty, and it was completed in the 22nd year of Kangxi (1683). There are not many entries in *Da Qing Quan Shu*, but it retained many entries used during the early Qing period that were then discarded by later dictionaries [8, p. 45–46]. *Yuzhi Zengding Qing Wen Jian* of Qianlong was revised based on *Yuzhi Qing Wen Jian* of Kangxi. About 1700 entries were added, such as ancient official names, and names of

costumes, utensils, birds, beasts, flowers, and fruits, etc., that are beneficial references [9, p. 162]. In addition to popular words at the time, they are more comprehensive. These two dictionaries have their own characteristics. I will take the ancient terms of *Da Qing Quan Shu* and the current terms of *Yuzhi Zengding Qing Wen Jian* to compare them with each other to see the characteristics of the interpretation of the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*.

Since the first Russian Orthodox Mission arrived in Beijing in 1715, it opened the door for Russians to become acquainted with China. Over time, understandings of China accumulated and deepened. In addition, the Russian government promulgated the order of 1818 [10, p. 24] that explicitly required members of the missions and their entourage to conduct research on China, which directly contributed to research of the 12th and 13th missions; achievements of the 12th mission are the most remarkable. Among them, V. V. Gorskij, a student of the 12th mission, paid special attention to the rise of the Manchu dynasty and the origin of their ancestors. In his “The beginning and first affairs of the Manchu Dynasty” [11] and “On the Origin of the Founder of the Qing Dynasty Reigning in China and the Name of the Manchu” [12], he introduced the Manchu dynasty that ruled China to the Russian government and people:

The Manchu dynasty, which has ruled China for two hundred years, was originally born in the 17th century, in 1616. At that time, Taizu had already acquired the concepts and rules of the Chinese court, adopted the title of Khan, named his reign, dressed in an imperial yellow robe, and like the lord of the world, he declared himself to be Zhen [11, p. 1].

Who was the founder of the Qing dynasty? Where did the name of the Manchu come from? — Both of these issues occupy the first place in the history of the dynasty reigning in China. Despite the importance of these two issues, the notes, works, and research of the European scholars at the early stage still don't lead to the *proper clarification* and resolution [12, p. 189].

From the two quotations above, we see that V. V. Gorskii's phrases “Manchu dynasty,” “Qing dynasty,” “the dynasty reigning in China” indicated that the regime that ruled China at that time was the “Manchu dynasty” or “Qing Dynasty”. And the two seem to be equal to “China” of the time. Comparing the entry “**daicing**” in the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, I. I. Zakharov pointed out that: “In Chinese: Da Qing; the name of the Manchu dynasty that rules China, it is also used to refer to the country: China; the country of the Chinese.” The entry “**dulimba i gurun**” is interpreted as: “the country located in central, China”, while the entry “**manju gurun**” is interpreted as: “Manchu nation — a dynasty, which rules China since 1644.” (See Table 1.) As a result, the relationship between “**daicing**”, “**dulimba i gurun**”, and “**manju gurun**” becomes clear. By examining the views of the two members of the 12th mission, it shows the consistency of the Russians' understanding of the three entries at that time. It's worth noting that although these three entries are not included in *Da Qing Quan Shu* and the *Yuzhi Zengding Qing Wen Jian*, I. I. Zakharov still collected and put them in the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, and from this perspective it is obvious that the writer is an outsider, neither the ruler himself nor those being ruled. Therefore, these words also express I. I. Zakharov's point of view.

As for the entry “**Manchu**”, I. I. Zakharov's understanding and interpretation are unique. Comparing with the *Da Qing Quan Shu* and the *Yuzhi Zengding Qing Wen Jian*, this word is

not included in the *Da Qing Quan Shu*, while in the *Yuzhi Zengding Qing Wen Jian* it is interpreted: “The surname of Taizu Gao Huangdi is Aisin Gioro, his ancestors originated from the blessing Changbai Mountain.” After that, he explained the geographical environment of birthplace Changbai Mountain and described the original residence and relocation of Manchu. Last, a total of sixty-six names of clans that were surrendered and conquered were listed, indicating that they were all “**Manchu**”. In the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, the entry “**Manchu**” is interpreted as: “Manchu tribe, people formed from 66 clans, now rules China; Manchuria; Manchurian.” (See Table 1.) It is not difficult to find that its interpretation is very brief and it gives the reader a vivid image of Manchu. However, the information about the Taizu Emperor, Changbai Mountain, and the sixty-six clans are not mentioned. I. I. Zakharov did not ignore the information; instead, he separated them into new entries and annotated them. Taking the sixty-six clans that formed Manchu as an example, I. I. Zakharov arranged these tribe names as individual entries, so the sixty-six clan names were sorted alphabetically and placed in the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, and he used words “clan” (“род”) and “generation” (“поколение”) in Russian to represent “tribe”, but it is not possible to distinguish between the conquered and the surrendered ones pointed out in the *Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian*. Still, I. I. Zakharov added necessary explanations to the interpretation to make it easier for readers to understand, such as “**indahūn takūra golo**”, which is interpreted as: “one of the Manchu generations (поколение), who can drive on the dogs”. (See Table 2.) I. I. Zakharov put the interpretation of the sixty-six clans separately in his *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*; it is believed that in addition to increasing the richness of the vocabulary in the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, it is more likely to help readers find these tribes’ name quickly and understand its characteristics, without finding the entry “Manchu” first. This is more convenient for readers. In addition to these sixty-six clans, I. I. Zakharov also collected the names of other Manchu tribes, such as kūyala, solon, etc., which proves I. I. Zakharov’s efforts in collecting entries. (See Table 2.)

According to the *Travel to China* by E. P. Kovalevskij, he not only mentioned that it is customary to give a name to the reign of each emperor in China [6, p. 125], but demonstrated the way that Europeans and Russians addressed the emperors of China in his travel note:

The reign name of the current emperor is called *Daoguang*, the Bright Law or the Light of the Law. The reign of the dynasty (Manchu) is Qing, clear; the name of the emperor, it’s very impolite to call someone by name in China; as for the emperor, then, upon his accession to the throne, the words used in his name were forbidden to use by special decree. Huangdi, the emperor, above everyone, is known to all people without a name. After the emperor’s death, his posthumous name is determined according to his merits and qualities, and with this name he is recorded in history. The posthumous name of the predecessor Emperor Jiaqing was Rui-di. Western Europeans usually name the sovereigns of China by the name of their reign. In order not to confuse the readers with the different names of sovereigns, who have one name before accession to the throne, and known by the name of their reign after accession instead of his own name, and after death, finally get a new name, we need to follow the systems adopted by the Europeans most likely [7, p. 43–44].

As can be seen from this, from E. P. Kovalevskij’s point of view, in addition to the original names, the emperors had reign names after their accession, and after the death, the descendants chose a posthumous name for them. In facing the various names, people inevitably felt confused. Europeans generally addressed the emperors by their reign names,

Table 1. Entries related to the reign names

Page	Entry	Interpretation of the Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary	Interpretation of Da Qing Quan Shu and Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian
P.773	daicing	In Chinese: Da Qing; the name of the Manchu dynasty that rules China, it is also used to refer to the country: China; the country of the Chinese	Da Qing Quan Shu: not included; Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian: not included
	dulimba i gurun	the country located in central, China	Da Qing Quan Shu: not included; Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian: not included
P.864	manju	Manchu tribe, people formed from 66 clans, now rules China; Manchuria; Manchurian	Da Qing Quan Shu: 满洲 (Manchu) [13, vol.10, p.10a]; Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian: The surname of Taizu Gao Huangdi is Aisin Gioro, his ancestors originated from the blessing Changbai Mountain. Changbai Mountain is two hundred meters high, there are thousands of meters around it, and there is a lake named Daman on the top of the mountain, there are eighty meters around it. The three rivers of Yalu, Huntong and Aihu all originate from this mountain. They lived in the Odoli on the Omohoi fields on the east side of Changbai Mountain. They suppressed the insurrection and named their country Manchu. Since then they have moved to Hetu ala, which is called Yenden nowadays. At that time, saksuhu aiman, sargū, giyamuhū, jan, wanggiya, elmin, jakūmu, sakda, suwan, donggo, yarhū, andarki aiman, weji aiman, hūrha, warka, fio, sahalca led their people to Taizu Gao Huangdi. As for joogiya, mardun, onggolo, antu gūwalgiya, hunehe aiman, jecen i aiman, tomoho, janggiya, barde, jaiwayan, dunggiya, olhon dung, jušeri, neyen, fodoho, sibe, ancūlakū, hada, jang, akiran, hesihe, omoho soro, fenehe, hoifa, huye, namdulū, suifun, ningguta, nimaca, urgucen, muren, jakūta, ula usui, yaran, sirin, ehe kuren, gūmaka kuren, sahalayan i aiman, indahūn takūrara golo, noro, sirahin, yehe, gūwalca, usuri, hingkan, huncun, kūwal, these are conquered ones, and all of them are Manchu [14, vol.10, p.3b]. [Möllendorff Transliterations system of the Manchu alphabet] taidzu dergi hūwangdi hala aisin gioro nenehe jalan golmin šanyan alin ci hūtiri be deribuhebi golmin šanyan alin den juwe tanggū ba šurdeme minggan ba alin i ninggude tamun gebungegge omo bi šurdeme jakūnju ba tere alin ci tucifi yalu hūrtung aihu sere ilan ula banjinhabi šanyan alin i šun dekdere ergi omohoi bigan i ba inu tere fonde saksuhu aiman sargū giyamuhū jan wanggiya elmin manju sehe tereci geli hetu ala de gurifi tehe te yenden i ba inu tere fonde saksuhu aiman sargū giyamuhū jan wanggiya elmin jakūmu sakda suwan donggo yarhū andarki aiman weji aiman hūrha warka fio sahalca i jergi ba i urse gemu taidzu dergi hūwangdi be baima jlhe jai joogiya mardun onggolo antu gūwalgiya hunehe aiman jecen i aiman tomoho janggiya barde jaiwayan dunggiya olhon dung jušeri neyen fodoho sibe ancūlakū hada jang akiran hesihe omoho soro fenehe hoifa huye namdulū suifun ningguta nimaca urgucen muren jakūta ula usui yaran sirin ehe kuren gūmaka kuren sahalayan i aiman indahūn takūrara golo noro sirahin yehe gūwalca usuri hingkan huncun kūwal i jergi gurun aiman be gemu dailame dahabuha ese be gemu manju obuha
P.865	manju gurun	Manchu nation — dynasty, which rules China since 1644	Da Qing Quan Shu: not included; Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian: not included

and the Russian decided to follow it. Therefore, for Europeans and Russian, reign names are synonymous with emperors. Taking a comprehensive view of the reign names included in the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*, we can find that the reign names collected by I. I. Zakharov range from Tianming (abkai fulingga) to Xianfeng (gubci elgiyengge), and he

Table 2. Entries related to the tribe names

Page	Entry	Interpretation of the <i>Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary</i>	Interpretation of <i>Da Qing Quan Shu and Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i>
P. 15	antu gūwalgiya	the name of one of the Manchu clans	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included * conquered ones
	Andarg (k) i aiman	<i>neighbouring tribal village, the name of one of the Manchu clans, place name</i>	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included * surrendered ones
P. 93	indahūn takūrara golo	the name of one of the Manchu generation (поколение), who can drive on the dogs	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included * conquered ones
P. 192	yarhū	the name of one of the Manchu generation	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included * surrendered ones
P. 283	Kūyala	the name of one of the Manchu clans	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included * not included in the 66 clans
P. 626	solon	solon — Manchu tribe (племя), lived on the upper reaches of the Heilongjiang	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included * not included in the 66 clans

separately noted the emperors' temple names, the beginning and the end of their reigns, and sometimes he explained the meaning of the reign names and listed the corresponding Chinese characters, such as “**elhe taifin**”, interpreted as: “Complete tranquility, peace and happy days of the country. The reign name of the Manchu Emperor Shengzu, from 1662 to 1723, in Chinese it is Kangxi.” (See Table 3.) Comparing to this, the reign names of the emperors are not included in both *Da Qing Quan Shu* and *Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian*, which shows another characteristic of the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary*.

It is noteworthy that during the transition period of the 12th and 13th Russian Orthodox missions in Beijing, there were major events that shocked members of the missions: the death of the Emperor Daoguang and the accession of the new Emperor Xianfeng. The events were kept in E. P. Kovalevskij's travel notes. In addition, E. P. Kovalevskij also paid attention to the posthumous name of Emperor Daoguang and the reign name of new Emperor Xianfeng, and he commented on it:

The posthumous name of the predecessor Emperor is the name by which he is recorded in history: Cheng — completed. The current era name is called Xianfeng — all-abundant, although this name does not have any relation to the current situation in China [7, p. 158].

Table 3. Entries related to the reign names of Manchu emperors

Page	Entry	Interpretation of the <i>Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary</i>	Interpretation of <i>Da Qing Quan Shu and Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i>
P.25	abkai fulingga	Blessed by Heaven; the reign name of Manchu Emperor Taizu, from 1616 to 1626	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.648	sure han	The reign name of Manchu Emperor Taizung, from 1617 to 1636. * <i>It should be from 1627 to 1636</i>	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.1120	wesihun erdemungge	The reign name of Manchu Emperor Taizung, from 1636 to 1643	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.115	ijishūn dasan	The reign name of Manchu Emperor Shizu, in Chinese: Shunzhi, from 1644 to 1661	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.77	elhe taifin	Complete tranquility, peace and happy days of the country. The reign name of the Manchu Emperor Shengzu, from 1662 to 1723, in Chinese it is Kangxi. * <i>It should be from 1662 to 1722</i>	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : 康熙 (Kangxi) [13, vol.11, p. 15b); <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.446	hūwaliyasun tob	The reign name of the Manchu Emperor Shizu, from 1723 to 1735. * <i>It should be Shizong</i>	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.25	abkai wehiyehe	Lifted by the heaven. In Chinese: Qianlong. The reign name of the Manchu Emperor Gaozu, from 1736 to 1795. * <i>It should be Gaozong.</i>	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.554	saicungga fengšen	Comfortable joy, happiness. The reign name of Emperor Renzong, from 1796 to 1820	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.822	doro eldengge	The reign name of the current Emperor Cheng-zu (Чэнь-цзу) of the Manchu Dynasty, from 1821 to 1850	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included
P.360	gubci elgiyengge	The reign name of the Emperor Xianfeng, from 1851 to 1861	<i>Da Qing Quan Shu</i> : not included; <i>Yuzhi Zengding Qingwen Jian</i> : not included

Firstly, according to Table 3, the entry “doro eldengge” corresponding to the reign name “Daoguang” is interpreted as: “The reign name of the current Emperor Cheng-zu (Чэнь-цзу) of the Manchu Dynasty, from 1821 to 1850.” During the qing dynasty, there’s no posthumous name “Cheng-zu”, but if we connect it with the quoted passage above, it’ll be easier for us to understand that, during the transition period I.I. Zakharov and

E. P. Kovalevskij should be able to receive the news of the emperor's death, and learned about the posthumous name of the Emperor is "Cheng", in this case, I. I. Zakharov interpreted as "Cheng-zu", this should be a misunderstanding. Secondly, the entry "gubci elgiyengge" corresponding to the reign name "Xianfeng" is interpreted as "the reign name of the Emperor Xianfeng, from 1821 to 1850". I. I. Zakharov directly used the reign name to address the emperor without noting the emperor's temple name or posthumous name. The reason was that the emperor Xianfeng had just ascended the throne at that time, and I. I. Zakharov could not obtain the information of his temple name and posthumous name. We can infer from this that when I. I. Zakharov compiled the dictionary, the reference sources are most likely from his own records or the primary materials of its contemporaries. Lastly, it demonstrates that the temple names, reign names, and the posthumous names of the emperors had caused troubles for the Europeans to recognize them. Despite a few minor errors, the reign names and the interpretation in the *Complete Manchu-Russian Dictionary* are expected to help the readers know about the Manchu rulers and their reign names.

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**Маньчжурские исследования в России во второй половине XIX в.:
«Полный маньчжурско-русский словарь» И. Захарова
и труды его современников**

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Синология и маньчжурские исследования в России славятся традициями и имеют свой путь развития. С XVIII в. члены Русской духовной миссии стали заниматься синологией и изучением маньчжурского языка. Во второй половине XIX в. ими было проведено большое количество заслуживающих внимания исследований по истории династии Цин и Маньчжурии. Статья посвящена анализу «Полного маньчжурско-русского словаря» И. Захарова. На основе сравнения выбранных лексем из этого словаря с аналогичными из маньчжурских словарей Да Цин Цюань Шу и Юйчжи Цзэндин Цинвэнь Цзянь показывается, как И. Захаров осуществлял перевод этих лексем, а также рассматриваются различия в их толковании. Сравнительный анализ выбранных слов и описаний из работ современников Захарова, таких как «Труды членов Российской духовной миссии в Пекине» и путевые заметки Е. Р. Ковалевского «Путешествие в Китай», позволяет объяснить, как словарный запас отражал понимание и восприятие русскими исследователями династии Цин и Маньчжурии во второй половине XIX в.

Ключевые слова: маньчжурско-русский словарь, Иван Захаров, китайско-русские отношения, Маньчжу, династия Цин.

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