

The romanization of the early Manchu regnal names

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The founding emperors of the Ch'ing Dynasty were revered as T'ai-tsu 太祖 and T'ai-tsung 太宗 by the Manchus. Their personal names in Manchu have been romanized in different ways. For T'ai-tsu, he is generally rendered as either Nurhaci or Nurgaci,¹ and for T'ai-tsung, Hung Taiji (sometimes Tayiji) or Hong Taiji.² This confusion in romanization is due to the fact that Manchu materials have not been readily available for scholarly research. With the increasing accessibility of the Manchu archives it has become much easier than before to establish the correct forms of the regnal names. Of these Manchu materials, none can rival the Imperial Genealogies, (*yan-i uqsun-i ejexe*; *Yü-tieh* 玉牒), which faithfully list the names of the successive emperors and their descendants in tables.

The Imperial Genealogies were compiled by the Imperial Household Department (Uqsun-be qadalarā yamun; Tsung-jen fu 宗人府) every ten years. The first volume began from the eighteenth year of the Ijixôn Dasan (Shun-chih 順治) period (1661), and the last one appeared in the thirty-fourth year of the Badarangya Doro (Kuang-hsü 光緒) reign (1908). Each of the Imperial Genealogies consists of three similar copies, and each copy consists of two versions written separately in Manchu and Chinese. In the Ch'ing period, they were placed in the custody of the Imperial Archives (Gurun-i suduri-be asarara yamun; Huang shih ch'eng 皇史宬), the Board of Rites, and the Shou-huang Palace 壽皇殿 on the Ching Hill 景山; the one kept by the Board of Rites was later transferred to the Muqden Palace. It is due to this transference that today these documents are housed separately in the First Historical Archives at Peking and in the Archives at Liao-ning.³

The two versions of the Imperial Genealogies we use here are found in works recently published in China. One version, which was partially reproduced in facsimile in Yen Ch'ung-nien's *Nu-erh-ha-ch'i chuan* 闕崇年, 努兒哈赤傳, is dated the thirty-sixth year of the Elxe Tayifin (K'ang-hsi 康熙) period (1698). I call this Version A (Fig. 1).⁴ The other version is the one used by An Shuang-ch'eng 安雙成 to compile the «List of Princes» attached as an appendix to his *Man-Han ta tz'u-tien* 滿漢大辭典.⁵ Unfortunately, An has not given us the date of the version he

uses. Nor has he given us a facsimile of the original.⁶ Nonetheless the imperial names appearing in the List are quite useful as a control. To distinguish An's version from Version A, I call his Version B.

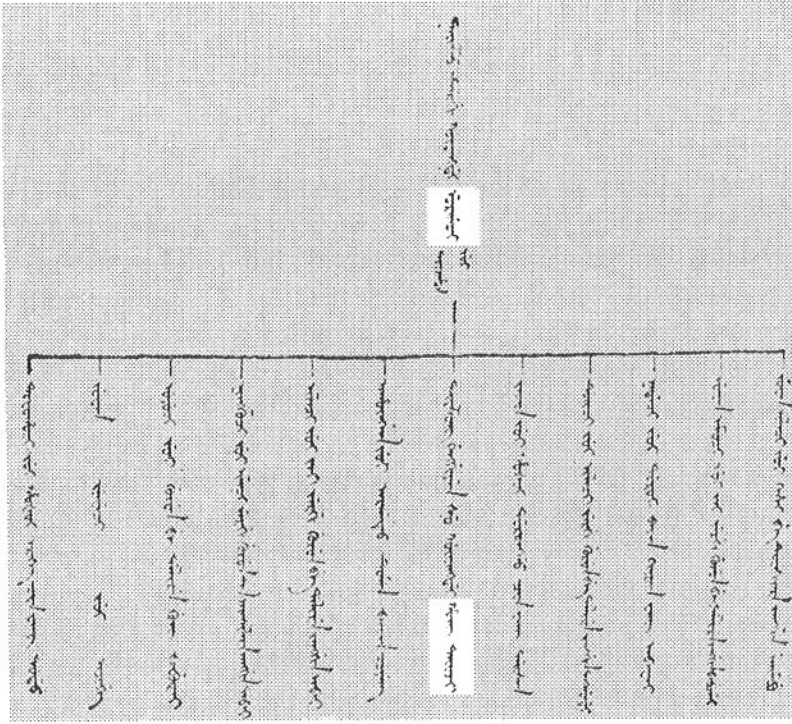


Fig. 1. Genealogical table showing the personal names of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung.

Before discussing which form of the two regnal names is a better choice, we need to distinguish between two types of romanization, i. e., transliteration and transcription. While transliteration is intended to give a letter-for-letter equivalent of the spelling of a word, transcription is used to represent its pronunciation. As such, the former enables us to reconvert a romanization into its original form, but not the latter. If one is concerned by orthography and not phonetics, transliteration is preferable to transcription.

Nurhaci vs. Nurgaci

The use of the form Nurgaci for T'ai-tsu's name has a history much longer than one may expect. The American historian Pamela Crossley, who has been using it consistently in her writings, is not its first exponent, although her popular book *Orphan Warrior: Three Generations and the*

End of the Qing Dynasty has directed scholarly attention to its existence.⁷ More than a decade before Crossley's works, Jerry Norman, the American linguist, had already identified T'ai-tsung's personal name as such.⁸ But Norman himself was preceded by European scholars, who had adopted the form Nurgaci as early as the 1950s, if not earlier. Louis Ligeti, the Hungarian philologist, when referring to T'ai-tsu in his seminal article on Manchu writing, called the Manchu khan Nurgaci.⁹ Erich Hauer, the German lexicographer, who also noticed this variant form, pointed out that Nurgaci is the archaic equivalent of Nurhaci.¹⁰ Unfortunately, none of the scholars mentioned above gave us the sources for this less popular form, Nurgaci.

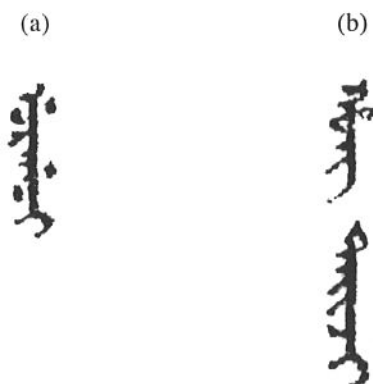


Fig. 1ab. The names of Nurgaci (a) and Hong Tayiji (b).

It is therefore not surprising that champions in favour of the prevalent romanization Nurhaci would not accept the form Nurgaci as correct. In support of their choice, they maintain that the Chinese equivalent of Tai-tsu's name is Nu-erh-ha-ch'i, a form that T'ai-tsu himself used when writing to his neighbours such as the Koreans in 1596.¹¹ In addition, they contend that the fricative in T'ai-tsu's name in Sibe script is also marked with a circle,¹² showing that it is a «ha», not a «ga».¹³ But documents written in Chinese, including those published in Korea, as well as literature in Sibe, which appeared only after 1947 when the Sibe script was adapted from the Manchu script, are not Manchu sources *per se*; they therefore cannot be taken as conclusive evidence proving that «Nurhaci» is the original form.

The reason why these scholars rely on non-Manchu evidence to support their argument is that T'ai-tsu's personal name, owing to taboo reasons, does not appear in most Manchu materials. In early Manchu sources such as the *Tongki fuqa aqô xergen-i dangse* (*Wu ch'üan tien tzu tang* 無圈點

字檔) and *Tongki fuqa sindaxa xergen-i dangse* (*Chia ch'üan tien tzu tang* 加圈點字檔),¹⁴ T'ai-tsu is only addressed by his various titles including Sure Beyile, Sure Amba Genggiyen¹⁵ ᠬᠠᠨ, and Sure Kundulen ᠬᠠᠨ. Even in sources published as late as the eighteenth century like the trilingual *Manju-i yargiyan qooli* (*Manju-yin ünén mayad qaoli*; *Man-chou shih-lu* 滿洲實錄), his personal name is not written out in Manchu, Mongol, or Chinese, the three languages in which it is copied, but simply left blank in the various texts with the empty spaces covered with yellow stickers.¹⁶

Hence the Imperial Genealogies, where avoidance of the imperial names is not required, are unique as a source in resolving the issue. In Version B, T'ai-tsu's personal name is recorded as Nurgaci.¹⁷ Its accuracy can be verified by the facsimile of Version A, which shows unmistakably that a point is next to the medial velar indicating that it is a «ga» (Fig. 1a).¹⁸

But if Nurgaci is T'ai-tsu's name in Manchu, why is it always written as Nu-erh-ha-ch'i in the Chinese sources, including the Chinese version of the Imperial Genealogies?¹⁹ The answer to this question can be found in the *Manju Niqan xergen-i cing wen-ni ki meng bitxe* (*Ch'ing wen ch'i-meng* 清文啟蒙). In this Manchu primer, it is clearly stated in the section dealing with the *mudan encu-i Manju xergen* (*i shih Ch'ing tzu* 異施清字) that the syllable «ga», when it does not stand alone, is to be read like «ha». For instance, the last syllables of *jilayan* and *jooliyan* are to be pronounced as [han 憨] not [gan].²⁰ This is corroborated by the *Manju ḡacingya bitxe* (*Man-chou lei shu* 滿洲類書).²¹ In this glossary, words such as *amaya* and *dabayān* are written as *amaḡa* and *dabaḡan*.²² As a further proof, in the *Manju-i yargiyan qooli*, the name of T'ai-tsu's brother Šuryaci is written in Chinese as Shu-erh-ha-ch'i 舒兒哈齊,²³ and the names of Jiryalang, ḡôryaci, ḡôryan as Ch'i-erh-ha-lang 濟爾哈郎,²⁴ Hu-erh-ha-ch'i 祜爾哈奇,²⁵ Hu-erh-han 扈爾漢,²⁶ just to name a few. It is interesting to note that this alternation between velars and fricatives, which occurs frequently between voiced segments, is also evident in the dialects spoken in today's Northeastern regions. For example, *saryan*, *gergen yaryan*, *tugi*, *febigi*, *boyiḡon*, *temgetu*, *uryun* are read as *sarḡan*, *gerxen yarḡan*, *tuxi*, *febixi*, *boyiḡon*, *temxetu*, *urḡun*.²⁷

In light of the above discussion, it is not difficult to understand why T'ai-tsu's personal name, though recorded as Nurgaci in Manchu in the Imperial Genealogies, is transcribed into Chinese as Nu-erh-ha-ch'i by the Chinese scribe, who recorded the name according to its actual pronunciation.²⁸ This Chinese transcription might have been copied subsequently into the Sibe language through reverse borrowing. It is equally possible that the Sibe form, just like its Chinese counterpart, is a

transcription of the Manchu original. T'ai-tsu's name thus appears also as Nurhaci, not Nurgaci, in the Sibe literature.

Hung Taiji or Hong Tayiji

The romanization of T'ai-tsung's personal name in Manchu is as varied as there are combinations of the two components of his appellation. The two most common ones are Hong Taiji²⁹ and Hung Taiji³⁰ (including the less frequent Hung Tayiji).³¹ The form $\chi\hat{o}wang$ Tai Ji which appears in Version B is rare, being the result of the progressive Chinese influence prevailing during the post-conquest era. It is debatable if the first component *hong/hung* is derived from the Chinese word *huang* 皇; but the second component *taiji/tayiji* is undoubtedly borrowed, via Mongolian, from the Chinese term *t'ai tzu* 太子.³²

Unlike T'ai-tsu, T'ai-tsung's personal name is not as esoteric as his father's. To be certain, it is not found in the *Tongki fuqa sindaxa xergen-i dangse*, where he is known by his title Duyici Beyile «The Fourth Prince»,³³ but it can be located easily in the older *Tongki fuqa aqô xergen-i dangse*.³⁴ This is because the taboo did not apply to T'ai-tsung who had not yet become the Manchu khan when this latter source was compiled. In this older Manchu source, the first component of T'ai-tsung's personal name is recorded as Hong, a form that is corroborated by both Version A and Version B of the Imperial Genealogies.³⁵ The Mongolian word *qong* from which Hong is derived bears upon the spelling of the Manchu reflex.

Although Hong is the correct form, the variant spelling Hung is gradually gaining currency. This is evident in a recent work *Manchu Studies, An International Bibliography*, where the compiler finds it necessary to list this variant form side by side with the headword «Hong Taiji» in the index.³⁶ The widespread use of this incorrect form can be traced to an inadvertent mistake made by Gertraude Roth, whose pioneering study of the early Manchu state³⁷ is often cited by Ch'ing historians.³⁸

The main cause of this mistake is attributable to the ambiguity inherent in the Möllendorff system currently used by most scholars. This system does not distinguish between the two types of fricatives: the uvular [χ] appearing before the *yang* 陽 vowels **a**, **o**, or **ô**, and the velar [**x**] appearing before the *yin* 陰 vowels **e**, **i**, or **u**. Instead of using two different symbols to denote the two allophones [χ] and [**x**], it uses only the symbol *h* to represent them. One may argue that by using the rule of vowel harmony as a guide during the conversion, the correct form of the fricative can be recovered. Yet these fricatives are not necessarily followed by their respective vowels. Orthographically incompatible forms such as *nexô*

and *welxôme* are cases in point. Furthermore, the similarity in the sound quality of the two fricatives makes it difficult to detect any possible mixing up of the two symbols. This is why the form Hung, though incorrect, has been perpetuated until now without being noticed.

With regard to the second component in T'ai-tsung's name, it is better to transliterate it as *tayiji* than to transcribe it, after the Möllendorff system, as *taiji*. The Manchu geminate *ii*, besides appearing at the end of a syllable, occurs anomalously at word-final position after a vowel as well as a consonant.³⁹ The two instances below demonstrate that it is necessary, for the sake of accuracy and consistency, to represent fully the geminate *ii*, which can as well be considered a ligature.

In accordance with the orthographic convention, an *i* needs to be doubled after a vowel; but no doubling takes place if it occurs at word-final position.⁴⁰ Based on this principle, the geminate *ii* is represented in the Möllendorff system by only one *i* since the other *i* can be easily deduced from the presence of the preceding vowel. The hidden *i*, however, is not always predictable. This is best illustrated by the peculiar word *kuyiyi* «spoon».⁴¹ The form of this word is so unusual that the *Manju gisun-i uxeri isabuḡa bitxe* (*Ch'ing wen tsung hui* 清文總彙) registers it as *kuyini*,⁴² on the assumption that there is a point on the left side of the last syllable showing that it is a *ni*, not a *yi*.⁴³ This assumption is, however, wrong.

To begin with, most Manchu dictionaries and glossaries⁴⁴ containing this word register it as *kuyiyi*, including the *Manju isabuḡa bitxe* (*Ch'ing wen hui shu* 清文彙書),⁴⁵ *Niqan xergen-i ubaliyambuḡa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe* (*Yin Han Ch'ing wen chien* 音漢清文鑑),⁴⁶ *Ilan ḡacin-i gisun qamcibuḡa tuwara-de ja abuḡa bitxe*,⁴⁷ *Duyin ḡacin-i xergen qamciḡa buleku bitxe* (*Dörben jüyil-ün üsüg qabsuruḡsan toli bičig*; *Skad bzhi shan sbyar-bai me-long-gi yi-ge*; *Ssu t'i ho-pi Ch'ing wen chien* 四體合璧清文鑑),⁴⁸ *ḡan-i araḡa duyin ḡacin-i xergen qamciḡa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe* (*Qaḡan-u bičigsen dörben jüyil-ün üsüg-iyer qabsuruḡsan Manju ügen-ü toli bičig*; *rGyal-pos mdzad-pai skad bzhi shan-sbyar-gyi manydzui skad gsal-bai me-long*; *Yü chih ssu t'i Ch'ing wen chien* 御製四體清文鑑),⁴⁹ and *ḡan-i araḡa sunja ḡacin-i xergen qamciḡa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe* (*Qaḡan-u bičigsen tabun jüyil-ün üsüg-iyer qabsuruḡsan Manju ügen-ü toli bičig*; *rGyal-pos mdzad-bai skad lnga shan-sbyar-gyi manydzui skad gsal-bai me-long*; *Yü chih wu t'i Ch'ing wen chien* 御製五體清文鑑).⁵⁰

More important, the *Nonggime toqtobuḡa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe* (*Tseng ting Ch'ing wen chien* 增訂清文鑑) duly gives its transcription, lacking in most Manchu dictionaries, as [*k'u-wu-i-i* 枯烏衣依].⁵¹ The accuracy of this transcription is confirmed by the trilingual dictionary

ḡan-i araḡa Manju Mongḡo Niqan xergen ilan ḡacin-i mudan acaḡa buleku bitxe (*Qayan-u bičigsen Manju Mongḡol Kitad üsüg ḡurban jüyil-ün ayalayu neyilegsen toli bičig*; *Yü chih Man-chu Meng-ku Han tzu san ho chieh-yin Ch'ing wen chien* 御製滿珠蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑑), where the word is transcribed in Chinese as [k'u-wu-i-i 枯烏衣依] and transliterated in Mongolian as *kuyiyi*, which is in turn transcribed into Chinese as [k'ui-i 虧伊] (Fig. 2).⁵²

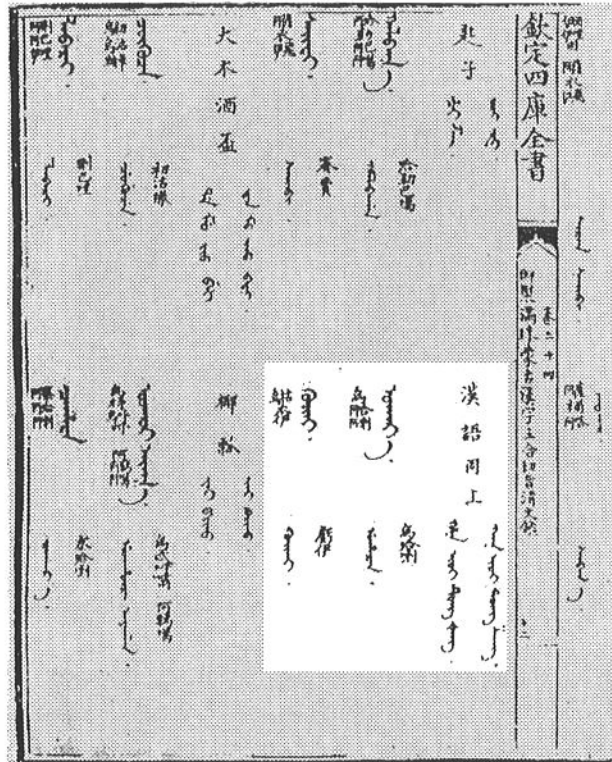


Fig. 2. The word *kuyiyi* as registered in the *ḡan-i araḡa Manju Mongḡo Niqan xergen ilan ḡacin-i mudan acaḡa buleku bitxe*.

If this word is romanized as *kuii* according to the Möllendorff system, the hidden *i* in the last syllable cannot be restored in the Manchu script. The geminate *ii* occurring after a consonant, though just as odd, is devised to serve a special purpose. In the early Manchu source *Tongki fuqa aqô xergen-i dangse*, the Ming Emperor Wan Li 萬曆 is written as Wan Li and the family name Li 李, as Li.⁵³ Yet in the *Manju-i yargiyan qooli*,⁵⁴ the Ming emperor is recorded as Wan Lyi and in the *Jaqôn yôsai tung jy-i sucungya weyilexe bitxe* (*Pa-ch'i t'ung-chih ch'u chi* 八旗通志初集), the family name Li is invariably written as Lyi.⁵⁵ This orthographic

discrepancy is not difficult to explain. Since the latter two works were compiled during the reign of Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 Emperor whose personal name was χ ong Li 弘曆, it is clear that the extra *i* was added to avoid repeating the imperial name, which was taboo.⁵⁶ In order to reflect the taboo connotations implicit in it, this additional *i* needs to be denoted clearly in the romanization. Thus Li is perforce transliterated as Lii in the Möllendorff system, notwithstanding its incongruity with the system's principle of using transcription to represent the phonemes.



Fig. 3. Copper coin minted during the Sure χ an period.

It should be emphasized that Hong Tayiji, as attested in the Imperial Genealogies (Fig. 1b), is T'ai-tsung's *only* personal name, even though he is widely known in western literature as «Abahai».⁵⁷ This latter appellation is thought to be T'ai-tsung's taboo name, but this is not substantiated in the sources.⁵⁸ It is otherwise believed to be derived from «Abqai Sure», T'ai-tsung's reign title in Manchu,⁵⁹ on the assumption that it is the equivalent of its Chinese counterpart T'ien-ts'ung 天聰. Unfortunately, Tai-tsung's reign title in Manchu is Sure χ an, not «Abqai Sure». This is borne out by Manchu sources such as the Old Manchu annals⁶⁰ and the Manchu copper coins minted during his reign (Fig. 3).⁶¹ In Mongol sources, his reign title is always written as Sečen Qayan.⁶² Chinese sources published as far back as the Doro Eldengge (Tao-kuang 道光) period also record T'ai-tsung's reign title as Su-le Han 蘇勒罕.⁶³

If «Abahai» is not derived from the phantom reign title «Abqai Sure», it probably comes from the Mongolian word *abayai* or its reflex *abuyai*,

which is often used as a title of respect when addressing one's senior, including a prince.⁶⁴ In this sense, its use is quite similar to the Manchu word *age* ~ *agu*.⁶⁵ It could have been that Westerners, most probably missionaries, learnt of this honorific referring to T'ai-tsung through the Mongols, who simply replaced the Manchu title *age* ~ *agu* with *abayai* ~ *abayai* in their own language. Indeed, this is how he was addressed in the work of V. Gorskij, a member of the Russian ecclesiastical mission in Peking.⁶⁶

Conclusion

For taboo reasons, the two founding emperors of the Ch'ing Dynasty, especially T'ai-tsu, are usually referred to in the sources by their titles. The Imperial Genealogies, being authoritative records of royal succession, show conclusively that the personal names of the two emperors are spelt as Nurgaci and Hong Tayiji. To ensure that the original forms of the regnal names (and indeed any other Manchu vocables) are recoverable from their romanized counterparts, the adoption of a system giving full justice to the orthography is necessary. For this purpose, the Möllendorff system currently used by most scholars leaves much to be desired. A workable system of romanization, one that is based on the principle of transliteration, is in order. But before such a system appears, I will *basically* follow the one developed by Louis Ligeti and transliterate the two regnal names as Nuryaci and χ ong Tayiji.⁶⁷

Notes

- 1 The two Manchu regnal names are romanized according to the Möllendorff system since most readers are familiar with these forms; but the word *taiji* will sometimes be transliterated as *tayiji* according to the context. All other romanizations are based on the system developed by Louis Ligeti, with some of the diacritical marks removed and special signs such as *ï* replaced.
- 2 In his «Lun Ying-wen chu-shu chung Man-chou jen-ming chih yin-i wen-t'i» 論英文著述中滿洲人名之音譯問題, in: *Ku-kung wen-hsien* 故宮文獻, vol. 2, part 2 (1971), pp. 20–21, Ch'en Chieh-hsien 陳捷先 discusses how the imperial names should be romanized but he has not touched upon those of the two founding emperors of the Ch'ing Dynasty: T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung. Ch'en's article is reprinted in *Ch'ing shih tsa pi* 清史雜筆, vol. 1 (Taipei: Hsüeh-hai ch'u-pan she, 1977), pp. 199–217 and is translated into English as «On the romanization of Manchu names in English works—A review based on newly found Manchu documents», in: *Pien-cheng yen-chiu so nien-pao* 邊政研究所年報, vol. 2 (1971), pp. 19–42, which is slightly different from the Chinese original.

- 3 For more information on the Imperial Genealogies, see Tung Yung-kung 佟永功 1997. *Kung tsai shih ts'e: Man-yü Man-wen chih wen-hsien* 功在史冊：滿語滿文之文獻. Shen-yang: Liao-hai ch'u-pan she, pp. 189–194.
- 4 Yen Ch'ung-nien 1983. *Nu-erh-ha-ch'i chuan* (Peking: Pei-ching ch'u-pan she), p. 298.
- 5 An Shuang-ch'eng 1993. *Man-Han ta tz'u tien*. Shen-yang: Liao-ning min-tsu ch'u-pan she, p. 1150 and p. 1153.
- 6 Mr. Chü Liu-sheng 屈六生, Head of the Manchu Section of the First Historical Archives and one of the compilers of the *Man-Han ta tz'u-tien* tried to help me search for both versions of the Imperial Genealogies when I visited the Archives on August 25, 1998 but to no avail. He, however, told me that so far as he could remember Version B should belong to the later period of the Ch'ing rule.
- 7 Giovanni Stary, review of *Orphan Warrior: Three generations and the end of the Qing Dynasty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), by Pamela Crossley, in: *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1992), p. 101.
- 8 Jerry Norman 1974. «A Sketch of Sibe morphology». *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 18, p. 159.
- 9 Louis Ligeti 1952. «A propos de l'écriture mandchoue». *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 2, p. 236.
- 10 Erich Hauer 1955. *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, vol. 3. Tokyo & Hamburg & Wiesbaden: Verlag Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens & Kommissionsverlag Otto Harrassowitz, p. 724.
- 11 Chuang Chi-fa 莊吉發 1992. «Ch'ao-hsien jen hsin-mu chung ti Nu-erh-ha-ch'i» 朝鮮人心目中的努爾哈齊; in: *Ch'ing shih shih-i* 清史拾遺. Taipei: T'ai-wan hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, p. 4.
- 12 See *Cing gurun-i dangse-ci sonjome banjibuxa Sibe-i suduri mutun*, vol. 1 (Urumqi: Hsin-chiang jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1987), ujui banjibun: ujui çacin: ujui meyen, p. 1. While the main text taken from the *Tayizu dergi çôwangdi-i yargiyan qooli* has Tayizu Sure Beyile, the title line introducing the text in Sibe has Nuryaci.
- 13 Giovanni Stary, review of *Orphan Warrior: Three generations and the end of the Qing Dynasty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), by Pamela Crossley, in: *Journal of Asian History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1992), p. 101.
- 14 For a discussion of the titles of these early Manchu annals, see Yen Ch'ung-nien 1988. «Wu chüan tien lao tang chi Ch'ien-lung ch'ao-pen ming-ch'eng chüan-shih» 無圈點老檔及乾隆抄本名稱詮釋; in: *Li-shih yen-chiu* 歷史研究, no. 3, pp. 49–64.

- 15 It has been suggested that the term *genggiyen*, which is derived from the Mongolian term *gegegen*, reflects Nurgaci's belief in Tibetan Buddhism. (See Samuel M. Grupper 1984, «Manchu patronage and Tibetan Buddhism during the first half of the Ch'ing Dynasty: A review article», *The Journal of the Tibetan Society*, vol. 4, p. 64, note 13). In Mongolian, the core meaning of *gegegen* is 'bright(ness)', which connotes 'brilliance/brilliant', 'wisdom/wise' and, by extension, 'a person having such qualities, as an incarnate lama'. As used here in Nurgaci's title, the word *genggiyen* means 'wise'; it has nothing to do with a Tibetan prelate. This can be verified by his Chinese title Ying-ming ('Wise') Han 英明汗, which is equivalent to Genggiyen ᠵan, as well as by his previous appellation Sure Beyile ('Wise Prince'), upon which the title Genggiyen ᠵan was based.
- 16 *Manju-i yargiyan qooli*, in *Ch'ing shih-lu*, 清實錄 vol. 1 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1986), 1: 17 (Manchu text: bottom page a, line 5; Mongol text: top page a, line 4), 1: 19 (Chinese text: top page a, lines 1–2); Imanishi Shunju 今西春秋, *Man-Wa Mō-Wa taiyaku Manshū jitsuroku* 滿和蒙和對譯滿洲實錄 (Tokyo: Tōsui Shobō, 1992), pp. 27–28. According to Yamamoto Mamoru 山本守, at least three Manchu taboo names not written out in the trilingual *Manju-i yargiyan qooli* are found in a bilingual version which he discovered by chance in Muqden. This particular version is now kept in the library of the Institute of Nationalities Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking. See Ch'uan kuo *Man-wen t'u-shu tzu-liao lien-ho mu-lu* 全國滿文圖書資料聯合目錄, ed. Huang Jun-hua 黃潤華 and Ch'ü Liu-sheng (Peking: Shu-mu wen-hsien ch'u-pan she, 1991), p. 165. Even without the benefit of consulting this bilingual version, I doubt if the personal names of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung are recorded in it. This is because sources compiled much earlier than this work such as the *Tongki fuqa aqō xergen-i dangse* as well as the *Tongki fuqa sindaxa xergen-i dangse* observed the taboo, which, during the Ch'ien-lung period when the bilingual version was recopied, should have been even more strictly enforced. For a study of the bilingual version, see Yamamoto Mamoru, «Mankan nitai no Manshū jitsuroku ni tsuite» 滿漢二體[]滿洲實錄[]就, in *Manshū shigaku* 滿洲史學, vol. 1, no. 2 (1937), pp. 23–30.
- 17 An Shuang-ch'eng, *Man-Han ta tz'u-tien*, p. 1146 and p. 1150.
- 18 The point indicating the initial *n*, though missing from the word Nurgaci, can be found on the left side of the word *χōwangdi* above. The misplaced diacritic is a mistake made by the scribe.
- 19 I have been informed by Mr. Yen Ch'ung-nien that only the form with the fricative, i.e., *Nu-erh-ha-ch'i* appears in the Chinese versions of the Imperial Genealogies.
- 20 *Manju Niqan xergen-i cing wen ki meng bitxe*, 1: 44b and 51b. Cf. Chin Kuang-p'ing 金光平 and Chin Ch'i-tsung 金啟孫, *Nü-chen yü-yen wen-tzu yen-chiu* 女真語言文字研究 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan she, 1980), pp. 125 and 127.
- 21 This work is listed differently as *Manju xergen-i duwali il'γaxa bitxe* (no. 0405) in *Ch'uan kuo Man-wen t'u-shu tzu-liao lien-ho mu-lu*, p. 101.

- 22 Hu Tseng-i 胡增益, «I pu hsi yu ti Man wen tz'u-shu—Man-chou lei-shu» 一部稀有的滿文辭書—滿洲類書, in *Chung-kuo min-tsu ku wen-tzu yen-chiu* 中國民族古文字研究, vol. 3 (Tientsin: T'ien-chin ku chi ch'u-pan she, 1991), p. 85.
- 23 *Manju-i yargiyan qooli*, 1: 17 (Manchu text: bottom page b, line 2; Mongol text: top page b, line 1); 1: 19 (Chinese text: top page a, lines 6–7).
- 24 *Manju-i yargiyan qooli*, 7: 368 (Manchu text: bottom page a, line 8; Mongol text: bottom page a, line 7; Chinese text: bottom page b, lines 5–6).
- 25 *Manju-i yargiyan qooli*, 7: 369 (Manchu text: top page b, line 8; Mongol text: bottom page a, line 2; Chinese text: bottom page b, lines 4–5).
- 26 *Manju-i yargiyan qooli*, 1: 23 (Manchu text: top page a, line 7, page b, line 2; Mongol text: top page b, lines 5 and 6); 1: 22 (Chinese text: bottom page b, line 4).
- 27 Mu Yeh-chün 穆睥駿, «A-le-ch'u-k'e Man-yü yü-yin chien-lun» 阿勒楚喀滿語語音簡論, *Man-yü yen-chiu* 滿語研究, vol. 1 (1985), p. 12; Ai-hsin-chüeh-lo Ying-sheng 愛新覺羅·瀛生, «T'an t'an Man-yü ti Ching yü» 談談滿語的京語, *Man-yü yen-chiu*, vol. 4 (1987), p. 4. Cf. Li Shu-lan 李樹蘭 and Chung Ch'ien 仲謙, *Hsi-po yü chien chih* 錫伯語簡誌 (Peking: Min-tsu ch'u-pan she, 1986), p. 10; Ch'ing-ke-erh-t'ai 清格爾泰, «Man yü k'ou-yü yü-yin» 滿語口語語音, *Min-tsu yen-chiu wen chi* 民族研究文集 (Peking: Min-tsu ch'u-pan she, 1998), p. 249. The Sibe language displays the same alternation between «ha» and «ga». See Li Shu-lan 李樹蘭 and Chung Ch'ien 仲謙, *Hsi-po yü chien chih* 錫伯語簡誌 (Peking: Min-tsu ch'u-pan she, 1986), p. 10. For *γurγan* and *boyiγon*, cf. *Manju Niqan xergen-i cing wen ki meng bitxe*, 1: 45b and 49b.
- 28 The meaning of *Nurgaci* is open to debate. According to Chin Ch'i-tsung, it means 'skin of a wild boar'. Such name-giving practice, Chin maintains, was prevalent among the Tungusic peoples in Siberia. (See Yen Ch'ung-nien, *Nu-erh-ha-ch'i chuan*, p. 1). This interesting theory, though not yet accepted by scholars in the field, deserves to be further explored.
- 29 Ch'en Chieh-hsien, «A study of the Manchu posthumous titles of the Ch'ing emperors», *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 26 (1982), p. 188; Okada Hidehiro, «Dayan Khan as a Yüan emperor: The political legitimacy in 15th century Mongolia», *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome 81 (1994), p. 58; Giovanni Stary, «The Manchu emperor 'Abahai': Analysis of an historiographic mistake», *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 28 (1984), pp. 296–299 passim. [Originally written in German, this article is also published in Italian and Chinese. See Giovanni Stary, *Manchu Studies: An international bibliography* (Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), vol. 1, p. 385, no. 2017.] The run-on form 'Hongtaiji' found in Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Chinese society in the eighteenth century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 4–5 as well as the hyphenated form 'Hong-taiji' found in Pei Huang, *Autocracy*

at work: *A study of the Yung-cheng period, 1723–1735* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), pp. 60–158 passim, should be separated since the original form consists of two individual words.

- 30 Gertraude Roth, «The Manchu-Chinese relationship, 1618–1636», From Ming to Ch'ing, eds. Jonathan D. Spence and John E. Wills (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 6–7; Frederic E. Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise: the Manchu reconstruction of imperial order in seventeenth-century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 54–1016 passim; Michael Weiers, «Die Vertragstexte des Mandschu-Khalkha Bundes von 1619/20», *Aetas Manjurica*, Tomus 1, ed. Michael Weiers, Giovanni Stary and Martin Gimm, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), p. 118, note 2; and Crossley, *Orphan Warriors* (1990), pp. 14–233 passim.
- 31 Veronika Veit, «The Inner Mongolian Tümed Banners according to the Hedkel Šastir of 1795». in *Mongolia: Tryst with change and development*, ed. R. C. Sharma (Patiala & New Dehli: Vision & Venture, 1997), p. 95.
- 32 The term Qong Tayiji was a rather common title used by the Mongols in the 17th century as is evidenced in the *Chiu Man-chou tang*, vol. 9, p. 4071, line 7 and p. 4434, line 1. See also Ch'en Chieh-hsien 陳捷先, «Shih Huang T'ai Chi» 釋皇太極, *Man-chou ts'ung-k'ao* 滿洲叢考 (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1963), pp. 137–142 and David M. Farquhar, «The Origins of the Manchus' Mongolian Policy», *The Chinese world order*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 203–204; 335–336. It should be noted that the character *hung* 洪 in Hung Ba-t'u-lu 洪巴圖魯 as mentioned by Ch'en represents the Manchu vocable $\chi\acute{o}ng$, and is different from the same character used in the name Hung-t'ai-chi 洪太吉, which represents $\chi\acute{o}ng$. See *Manju-i yargiyān qooli*, 2: 107 (Manchu text: bottom page a, line 7; Mongol text: bottom page a, lines 6–7; Chinese text: bottom page a, lines 1–2).
- 33 Mambun Rôtô 滿文老檔, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tôyô Bunko, 1955), p. 18.
- 34 *Chiu Man-chou tang* 舊滿洲檔, vol. 1 (Taipei: Kuo li ku kung po-wu-yüan, 1969), p. 39, line 1.
- 35 An Shuang-ch'eng, *Man-Han ta tz'u tien*, p. 1146 and p. 1151. Although the form $\chi\acute{o}wang$ used here looks different from its parallel form *Hong*, it points to the fact that the rounded vowel used in the first word of T'ai-tsung's name belongs to the yang 陽 group of vowels, which both forms employ.
- 36 Giovanni Stary, *Manchu Studies: An international bibliography*, vol. 3, p. 873.
- 37 Gertraude Roth, «The Manchu-Chinese Relationship, 1618–1636», p. 7.
- 38 See, for instance, Pamela Crossley, «Manzhou yuanliu kao and the formalization of the Manchu heritage», in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 46, no. 4 (1987), p. 763, note 6.

- 39 The geminate *ii* is pronounced either long or short, having no phonemic value. See Chi Yung-hai 季永海, Liu Ching-hsien 劉景憲 and Chü Liu-sheng 屈六生, *Man-yü yü-fa* 滿語語法 (Peking: Min-tsu ch'u-pan she, 1986), p. 37.
- 40 *Manju Niqan xergen-i cing wen-ni ki meng bitxe*, 1: 13a-b.
- 41 Cf. the word *guyiyi* 'ghost' which exhibits the same orthographic peculiarity. It can be located in the *Ilan xacin-i gisun qamcibuḫa tuwara-de ja abuḫa bitxe*; *Gurban jüiyil-ün üge qadamal üjeküi-dür kilbar bolḫaḫsan bičig*; *San ho pien lan* 三合便覽, 10: 19a, but all other Manchu lexicons register it as *guyini*.
- 42 *Ch'ing wen tsung hui*, reprint of 1897 edition (Taipei: n.d.), 11: 46b/p. 279. Following this Manchu dictionary, Jerry Norman also lists the word as *kuini* in *A concise Manchu dictionary* (Seattle: Washington University Press, 1978), p. 180.
- 43 Cf. Chin Kuang-p'ing and Chin Ch'i-tsung, *Nü-chen yü-yen wen-tzu yen-chiu*, p. 125, where the authors try to demonstrate that Jurchen *i* becomes Manchu *ni* when *i* is followed by *m* and is at word-final position.
- 44 *kuyiyi* is not listed under the syllable *ku* in the dictionary *Dayicing gurun-i yooni bitxe* (Ta Ch'ing chüan shu 大清全書). Nor is it registered in glossaries like *xan-i araḫa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe* (Yü chih Ch'ing wen chien 御製清文鑑), 16: 4a and *xan-i araḫa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe* (*Qagan-u bičigsen Manju ügen-ü toli bičig*; Man Meng ho-pi Ch'ing wen chien 滿蒙合璧清文鑑), 16: 9a, where it is expected to be found listed with words like *caḫara* and *sayifi* as in other Manchu lexicons.
- 45 *Manju isabuḫa bitxe*, 11: 17b.
- 46 *Niqan xergen-i ubaliyambuḫa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe*, 16: 194b.
- 47 *Ilan xacin-i gisun qamcibuḫa tuwara-de ja abuḫa bitxe*, 10: 6b. For the Mongol and Chinese titles of this work, see note 41 above.
- 48 *Duyin xacin-i xergen qamciḫa buleku bitxe*, 25: 5a.
- 49 *xan-i araḫa duyin xacin-i xergen qamciḫa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe*, 25: 11b.
- 50 *xan-i araḫa sunja xacin-i xergen qamciḫa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe* (Peking: Min-tsu ch'u-pan she, 1957), vol. 3, p. 3418.
- 51 *Nonggime toqtobuḫa Manju gisun-i buleku bitxe*, in *Ch'in ting ssu k'u chüan shu* 欽訂四庫全書, vol. 233, 5: 15b/p. 46.
- 52 *xan-i araḫa Manju Mongḡo Niqan xergen ilan xacin-i mudan acaḫa buleku bitxe* in *Ch'in ting ssu k'u chüan shu*, vol. 234, 24: 12a/p. 868.

- 53 *Chiu Man-chou tang*, vol. 1, p. 21, line 5 and p. 85, line 5.
- 54 *Manju-i yargiyān qooli*, 5: 252 (Manchu text: top page a, line 1).
- 55 Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫, Matsumura Jun 松村潤 and Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘, *Hakki tsūshi retsuten sakuin* 八旗通志列傳索引 (Tokyo: Tôyô Bunko, 1965), pp. 60–61.
- 56 An Shuang-ch'eng, *Man-Han ta tz'u-tien*, p. 1146. For a discussion of the taboo names of the Manchu emperors, see Huang Chün-t'ai 黃俊泰, «Man wen tui-yin kui-tse chi ch'i so fan ying ti Ch'ing ch'u pei yin yin-hsi» 滿文對音規則及其所反映的清初北音音系, *Kuo-wen hsüeh-pao* 國文學報, vol. 16 (1987), pp. 98–101.
- 57 The closest Manchu word that we can find in the sources to the name 'Abahai' is *Abaxai*. Located in the *Manju-i yargiyān qooli* (See *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, vol. 1, p. 118, Manchu text: top page b, line 3; Mongol text: bottom page b, line 7), it is the name of Dorgon's mother, or the daughter of Mantai Beyile of the Ula nation. An obvious loan from the Mongol term *abaqai* 'princess', it is used here as a personal name, not a title. Seen in this light, it is not unusual for T'ai-tsung to be named after a Mongol appellation such as Qong Tayiji.
- 58 In his article «Abahai: An historiographic mistake», p. 297, Giovanni Stary mentions that 'Abahai' has been considered T'ai-tsu's taboo name, citing as evidence the *Ch'ing Shih-lu* (T'ai-tsung period), 1: 1b. Yet, instead of A-pa-hai, only A-pa-t'ai 阿巴泰 and Pa-pu-t'ai 巴布泰, names that sound closest to 'A-pa-hai', are found in that part of the Veritable Records in question.
- 59 Giovanni Stary, «Abahai: An historiographic mistake», pp. 296–299. Stary is probably influenced by Erich Hauer, who lists, mistakenly, in his *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, vol. 1 (1952), p. 4, the first reign title of T'ai-tsung as 'Abkai Sure' as well as 'Sure Han.' This mistake is repeated by Jerry Norman in his *A Concise Manchu Dictionary*, p. 319.
- 60 *Chiu Man-chou tang*, vol. 6, p. 2562, line 1. It should be noted that the term Sure ḡan is also an abbreviated form of Sure Kundulen ḡan, one of the many titles used by T'ai-tsu, and should not be confused with the reign title of his son, T'ai-tsung. See *Chiu Man-chou tang*, vol. 1, p. 31, line 5.
- 61 Arthur Braddan Coole, *Coins in China's history* (Kansas: Inter-Collegiate Press, Inc. 1963), p. 54A or (1965), p. 53. On the surface of the coin are inscribed four Manchu words written in the old script without diacritics: *Sôre ḡan-ni jixā*.
- 62 For instance, the *Dayičing ulus-un maḡad qaoli*, vol. 2 (Qayilar: Öbör Mongḡol-un soyol-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, 1990), p. 48b.
- 63 I-keng 奕賡, Chia meng hsüan ts'ung chu, 佳夢軒叢著, in *Chin-tai Chung-kuo shih-liao ts'ung-k'an* 近代中國史料叢刊, vol. 522 (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, 1970; reprint of 1935 edition), chüan 6, p. 416.

- 64 Cf. Erich Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, vol. 1, p. 1.
- 65 J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, vol. 1 (Kasan, 1844; reprint, Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1993), p. 41; Ferdinand Lessing ed., *Mongolian-English dictionary* (Bloomington: The Mongolia Society, 1982), pp. 3–4.
- 66 Cited from Giovanni Stary, «Abahai: An historiographic mistake», p. 299.
- 67 See note 1 above. I am in the process of developing a new system of Manchu romanization. Since the Roman letter **x** and the Greek letter **χ** look the same when written in the upper case, I will most probably keep Ligeti's *x* but replace his *χ* with *h* so that the two allophones can be more clearly distinguished from each other.