# A STUDY OF THE JURCHEN LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT

## RECONSTRUCTION AND DECIPHERMENT

BY

GISABURO N. KIYOSE

HŌRITSUBUNKA-SHA

KYOTO

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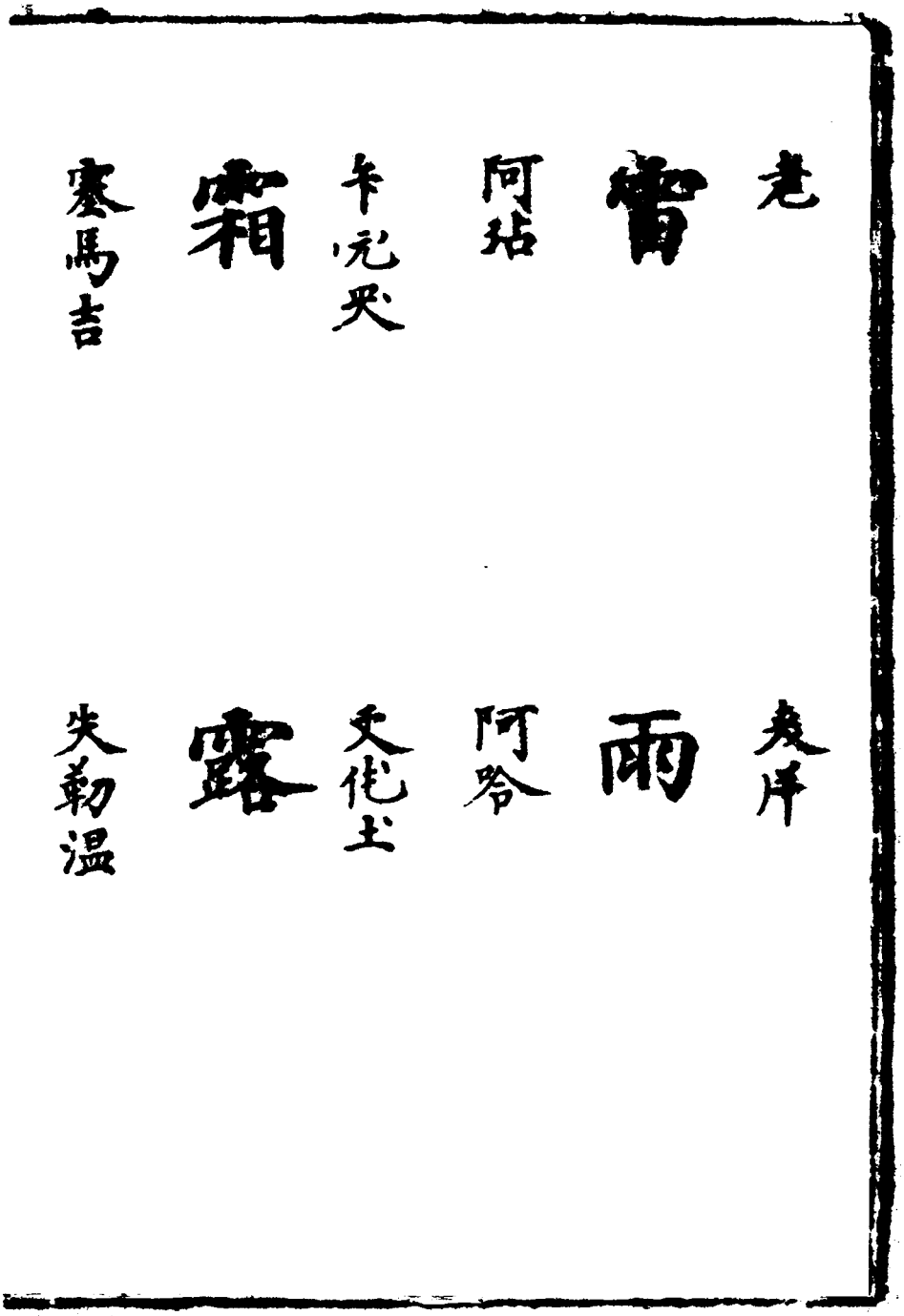
Corrections
for
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# ERRATA

| | READS | SHOULD READ |
|---|---|---|
| frontispiece 1 | *NÜ-CHEN-KUAN TSA-TSU* | *NÜ-CHEN-KUAN TSA-TZU* |
| frontispiece 2 | *NÜ-CHEN-KUAN TSATSU* | *NÜ-CHEN-KUAN TSA-TZU* |
| p. 28 line -2 of fn. 28 | Ḫusain de l'Histoire | Ḫuṣain de l'histoire |
| p. 33 line -8 | 會同館 | 會同館, |
| p. 55 line 3 | **xudasă-mai* | **xudaša-mai* |
| p. 55 line 14 | what seems | it seems |
| p. 56 line -1 | **immala* | **inmala* |
| p. 59 line 3 | verlar | velar |
| p. 64 set 57 | **deu* | **degu* |
| p. 82 set 434 | Ligeti reconstructs **in* | Ligeti reconstructs **im* |
| p. 96 line 8 | Jurchen word is in | Jurchen word in |
| p. 100 line 2 of fn. 35 | Ma. *hûti* | Ma. *hûči* |
| p. 107 set 189 | Python | python |
| p. 109 set 215 | guwanni | guwani |
| p. 132 fn. 272 | **ǰan* | **ǰau* |
| p. 165 line -1 | omolo aišiha ǰeǰimei | omolo aišiha ǰeǰimei<br>grandchild Aišiha being awed |
| p. 178 fn. 53 | si | is |
| p. 187 line 2 of fn. 62 | irst | first |
| p. 187 line 3 of fn. 62 | *ǰehe* | *eǰehe* |
| p. 232 above fn. 99 | | (Draw a line.) ←加線（本文ノ註ノ間） |
| p. 233 line 9 | を讀む……," | を讀む," |
| p. 238 line 24 | Menges . . . . . 1968. | (Move to left.) ←左端ヲ揃ヘル |
| p. 252 line 10 | guwanni | guwani |

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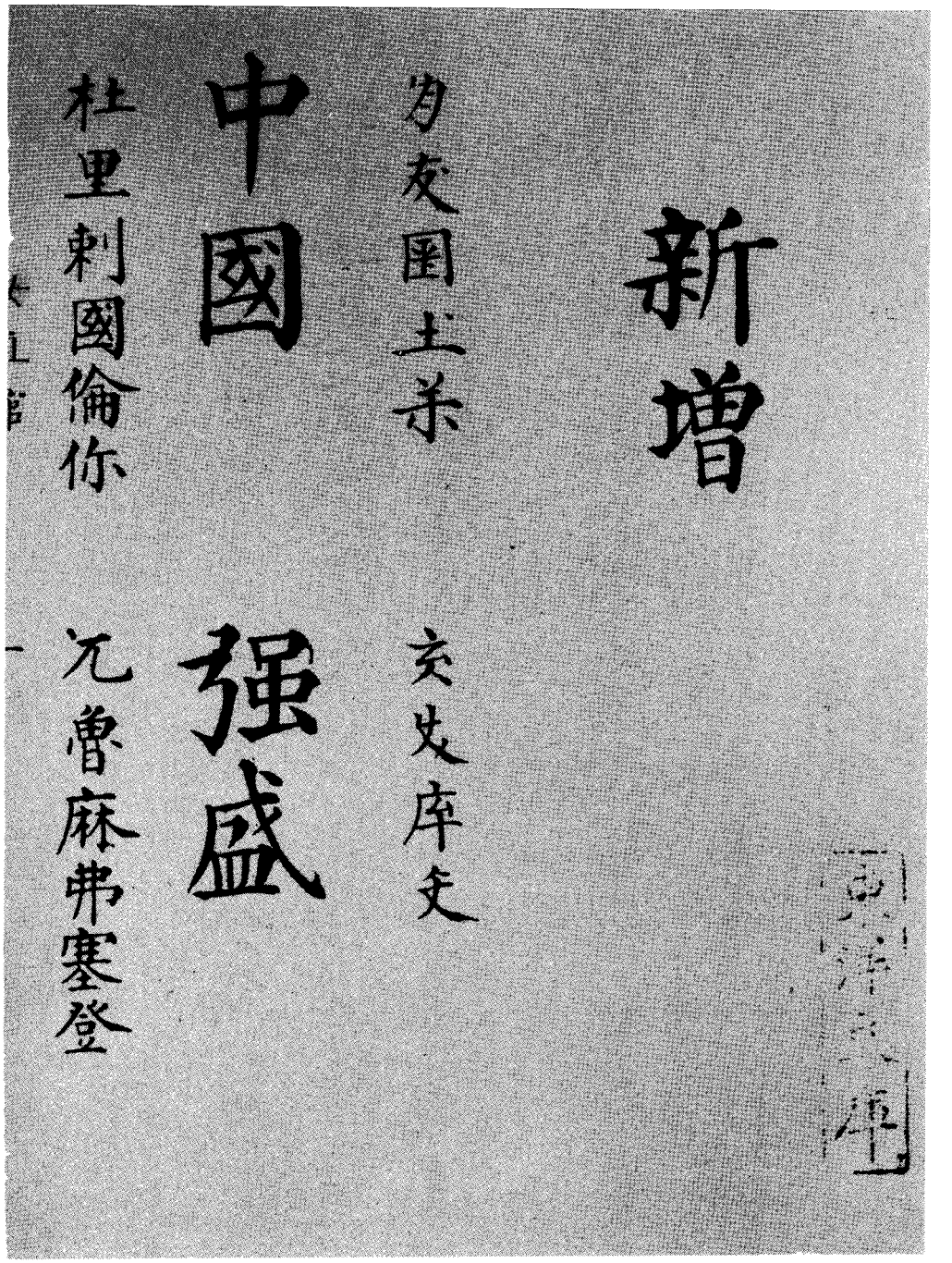
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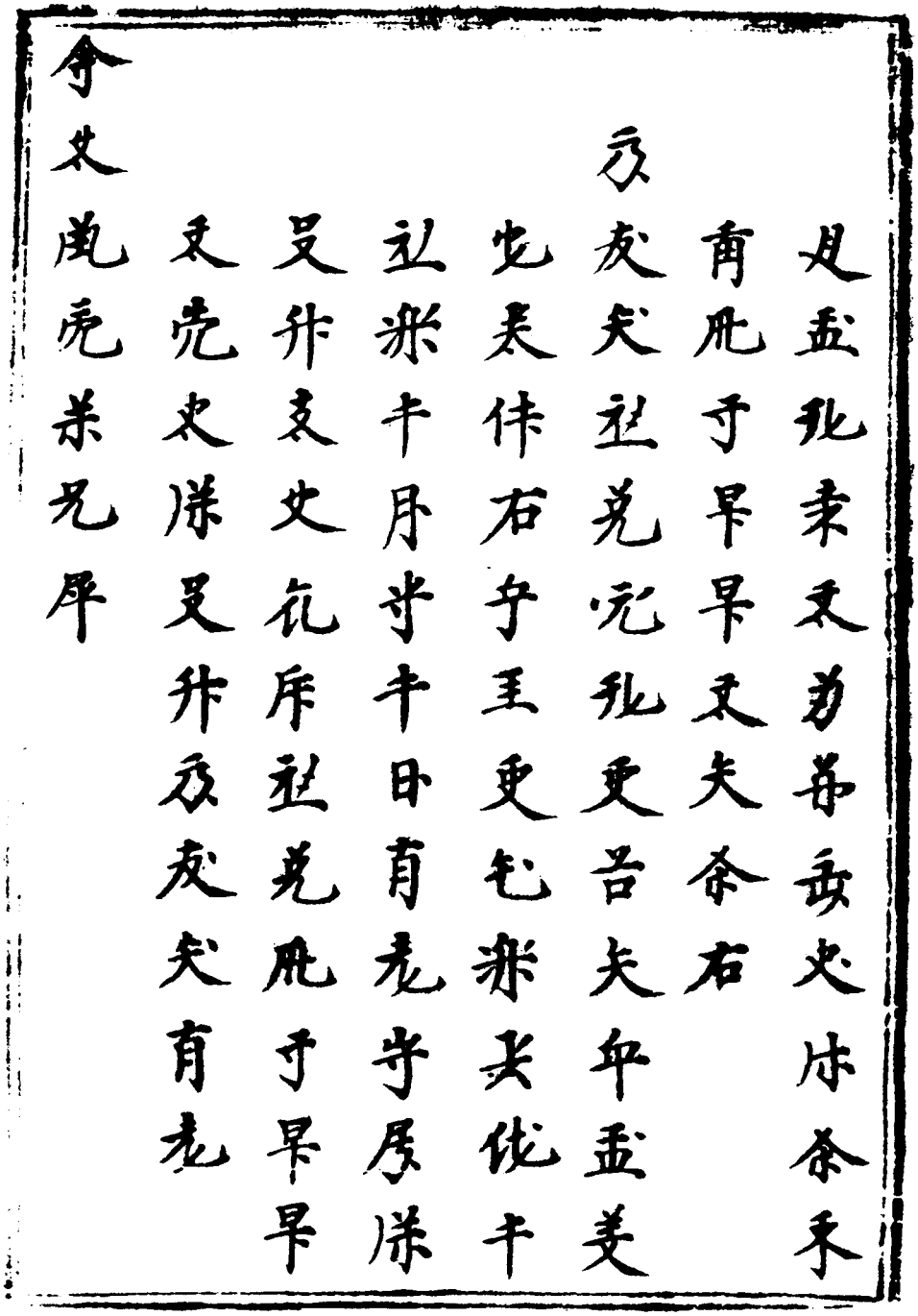
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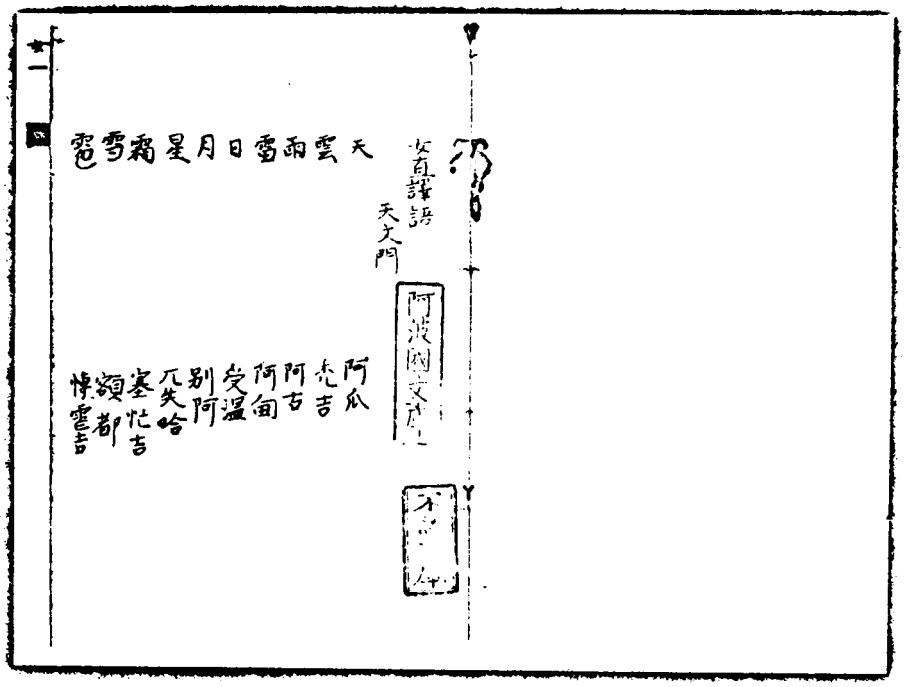

*NÜ-CHEN-KUANTSA-TSU*

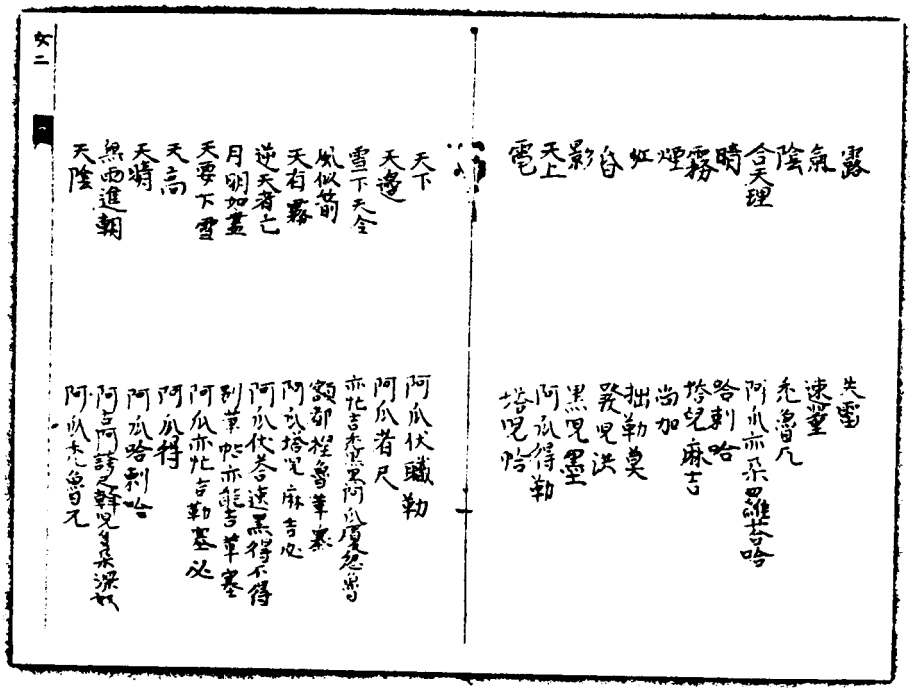
TŌYŌ BUNKO TEXT



*NÜ-CHEN-KUAN LAI-WEN*

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女直譯語
天文門
天 阿瓜
雲 赤吉
雨 阿古
雷 阿甸
日 受溫
月 別阿
星 尤失哈
霜 塞忙吉
雪 額都
雹 悚雷吉


女二
天下 阿瓜伏職勒
天邊 阿瓜者尺
雪下天全 亦比吉赤黑阿瓜復忽當
風似箭 額都裡魯筆寨
天有霧 阿瓜塔兒麻吉必
逆天者亡 阿瓜伏荅速黑得不得
月明如晝 別革帖亦能吉筆寨
天要下雪 阿瓜亦比吉勒塞必
天高 阿瓜得
天晴 阿瓜哈剌哈
熱西進朝 阿瓜与阿誇之辭兒孫深
天陰 阿瓜木兒當兀

露 失雷
氣 速望
陰 禿魯凡
合天理 阿瓜亦朶黑雖苔哈
晴 哈剌哈
霧 塔兒麻吉
煙 尚加
虹 拙勒奠
日 發兒洪
影 黑兒黑
天上 阿瓜得勒
電 塔兒哈

*NÜ-CHEN-KUAN I-YÜ*

AWANOKUNI BUNKO TEXT

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Memorials: II (192); V (195); IX (197); XI (201); XV (203); XVI (205); XVII (208); XVIII (209); XIX (211); XX (212); XXI (214); XXII (216); XXIII (218); XXIV (220); XXV (221); XXVI (224); XXVII (226); XXVIII (228); XXIX (230)

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# PREFACE

This work is a study of the Jurchen language during the Ming period (1368–1644). It is a result of a deep interest in Altaic linguistics acquired over the last twenty years. My interest was first drawn to the problems of the Sino-Barbarian Glossaries (*Hua-i i-yü*) of the Translators Bureau of the Ming Dynasty through work done by my professors and colleagues at Kyoto University. Their work on the sections dealing with the Mongolian, Tibetan, Burmese, Shan, Malacca and other languages gave me incentive to undertake this work on the Jurchen section, but only after studying Uralic and Altaic linguistics many years later at Indiana University. The present work is a revision of an earlier study presented in completion of the doctoral requirements there.

Jurchen is a linguistic and historical term. Linguistically, it is the oldest recorded Tunguz language. Historically, it refers to the people, Jurchen, who founded the "Chinese" Chin dynasty which ruled over parts of northern China from 1115 A.D. until 1234 A.D. The Jurchen, as had the Kitan before them, developed their own native script which has not yet been deciphered. Successful attempts have been made to interpret some Jurchen characters semantically and phonologically, but as yet no easy key to its interpretation has been developed.

The *Hua-i i-yü* provides one means of analyzing certain characteristics of the language. There are several important factors in the *Hua-i i-yü* which make this possible. First, the Jurchen section, which consists of Sino-Jurchen Glossary and Sino-Jurchen Memorials, provides a means of reconstructing Jurchen phonemes in the Ming period, by making use of the Chinese characters used in the text for the transcription of Jurchen. This means that the reconstruction of Jurchen is largely dependent upon the present state of knowledge of the phonological reconstruction of Ming Chinese. Second, the Manchu language plays a supplementary role in the solution to Jurchen phonology, as it is known that Jurchen was a language close to but not identical with Manchu. Third, the reconstruction of Ming-Jurchen phonology makes possible the reconstruction of Chin-Jurchen phonology through historico-linguistic methods. This is the methodology I have used in my reconstructions presented in this volume.

Chapter One introduces all the extant Jurchen language source materials as a preliminary exposition of work that has been done, while Chapter Two discusses the method of reconstruction of Jurchen phonology. In the course of reconstruction I have made a comparison of all the occurrences of a given character accompanied by its transliteration into Chinese in the glossary of the *Hua-i i-yü*. Pronunciation of the individual Jurchen characters can be reconstructed by this comparison and phonemes established that leave the fewest contradictions. Chapter Three gives the denotations and sound-values thus reconstructed of all the Jurchen characters given in the Jurchen section of the *Hua-i i-yü*. Phonological reconstruction of each Jurchen word can then be made on the basis of each Jurchen character, and the meaning of the words can be given from the Chinese equivalents given in the texts. Chapter Four lists all the Jurchen words given in the glossary sections of the Berlin National Library text and the Tōyō Bunko text with their reconstructed sound-values and English equivalents. Where necessary the Manchu cognate of each Jurchen word is given.

Building on this list, I have attempted an interpretation of the memorials in the Berlin National Library text and the Tōyō Bunko text. Chapter Five contains these interpretations in a logical fashion. Each memorial in the *Hua-i i-yü* has a Chinese version. The text can be broken into words and each word can be correlated with the Chinese equivalent through cross-comparison of each word in the glossary sections and the Chinese versions in the memorial sections. Although some Jurchen characters which do not appear in the glossary sections are found, most of these are used for transliteration of proper nouns. Thus, all the memorials given in the text are deciphered.

This work would not have been possible without the aid, encouragement, and helpful criticism of a number of people. I take pleasure in expressing my cordial thanks to Professor Denis Sinor, Chairman of the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, Indiana University who made a number of valuable suggestions with respect to the improvement of this work. Thanks are also due to Professors Berna Csongor and Edmond Schütz, both at Budapest University, who assisted in correcting or eliminating mistakes and lacunae in the text. None

of the above, of course, are in any way responsible for errors of omission or commission which are solely my own. I must also express my heartfelt appreciation to Hōritsubunka-sha, which has readily undertaken the publication of this work notwithstanding the numerous difficulties that attend the printing of a publication of this kind. Last, it should also be mentioned that this book owes it appearance to a Research Fruit Grant-in-Aid for Publication, Ministry of Education of Japan (Mombushō Kenkyū Seika Kankōhi Hojokin) of 1976. I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Akio Nishizawa of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai) for his assistance in applying for the grant.

Gisaburo N. Kiyose

March 3, 1977

## ABBREVIATIONS

### A. Texts

| | |
|---|---|
| AB. text | = Awanokuni Bunko 阿波國文庫 text. |
| BSt. text | = Berlin National Library (Berlin Staatsbibliothek) text. |
| *HIIY* | = *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語. |
| SB. text | = Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫 text. |
| TB. text | = Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 text. |

### B. Periodicals

| | |
|---|---|
| *ADAW* | = *Abhandlungen der Deutchen Akademie der Wissenschaften.* |
| *AM* | = *Asia Major.* |
| *AOH* | = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hunguricae.* |
| *BEFEO* | = *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.* |
| *BSOS* | = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.* |
| *IAN* | = *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk.* |
| *IAN* | = *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR.* |
| *JA* | = *Journal Asiatique.* |
| *JNChBrRAS* | = *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.* |
| *JRAS* | = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* |
| *KCsA* | = *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum.* |
| *OZ* | = *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.* |
| *RO* | = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny.* |
| *ShR* | = *Shirin* 史林. |
| *ShZ* | = *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌. |
| *TG* | = *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報. |
| *TK* | = *Tōyōshi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究. |
| *TP* | = *T'oung Pao.* |
| *UAJ* | = *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher.* |

*WZKM* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*

*ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

*ZVOIRAO* = *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdêleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva.*

## C. Languages

Chin. = Chinese

Ev. = Evenki

Gold. = Nanai (Goldi)

Jur. = Jurchen

Lam. = Lamut

Ma. = Manchu

Mo. = Mongolian

Tg. = Common Tunguz

# CHAPTER I

## JURCHEN LANGUAGE SOURCE MATERIALS

Jurchen is the language of the Jurchen tribes, which founded the Chin dynasty in the early twelfth century and ruled North China for more than a hundred years. It is the oldest of the Tunguz languages for which there are extant materials in the native script.

The name Jurchen first appears in documents dating from the outset of the tenth century. In Chinese sources Jurchen is transcribed as *nü-chen* 女眞 or *nü-chih* 女直, which are Chinese transliterations of *Jürčen* or *Jürče*. The latter is probably simply a form that has lost the final consonant *-n*, which is unstable in Jurchen as it is in the other Tunguz languages. However, it was believed by some[1] that the character 直 (*chih*) was used as a substitute for the character 眞 (*chen*), usage of which was avoided because it was a part of the personal name Tsung-chen 宗眞 of an emperor of the Liao dynasty.

It is not certain whether the Ssu-shen 肅愼, whose existence was documented in pre-Ch'in sources as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., was the same ethnic group as that which was later called Jurchen, but I-lou 挹婁 in the Han and Three Kingdom periods, Wu-chi 勿吉 in the Six Dynasty period, Mo-ho 靺鞨 in the Sui and T'ang periods, and Jurchen in the Sung, Yüan and Ming periods are supposedly the same tribes. As regards the Po-hai 渤海 kingdom, which was established by the Mo-ho tribe at the close of the seventh century and which lasted through the first quarter of the tenth century, it has not been ascertained thus far whether it had its own native script, as did the Kitan, Tangut, and Jurchen. However, one finds in chapter CXCIX, "Memoir of Northern Barbarians (*Pei-ti ch'uan* 北狄傳)," of the *Ch'iu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書 that the Po-hai had a script and produced numerous documents. Moreover, since legend has it that the great Chinese poet Po Chu-i 白居易 read writings of Po-hai, there is a possibility that some Po-hai documents will be discovered at some future date.[2]

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[1] E.g. Terrien de Lacouperie, "The Djurtchen of Mandshuria: their Name, Language, and Literature," *JRAS* n.s. XXI, 1889, p. 439.

[2] Osada Natsuki, "Manshūgo to Joshingo," *Kōbe Gengogakkai Hō* I, 1949, p. 1. See also Ishihama Juntarō, *Manmō Gengo no Keitō*, Tokyo 1934, p. 50.

With regard to Jurchen, there are two kinds of script, namely the Jurchen big script and the Jurchen small script.

The big script is that which was created on the model of the Kitan script and in imitation of the square style of Chinese characters at the order of the first emperor of the Chin dynasty, T'ai-tsu 太祖, by Wan-yen Hsi-yin 完顔希尹 for the Jurchen language in A.D. 1119, according to the *Chin-shih* 金史. In contrast, the *Wan-yen hsi-yin shen-tao pei* 完顔希尹神道碑 inscription in Kirin 吉林 Province gives the date, 1121 and the *Ta-chin-kuo chih* 大金國志 1122.

The third emperor, Hsi-tsung 熙宗, himself subsequently created another script in 1138 and had it promulgated in 1145. This is the Jurchen small script.

The script used in the *Ta-chin huan-ti Tu-t'ung-ching-lüeh-lang-chün hsing-chi pei* 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記碑 inscription[3] discovered in Chienchou 乾州, Shensi 陝西 Province, China has been tentatively identified as the big script.[4] Many of its characters, however, are similar or identical to those of the Kitan script.[5] Inasmuch as the Kitan script itself has not yet been deciphered, it is hard to say whether this inscription is the Kitan language written in the Kitan script or the Jurchen language written in the Kitan script.

It is commonly said that the Jurchen script which appears in most extant historical materials is the small script. Judging from a statement in the *Chin-shih,* however, this could very well be the Jurchen big script, since it is very similar to another recently discovered Kitan script, presumably the Kitan big script, inscribed in the *Ku-t'ai-shih ming-shih-chi* 故太師銘石記 stone found in Mukden, Manchuria in 1939 and in the *Chin-hsi mu-chih* 錦西墓誌 epitaph in Chin-hsi, Liaoning 遼寧 Province, Manchuria in 1951.[6] The nature of the small script, accordingly, has not yet been confirmed so far.

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[3] Inscribed in 1134. For details, see Alexsander Wylie, "On an Ancient Inscription in the Neu-chih Language," *JRAS* XVII, 1860, pp.331–345 and Haneda Tōru, "Kittanmoji no Shin Shiryō," *ShR* X: 1, 1925, pp.28–96.

[4] E.g. Naitō Torajirō, *Tōyō Bunkashi Kenkyū,* Tokyo 1936, p.310, Shiratori Kurakichi, "Kittan Joshin Seika Moji Kō," *Shiratori Kurakichi Zenshū* V, Tokyo 1970, p.57, etc.

[5] The Kitan also had big and small scripts. The Kitan script found in several materials, e.g. funeral epigraphs such as the *Hsing-tsung ai-ts'e* 興宗哀冊, the *Hsing-tsung Jen-i-huang-hou ai-ts'e* 興宗仁懿皇后哀冊, the *Tao-tsung ai-ts'e* 道宗哀冊, the *Tao-tsung Hsüang-i-huang-hou ai-ts'e* 道宗宣懿皇后哀冊, etc. may be assumed to be the Kitan small script.

[6] Cf. Toyota Gorō, "Kittan Reiji Kō, Joshinmoji no Genryū," *TG* XLVI: 1, 1963, pp.1–39.

## 1. Inscriptions and Epigraphs

Materials in the Jurchen script cannot be considered scarce when compared with those in such scripts as the Kitan. They can be roughly classified into two categories, i.e. inscriptions and documents.

First, the inscriptions in the Jurchen script which have been discovered thus far are as follows:[7]

The *Ta-chin te-sheng-t'o-sung pei* 大金得勝陀頌碑 inscription. This inscription appears on a stele erected on the 28th day of the 7th lunar month of 1185 by Shih-tsung 世宗, the fifth Chin emperor, in commemoration of victory by the first emperor T'ai-tsu over Liao, and is extant on the left bank of the Lalin 拉林 River in Fuyü 扶餘, Kirin Province, Manchuria. The inscription on the front of the stele is written in Chinese and that on the reverse side in the Jurchen script.[8]

The *Ao-t'ung-liang-pi chien-yin pei* 奧屯良弼餞飲碑 inscription. This is also called the *T'ai-ho t'i-ming ts'an-shih* 泰和題名殘石 inscription. In the Chinese version, the date, the 2nd day of the 2nd lunar month of 1206 (the 6th year of the T'ai-ho reign period) is written, but this is the date when a certain Ao-t'ung-liang-pi held a banquet for his colleague on his having returned to the capital. In the Jurchen version the date, 20th day of the 7th month of 1210, appears, and this may be the actual date of its erection.[9]

The *Nü-chen chin-shih t'i-ming pei* 女眞進士題名碑 inscription. As is indicated by its name, this is an inscription in honor of persons who passed the examination for the degree of *chin-shih*. This is the so-called *Yen-t'ai pei* 宴臺碑 inscription, the name of which is derived from its original location, the Yen-t'ai-kuan 宴臺關 imperial temple. This inscription was inscribed on the 15th day of the 6th lunar month of 1224 and has no Chinese version. The stele was later moved to the citadel of Kaifeng 開封 District, Honan 河南 Province, China, and at present is preserved in the Honan Provincial Library. This has

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[7] Concerning each inscription, see Amma Yaichirō, *Joshinbun Kinseki Shi Kō*, Kyoto 1943, pp. 1–77. Refer also to Ishida Mikinosuke, "Joshingo Kenkyū no Shin Shiryō," *Kuwabara Hakushi Kanreki Kinen, Tōyōshi Ronsō*, Kyoto 1930, pp. 1271–1282 and Lo Fu-i, *Man-chou chin-shi chih* III & IV, Hsinking 1937.

[8] Cf. Tamura Jitsuzō, "*Daikin-tokushōda-shō-hi* no Kenkyū" I–II, *TK* II: 5, 1937, pp. 405–437; II: 6, 1938, pp. 542–560, Amma Y., "'*Daikin-tokushōda-shō-hi* no Kenkyū' o Yomu," *TK* III: 6, 1938, pp. 554–556, Sonoda Kazuki, "*Daikin-tokushōda-hi* ni Tsuite," *Manmō* XIV: 12, 1933, pp. 96–110, and Yagi Sōzaburō, *Manshū Kyūseki Shi* II, Tokyo 1926, p. 370 ff.

[9] Cf. Shimada Yoshimi, "Joshinmoji *Ōtonryōhitsu-sen'in-hi*," *Shokō* LIX, 1934, p. 685, Lo Fu-i, "Liao Chin san shih-k'e k'ao," *Manshū Shigaku* III: 2, 1940, pp. 37–40, and Lo Fu-ch'eng, "Chin *T'ai-ho t'i-ming ts'an-shin*," *Tung-pei Tsung-k'an* XVII, 1931, appendix.

been acknowledged as a Jurchen inscription since long ago.[10]

The *Liu-ho Pan-chieh-shan mo-yai pei* 柳河半截山摩崖碑 inscription, also called the *Ta-chin T'ai-tsu hsi-ma-chih pei* 大金太祖息馬址碑 inscription. This is an inscription discovered in 1933 on a rock on Mt. Pan-chieh in Liu-ho, Liaoning Province, Manchuria. Jurchen is inscribed on the left and Chinese on the right. Both versions are worn out in the lower portion.[11]

The *Yang-shu-lin-shan-ting mo-yai pei* 楊樹林山頂摩崖碑 inscription. This rock inscription is on Mt. Yang-shu-lin, Hailung 海龍 District, Manchuria, and has no Chinese version. The date, the 5th day of the 5th lunar month of 1116, appears in the first line, but it is not known when this inscription was carved.[12]

The *Kao-li Pei-ch'ing-ch'eng Ch'uan-shan mo-yai pei* 高麗北青城串山摩崖碑 inscription. This rock inscription is on Mt. kuan 串, Pukchŏng 北青 County, South Hamkyŏng 咸鏡 Province, Korea. This inscription consists of only five lines of Jurchen. The date, 7th lunar month in the year of yellow-tiger (presumably 1338), can be read, and this may be the date of its carving.[13]

The *Kao-li Ch'ing-yüan pei* 高麗慶源碑 inscription. This stele was originally located in a Buddhist temple in Kyŏngwŏn 慶源 County, North Hamkyŏng Province, Korea, and in 1918 was moved to the museum of the Government-General of Korea. The inscription covers all four sides of the stele. Its contents are presumably the history of

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10 Cf. Lo Fu-ch'eng, "Yen-t'ai chin-yüan-kuo-shu-pei k'ao," *Kuo-hsüeh Chi-k'an*, I: 4, 1923, pp. 687–691, Lo Fu-ch'eng, "Yen-t'ai chin-yüan-kuo-shu-pei shih-wen," *K'ao-ku* V, 1936, pp. 179–208, Kuwabara Shitsuzō, "Santō Kanan Chihō Yūreki Hōkokusho," *Rekishi Chiri* XIV: 3, 1910, pp. 33–47, Wang Ch'ing-ju, "Yen-t'ai Nü-chen-wen *Chin-shih t'i-ming pei* ch'u-shih," *Shih-hsüeh Chi-k'an* III, 1937, pp. 49–68, G. Devéria, "Examen de la stèle de Yen-t'ai: dissertation sur les caractères d'écriture employés par les Tartares Jou-tchen," *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient* I, 1882, pp. 173–186, T. de Lacouperie, *op. cit.*, pp. 433–460, and G. Huth, "Zur Entzifferung der Niuči-Inschrift von Yen-t'ai," *IAN* V: V, 1896, pp. 375–378. A photograph of the rubbing of this inscription is in *ShZ* XX: 6, 1909, frontispiece.

11 Cf. Oshibuchi Hajime, "Ryokō no Omoide to Joshinji Hibun ni Tsuite," *Shigaku Kenkyū*, VI: 2, 1934, pp. 273–274 and Yamashita Taizō, "Shin Jochoku Kokusho Hi ni Tsuite," *Manmō* XV: 9, 1934, pp. 65–69.

12 Cf. Lo Fu-ch'eng, "Nü-chen kuo-shu-pei k'ao-shih," *Shinagaku* V: 4, 1929, pp. 619–620 and Lo Fu-ch'eng, "Nü-chen kuo-shu-pei pa-wei," *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan Yüeh-k'an* III: 4, 1929, p. 1711. The rubbing is also illustrated in *Tung-pei Ts'ung-k'an* (I-XII) vol. 2, 1931, appendix 5.

13 Cf. Inaba Iwakichi, "Hokuseijō Kanzan Chō Joshinji Magai Kōshaku," *Seikyū Gakusō* II, 1930, pp. 21–42. A copy of the rubbing of this inscription is in Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Kinseki Sōran* I, Keijō 1919, p. 553.

the temple.[14]

The *Yung-ning-ssu pei* 永寧寺碑 inscription. This is an inscription which makes mention of the history of the Yung-ning-ssu temple established in 1413 in Tyr, near the mouth of the Amur River in Siberia. The stele on which it appears was erected in the 9th lunar month of 1413. The inscription is covered in Chinese script on the front side, and Jurchen and Mongolian on the reverse side; on both the right and the left sides short inscriptions in Chinese, Mongolian, Jurchen, and Tibetan are carved.[15] This stele is at present preserved in the museum of the Far Eastern College of Vladivostok.

In addition, it is reported that a Jurchen inscription, namely the *Tsagan Obo* inscription, was discovered in June, 1945 in West Khuchit, Silingol, Inner Mongolia.[16] There is a possibility that some other Jurchen inscription may be discovered at some later time.

As can be seen from the above, a period of two hundred and twenty-eight years separates the oldest (the *Ta-chin te-sheng-t'o-sung pei*) and the most recent (the *Yung-ning-ssu pei*) Jurchen inscriptions. The period of time is greater even than the two hundred and seventeen years which elapsed between the *Yung-ning-ssu pei* inscription and the *Ta-chin la-ma-fa-shih pao-chi pei* 大金喇嘛法師寶記碑 inscription (1630) written in the Manchu script without diacritical marks. Due to the time lapse in the dates of the various inscriptions, it may be assumed that linguistic differences also occurred.

In the case of materials in Jurchen script other than inscriptions, there are also epigraphs such as those on seals and on the reverse side of mirrors. Specifically, three

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[14] A copy of the rubbing of this inscription is also in *Chōsen Kinseki Sōran* I, pp.551–552.

[15] Cf. Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Sensho no Tōhoku Kyō to Joshin to no Kankei II," *Mansen Chiri Rekishi Hōkokusho* IV, 1917, pp.299–264, Osada N., "*Nurukan Eineiji-hi* Mōko Joshinbun Shaku Kō," *Ishihama Sensei Koki Kinen, Tōyōgaku Ronsō,* Osaka 1958, pp.36–47, Naitō Torajirō, "Nurukan Eineiji Ni Hi Hokō," *Naitō Konan Zenshū* VII, Tokyo 1970, pp.583–591, Torii Ryūzō, "Nu-erh-kan tu-ssu k'ao," *Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao* XXXIII, 1947, pp.7–76, Lo Fu-i, "*Nu-erh-kan Yung-ning-ssu-pei* pu-k'ao," *Manshū Gakuhō* V, 1937, pp.97–103, Lo Fu-ch'eng, "Ming *Nu-erh-kan Yung-ning-ssu-pei* Nü-chih kuo-shu t'u-shih," *Manshū Gakuhō* V, 1937, frontispiece, Wilhelm Grube, *Vorläufige Mitteilung über die bei Nikolajewski am Amur aufgefunden Jučen-Inschriften,* Berlin 1896, V. Vasil'ev, "Zapiska o nadpisyakh, otkrytykh na pamyatnikakh, stoyashchikh na skalie Tyr, bliz ust'ya Amur," *IAN* V: IV, 1896, pp.365–367, P. Popov, Dopolnenie k stat'e, "O Tyrskikh pamyatnikakh," *ZVOIRAO* XVI, 1904, pp.012–020, Louis Ligeti, "Les inscriptions djurtchen de Tyr. La formule *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ,*" *AOH* XII: 1–3, 1961, pp.5–26, Henry Serruys, *Sino-Jürčed Relations during the Yung-lo Period (1403–1424)*, Wiesbaden 1955, and Lucien Gilbert, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie,* Hong Kong 1934. Photograpns of each side of the stele are in *Naitō Konan Zenshū* VII, between pp. 582 and 583.

[16] By Osada Natsuki. Osada, "Manshūgo to Joshingo," p.4.

seals[17] and two mirrors[18] have been discovered thus far.

## 2. The *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語

Emperor Hsi-tsung created the new Jurchen script, which was diffused throughout the country for a time after its creation. Nevertheless, Jurchen culture was gradually Sinicized owing to the policy of Sinicization established by the fourth emperor, Hai-ling-wang 海陵王, who transferred the capital to Yengching 燕京 in 1153. The fifth emperor, Shih-tsung, then greatly encouraged the people to learn and use the native script as a part of a policy of nationalism. He had Chinese classics, such as the *Shu-ching* 書經, the *I-ching* 易經, the *Hsiao-ching* 孝經, the *Lun-yü* 論語, etc., translated into Jurchen in 1164 and forced the people to read them. He also instituted the Jurchen *chin-shih* 進士 examination in 1173, and in 1188 established the Jurchen College in the capital and Jurchen academies in several districts. Those who had recently passed the examination were appointed professors in the College and academies so as to assist in advancing the people's knowledge of their own native culture. None of those texts remains, however.

The dictionary used by the Jurchen themselves, the *Nü-chen-tzu tzu-mo* 女眞字字母, was compiled around that time.[19] Jurchen documents such as *Nü-chih-tzu p'an-ku shu* 女直字盤古書, *Nü-chih-tzu K'ung-fu shu* 女直字孔夫書, etc. are listed in chap. XVIII of the *Wen-yüan-ko shu-mu* 文淵閣書目, the catalogue of the collection of the *Wen-yüan-ko* library, of the Ming period. However, no copies of these works are extant. The Jurchen language was studied at the Sayŏk Wŏn 司譯院 (Translators Bureau of Korea) around the beginning of the Yi dynasty and at least fourteen kinds of Jurchen readers were produced there.[20] All have been lost, however.

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[17] One thirteen character epigraph was discovered by a farmer in Holung 和龍, Kirin Province, Manchuria, which has since been lost; cf. Toriyama Kiichi, *Man-Sen Bunkashi Kan,* Tokyo 1935, p. 166, and Amma, *op. cit.* pp. 75–76. One of seven characters is presented in Lo Fu-ch'eng's version of the *Nü-chih i-yü* 女直譯語 I, Ryojun 1933. The script on another seal shown in Imanishi Shunjū, "Joshinji Dōin," *TK* III: 4, 1938, frontispiece 4, however, seems to be the Kitan big script; cf. Imanishi, "Kittanji Dōin," *Chōsen Gakuhō* XXXVI, 1965, p. 194.

[18] Rubbings of epigraphs on the back of a mirror preserved in the museum of the Government-General of Korea and of a mirror in the museum of the Royal family of Yi 李 are in *Chōsen Kinseki Sōran* I, p. 554, but both seem to be the Kitan small script.

[19] Chang Hsiu-min, "Chin-yüan-chien-pen k'ao," *T'u-shu Chi-k'an* II: 1, 1935, pp. 19–25.

[20] For more details, such as titles of the readers, refer to Ogura Shimpei, *Chōsen Gogaku Shi,* Tokyo 1940, pp. 660–670, based on Maurice Courant, *Bibliographie Coréene, Tableau littéraire de la Corée contenant nomenclature des ouvrages publiés dans ce pays jusqu'en 1890, ainsi que la description et l'analyse détaillées des principaux d'entre ces ouvrages,* Paris 1894–96.

The *Chin-shih* was produced in the middle of the fourteenth century by the Yüan Historical Commission and a glossary of Jurchen words, *Chin-kuo yü-chieh* 金國語解, is appended to chap. LXXXV to give the Chinese reader explanations of Jurchen words occurring in the text.[21] Although the number of words cited there is small, the glossary is of value as it offers a key to the phonology of early Jurchen. Later on in 1775 this glossary was revised and enlarged under the aegis of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 of the Ch'ing dynasty, to become the *Ch'ing-ting Chin-shih yü-chieh* 欽定金史語解.

The value of materials preserved in even earlier texts, such as the *Ta-chin-kuo chih* produced in 1234 by Yü-wen Mou-chao 宇文懋昭, also should not be underestimated. The vocabulary therein,[22] small as it is, represents the first ascertainable stage of the language and retains many phonological features which had been lost or changed by the Ming period.

Recently two fragmentary leaves of a manuscript containing a text in cursive Jurchen script were discovered among the Tangut holdings of the Institute of Orientalism of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. As the only known samples of Jurchen cursive style on paper, the reading of these characters presents enormous difficulties and cannot be accomplished at this time. A description along with facsimiles of the texts appeared in 1972.[23]

A number of Jurchen characters are found in some Chinese or Japanese classical texts, e.g. eight characters in *Fang-shih mo-p'u* 方氏墨譜[24] and four characters in *Azumakagami* 吾妻鏡,[25] but they are of little value for linguistic purposes. The characters in these texts consist of one or more Jurchen big scripts. In comparison with the construction

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21 Cf. Ch'en Shu, *Chin-shih shih-pu wu-chung,* Peking 1960, Watanabe Kuntarō, *Shimpen Kinshi Meijikai,* Osaka 1931, Li Hsüeh-chih, "*Chin-shih yü-chieh* cheng-wu ch'u-kao," *Hsin-ya Hsüeh-pao* V: 2, 1952, pp. 377–429, and Onogawa Hidemi ed., *Kinshi Goi Shūsei* I–III, Kyoto 1960–1962.

22 Cf. Wu Hsiao-ling and Teng Shih-hsi ed., *Ta-chin-kuo-chih t'ung-chien,* Hongkong 1967.

23 D. Kara, E. I. Kychanov, and V. S. Starikov, "Pervaya nakhodka chzhurchzhen'skikh rukopisnykh tekstov na bumage," *Pis'mennye pamyatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniya, 1969,* Moskva 1972, pp. 223–228.

24 By Fang Yü-lu 方于魯 in 1588; cf. Ishida Mikinosuke, "Jurčica," *Ikeuchi Hakushi Kanreki Kinen, Tōyōshi Ronsō,* Tokyo 1940, pp. 39–56.

25 Written in Chinese, anon., ca. 1266. Cf. Inaba Iwakichi, "*Azumakagami* Jochokuji no Kenkyū," *Seikyū Gakusō* IX, 1932, pp. 1–19, Akiyama Kenzō, "Kamakura Jidai ni Okeru Joshin-sen no Raikō, *Azumakagami* no Joshinmoji to *Kaiyakugo* no Joshinmoji to no Hikaku Kenkyū," *Rekishi Chiri* LXV: 1, 1935, pp. 65–74, Akiyama K., "Joshin-sen no Raikō to *Kaiyakugo,*" *Nisshi Kōshō Shiwa,* Tokyo 1935, pp. 494–511, Naitō Torajirō, "Nihon Manshū Kōtsū Ryakusetsu," *Tōyō Bunkashi Kenkyū,* pp. 304–310, and Murayama Shichirō, "*Azumakagami* ni Mieru Joshingo ni Tsuite," *TG* XXIII: 4, 1951, pp. 146–148.

of the Kitan small script, these characters may be the Jurchen small script.

Because of the scarcity of linguistic materials, it is almost impossible to reconstruct Jurchen phonology and establish its phonological system prevalent in the Chin period.

Nevertheless, inasmuch as the Jurchen section of the *Hua-i i-yü* produced in the Ming period exists, one may reconstruct the Jurchen phonemes of the Ming period by means of the Chinese characters in the text used for the transliteration of Jurchen. After establishing Ming-Jurchen phonology in this fashion, it is possible to reconstruct Chin-Jurchen phonology through historico-linguistic methods.

The documents known as *Hua-i i-yü* can be classified into several types,[26] and this classification has generally been agreed upon by scholars who studied the *Hua-i i-yü*.

The section of the Jurchen language, called the *Nü-chen-kuan i-yü* 女眞館譯語 or the *Nü-chih-kuan i-yü* 女直館譯語,[27] appears only in the following two types of the *Hua-i i-yü* series.

i. *Hua-i i-yü*-with-Script Series

This type of *Hua-i i-yü* was compiled in the Ssu-i-kuan 四夷館[28] (Translators Bureau of Ming), which was established in 1407, because of the needs of the bureau staff, and subsequently, even after the bureau changed its name to Ssu-i-kuan 四譯館 (Translators Bureau of Ch'ing) in 1644, it was continuously produced with revisions and alternations. Consequently, there are several varieties in this series. The distinguishing feature is that it gives each language in its native original script. Each language section consists of two parts, i.e. a glossary entitled *Tsa-tzu* 雜字 and a section of memorials called *Lai-wen* 來文. The gloss of each word in the glossary is written in the native "barbarian" script with a phonetic transliteration in Chinese characters. Each memorial has a Chinese version and a "barbarian" version in its native script.

The languages treated in this type of *Hua-i i-yü* series are Mongolian, Jurchen, Siamese,

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[26] Cf. Ishida, "Shin Shiryō," pp. 1277–1290.

[27] Also called simply *Nü-chen i-yü* 女眞譯語 or *Nü-chih i-yü* 女直譯語.

[28] Cf. Kanda Kiichirō, "Min no Shiyakkan ni Tsuite," *ShR* XII, 1927, pp. 519–534, Yano Jin'ichi, *Shina Kindai Gaikoku Kankei Kenkyū*, Tokyo 1928, pp. 133–150, Haneda T. ed., *Ssu-i-kuan tse* 四譯館則, Kyoto 1928, Paul Pelliot, Bibliographie, "Sseu-yi-kouan tsö," *TP* XXVI, 1929, pp. 53–61, Norman Wild, "Materials for the Study of the Ssu-I-Kuan 四夷(譯)館 (Bureau of Translators)," *BSOS* XI, 1945, pp. 617–640, G. Déveria, "Histoire du Collège des Interprète de Péking," *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leiden 1896, pp. 94–102, F. Hirth, "The Chinese Oriental College," *JNChBrRAS* XX, 1887, pp. 203–223, and P. Pelliot, "Le Ḫōǰa et la Sayyid Ḫusain de l'Histoire des Ming," *TP* XXXVIII, 1948, pp. 81–292.

Shan, Tibetan, Burmese, Uighur, Sanskrit, Persian, etc., though not all the editions include all the languages. Among extant texts of the *Hua-i i-yü*-with-Script which contain the Jurchen language section are the following:[29]

The Berlin National Library text. This was obtained by Friedrich Hirth in China and later transferred by him to the library. During World War II it was moved to the library of the University of Tübingen and was returned to Berlin a few years ago. This *Hua-i i-yü*, consisting of twenty-four volumes and supposedly copied in the Ming period, seems to be the most complete set in several respects, but still lacks some portions of the Jurchen language section. The Jurchen section which consists of the *Nü-chen-kuan tsa-tzu* 女眞館雜字 with 871 entries and the *Nü-chen-kuan lai-wen* 女眞館來文 with 20 memorials has been handcopied and published by Wilhelm Grube with indexes.[30] His work has been regarded as the only guide to research on the Jurchen language.

The text in the personal collection of K'e Shao-wen 柯劭忞. This consists of two parts, the *Tsa-tzu* and the *Lai-wen*, and resembles closely the Tōyō Bunko text.

The Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 text. The Tōyō Bunko text is particularly valuable in that the *Tsa-tzu* includes the 46 entries that are missing in the Berlin text and the *Lai-wen* contains 29 memorials, 10 of which also appear in the Berlin text and 19 of which do not.

The Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫 text, *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen-piao* 西域同文表. This is a defective copy of the *Hua-i i-yü*-with-Script text in which the *Tsa-tzu* part is missing. The Jurchen section coincides perfectly with the *Nü-chen-kuan lai-wen* of the Tōyō Bunko text.

In addition to the above, the "Manchu" section of the *Hua-i i-yü* is cited in H. A. Giles's catalog of the Wade collection in the library of the University of Cambridge,[31] and accordingly Ishida Mikinosuke considers that which Giles calls "Manchu" is in fact Jurchen.[32] This *Hua-i i-yü* edition, however, does not contain the Jurchen section. Probably Giles mistook the Uighur section, i.e. the *Kao-ch'ang-kuan i-shu* 高昌館譯書 for the "Manchu" section,[33] as he mistook the Persian section of Hui-hui-kuan 回回館 for the "Arabic."

### ii. *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script Series

The other type of *Hua-i i-yü* is a series which does not contain the memorials but

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29 For more details about each text, refer to Ishida, "Shin Shiryō," pp. 1277–1286.

30 W. Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, Leipzig 1896.

31 H. A. Giles, *A Catalogue of the Wade Collection of Chinese and Manchu Books in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge 1898, p. 147.

32 Ishida, "Shin Shiryō," p. 1283.

33 Ikegami Jirō, "Yōroppa ni Aru Manshū Bunken ni Tsuite," *TG* XLV: 3, 1962, p. 402.

consists only of the glossary. In the glossary not only words but many phrases and clauses are also cited, and all the foreign words therein are transliterated in Chinese characters. It has been said that this series was produced by Mao Jui-cheng 茅瑞徵 at the close of the Ming period with a preface by Chu Chih-fan 朱之蕃, but this remains to be confirmed.[34]

This *Hua-i i-yü* series was probably compiled at the Hui-t'ung-kuan 會同館[35] (Interpreters Bureau of Ming) for the bureau staff to learn conversation,[36] and included sections on nearly twenty "barbarian" languages, such as Korean, Japanese, Luchuan, Annamese, Cham, Malacca, Javanese, etc. as well as languages contained in the *Hua-i i-yü*-wtih-Script series, such as Jurchen, Tibetan, Mongolian, etc.

The following *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts containing the section on the Jurchen language are extant:[37]

The Awanokuni Bunko 阿波國文庫 text. This is one of the most complete *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts and contains sections on thirteen languages,[38] but lamentably the original was destroyed by fire in Tokushima 德島, Japan in 1950. However, a copy of it is preserved in the Department of Linguistics of Kyoto University.

The Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫 text. This edition lacks two, Korean and Luchuan, of the thirteen languages contained in the Awanokuni Bunko text, and the number of entries in the Jurchen section is also slightly less than that of the latter text. The Jurchen section was once introduced in print by Ishida.[39]

The "Hua-i i-yü" reproduced in *Seisai Shojaku Kō* 正齋書籍考, by Kondō Morishige 近藤守重, Japan 1823.

The "Hua-i i-yü" reproduced in *Ikoku Shomoku Gaishū* 彙刻書目外集, by Matsuzawa Rōsen 松澤老泉, Japan 1820.

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[34] Ishida M., "Iwayuru Heishubon *Kaiyakugo* no *Dattankan-yakugo*," *Kita Ajia Gakuhō* II, 1943, pp. 35–87.

[35] Cf. E. Denison Ross, "New Light on the History of the Chinese Oriental College, and a 16th Century Vocabulary of the Luchuan Language," *TP* II: 9, 1908, pp. 684–695, Ross, "Note on a School of Oriental Languages in China," *New China Review* I: 1, 1919, pp. 38–40, Paul Pelliot, Compte rendu de Ross, "New Light on the History of the Chinese Oriental College," *BEFEO* IX: 1, 1909, pp. 170–171, Pelliot, Compte rendu de Franke et Laufer, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China, JA* XI: IV, 1914, pp. 179–185, etc.

[36] H. Maspero, "Études sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite," *BEFEO* XII: 1, 1912, pp. 7–9.

[37] For more details about each text, refer to Ishida, "Shin Shiryō," pp. 1286–1290.

[38] Cf. Yamamoto Mamoru, "*Joshin-yakugo* no Kenkyū," *Kōbe Gaidai Ronsō* II: 2, 1951, pp. 1–16, and Watanabe Kuntarō, *Joshingo no Shin Kenkyū*, Osaka 1935.

[39] Ishida, "Shin Shiryō," pp. 1286 ff. Cf. also Yamamoto M., "Seikadōbon *Joshin-yakugo* Kōi," *Shokō* CLI (XV: 10), 1943, pp. 13–36 and Watanabe K., *op. cit.*

Other editions of the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script, such as the London text, the Shōkō-kan 彰考館 text,[40] the text owned by Inaba Iwakichi 稻葉岩吉, etc. do not include the Jurchen section. The Hanoi text which is preserved in the École Française d'Extrême-Orient was also one of the most complete sets having thirteen language sections and, of course, the Jurchen section was included.[41] This was obtained in 1912 and brought to Hanoi by L. Aurousseau, a professor at the École, from the personal collection of Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬 in China.[42] It is, however, reported that this text was later bound in its unique five-volume form at the École and contained only eleven language sections, lacking the Jurchen and Korean sections already before World War II. Some say that documents belonging to Cambodia and Laos were returned to their respective countries after France evacuated Indo-China, while the Chinese documents are still preserved in Hanoi, but all the texts have been so damaged by humidity and silverfish that they are almost worthless.[43]

### iii. Other *Hua-i i-yü* Series

The earliest edition of the *Hua-i i-yü* series is that which was compiled by Huo Yüan-chieh 火源潔 and Ma-sha-i-heh 馬沙亦黑[44] in 1382 by order of T'ai-tsu, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, and with a preface dated the 15th day of the 10th lunar month of 1389 by Liu San-wu 劉三吾 and published in the same year. This appears to have served as a model for the later series of the *Hua-i i-yü*. In spite of its title *Hua-i i-yü* (Sino-Barbarian Glossary), *i* 夷 (barbarian) in the *hua-i* here simply means Mongolian. "Barbarian" languages other than Mongolian are not contained in this type of document.[45] This text consists of a glossary and ten-odd memorials. Reflecting the exaltation of Chinese culture at the outset of the Ming period, Mongolian script is not used in it; all Mongolian words are transliterated in Chinese characters.

The *Hua-i i-yü* found by Walter Fuchs at the Old Palace Museum of Peking in 1939 should be considered as another type of *Hua-i i-yü*, in addition to the three types mentioned

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[40] This was destroyed in Mito 水戸, Japan during World War II.

[41] L. Aurousseau, "Chronique-Chine," *BEFEO* XII: 9, 1912, pp. 198–201.

[42] Yang obtained this copy, handcopied by a Japanese, in Japan.

[43] Kanda Kiichirō, "Entō Hakko Gakuin Kansho Ki," *Tōyōgaku Bunken Sōsetsu*, Tokyo 1969, pp. 39–60.

[44] Cf. Roy A. Miller, "Qoninči, compiler of the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389," *UAJ* XXXVIII, 1966, pp. 112–121, and Haneda T., "*Kaiyakugo* no Hensha Ma-sha-i-heh," *TG* VII: 3, 1917, pp. 437–446.

[45] Six copies are in the National Peking Library and one in the Tōyō Bunko.

above.[46] This contains thirty-six languages or dialects including even English, German, French, Italian, etc. of Hsi-yang-kuan 西洋館. This series was produced in the Hui-t'ung-ssu-i-kuan 會同四譯館 (Interpreters and Translators Bureau of Ch'ing) established in 1748.

Other than the *Hua-i i-yü* series, some private versions of "Sino-Barbarian" glossary were produced around that time. The *Chih-yüan i-yü* 至元譯語, a Sino-Mongolian glossary, in chap. X of the *Shih-lin-kuang-chi* 事林廣記 by Chen Yüan-ching 陳元靚 of Yüan prefaced the first edition of the *Hua-i i-yü*. The *Wu-pei chih* 武備志, the *Teng-t'an pi-chiu* 登壇必究, the *Lu-lung-sai-lüeh* 盧龍塞略, and the *Chi-men-fan-yü k'ao* 薊門防禦考 in the Ming period, and the *Pa-hung i-shih* 八紘譯史 and the *I-shih chi-yü* 譯史紀餘 in the Ch'ing period contain glossaries on a language or languages from countries neighboring China, resembling the *Hua-i i-yü*. None of those texts contain Jurchen, however.[47]

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[46] W. Fuchs, "Shin *Kaiyakugo* ni Tsuite," (Japanese translation) *ShR* XVII: 2, 1932, pp. 288–295. The École Française d'Extrême-Orient also has a copy of this *Hua-i i-yü*.

[47] Cf. Ishida, M., "*Shigen-yakugo* ni Tsuite," *Tōyōgaku Sōhen* I, Osaka 1934, pp. 1–26, Ishida, "*Roryōsairyaku* ni Mietaru Kan-Mō Taiyaku Goi ni Tsuite," *Mōkogaku* II, 1938, pp. 119–144, and Yamamoto M., "Kan-Mō Taiyaku Goi ni Tsuite," *Haneda Hakushi Shōju Kinen, Tōyōshi Ronsō,* Kyoto 1950, pp. 977–993.

# CHAPTER II

## RECONSTRUCTION OF JURCHEN PHONOLOGY

The *hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 series, which recorded spoken and written languages actually used by the inhabitants in their native lands at the time of their compilation, serve as good material for the historical study of the languages of China's neighbors. Abundant vocabularies recorded therein are, of course, invaluable, and the phonological system, as well as the form of each word, of the language can be reconstructed through the Chinese characters which were uniformly used to transliterate each word.

It goes without saying that many methodological problems remain to be solved in reconstructing a language in any given historical stage. However, insofar as such materials as the *Hua-i i-yü* recorded and transliterated by a person or a number of persons with a uniform method are concerned, it is possible to attain reliable results in their analysis and reconstruction by using the same method, because in compiling the *Hua-i i-yü* systematic methods were employed by Chinese to transcribe the languages, and, moreover, languages which were considered direct descendants of those languages or are closely related to them can be referred to. In the case of the Jurchen language, such a referential language is Manchu.

Since the *Hua-i i-yü* series containing the Jurchen section, with or without native script, were produced by the Ssu-i-kuan 四夷館 (later Ssu-i-kuan 四譯館) and the Hui-t'ung-kuan 會同館 the Chinese transcription used to record the Jurchen sounds is based undoubtedly on the phonological system of the Peking dialect in the Ming period. The purpose in producing the *Nü-chen-kuan i-yü* 女眞館譯語, i.e. the Jurchen section of the *Hua-i i-yü*, was to teach Chinese people how to pronounce Jurchen words. Accordingly, it is necessary to rely upon the sounds represented by the Chinese transliteration characters to reconstruct the Jurchen sounds in that period. Knowledge of the pronunciation of characters used in transliteration in other sections of the *Hua-i i-yü*, either with native script or without, which have already been deciphered thanks to previous scholarship,[1] as well as

[1] E.g. Nishida Tatsuo, *Seibankan-yakugo no Kenkyū, Chibetto Gengogaku Josetsu*, Kyoto 1970, Nishida T., *Mentenkan-yakugo no Kenkyū, Biruma Gengogaku Josetsu*, Kyoto

our present understanding of Ming Chinese phonology, furnishes an important key to reconstruction of Jurchen sounds transcribed in Chinese characters.

The pronunciations of the Chinese characters, however, do not always correspond to those of the Jurchen words due to discrepancies between the phonological system of Chinese and Jurchen. Thus, because of this sort of defect in the Chinese transliteration, the Manchu language plays an important supplementary role in the reconstruction of Jurchen phonology.

## 1. Phonological System of Chinese in the Ming Period

Although there are several rhyme dictionaries of Chinese dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, much remains to be done in the reconstruction of the phonology of that period, and most of the works on the history of Chinese phonology omit discussion of

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1972, Izui Hisanosuke, *Hikaku Gengogaku Kenkyū,* Osaka-Tokyo 1949, pp. 103 ff., Izui H., "*Happyakukan-Zatsuji* Narabini *Raibun* no Kaidoku," *Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Kiyō* II, Kyoto 1953, pp. 1–109, Tasaka Okimichi, "*Kaikaikan-yakugo* Goshaku" I–III, *TG* XXX: 1, 1946, pp. 96–131; XXX: 2, pp. 232–296; XXX: 4, 1944, pp. 534–560, Tasaka O., "*Kaikaikan-yakugo* Hosei," *TG* XXXIII: 3–4, 1951, pp. 400–413, Iha Fuyū, *Nantō Hōgen Shi Kō,* Tokyo 1934, pp. 307–349, Ōtomo Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Jidai no Kokugo Onsei no Kenkyū,* Tokyo 1963, pp. 269–349, Yamazaki Tadashi, "*Kaiyakugo* Goshaku, Iwayuru Kōshubon no Goi no Bu," *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō* X, 1953, pp. 116–134, Ogura Shimpei, "*Chōsenkan-yakugo* Goshaku" I–II, *TG* XXVIII: 3, 1941, pp. 361–421; XXVIII: 4, 1941, pp. 511–576, Ōno Tōru, "*Kaiyakugo Mentenkan-zatsuji* no Goshaku, Kemburijji Daigaku Zōhon o Chūshin to Shite," *Ōsaka Gaikokugo Daigaku Gakuhō* XVII, 1967, pp. 127–173, Mun Sŏn-kyu, "*Chosŏnkuan-yŏkŏ* sang ŭi Chungkuk Ŭmun Soko," *Yŏksa Hakpo* XVII–XVIII, 1962, pp. 65–81, Ch'en Ching-ho, "*An-nan i-yü, Hua-i i-yü* chung Yüeh-yü pu-fen chih yen-chiu" I–II, *Wen-shih-che Hsüeh-pao* V, 1942, pp. 149–240; VI, 1943, pp. 161–227, Ch'en Ching-ho, "*Annan-yakugo* no Kenkyū" I–VI, *Shigaku* XXXIX: 3, 1966, pp. 23–64; XXXIX: 4, 1967, pp. 37–54; XL: 1, 1967, pp. 25–85; XLI: 1, 1968, pp. 1–63; XLI: 2, 1968, pp. 33–76; XLI: 3, 1968, pp. 71–121, S. Ogura, "A Corean Vocabulary," *BSOS* IV: 1, 1926, pp. 1–10, Marian Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIVe siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389* I–II, Wrosław 1949; 1959, Erich Haenisch, *Sinomongolische Glossare I. Das Hua-I ih-yü,* (*ADAW* V) 1956, E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, "A Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay Words and Phrases collected between A.D. 1403 and 1511 (?)," *BSOS* VI, 1930–32, pp. 715–749, F. W. K. Müller, "Vocabularien der Pa-Yi- und Pah-Poh-Sprachen aus dem *Hua-I-Yi-Yü*," *TP* I: 3, 1892, pp. 1–39, Louis Ligeti, "Un vocabulair sino-ouigour des Ming. Le *Kao-tch'ang-kouan yi-chou* du Bureau des Traducteurs" I–II, *AOH* XIX: 2, 1966, pp. 117–199; XIX: 3, 1966, pp. 257–316, etc. Concerning previous linguistic studies on the *Hua-i i-yü* before 1954, refer to Yamazaki T., "*Kaiyakugo* Kenkyū Shōshi" I–II, *Chōsen Gakkai Kaihō* XIV, 1952, pp. 4–7; XV, 1952, p. 8, Yamazaki T., "Wagakuni ni Okeru *Kaiyakugo* Kenkyū Shi" I–II, *Chōsen Gakuhō* V, 1953, pp. 45–58; VI, 1954, pp. 163–165.

Middle Chinese, i.e. Old Mandarin.

The following is a survey of what has been achieved thus far concerning the process of phonological changes from Old to Modern Mandarin.[2]

The description of the phonological system of the northern dialect of Chinese in the Yüan period has to a great extent been determined by the usage of the rhyme dictionary *Chung-yüan yin-yün* 中原音韻 of Chou Te-ch'ing 周德清 from 1324.[3] Although several rhyme dictionaries or tables, such as the *Huang-chi-ching-shih* 皇極經世, the *Ch'ieh-yün chih-chang-t'u* 切韻指掌圖, the *Ku-chin yün-hui-chü-yao* 古今韻會舉要, the *Meng-ku tzu-yün* 蒙古字韻, etc., had been produced since the eleventh century, the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* can be regarded as representative material for the most developed stage of Old Mandarin. In this rhyme dictionary five to six thousand Chinese characters are classified according to rhyme categories, unlike the *Kuang-yün* 廣韻 from 1008 and others, which classify characters at first into four tones and then subclassify them according to the Grade I to IV. The phonological system, in contrast to that of Ancient Chinese which can be reconstructed with the *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻, one of the oldest rhyme dictionaries, produced in A.D. 601, has roughly the following characteristics:

All the voiced initial consonants in Ancient Chinese had become voiceless intials; more specifically, all the initial lenes in syllables in the level tone changed to aspirated fortes and in oblique tone to unaspirated fortes, and the fricatives *γ(a)-*, *ž-*, and *z-* changed to *z(a)-*, *š-* or *ṣ-*, and *s-* respectively in the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* without exception. The initial velar nasal *ŋ-* as a rule disappeared, with some exceptions. The initial *'-*, *j-* and *γ-* disappeared. The initial *k-*, *k'-*, and *x-* in Grade III changed to *kj-*, *k'j-*, and *xj-* respectively. Initial *t̂-* in Grade II merged with *ṭṣ-*, and *t̂-* in Grade III with *t́ś-*. However, *t́ś-* followed by the vowel *ï* changed to *ṭṣ-*, and initial *t̂-* and *t́ś-* followed by *-uei* in Grade III to *ṭṣ-*. The initial $p^{w}$*ï-*, $p^{w'}$*ï-*, $b^{w}$*ï-*, and $m^{w}$*ï-* followed by central or back vowels changed to *f-* or *w-*. Phonological changes of initials exerted influences on the tone system.

The three final nasal consonants *-ŋ*, *-n*, and *-m* in Ancient Chinese had still been preserved, but the final *-m* preceded by initial bilabial consonants had dissimilated to *-n*.

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[2] As a matter of convenience transcriptions of Chinese vowels are simplified here in the following manner (the phonetic alphabets are in brackets): *ae*[æ], *a*[ɑ], *e*[ɛ], *i*[ɪ], *ï*[ɨ], *o*[ɔ].

[3] For details, such as example Chinese characters, refer to Nishida, *Seibankan-yakugo no Kenkyū*, pp.7–12, mainly based on works by Lu Chih-wei, such as "Shih *Chung-yüan yin-yün*," *Yen-ching Hsüeh-pao* XXXI, 1946, pp.35–70, and also to Hugh Stimson, *The Jongyuan In Yunn. a Guide to Old Mandarin Pronunciation*, New Haven, 1966. See also E. G. Pulleyblank, "Late Middle Chinese" I–II, *AM* n.s. XV: 2, 1970, pp.197–239; XVI, 1971, pp.121–126.

The final *-p, -t,* and *-k,* forming the abrupt tone in Ancient Chinese, changed to either the glottal stop *-ʔ*, semi-vowel *-j,* or fricative *-ḥ* depending upon individual rhyme categories.

The medial *-ï-* of Grade III merged with *-i-* of Grade IV. The principal vowels *a* and *ua* of the rhymes *ko* 歌 and *ko* 戈 in Grade I of the rhyme group *chia* 假 changed to *o* and *uo.* The finals *-ia* and *-ïwa* of the rhyme *ma* 麻 in Grade III of the rhyme group *chia* 假 changed to *-ie* and *-iue* respectively. The finals *-ïaen* and *-ïwaen* of the rhyme *yüan* 元 preceded by *k-, k'-,* or *x-* became *-ien* and *-iuen,* and were no longer distinguished from the rhymes *hsien* 先 and *hsien* 仙. The ancient Chinese *-ïwaŋ* of the rhyme *yang* 陽 became *-waŋ.* When the rhyme *chiang-yang* 江陽 without medial *-w-* was preceded by *ṭṣ-* in Grade II, the medial *-w-* was added to it in Old Mandarin. Rhymes without the medial *-w-* such as *chih* 支, *chih* 脂, and *chih* 之 belonging to the rhyme group *chih* 止 preceded by *ṭṣ-, ṭ́ṣ-, ts-,* or *ṇz-* in Ancient Chinese changed to *ï,* i.e. the rhyme *chih-ssu* 支思. Rhymes with the medial *-w-* such as *chih* 支, *chih* 脂, and *wei* 微 in the rhyme group *chih* 止; and *ch'i* 齊, *chi* 祭, *fei* 廢, *hui* 灰, and *t'ai* 泰 in the rhyme group *hsieh* 蟹 in Ancient Chinese changed to *-uei,* i.e. the rhyme *ch'i-wei* 齊微 in Old Mandarin.

Subsequently, the Northern Chinese dialect as a stage between Old Mandarin represented in the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* mentioned above and Modern Mandarin must be considered. It may be called Middle Mandarin, and can be reconstructed using rhyme dictionaries from the middle of fifteenth century through the first half of the seventeenth, such as the *Yün-lüeh-i-t'ung* 韻略易通, the *Chiao-ch'in-yün* 交泰韻, the *Ch'ung-ting Ssu-ma Wen-kung Teng-yün-t'u-ching* 重訂司馬溫公等韻圖經, the *Wu-fang yüan-yin,* 五方元音, the *Hsi-ju erh-mu-tzu* 西儒耳目資, etc. Those materials, however, represent characteristics of individual regions in different periods and cannot be connected as consequentive stages in the process of development of a dialect.

Among those materials, the *Teng-yün-t'u-ching* of Hsü Hsiao 徐孝 from 1606, which recorded the Peking dialect in the Wan-li 萬曆 reign period of the Ming dynasty, can be regarded as indicative of the phonological system in an earlier stage than the Modern Peking dialect, and there is no doubt that the phonological system recorded in it may be most properly utilized for the purpose of researching the *Hua-i i-yü.*[4] This does not, however, necessarily mean that the Chinese represented in the *Chung-yüan yin-yün,* in the *Teng-yün-t'u-ching,* and the modern Peking dialect are in historical sequence.

The phonological characteristics of the *Ch'ung-ting Ssu-ma Wen-kung Teng-yün-*

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[4] Nishida, *Seibankan-yakugo no Kenkyū,* p. 12.

*t'u-ching* in contrast to those of the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* are as follows:[5]

The initial *ɬ́-* and *ʈʂ-* in Old Mandarin were merged into a single consonant; that is to say, the distinction between Grade II and Grade III had been lost and both became the phoneme *ʈʂ-*. The initial *w-* in the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* disappeared, and the initial *ŋ-* which had been preserved in the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* also disappeared in the *Teng-yün-t'u-ching.*

The tone system consisting of the high level, low level, rising, and falling tones is the same as that in Old Mandarin, but distribution of the abrupt tone of Ancient Chinese among later four tones is quite different; e.g. the abrupt tones with voiceless initials were distributed among all the four tones, whereas in Old Mandarin they became rising tones. Moreover, the final glottal stop and the like had already disappeared by this stage.

The final nasal consonant *-m* merged with *-n*, and the final *-uon* merged with *-uan.* The final *-an* preceded by *kj-*, *k'j-*, or *xj-* changed to *-en* and became indistinguishable from the original *-en* after *kj-*, *k'j-*, or *xj-*. Since both *ɬ́-* and *ʈʂ* had become *ʈʂ-*, the finals *-ien, -in* and *-iŋ* preceded by *ʈʂ-* in Old Mandarin changed to *-an, -ən,* and *-əŋ,* and accordingly became indistinguishable from the original *-an, -ən,* and *-əŋ* after *ʈʂ-*. The final *-ieu* became *-iau* in the *Teng-yün-t'u-ching,* but *-ieu* after *ʈʂ-* became *-au.* The principal vowel *iu* in Old Mandarin became *y*, but *-iun* was still *-iun,* and not *-yn.* The Old Mandarin *-iuŋ* and *-uŋ* after *ts-*, *ts'-*, *s-*, or *l-* all became *-uŋ,* that is to say, Grade I/II and Grade III/IV types merged into a single syllable. The finals *-un* and *-uŋ* preceded by *p-*, *p'-*, *m-*, or *ɸ-* in Old Mandarin became *-ən* and *-əŋ* in the *Teng-yün-t'u-ching.*

The syllables without the medial *-w-* in the rhymes *chih* 支, *chih* 脂, and *chih* 之 in Ancient Chinese, when they had the initial *ɬ́-*, belonged to the rhyme *ch'i-wei* 齊微, and with the initial *ʈʂ-*, *ts-*. or *ź-*, to the rhyme *chih-ssu* 支思 in the *Chung-yüan yin-yün;* however, when the initial was *ts-*, they became *tsi,* when it was *ʈʂ-*, they became *ʈʂi* in the *Teng-yün-t'u-ching.* It is also shown that the Old Mandarin *ź-* followed by the principal vowel *i* did not preserve the initial consonant, and through a different process had already become *ər.*

All the bilabial initials were treated as initials with the medial *-w-* in the *Teng-yün-t'u-ching.* Accordingly, the initials $p^w$-, $p^{w'}$-, and $m^w$- can be considered phonemically the same as *p-*, *p'-*, and *m-*, and all the bilabial initial may be treated simply as *p-*, *p'-*, and *m-*.

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[5] For details, such as example Chinese characters, cf. *ibid.*, pp.13–18, mainly based on works by Lu Chih-wei, such as "Chi Hsü Hsiao *Ch'ung-ting Ssu-ma Wen-kung Teng-yün-t'u-ching,*" *Yen-ching Hsüe-pao* XXXII, 1947, pp.169–196, and "Chi Lan Mao *Yün-lüeh-i-t'ung,*" *Yen-ching Hsüeh-Pao* XXXII, 1947, pp.161–168.

Thus, the phonological system of Middle Mandrin in the Ming period represented in the rhyme dictionary, *Teng-yün-t'u-ching*, is as follows:

*Initials* (initial consonants)

k-, k'-, x-; t-, t'-, n-; p-, p'-, m-, f-, w-; ts-, ts'-, s-, ṭs-, ṭs'-, ṣ-, ẓ-, l-; kj-, k'j-, xj-.

*Finals* (principal vowels plus final phonemes)

-əŋ, -iŋ, -uŋ, -iuŋ; -i, -ɨ, -ər, -y; -u, -iu; -ai, -iai, -uai; -ei, -uei; -au, -iau; -o, -io, -uo; -a, -ia, -ua; -e, -ie, -ue, -iue; -ən, -in, -un, -iun; -an, -ien, uan, -iuen; -aŋ, -iaŋ, -uaŋ; -əu, iəu.

After this stage the modern Peking dialect developed via the following representative phonological changes.

*Initials*

1) *kj-*, *k'j-*, and *xj-* > *ťš-*, *ťš'-*, and *š-*.
   *k-*, *k'-*, and *x-* (followed by *i*) > *ťš-*, *ťš'-*, and *š-*.
2) *s-* (followed by *i* or *y*) > *š-*.

*Finals*

3) *-ŧ* > *-u*, *-e* (in part) > *-ə*, *-o* (in part) > *-ə*, *-io* > *iau*, *-ye* and *-iai* > *-ie*, *-jau* > *-iau*.
4) *-iu* > *-y*, *-iue* > *-ye*, *-iuŋ* > *-yŋ*, *-iun* > *-yn*, *-un* > *-ən*.

## 2. Method of Interpretation of Jurchen Characters

The pronunciation of individual Jurchen characters, of which some are phonograms and some are ideograms, can be reconstructed by comparing all occurrences of a given character accompanied by its transliteration into Chinese in the *Sino-Jurchen Glossary* (*Nü-chen-kuan tsa-tzu* 女眞館雜字) with each other in all possible combinations and then by setting up the phonemes that leave the fewest contradictions. As a rule, with the exception of loan words from Chinese, a Jurchen character is transliterated with the same Chinese character or characters in the *Glossary* each time it appears.

There is no problem in those cases where the Jurchen sound transliterated into Chinese existed in the Chinese phonology of that period. The problems arise in those cases where the Chinese did not differentiate sounds which were phonemically differentiated in the Jurchen language. The most striking example is the contrast of fortes and lenes. As was mentioned above, Chinese had lost this contrast, which can be presumed to have existed in Jurchen on the basis of their existence in the other Tunguz lanuages including Manchu, and accordingly the Chinese should have been unable to differentiate in writing the fortes from lenes in Jurchen. However, when investigating each "barbarian" word in the *Hua-i i-yü* with its Chinese transliteration, one can observe the fact that all the fortes of the

"barbarian" languages are transliterated into Chinese with aspirated consonants and lenes with unaspirated consonants. The method of transliteration of Mongolian words used in the *Secret History of the Mongols* is the same.[6] As a matter of fact, aspirated consonants in Chinese transliteration correspond to the Jurchen phonemes which are reflected fortes in the Manchu cognates, and unaspirated consonants correspond to the Jurchen phonemes which are reflected lenes in the Manchu cognates throughout the text. Thus,

(165)[7] 𑿨 (*tu* 都) = **du*

e. g. 507[8] 𑿨 𑿪 **duxa* (都哈) 'intestine'; Ma. *duha* id.

(450) 𑿫 (*t'u* 禿) = **tu*

(366) 𑿬 (*ki* 吉) = **gi*

e. g. 006 𑿫 𑿬 **tugi* (禿吉) 'cloud'; Ma. *tugi* id.

(209) 𑿭 (*tṣe* 者) = **je*

(253) 𑿮 (*tṣ'e* 車) = **če*

e.g. 044 𑿭 𑿮 **ječe* (者車) 'frontier'; Ma. *ječe* id.

(305) 𑿯 (*pi-t'e-xe* 必忒黑) = **bitehe*

e. g. 216 𑿯 **bitehe* 'writing'; Ma. *bithe* id.

The fact that Chinese characters with the initial *p'-* are not used for transliteration indicates that an *f-*, reflex of a postulated Common Tunguz **p-*, appeared already in the Jurchen of the Ming period and is not, therefore, a Manchu development. The initial **p-* was, however, still preserved in Jurchen in the Chin period, judging from vocabulary listed in the *Chin-kuo yü-chieh* 金國語解. For example,

Chin-Jur. **poxoli* (保活里) 'short'; Ming-Jur. 691 𑿱 𑿲 𑿳 **foxolo* (弗活羅) id; Ma. *foholon* id. < **pokaran*[9]

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[6] Cf. Ch'en Yüan, *Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shih i-yin-yung-tzu k'ao,* Peking 1934, Hattori Shirō, *Genchōhishi no Mōkogo o Arawasu Kanji no Kenkyū,* Tokyo 1946, Hattori S., "The Chinese Dialect on which the Transcription of the *Yüan-ch'ao mi-shih* was Based," *Acta Asiatica* XXIV, 1973, pp.35–44, and Murayama Shichirō, *"Kaiyakugo* to *Genchōhishi* to no Seiritsu no Sengo Kankei ni Kansuru Mondai no Kaiketsu," *Tōhōgaku* XXII, 1961, pp.115–130.

[7] The numeral in parentheses before a Jurchen character henceforth indicates the character number used in Chap. III.

[8] The numeral before a Jurchen word henceforth indicates the entry number of the *Sino-Jurchen Glossary* appearing in Chap. IV. When the word appears in more than one entry, only one entry number is shown here.

[9] Nikolaus Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen, Teil I, Vergleichende Lautlehre,* Wiesbaden 1960, p.55.

In the case of the consonants *l* and *r*, which could not be differentiated as initials in Chinese, the Manchu cognates are important factors in solving whether the consonants are *l* or *r* in Jurchen. Thus,

(515) 罗 (*luo* 羅) = **lo*

e.g. 285 忽罗 **omolo* (斡莫羅) 'grandchild'; Ma. *omolo* id.

(648) 阿 (*fei-la* 非剌) = **fila*

e.g. 243 阿 **fila* 'dish'; Ma. *fila* id.

(370) 戈 (*la* 剌) = **ra*

e.g. 208 反戈 **tura* (禿剌) 'pillar'; Ma. *tura* id.

Since the initial **r-* is, as in other Altaic languages, not supposed to have existed in Jurchen, only **l-* can be reconstructed initially. Thus,

(155) 勃 (*le-fu* 勒付) = **lefu*

e.g. 145 勃 **lefu* 'bear'; Ma. *lefu* id.

In the case of Chinese loan words, the Chinese *l* is usually borrowed as *l* in Jurchen. Therefore, if a character is used for a Chinese loan, the original of which had the *l*, the consonant *l* can be reconstructed in Jurchen. Thus,

(667) 里 (*lu* 綠) = **lu*

e.g. 622 里 **lu* 'green' < Chin. *lu* 綠 id.

(196) 友 (*la* 剌) = **la*

e.g. 25 友 卉 **lan* (剌安) 'orchid' < Chin. *lan* 蘭 id.

There is an exception, namely that the Chinese *l* is borrowed as *r*; the initial *r-*, however, is dropped and does not appear in Jurchen. Accordingly, there is no problem in this reconstruction.

(167) 册 (*iaŋ* 羊) = **yan*

e.g. 261 册 **yan* 'tael' < Chin. *liaŋ* 兩 id.

In those cases where no Manchu cognate, no example of initial use, and no example of a Chinese loan is found, the Chinese transliteration used in the texts of the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script series serves as the conclusive factor. Thus,

(556) 卖 (*ṣi-li* 失里) = **šili* (?) or **širi* (?)

e.g. 067 卖 兒 **šilihe* (?) or **širihe* (?) 'sand'; Ma. ?

However, the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts have a cognate, where the Chinese transliteration character *ər* (兒) is used: **čirγo* (灼兒窩) id. Thus, the character 卖

given above is reconstructed as **širi*.

All the similar problems in reconstruction, such as *on* or *un*, etc., can be solved by the methods just given.

When the transliteration character has two or more pronunciations, the same method can be applied. Thus,

(333)伞(*se, sai* 塞) = **se*

e.g. 191 伞 夬 **seke* (塞 克) 'sable'; Ma. *seke* id.

(184) 乍 (*se, sai* 塞) = **sai*[10]

e.g. 009 乍 礼 买 **saimagi* (塞 馬 吉) 'frost'; Ma. ?

Because, 09 乍 **sai* (賽) 'thank-offering' < Chin. *sai* 賽 id.

Common Tunguz presumably had eight vowels both short and long with the following sound-values:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Back Vowels | a | o | u | ï |
| Front Vowels | e | ö | ü | i |

Among these vowels, the back vowels **a* and **o* are still preserved as *a* and *o*, and the front vowel **e* as *e* in Manchu; the back vowel **ï* supposedly merged with the front vowel **i* and, as a result, the vowel *i* became a neutral vowel in vowel harmony. The front vowel **ü*, as a rule, also merged with the back vowel **u*.

The phonetic changes of the front vowel **ö* are slightly complicated. The vowel **ö* changed to *e* in the first syllable, and **ö* changed to *u* in the second or subsequent syllables in the Jurchen of the Ming period.

e.g. 329 吏 罕 **nequr* (捏 苦 魯) 'friend' < Mo. *nökör* id.

However, the vowel **ö* preceded by a bilabial consonant always changed to *e*.

e.g. 570 奴 土 **meŋγun* (蒙 古 溫) 'silver'; Ma. *menggun* < Mo. *mönggün* id.

Also the vowel **ö* preceded by a velar consonant always changed to *u*.

e.g. 541 夫 **xuxun* (忽 渾) 'pap'; Ma. *huhun* id. < Mo. *kökün* id.

Thus, due to such phonetic changes the vowel *u* became a neutral vowel in vowel

10 Lajos Ligeti reconstructs this character as **se*, however. Louis Ligeti, "Les inscriptions djurtchen de Tyr. La formule *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*," *AOH* XII: 1–3, 1961, p.12.

harmony, and only the vowel *a* and *o* are preserved as back vowels in Ming Jurchen.

It should, however, be noted here that the front vowel **ö* had still been preserved in Jurchen until the Chin period. In the *Hua-i i-yü,* for example, (704) 𛀀 **do* (朵) is the only dative-locative case suffix, but another variant 𛀁, presumably **dö*, which is appended to nouns containing front vowels, is found in Jurchen inscriptions.

e.g. 𛀀 𛀁 　 𛀂 𛀃 𛀄 ...[11]
**te-dö* 　 **iši-dala*
'up to now' 'until reaching' = 'until now'

𛀅 𛀆 𛀇 　 𛀂 𛀈 ...[12]
**ǰuγu-do* 　 **iši-hi*
'to the road' 'having reached' = 'having reached the road'

Also in the *Yung-ning-ssu pei* 永寧寺碑 inscription erected in the Ming period these two variants of the dative-locative case suffix, 𛀀 **do* and 𛀁 **dö,* appear. Obsolete forms may have been used there as literary elements or stylistic reasons, but it can also be assumed that a Jurchen dialect which even in that period still preserved front vowels such as *ö* was recorded there. Judging from the geographical location where this stele was erected, this is a strong possibility.

With this dative-locative suffix **dö,* conversely, it is possible to substantiate the existence of the front vowel **ü* which had not yet merged with the back vowel **u* in the Chin period.

e.g. 𛀉 𛀊 　 𛀋 𛀌 𛀁 ...𛀂 𛀍[13]
**füwe* 　 **gürün-dö* 　 **iši-bi*
'old' 'to the country' 'reach' = 'reach the old country'

Accordingly, since the suffix **dö* is coupled only with front-vowel nouns, the Jurchen word meaning 'country' is reconstructed as **gürün,* not **γurun.*[14]

However, no trace of the back vowel **ï* remains even in Chin Jurchen. For example, in the inscriptions of the Chin period (381) 𛀍 *-*bi* (別) is the only nonperfective indicative suffix found, just as in the *Hua-i i-yü,* and is appended to all verbal stems. There-

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11 The *Ta-chin te-sheng-t'o-sung pei* 大金得勝陀頌碑 inscription, line 27.

12 The *Pei-ch'ing-ch'eng Ch'uan-shan mo-yai pei* 北青城串山摩崖碑 inscription, line 3.

13 The *Ta-chin te-sheng-t'o-sung pei* inscription, line 28.

14 Ligeti reconstructs **gürun* even in Ming Jurchen. Ligeti, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

fore, it can be assumed that the vowel **i* had already merged with *i* prior to the Chin period and that, in the system of vowel harmony, *i* was neutral.

In the Manchu script, letters transcribing the velar consonants /k/, /g/, and /h/ have two forms each, i.e.  and  for /k/,  and  for /g/, and  and  for /h/, one used when followed by the back vowels *a, o,* and *û,* and the other when followed by the other vowels *e, i,* and *u.* It is commonly considered that the two forms are merely orthographical conventions based on the Mongolian script from which Manchu borrowed. However, even when the velar consonants are not followed by a vowel, but are followed by a consonant, the usage of two forms of letters transcribing the velar consonants is systematically differentiated depending upon the individual word. For example, the letter  [15] is used to transcribe /k/ before consonants in *akǰan* 'thunder,' *okto* 'medicin,' *uksin* 'armor,' etc., whereas, the letter  is used for /k/ in *sektembi* 'to spread,' *feksimbi* 'to dash,' etc. The fact that the two forms are differentiated even though the vowels on which this differentiation is based do not follow indicates that they are used to transcribe two phonetically different sounds as in Mongolian, although they are allophones of the same phoneme, one occurring in back-vowel words and the other in front-vowel words. Thus, the letter , usually followed by the back vowels, can be considered as that which transcribes the post-velar fortis [q] and the letter , usually followed by the neutral vowels and the front vowel, as the pre-velar fortis [k] in Manchu. Likewise, the letters  and  should be considered as the post-velar lenis and spirant, [γ] and [x], and the letters  and  as the pre-velar lenis and spirant, [g] and [h].[16]

The Jurchen sounds which are transliterated with the Chinese *xa* (哈) with a post-velar consonant in some cases correspond to *ha,* and in some cases to *ka* or *ga* in Manchu cognates. Judging from this fact, it can also be assumed that the consonants in the syllables /ha/, /ka/, and /ga/ are not pre-velar, but post-velar consonants *x, q,* and *γ* in Jurchen. Thus,

(236)  (*xa* 哈) = **xa*

e.g. 066  **yaxa* (牙哈) 'charcoal'; Ma. *yaha* id.

(393)  (*xa* 哈) = **qa*

e.g. 434  **taqa* (塔哈) 'for a while'; Ma. *taka* id.

(266)  (*xa* 哈) = **γa*

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[15] The medial form of .

[16] Cf. Denis Sinor, "La transcription du mandjou," *JA* CCXXXVII: 2, 1949, pp.261–272, L. Ligeti, "A propos de l'écriture mandchoue," *AOH* II: 2–3, 1952, pp.235–301, and Uehara Hisashi, *Manshū-jitsuroku no Kenkyū,* Tokyo 1960, pp.103–105. The commonly used spelling of Manchu words will, nevertheless, continue to be used henceforth.

e.g. 008  *aγa (阿哈) 'rain'; Ma. *aga* id.

Likewise, the sounds transcribed with the Chinese *xuo* (和) correspond to *ho* and *ko* in Manchu cognates, and accordingly these consonants are also considered to be post-velar.

(214)  (*xuo* 和) = **xo*

e.g. 116  *orxo (韓兒和) 'grass'; Ma. *orho* id.

(145)  (*t'i-xuo* 替和) = **tiqo*

e.g. 161  **tiqo* 'fowl'; Ma. *tiko* id.

To sum up, the post-velar consonants **q*, *γ, and **x* can be reconstructed in Jurchen as allophones, which occur in back-vowel syllables, of the pre-velar consonants *k, g,* and *h* respectively.

In Manchu, in addition to the vowels, *a, e, i, o,* and *u,* there is a special vowel which is written with the Manchu letter  and is often transcribed as *û*.[17] This vowel *û* seems to have been considered a sort of long vowel by some scholars.[18] It is, however, always preceded by post-velar consonant letters, , , or , with only a few exceptions such as *mûnggu* 'nest of sea-swallow,' *sûna* 'leather of dog's leash,' *ûlen* 'house,' etc., and in almost all cases appears in words containing back or neutral vowels. Chinese *kiun* 郡[19] 'county' is borrowed as *giyûn* in Manchu. In the *Han-Ch'ŏng Munkam* 漢淸文鑑, a Sino-Manchu-Korean glossary compiled by the Sayŏk Wŏn 司譯院 (Translators Bureau of Korea) in the Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 period (ca. 1775), the Manchu vowel *û* is transcribed with the Korean script  which expresses the Korean back vowel *o*. From this it can be seen that the vowel *û* should be regarded as a back vowel which appears mostly after the post-velar consonants.[20]

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[17] However, it is also transcribed as *ū* by Möllendorff and others, and *ō* by Harlez and others.

[18] E.g. P.G. Möllendorff, *A Manchu Grammar with Analyzed Text,* Shanghai 1892, p. 1, I. Zakharov', *Polnyj man'chzhursko-russkij slovar'*, Sanktpeterburg 1875, p. 3, p. 20, L. Langlès, *Alphabet Mantchou, rédigé d'après le Syllabaire et le Dictionnaire universel de cette langue,* Paris 1807, p.100, C. de Harlez, *Manuel de la langue mandchoue, Grammaire, anthologie et lexique,* Paris 1837, p.15, etc.

[19] Not yet changed to *kyn* in that period.

[20] Cf. D. Sinor, *op. cit.,* pp.261–272, Ligeti, *AOH* II, pp.235–301, Uehara H., *op. cit.,* pp.55–57, Ikegami J., "Manshūgo no Jakkan no Bungo no *ū* o Arawasu Boin ni Tsuite," *Tôyôgo Kenkyû* I. Tokyo 1946, pp.18–24, William M. Austin, "The Phonemics and Morphophonemics of Manchu," N. Poppe ed., *American Studies of Altaic Linguistics,* Bloomington 1962, pp.15–22, and Imanishi Shunjū "Mango *û* On Kō," *Tōhōgaku Kiyō* I, 1959, p.47.

The question of whether Ming Jurchen preserved this kind of back vowel *u* or not, in other words, whether the contrast of the back vowel *u* and the front vowel *ü* existed in Ming Jurchen, presents itself.

Assuming that, for example, the character (165) , which is transliterated with *tu* (都), is to be read as **du* tentatively with a back vowel, there is no contradiction from the view point of vowel harmony in such examples as the following:

306  **dutan* (?) (都塔安) 'censor' < Chin. *tu-t'aŋ* 都堂 id.

459  **wadu-* (?) (瓦都) 'to kill'; Ma. *wa-* id.

507  **duxa* (?) (都哈) 'intestine'; Ma. *duha* id.

Whereas, unless this character is read as **dü* with a front vowel, contradictions occur in the following examples:

467  **hendü-* (?) (恨都) 'to say'; Ma. *hendu-* id.

022  **wendühün* (?) (晚都洪) 'empty'; Ma. *untuhun* id.

676  **ishündü* (?) (亦宣都) 'mutual'; Ma. *ishende* id.

That is to say, there was no distinction between *u* and *ü* in Jurchen in that period and the vowel *u* was neutral in vowel harmony since the front vowel *ü* had merged with the back vowel *u*. Thus, the reconstructed form of the example character (165)  can be set up as **du* with a neutral vowel.

Inasmuch as the Manchu language preserves the back vowel *û*, as was discussed above, only after velar consonants, the possibility of the existence of a distinction between *u* and *ü* preceded by velar consonants in Jurchen, too, must be surveyed at this point.

Provided that Ming Jurchen had the back vowel *u* after post-velar consonants and the front vowel *ü* after pre-velar consonants, the Jurchen nominal suffix (96) , which is transcribed with *xuŋ* (洪), for example, could be reconstructed either **xun* or **hün*.

Assuming that this suffix is to be pronounced **xun*, there is no problem in the following examples:

098  **yamdixun* (?) (音的洪) 'evening'; Ma. *yamjihûn* id.

406  **banuxun* (?) (巴奴洪) 'indolence'; Ma. *banuhûn* id.

672  **narxun* (?) (納兒洪) 'slender'; Ma. *narhûn* id.

However, unless this suffix is reconstructed as **hün*, there are contradictions in the following examples:

539  **ushün* (?) (兀速洪) 'raw'; Ma. *eshun* id.

022  *wenduhün* (?) (晚 都 洪) 'empty'; Ma. *untuhun* id

721  *emuhün* (?) (厄 木 洪) 'alone'; Ma. *emuhun* id.

As a further example, the character (407), which is transliterated with *k'u* (庫) or *k'u* (苦), sometimes corresponds to *kû* and sometimes to *ku* in the Manchu cognates. It is, accordingly, not possible to decide whether this character is to be read as **qu* or **kü*. For example,

553  **xalaqu* (?) (哈 剌 庫) 'drawers'; Ma. *halakû* id.

466  **miyaqu-* (?) (滅 苦) 'to kneel'; Ma. *niyakûra-* id.

Whereas

122  **ǰekü* (?) (吝 庫) 'seedling'; Ma. *ǰeku* id.

251  **bulugkü* (?) (卜 弄 庫) 'mirror'; Ma. *buleku* id.

550  **tirekü* (?) (替 勒 庫) 'pillow'; Ma. *čirku* id.

Such facts as the above prove that the distinction between the back vowel *u* and the front vowel *ü* had, unlike Manchu, already been lost in the Jurchen in the Ming period even when preceded by velar consonants. It goes without saying that the Common Tunguz **u* appears as *u* in Jurchen.

e.g. 617  **fulagiyan* (*fu-la-kiag* 弗 剌 江) 'red'; Ma. *fulgiyan* id.; Mo. *ulaγan* id. < **pula-gān*[21]

Accordingly, the Ming-Jurchen *u* which had merged with *ü* is a neutral vowel in all cases.

Consequently, the conclusion can be drawn that it is extremely doubtful that the Jurchen represented in the *Chin-kuo yü-chieh* and in inscriptions, that in the *Hua-i i-yü*-with-Script texts, that in the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts, and the Manchu language are in historical sequence of the same dialect. It is of interest to note that the Jurchen in the *Yung-ning-ssu pei* inscription of the Ming period still preserved its archaic phonological features.

Since the Jurchen sounds, for example, which are transliterated with Chinese *xuei* (凹) in some cases correspond to *gui* in the Manchu cognates, the velar consonants followed by the vowel *u* should be regarded as post-velar consonants, as they are when followed by the back vowels *a* and *o*, and not pre-velar consonants. Thus,

(577)  (*xuei* 凹) = **xuwi*

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[21] Poppe, *op. cit.*, p.120.

e.g. 319 *xuwixuwi* (回 回) 'Moslem' < Chin. *xuei-xuei* 回 回 id.

(386) *γuwixolo* (*xuei-xuo-luo* 回 和 羅) = *γuwixolo*

e.g. 184 *γuwixolo* 'turtledove'; Ma. *gui* 'turtle' + *holo* 'crow.'

The fact that the Jurchen intervocalic velar lenis is often not transliterated in Chinese also corroborates the assumption that it is the post-velar consonant γ and not the pre-velar consonant *g*. Thus,

057 *ǰuγu* (*tsu-u* 住 兀) = *ǰuγu* 'road'; Ma. *ǰugun* id.

146 *buγu* (*pu-ku* 卜 古) 'deer'; Ma. *buhu* id.; whereas, the *HIIY*-without-Script give *pu-u* (布 兀) = *buγu* id.

That is to say, the Ming-Jurchen vowel *u* is neutral in classification from the point of view of vowel harmony, but is a back vowel as far as point of articulation is concerned. Hence it can be said that the method used by Lajos Ligeti, where *u* is mechanically set up in words containing other back vowels and *ü* in words containing other front vowels in the Jurchen of the *Hua-i i-yü*, can be improved upon.[22]

In Manchu the velar nasal consonant *ng* [ŋ] occurs only in Chinese loan words, the origin of which had the final *-ŋ*, except in the case of onomatopoeia, and *ng* as an allophone of *n* which occurs when followd by velar stops. Whereas, in Jurchen there was no difference between *-n* and *-ŋ* on the phonemic level; in other words only *-n* appears in Chinese loan words, irrespective of whether the original consonants were *-n* or *-ŋ*. Thus,

(114) *an* (*an* 安) = *an*

e.g. 621 *lan* (刺 安) 'indigo' < Chin. *lan* 藍 id.

198 *tan* (塔 安) 'hall' < Chin. *t'aŋ* 堂 id.

(39) *in* (*in* 因) = *in*

e.g. 167 *kilin* (其 里 因) 'unicorn' < Chin. *k'i-lin* 麒 麟 id.

202 *tin* (替 因) 'court' < Chin. *t'iŋ* 廳

In like fashion, Chinese transliteration characters ending in the final *-ŋ* are used to transliterate only the Jurchen *-n*. Thus,

(167) *iaŋ* (*iaŋ* 羊) = *yan*

e.g. 346 *bayan* (伯 羊) 'wealth'; Ma. *bayan* id.

[22] See Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp. 5–26, and Ligeti, "Note préliminaire sur le déchiffrement des ≫ petits caractères ≪ joutchen," *AOH* III: 2, 1953, pp. 211–228.

579  *ayan* (阿羊) 'wax'; Ma. *ayan* id.

Even in Ming Jurchen, however, the nasal consonant *-ŋ* may have occurred on the phonetic level as an allophone of *n* when followed by velar stops, as in Manchu.

The Manchu script has several special letters, regular letters to which diacritical marks have been added, which are used to transcribe some loan pronunciations. For edample, the letter  is used for the affricate fortis *ts* from the Chinese *ts'*, and the letter  for the affricate lenis *dz* from the Chinese *ts*. In Jurchen, however, all the Chinese loan words seem to have been pronounced with similar native Jurchen sounds.

(135)  (*ṭs'u* 出) = **ču*

e.g. 295  **γučų* (古出) 'servant'; Ma. *gučų* id.

345  **girčų* (吉魯出) 'shame'; Ma. *girčų* id.

Yet, this character  *čų* is also used for Chinese loans, the original of which was pronounced *ts'*. This means that the Chinese consonant *ts'* as well as *ṭs'* was borrowed as *č* in loan words in the Jurchen language, unlike in Manchu. For example,

627   **čuwi* (出衛) 'verdant' < Chin. *ts'ui* 翠 id.

01   **čun* (出溫) 'full' < Chin. *ṭs'uŋ* 充 id.

Paralleling the case of the affricate fortis indicated above, the Chinese unaspirated *ts* was borrowed as the palatalized affricate lenis *ǰ* in Jurchen. Thus,

(418)  (*tsi* 子) = **ǰi*

e.g. 125   **maiǰi* (埋子) 'wheat' < Chin. *mai-tsi* 麥子 id.

259   **xoǰi* (和子) 'casket' < Chin. *xo-tsi* 盒子 id.

252    **xaǰixa* (哈子哈) 'scissors'; Ma. *hasaha* id.

Even judging alone from the fact that this character  is also used for a native Jurchen word, as in the last example above, it is certain that this character was not used for a loan pronunciation. Although the initial consonant transcribed with this character appears as *s* in Manchu, as in the same example, it is extremely unlikely that native Jurchen words had consonants like *z*, *ž*, or *dz*, based on the other Jurchen vocabulary and Tunguz languages. The Jurchen *ǰ* in some other cases in addition to the above example appears as *s* in Manchu, as a matter of fact.

e.g. 743   (*i-ṭsa* 一年) = **iǰa-* 'to assemble'; Ma. *isa-* id.

Moreover, this consonant, even in Chinese loan words, though only in those cases where

the borrowing had occurred in such an early period, appears as *s* in Manchu. Let the two examples of Chinese loans cited above be compared with the Manchu cognates.

125 麥 禾 *maiji* (埋 子) 'wheat'; Ma. *maise* id.

259 叉 禾 *xoji* (和 子) 'casket'; Ma. *hose* id.

Contrary to the above example, the Chinese syllable *si* was borrowed as *si,* as it was, in Chinese loans, though the alveoral fricative consonant *s* is always palatalized when followed by the vowel *i* as *ši* in native Jurchen words without exception. For example,

(590) 五 (*ṣi* 失) = **ši*

e.g. 427 爷 五 **weši-* (斡 失) 'to raise'; Ma. *wesi-* id.

516 五 休 斤 **šilihi* (失 里 非) 'gall'; Ma. *silhi* id.

(606) 录 (*u-ṣi* 兀 失) = **uši*

e.g. 050 录 刘 **ušin* (兀 失 因) 'rice field'; Ma. *usin* id.

(428) 朱 (*i-ṣi* 一 十) = **iši*

e.g. 380 朱 **iši-* 'to reach'; Ma. *isi-* id.

105 朱 麦 **iši mo* (一 十 莫) 'oak tree'; Ma. *isi moo* id.

Whereas,

(673) 五 (*si* 西, 犀) = **si*

e.g. 321 五 矣 **sifan* (西 番) 'Tibet' < Chin. *si-fan* 西 番 id.

325 五 奉 **sitiyen* (西 天) 'India' < Chin. *si-t'ien* 西 天 id.

583 五 **si* (犀) 'rhinoceros' < Chin. *si* 犀 id.

One or the other of the consonants in an intervocalic cluster, which occurs when the initial consonant of a syllable is preceded by a closed syllable, is sometimes not transliterated in Chinese in the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts,[23] in these cases a consonant should be added in reconstruction on the basis of Manchu or some other Tunguz languages through historico-linguistic methods. For example, the texts have a word transliterated

23 In passing, let it be noted that the method of Chinese transliteration in the *HIIY*-without-Script texts is considerably less systematic in the Jurchen section as well as other language sections than in *HIIY*-with-Script texts.

*a-kua* (阿 瓜) meaning 'heaven', which should be reconstructed as **abqa*, and not **aqa*, judging from the fact that the *Hua-i i-yü*-with-Script text has 001  (*a-pu-xa* 阿 卜哈)[24] = **abqa* id., of which the Manchu cognate is *abka* id. For another example, the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts have *i-la* (亦 剌) 'flower,' which should be read as **ilxa*, not **ila*, because the *Hua-i i-yü*-with-Script text has 118  (*i-le-xa* 一 勒 哈) = **ilxa* id., and Ma. *ilha* id.[25] Similarly, this method could be applied to the decipherment of Jurchen characters to a certain extent. Thus,

(9)  (*ni-xun* 泥 渾) = **nilxun*

e.g. 651  **nilxun* 'sixteen'; Ma. *nilhun* 'the sixteenth day.'

(670)  (*se-li* 塞 里) = **seri* (or **kseri*?)

e.g. 084  **šiseri* (or **šikseri*?) (失 塞 里) 'evening'; Ma. *sikseri* id.

There are also cases where this kind of consonant in what can be presumed to be intervocalic two-consoant clusters is not transcribed in Jurchen characters. Although this might show some degree of inaccuracy in the phonetic transcription of Jurchen orthography, perhaps in these cases a consonant should not be added in reconstruction. Thus,

(391)  (*so* 瑣) = **so*

e.g. 524  **sogi* (瑣 吉) 'vegetable'; Ma. *sogi* id.

(316)  (*ko* 戈) = **γo*

e.g. 701  [sic][26] **γoroo* (戈 羅 斡) 'distant'; Ma. *goro* id.

However,

326  (*so-ko* 瑣 戈) = **soγo* (or **solγo*?) 'Korea'; *HIIY*-without-Script **soloγo* (奚 羅 斡) id.; Ma. *solho* id.

Similarly,

(397)  (*t'a* 塔) = **ta*

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24 The original text has *a-pu-xa-i* (阿 卜 哈 以) = **abqa-i*, but the final *i* is a genitive case suffix. Cf. footnote 3 to Chap. IV.

25 In fact, Tg. **xilaga* 'flower' > Ma. *ilha* id. Johannes Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen, Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1955, p.966.

26 One character, which is to be read as **ro* (*luo* 羅), is missing between these two characters in the original text. Cf. footnote 290 to Chap. IV.

e.g. 434 ᡨᡴᠠ *taqa (塔哈) 'for a while'; Ma. *taka* id.

(383) ᠮᠠ (*ma* 馬) = **ma*

e.g. 284 ᠮᠠᡶᠠ **mafa* (馬法) 'ancestor'; Ma. *mafa* id.

However,

018 ᡨᠠᠮᠠᡤᡳ (*t'a-ma-ki* 塔馬吉) = **tamagi*[27] (or **tarmagi*?) 'fog' <**tarmaŋi*; *HIIY*-without-Script **tarmagi* (塔兒馬吉) id.; Ma. *talman* id.

It is established that primary long vowels are preserved in Evenki, Negidal, Goldi, Lamut, Solon, etc. in Tunguz languages and Dagur and Monguor in Mongolian languages. Yet, Jurchen does not preserve a primary long vowel, as its characters indicate. For example,

(337) ᡨᡠ (*mo* 莫, 沒) = **mo*

e.g. 152 ᡨᡠᡳᠶᠣ **moniyo* (莫孀) 'monkey'; Ma. *monio* id.

Therefore, this character is not to be read as **moo,* but **mo.* Thus,

Jur. 117 ᡨᡠ **mo* (沒) 'tree'; Ma. *moo* id.; Ev. *mō* id.; Dagur *mōd* id.; Mo. *modun* id.

Likewise,

Jur. 353 ᠰᠠ (*sa* 撒) = **sa-* 'to know'; Ma. *sa-* id.; Ev. *sā-* 'to learn'; Lam. *hā-* 'to discover'; Mo. *sana-* 'to think.'

However, secondary longvowels having occurred as a result of contraction of syllables are transcribed in Jurchen characters. For example,

Jur. 497 ᡧᠠᠨ (*ṣa-a* 沙阿) = **šaa* 'ear'; Ma. *šan* id. < **šiyan*[28]; Neg. *sen* id. < **sian* < **siyan*; Gold. *seã* id. < **siyan.*

Thus, the following example can be considered as a case of a secondary long vowel:

209 ᡶᠠᠨ (*fa-a* 法阿) = **faa* 'window'; Ma. *fa* id.

Similarly,

396 ᡠᠵᡝ (*u-tṣe* 兀齊) = **uǰee* 'heavy'; Ma. *uǰen* id.

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[27] Ligeti also reconstructs **tamagi.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.11.

[28] Poppe, *op. cit.*, p.31.

In the above example the first character by itself is to be read as *uǰe*, as is transliterated in Chinese, and the second character is not transliterated here. However, this character is to be read as *e* as is seen in the following example:

299  (*xe-xe-e* 黑 黑 厄) = **hehee* 'female'; Ma. *hehe* id.

It seems that secondary long vowels are strictly transcribed in characters only in the *Hua-i i-yü*. For example,

088  (*t'e-e* 忒 厄) = **tee* 'now'; Ma. *te* id.

This word, however, appears sometimes simply as  **te* (= **tee*)[29] and sometimes exactly as  **tee*[30] in Jurchen inscriptions.

When the final vowel of one Jurchen character is the same as the vowel initial of the following character, the second vowel is assumed to be dropped. This usually occurs with nominal endings. For example,

005  (*e-tu-*$^{w}$*ən* 厄 都 溫) = **edun* 'wind'; Ma. *edun* id.

039  (*a-li-in* 阿 里 因) = **alin* 'mountain'; Ma. *alin* id.

050  (*u-ṣi-in* 兀 失 因) = **ušin* 'rice field'; Ma. *usin* id.

When a nominal suffix which ends in *-n* is appended to a nominal stem, the nominal stem is sometimes transliterated in Chinese redundantly with a final nasal consonant. This kind of final nasal consonant in Chinese transliteration of nominal stems should, as in *fan-ch'ieh* 反 切 seen in Chinese rhyme dictionaries, be disregarded. For example,

286  (*a-xun-*$^{w}$*ən* 阿 渾 溫) = **axun* 'elder brother'; Ma. *ahûn* id.

290  (*e-iun-*$^{w}$*ən* 厄 囗 溫) = **eyun* 'elder sister'; Ma. *eyun* id.

080  (*xa-ts'əŋ-in* 哈 稱 因) = **xačin* 'event'; Ma. *hačin* id.

The Chinese diphthong *au* is usually borrowed as *oo* in Chinese loans in Manchu, whereas, Jurchen borrowed it as **au* close to the original Chinese sound. This can be determined from the following example.

(383)  (*ma* 馬) = **ma*

e.g. 188  **ulγuma* (兀 魯 兀 馬) 'pheasant'; Ma. *ulhûma* id.

(252)  (*na* 納) = **na*

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29 E. g. The *Ta-chin te-shen-t'o-sung pei* inscription, line 27.

30 E. g. *ibid.*, line 30.

e.g. 839 𗍫 𗱠 **mana-*（麻 納）'to destroy'; Ma. *mana-* id.

(265) 𗱠 (*au* 敖) = **au*

e.g. 212 𗱠 𗱠 **hiyau*（卜 敖）'study' < Chin. *hiau* 學 id.

Thus,

585 '𗰀 𗰃 𗱠 **manau*（馬 納 敖）'agate' < Chin. *manau* 瑪 瑙 id.; Ma. *manoo* id.; Mo. *manaγu* id.

This applies to Chinese transliteration characters containing the diphthong *au*. Thus,

(261) 𗰜 (*ʦ'au* 鈔) = **čau*

e.g. 278 𗰜 𗹦 **čauxa*（鈔 哈）'army'; Ma. *čooha* id.

(226) 𗹦 (*xau* 好) = **xau*

e.g. 222 𗹦 𗰇 **xauša*（好 沙）'paper'; Ma. *hoošan* id.

The diphthong *əu* in original Chinese words was also borrowed as *au* in Jurchen. For example, the character (226) 𗹦 **hau* just given above is also used for a syllable derived from *xəu* in the original Chinese.

301 𗹦 **xau*（候）'marquiss' < Chin. *xəu* 侯 id.

As a further example,

(47) 𗰁 (*ʦau* 仆) = **ǰau*

e.g. 271 𗰁 **ǰau* 'report to the Throne' < Chin. *tsəu* 奏 id.

This applies to all the cases to reconstruct the diphthong derived from or transliterated with the Chinese *əu*. Thus,

(19) 𗰇 (*ʦəu* 州) = **ǰau*

e.g. 054 𗰇 **ǰau* 'province' < Chin. *ʦəu* 州 id.

(703) 𗹯 (*ləu* 樓) = **lau*

e.g. 196 𗹯 𗰃 **laǰi*（樓 子）'donjon' < Chin. *ləu-tsi* 樓 子 id.

In Manchu, when the vowel *i* is followed by *a, e, o,* or *u,* the semi-vowel *y* is inserted between *i* and these vowels. I. Zakharov′ says that, for example the Manchu *niyo* 'swamp' was transcibed as *nio* in early times,[31] and accordingly he suggests that this semi-

[31] Zakharov′, *op. cit.*, p.22.

vowel is written just for orthographic reason. The semi-vowel *w*, which appears after the vowel *u* or *û* when this vowel is followed by *a* or *e*, is a parallel case in Manchu. However, in Jurchen the semi-vowels *y* and *w* are transliterated in Chinese characters. For example,

(282)  (*ie* 也) = **ye*

e.g. 385  **beiye-* (背 也) 'to love'; Ma. *buye-* id.

Thus, 15  **liye* (里 也) 'row' < Chin. *lie* 列 id.

(241)  (*uei* 委) = **wei*

e.g. 495  **weihe* (委 黑) 'tooth'; Ma. *weihe* id.

Thus, 07  **kuwei* (庫 委) 'estimation' < Chin. *k'uei* 揆 id.

Accordingly, the semi-vowels *y* and *w* as glides, which occur whenever the vowels *i* and *u* are followed by other vowels, should be reconstructed in Jurchen. The Manchu *w* is followed only by the vowels *a* or *e;* in other words, syllables such as *wi* and *wo* do not exist in the Manchu language. However, since there is no reason why existence of those syllables must be denied in Jurchen, the semi-vowel *w* is reconstructed no matter what vowels, excepting *u*, may follow.

The phonetic change **ti* > *či* and **di* > *ǰi* seen in Manchu had not yet occurred in Jurchen in the Ming period, and the forms *ti* and *di* were still preserved. For example,

550  (*t'i-le-k'u* 替 勒 庫) = **tireku* 'pillow'; Ma. *čireku* id.

571  (*xa-ti* 哈 的) = **xadi* 'treasure'; Ma. *haǰi* id.

The *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts also preserve *ti* and *di*: e.g. **iti* (亦 替) 'right,' Ma. *ičі* id.; **dixa* (的 哈) 'ship,' Ma. *ǰiha* id.

Although Jurchen also has the syllables *či* and *ǰi* which appear as *či* and *ǰi* in the Manchu cognates, those consonants are suppose to have been derived from either original **č* and **ǰ* or **rk* and **rg*.[32]

Some Manchu suffixes such as *-me,* forming an nonperfective converb, *-de,* denoting the dative-locative case, and *-be,* the accusative case, having lost vowel harmony in their suffixation, do not have variants. Jurchen, however, still has variants, based on vowel harmony, in these suffixes. Nonperfective converbs, for example, are formed either with the suffix (355)  *-*mai* or (179)  *-*mei* depending upon the vowels

32 Cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp.85–88, and Benzing, *op. cit.*, pp.995–996.

in the verbal stem to which they are appended.[33] The former is, of course, coupled with back-vowel stems and the latter with front-vowel stems. For example,

418  **xudasă-mai* (忽荅沙埋) 'selling'; Ma. *hûdaša-me* id.

410  **fute-mei* (弗忒昧) 'sending'; Ma. *fude-me* id.

As mentioned earlier, Jurchen inscriptions had two variants of dative-locative suffix, (704)  -**do* and  -**dö*, though the latter does not appear in the *Hua-i i-yü.*[34] As for the accusative case suffix, only (34)  -**be* appears in the *Hua-i i-yü,* but Jurchen in the Chin period also had two variants, i.e.  -**be* for nouns of front vowels and , presumably -**ba* judging from other Tunguz languages, for nouns of back vowels.[35]

e.g.  [36]

**maŋ γa-ba* **ǰon-bi*

'difficulty' 'remember' = 'We remember the difficulty.'

Ma. *mangga-be ǰombi.* = id.

In addition, although *u* was a neutral vowel in the Ming period, what seems that the passive-causative verbal suffix, which corresponds to *-bu-* in Manchu, had two variants, (476)  -**bu-* and , presumably -**bü-*, in Jurchen inscriptions of the Chin period.

Many Manchu suffixes have three variants, having a vowel *a, e,* or *o*; for example, the locative case suffix *-la / -le / -lo,* the terminative case suffix *-tala / -tele / -tolo,* non-perfective participle suffix *-ra / -re / -ro,* the perfective participle suffix *-ha / -he / -ho,* etc. Among those variants, suffixes with the vowel *o* are, as a rule, appended to stems containing only or predominantly the vowel *o,* suffixes with the vowel *a* to other back-vowel stems, and suffixes with the vowel *e* to front-vowel stems. Inasmuch as the vowel *o* in Manchu is supposedly a rounded vowel, the variant of suffixes with *o* occurs as a matter of labial attraction; the contrast of the variants between suffixes with *a* and *e* is a matter of palatal harmony.

In the Jurchen language, unlike in Manchu, no suffix having a variant with the vowel *o* in place of *a / e* is found. Although it is quite uncertain whether the Jurchen *o* was a rounded vowel or not, this type of labial attraction in Manchu may, as in Mongolian and

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33 Ligeti also has -**mai* and -**mei* for variants of the verbal suffix forming nonperfective converbs. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 223.

34 Ligeti presumes -**do* and -**dö* even in Ming Jurchen, however. *Loc. cit.*

35 Ligeti presumes three variants, -**ba,* -**be,* and -**bo* even in Ming Jurchen (*ibid.*), and regards (433)  **ba* as the *-ba,* an accusative case suffix. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 18.

36 The *Ta-chin te-sheng-t'o-sung pei* inscription, line 13.

Turkic languages, have arisen in a later period.

All the native Manchu words end in either vowels or the nasal consonant *n*, that is, no consonant but *n* occurs in the final position of the word, with the exception of onomatopoetic words. The Jurchen language, however, has several words ending in the consonant *r*, as have some other Tunguz languages. Thus,

(702) 𘗱 (*ər* 兒) = **r*

e.g. 135 𘝦 𘗱 **mudur* (木杜兒) 'dragon'; Ma. *muduri* id.

343 𘝧 𘗱 **xutur* (忽禿兒) 'happiness'; Ma. *hûturi* id.

In these examples Jurchen *-r* corresponds to Manchu *-ri*, but there are also examples like the following.

22 𘜶 𘗱 **fijur* (非如兒) 'god'; Ma. *fučihi* id.

841 𘜼 𘗱 **gemur* (革木兒) 'altogether'; Ma. *gemu* id

329 𘜽 𘗱 **nequr* (捏苦兒) 'friend' < Mo. *nökör* id.

Here the final *-r* corresponds to Manchu *-hi* or *-φ*, or Mongolian *-r*. Accordingly, this Jurchen character should not be reconstructed as **ri*, but as **r*. For another example,

(533) 𘜷 (*ər* 兒) = **r*

e.g. 671 𘜸 𘜷 **mar* (麻兒) 'negligence'; Ma. *mara-* 'to neglect.'

781 𘜹 𘜷 𘜹 𘜷 **farfar* (法兒法兒) 'disorder'; Ma. *farfa-* 'to put in disorder.'

There are cases where the Manchu cognates of Jurchen words with initial *i-* begin with *ni-* or *mi-*. In such cases Jurchen may reveal the form of an older stage.[37] Such cases of initial *m-* begin to appear in the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts, but *n-* had not yet been added in the same texts. For example,

528 𘜻 𘜺 **isγun* (一速溫) 'soy'; *HIIY*-without-Script **misu* (迷速) id.: Ma. *misun* id.

017 𘜼 𘜿 **imagi* (一麻古) 'snow'; *HIIY*-without-Script **imaŋgi* (亦忙古) id.; Ma. *nimanggi* id.

108 𘜽 𘜾 𘜿 **immala* (因馬剌) 'mulberry'; Ma. *nimala* id.

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[37] Some Ma. *ni-* < **yi-* < **i-*. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp.32–33.

Some Jurchen words beginning in *xa-* appear simply as *a-*, losing the intitial velar consonant *x-*, in the Manchu cognates.[38] This initial consonant has already been lost in the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts. For example,

352 南 𠂆 **xača-* (哈 察) 'to see'; *HIIY*-without-Script **ača-* (阿 察) id.; Ma. *ača-* 'to meet.'

551 里 夫 **xadu* (哈 都) 'dress'; *HIIY*-without-Script **adu* (阿 都) id.; Ma. *adu* id.

Phonetic alternations such as *r* and *l* as well as *š* and *č* are often seen between Jurchen words and the Manchu cognates. For example,

214 赤 吏 休 **ǰačili* (扎 赤 里) 'tabernacle'; Ma. *čačari* id.

Proof that the third Jurchen character (295) 休 (*li* 里) in the above example is to be read as *li*, and not *ri* is given in the following examples.

521 黃 休 **yali* (也 里) 'meat'; Ma. *yali* id.

516 孟 休 𠂢 **šilihi* (失 里 希) 'gall'; Ma. *silhi* id.

13 休 久 **lin* (里 因) 'summit' < Chin. *liŋ* 嶺 id.

Other examples of these alternations are as follows:

273 件 **niyarma* (捏 兒 麻) 'person'; Ma. *niyalma* id.[39]

233 吏 刂 **uqčin* (兀 稱 因) 'armor'; Ma. *uksin* id.

432 忒 刂 **nušin* (奴 失 因) 'peace'; Ma. *nečin* id.

The nominal ending *-n* sometimes appears in Jurchen words and not in the Manchu cognates, and vice versa. This simply shows the instability of this kind of nominal ending in Tunguz languages. For example,

046 厩 屯 **meterin* (脉 忒 厄 林) 'sea'; Ma. *mederi* id.

016 兀 兀 **bonon* (卜 孀) 'hail'; Ma. *bono* id.

042 𠂢 舍 **γaša* (哈 沙) 'village'; Ma. *gašan* id.

044 夫 平 **ǰeče* (吝 車) 'frontier'; Ma. *ǰečen* id.

A few characters are transliterated into Chinese characters with varying pronunci-

[38] Tg. **x-* > Ma. *ϕ-*. Benzing, *op. cit.*, pp. 990–991.

[39] In fact, Ma. *niyalma* 'person' < Tg. **niărăbī* (?). *Ibid.*, P. 986.

ations. Aside from scribal errors this may be due to the fact that a character with one fixed pronunciation came to be associated with several pronunciations because of phonological mutations wihich occurred after the Jurchen characters had been created, or that similar characters with different pronunciations all came to be written the same way.

As a result, from the viewpoint of vowel harmony Jurchen vowels in the Ming period, excluding a dialect appearing in the *Yung-ning-ssu pei* inscription, can be classified as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Back Vowels | a | o |
| Front Vowel | e | |
| Neutral Vowels | i | u |

The vowel *u* is a back vowel as far as point of articulation is concerned. Whereas, in the Chin period the back-vowel series **a*, **o*, and **u* contrasts with the front vowels **e*, **ö*, and **ü*, in addition to the neutral vowel **i*.

All the Jurchen consonants on the phonetic level in the Ming period are shown in the following chart:

| Manners \ Points | | Labial | Apical | Palatal | Pre-Velar | Post-Velar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | fortes | | t | | k | q |
| | lenes | b | d | | g | ɣ |
| Fricatives | | f | s | š | h | x |
| Affricates | fortis | | | č | | |
| | lenis | | | ǰ | | |
| Nasals | | m | n | | ŋ | (ŋ) |
| Lateral | | | l | | | |
| Trill | | | r | | | |
| Semi-Vowels | | w | | y | | |

In the above, the post-velar consonants *q*, *ɣ*, and *x*, which occur with the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, are allophones of the pre-velar consonants *k*, *g*, and *h*. The velar nasal consonant *ŋ* occurs only before the velar stops as an allophone of *n*. Since the allophone is not a consideration at the phonemic level, *k* and *q* will be transcribed merely as *k*, *g* and *ɣ* as *g*, *x* and *h* as *h*, and *ŋ* as *n* henceforth throughout this work whenever they may occur.

In the Chin period the consonant system is almost the same as that shown above with the following exceptions: the Tunguz initial **p-* was still preserved in Chin Jurchen, which then changed to *f-* in Ming Jurchen; the verlar nasal consoant **ŋ*, besides *ŋ* as an allophone of *n*, may have existed in the Chin period,[40] and then merged with *g* in Ming Jurchen.

[40] Cf. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.227, and *AOH* XII, p.9.

# CHAPTER III

## THE SOUND AND MEANING OF THE JURCHEN CHARACTERS

All the Jurchen characters appearing in the *Hua-i i-ü* 華夷譯語, some seven hundred characters in the *Sino-Jurchen Glossary* (*Nü-chen-kuan tsa-tzu* 女眞館雜字) of the Berlin National Library text plus eleven characters which appear in the *Glossary* of the Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 text and not in the *Glossary* of the Berlin text, in addition to thirteen characters which appear only in the *Sino-Jurchen Memorials* (*Nü-chen-kuan lai-wen* 女眞館來文) of the Berlin text and the Tōyō Bunko text are included here. The characters are listed by stroke count.

The Chinese characters in parentheses following the reconstructed sound of each Jurchen character are transliteration characters used in the *Hua-i i-yü.*

Some Jurchen characters are ideograms and some are phonograms. A Jurchen word is written with one or more ideograms, or with one or more phonograms, or the root or stem is written with one or more ideograms plus the ending with a phonogram or phonograms. It should, however, be noted that ideograms are also sometimes employed as phonograms. Most of Jurchen characters which are used only for transcription of Chinese words are regarded as phonograms, though they indicate the meaning of the original Chinese.

Entries in which the character appears are indicated with numerals which are the entry numbers in Chapter IV. The origins of many characters which were obviously created by transforming Chinese characters[1] are not discussed here. Characters which can be considered varieties of other Jurchen characters are, as a rule, simply annotated in notes, with the exception of those appearing in the *Glossary* of the Berlin text.

The shape of some characters in the *Hua-i i-yü* is slightly different from that in Jurchen inscriptions[2]; e.g. the characters (114), (206), (399), (399), (552), and (671) in the *Hua-i i-yü* appear as , , , , , and  respectively in inscriptions. Only the forms written in the *Hua-i iyü* are, of course, con-

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1 Cf. Yamaji Hiroaki, *Joshinmoji no Seiji ni Kansuru Kenkyū,* np. nd., p. 53–332, though this is not a scholary work at all.

2 Cf. Amma Yaichirō, *Joshinbun Kinsekishi Kō,* Kyoto 1943, p. 83.

sidered.

## One Stroke Character

1 一 **emu* (厄 木) 'one': 636, 758, 851, 852. Lajos Ligeti also reconstructs **emu* for this character.[3]

## Two Stroke Characters

2 二 **ǰuwe* (拙) 'two': 637.

3 乏 **durhon* (獨 兒 歡) 'fourteen': 649.

4 九 **oniyohon* (斡 女 歡) 'nineteen': 654.

5 丹 **nadanǰu* (納 丹 住) 'seventy': 600.

## Three Stroke Characters

6 土 **uyunǰu* (兀 也 溫 住) 'ninety': 662.

7 土 **darhon* (荅 兒 歡) 'seventeen': 652.

8 丑 **gorhon* (戈 兒 歡) 'thirteen': 648.

9 亖 **nilhun* (泥 渾) 'sixteen': 651.

10 丰 **ǰuwa* (撾) 'ten': 645.

11 万 **tuman* (土 滿) 'ten thousand': 665, 866.

12 丹 **duta* (都 塔) 'existence': 720.

13 丹 **fan* or **fanǰu* (埋 番 住) 'inquiry': 444. Although the Chinese transliteration characters can be read as **maifanǰu*, this character alone is perhaps only **fan* or **fanǰu*. See footnotes 206 and 207 to Chap. IV.

14 予 **niya* (捏) phonogram: 132, 159, 357, 719.

15 云 **orin* (倭 林) 'twenty': 655.

16 犮 **ese* (厄 塞) 'these': 854.

17 九 **uyun* (兀 也 溫) 'nine': 644.

18 毛 **amšo* (安 朔) 'eleven': 646. Ligeti reconstructs **omšo*.[4]

19 尤 **ǰau* (州) 'province': 054.

## Four Stroke Characters

20 寸 **i* (·, 亦) phonogram: 118, 294, 486, 46; 815. Wilhelm Grube erro-

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[3] Louis Ligeti, "Les inscriptions djurtchen de Tyr. La formule *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*," *AOH.* XII: 1–3, 1961, p. 17.

[4] L. Ligeti, "Note préliminaire sur le déchiffrement des ≫petits caractères≪ joutchen," *AOH* III: 2, 1953, p. 219.

neously regarded this character in entry 118 as a different character from the others, reading there as *yih-lēh* [*il?*].[5]

21 *giyan* (汪) nominal ending: 002, 013, 134, 190, 192, 193, 269, 578, 587, 616, 617, 618, 619, 624, 629, 630, 632, 634, 635. Cf. character 639.

22 *ningu* (寧住) [sic] 'six': 641. See footnote 276 to Chap. IV.

23 *bočo* (卜楚) 'color': 014, 628.

24 *turu* (禿魯) 'watch': 359, 742, 826, 858.

25 *i* (以, ·) genitive case suffix: 001, 071, 399, 715, 731, 807, 825, 845; 667. This genitive case suffix is attached to nouns ending in a vowel.

26 *hači* (哈稱) 'event': 080, 099, 100, 581, 825, 867.

27 *mu* (沒) 'water': 051. Ligeti reconstructs **mü*.[6]

28 *fa* (法) phonogram: 781.

29 *hai* (孩) phonogram: 109. Ligeti also reconstructs **hai*.[7]

30 *giyai* (解) phonogram: 808.

31 *gire* or **gile* (吉勒) phonogram: 765.

32 *dilga* (的勒岸) 'voice': 780. Ligeti also reconstructs **dilga*.[8]

33 *amin* (阿民) 'father': 282.

34 *be* (伯) accusative case suffix: 062, 223, 271, 337, 341, 398, 477, 479, 487, 506, 697, 748, 762, 778, 785, 801, 827, 843, Ligeti also reconstructs **be*.[9] See P.55 for the valiant -**ba*.

35 *ru* (魯) hortative verbal suffix: 357, 425, 440, 460, 466, 467, 485, 771, 773, 809, 810, 850.

36 *ši* (失) phonogram: 010, 540, 719. Ligeti also reconstructs **ši*.[10]

37 *eyun* (厄云) 'elder sister': 290.

38 *mu* (木, 目) phonogram: 340, 443, 498, 538, 567, 740, 791, 809; 335.

39 *in* (因) nominal ending: 167, 202, 308, 782, 799, 811, 812.

40 *oso* (韓速) 'small': 058, 669.

41 *ten* (謄) 'copy': 810.

42 *buma* (卜麻) simultaneous converb suffix: 429, 482, 486. This suffix consists of *-bu-* forming the transitive verbal stem and *-ma* forming the

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5 W. Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*, Leipzig 1896, p.47.

6 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.222.

7 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.10.

8 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.215.

9 *Ibid.*, p.223.

10 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.12.

simultaneous converb.

43 ᡩᡠᠯ *dul*(都魯)'warm': 094.

44 ᡩᡠᠮ See character 164.

45 ᡩᡠᠸᠠᠨ *wan*(屋)nominal ending: 181.

46 ᡩᡠᠶᡳᠶᡠᡥᡠᠨ *niyuhun*(女渾)'eighteen': 653.

47 ᡩᡡᠵᡠ *ǰau*(召)'report to the Throne': 271, 768.

48 ᡩᡝ *te*(忒)phonogram: 855.

49 ᡩᡠᠨ *bun*(本, 步[sic][11]) deverbal nominal suffix: 207, 247, 248, 257, 378, 379, 424, 441, 579, 604; 422. Cf. Ma. *-bu-* mentioned above and *-n* forming the deverbal noun indicating an action.

50 ᡩᡳᠰᡠ *ǰisu*(只速)'make': 477, 850.

51 ᡩᡝᠨ *men*(蒙)phonogram: 830.

52 ᡩᡳ *ni*(逆)phonogram: 463. Ligeti also reconstructs **ni.*[12]

53 ᡩᡳᠩᡤᡝ *iŋǰe*(咧齊)'laugh': 461.

54 ᡩᡠᠸᡝ *tuwe*(禿韓)'confer': 428.

55 ᡩᡠᡵ *ur?*(魯)phonogram: 362, 363, 470.

56 ᡩᡤᠠ *ga*(哈)phonogram: 342.

57 ᡩᡝᡠ *deu*(斗兀)'younger brother': 287.

58 ᡩᡠ *lu*(魯, 嚧) phonogram: 113, 189, 448, 548, 726, 795, 46; 219. Ligeti also reconstructs **lu.*[13]

59 ᡩᡝ *e*(厄)phonogram: 088, 238, 280, 382, 491, 615, 746, 755.

60 ᡩᡝᠨᡩᡳ *bandi*(半的)'live': 388, 488, 728.

61 ᡩᡥᠠᡵᡳ *hari*(哈里)'fur seal': 179, 479.

62 ᡩᡥᠠᠯᠪᠠ *dalba*(答勒巴)'side': 605.

63 ᡩᡠᠸᡳᠨ *duwin*(都因)'four': 639.

64 ᡩᠮᡝ *me*(脉)phonogram: 130, 249, 483.

65 ᡩᡨᡠ *to*(脫)phonogram: 566.

66 ᡩᡠᠨ *un*(溫, 倫) nominal ending: 005, 010, 019, 020, 027, 029, 101, 155, 185, 189, 255, 286, 287, 290, 291, 348, 358, 433, 465, 564, 568, 569, 570, 577, 587, 634, 635, 752, 828, 45; 032, 274, 760. Ligeti reconstructs two ways, **un* and **ün.*[14]

67 ᡩᡥᡳᠶᠠ *hiya*(下)'study': 212, 811.

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[11] See footnote 198 to Chap. IV.

[12] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.18.

[13] *Ibid.*, p.23.

[14] Ligeti sometimes reconstructs **un* (*AOH* III, p.225) and sometimes **ün* (*AOH* XII, p.12) for the same character.

68  *a*（阿，哈[sic][15]） phonogram: 041, 119, 209, 349, 698, 703; 497. Ligeti also reconstructs **a*.[16]

69  **ilan*（以 藍）'three': 023, 638.

70  **her?*（黑 勒）'city': 035, 036. **u*（兀，都） phonogram: 113; 551, 554. **hu*（忽）phonogram: 733. **e*（厄）phonogram: 276. **we*（斡）phonogram: 732, 764. Several different pronunciations are indicated for this character. It is impossible to say whether this was originally a character with one fixed pronunciation and came to be associated with several pronunciations, or similar characters with different pronunciations came to be all written the same way.

71  **su*（素，酥） phonogram: 114, 140, 181, 230, 308, 559, 563, 582, 633, 29; 532.

72  **man*（莽） phonogram: 189, 702, 749.

73  **re*（厄）phonogram: 048.

74  **šin*（申）'rat': 149, 192, 193.

75  **bolo*（卜 羅）'autumn': 075, 869.

76  **tobohon*（脫 卜 歡）'fifteen': 086, 650.

77  **ere*（厄 勒）'this': 731.

78  **fai*（肥）phonogram: 270, 500. Ligeti also reconstructs **fai*.[17] Grube erroneously regarded this character in entry 500 as character 79, due to the similarity in shape.[18]

79  **muta*（木 塔）'turn': 378, 379.

80  **ǰakun*（扎 困）'eight': 643.

81  **nadan*（納 丹）'seven': 642.

82  **čun*（寸）'inch': 265.

83  **ǰin*（鎮，眞） phonogram: 314; 12.

84  **gun*（公）'lord': 300.

85  **goi*（貴）'late': 451.

86  **ta*（他）'koumiss': 533.

87  **ǰakunǰu*（扎 困 住）'eighty': 661.

88  **sari*（撒 里）'wife': 293.

89  **ha*（哈）perfective participle suffix: 029, 589, 689, 794, 20. Ligeti re-

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15 See footnote 225 to Chap. IV.

16 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 12.

17 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 217.

18 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

constructs *ga.[19] This verbal suffix is attached to back-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 496.

90 卅 *suwi(隨)verbal suffix: 421, 705, 781, 817. This seems to be a verbal suffix, but its exact denotation is not known. See footnote 197 to Chap. IV.

91 ⺕ *emu(厄 木)'one': 711, 721, 802. Cf. character 1.

92 ⺕ *run(龍)phonogram: only in the *Memorials.*

## Five Stroke Characters

93 ⺕ *čin(稱)phonogram: 625, 754.

94 ⺕ *iče(一 中)'new': 085, 626, 666.

95 ⺕ *hu(忽)phonogram: 513, 606.

96 ⺕ *hun(洪)nominal ending: 022, 030, 098, 183, 406, 450, 529, 539, 549, 557, 672, 673, 693, 694, 708, 720, 721, 725, 736, 764, 846.

97 ⺕ *šan(珊)phonogram: 586. Ligeti also reconstructs *šan.[20] Grube confused this character with character 96 due to the similarity in shape.[21]

98 ⺕ *se(塞)'inkstone': 225.

99 ⺕ *giya(甲)'street': 035.

100 ⺕ *gisa(吉 撒)'may': 474, 688, 779, 859, 39.

101 ⺕ *an (岸, 班, 罕, 剌[sic][22], 波[sic][23]) nominal ending: 064, 072, 187, 780; 029, 668, 803; 143; 239; 510. Ligeti also reconstruncts *an.[24]

102 ⺕ *giyen?(間?)'during': only in the *Memorials.* See footnote 38 to Chap. V.

103 ⺕ *ja(年)phonogram: 743.

104 ⺕ *in (因, 林, 申) nominal ending: 039, 050, 080, 099, 100, 233, 432, 479, 580, 581, 696, 741, 776, 806, 823, 825, 867; 138, 168, 170, 171, 174; 710, 738, 739. Ligeti also reconstructs *in.[25]

105 ⺕ *ku(庫)phonogram: 242. This character looks exactly the same as character 104, but that was perhaps different from this slightly in shape and written just like it in the text as a scribal error.

106 ⺕ *ya(牙)phonogram: 066, 180, 422, 435, 769, 821, 35. Ligeti also recon-

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19 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.12.

20 *Ibid.*, p.24.

21 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.51.

22 See footnote 115 to Chap. IV.

23 See footnote 228 to Chap. IV.

24 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp.215 and 225.

25 *Ibid.*, p.225.

structs **ya.*[26]

107 朴, 朴 **guy* (贵) phonogram: 771. The former character is written in the Berlin text and the latter in the Tōyō Bunko text.

108 非 **nihiya* (你 下) 'moment': 744.

109 刈 **yu* (又) 'bed': 240.

110 讣 **tau* (套) phonogram: 358, 438, 465, 45.

111 仗 **da* (答) 'provide': 773.

112 仗 **nuši* (奴 失) 'peace': 432.

113 件 **ǰo* (左) 'left': 596.

114 件 **an* (安) nominal ending: 198, 218, 305, 306, 320, 621, 820, 25. This character is used only as the ending *-an* in Chinese loan words.

115 肺 **tun* (同, 桶) phonogram: 256, 311; 502.

116 仟 **gun* (溫) nominal ending: 103, 372, 374, 597, 712, 729, 749, 770.

117 仗 **bun* (本) phonogram: 431, 791.

118 件 **niyarma* (捏 兒 麻) 'person': 273, 281, 299, 315, 330, 331, 332, 333, 336, 337, 339. Ligeti reconstructs **ñalma.*[27]

119 伴 **pan* (胖) phonogram: 21. Used for a Chinese loan sound.

120 仩 **šan* (尚) phonogram: 304, 316.

121 岁 **ge* (革) phonogram: 328, 408, 746.

122 孚 **ili* (一 立) 'stand': 424, 604, 763, 849, 08.

123 厉 **ǰili* (只 里) 'sparrow': 186.

124 秀 **niru* (你 魯) 'arrow': 237.

125 炎 **tuwe* (脫 委) 'fire': 021.

126 毛 **ir* (一里, 一兒) 'hair': 493, 515; 694, 843.

127 乇 **e* (厄) verbal suffix: 473, 704, 806. This suffix is presumably the nonperfective indicative suffix for the irregular verb *bi-* 'to be.'

128 乩 **yen* (延) 'banquet': 766. Grube made an error, copying this Chinese transliteration character as *t'ing* 廷 in the index, though he read it correctly as *yên.*[28]

129 屯 **guwi* (歸, 圭) phonogram: 110; 811.

130 屯 **erin* (厄 林) 'season': 046, 073, 074, 075, 076, 089, 176, 177, 517, 768, 769, 783, 827, 869, 32.

131 兆 **non* (嫩) phonogram: 016, 151, 340, 449, 41.

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[26] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 22.

[27] Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 25. See also footnote 39 to Chap. II and footnote 133 to Chap. IV.

[28] Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

132 *songi*(雙 吉) 'nose': 501.

133 *šinko* (申 科) 'hawk': 187

134 *hehe*(黑 黑) 'female': 299.

135 *ču* (出) phonogram: 101, 130, 295, 345, 565, 627, 633, 782, 801, 824, 845, 01, 23.

136 *buwi*(卜 爲) verbal suffix: 414, 793, 814. Ligeti also reconstructs **buui.*[29] The function of this verbal suffix is not known.

137 *fuli*(弗 里) 'command': 789, 26.

138 *ali*(阿 里) 'mountain': 039, 242, 793, 814. Ligeti also reconstructs **ali.*[30]

139 *uli* or **uri* (兀 里) 'north': 593.

140 *fa*(法) phonogram: 060, 064, 072, 110, 140, 284, 531, 582, 20. Ligeti also reconstructs **fa* (< **pa* in Chin Jurchen).[31]

141 *hiya*(卜) phonogram: 218, 475, 826.

142 *giru*(吉 魯) 'shame': 345.

143 *ǰuwi*(追) 'child': 294.

144 *tire*(替 勒) 'pillow': 550.

145 *tiko*(替 和) 'fowl': 161.

146 *etu*(旦 禿) 'wear': 846. Grube confused this character with character 145,[32] because this character erroneously is written exactly the same as character 145 in the Berlin text. This character, however, is written slightly differently from character 145 in shape in the Tōyō Bunko text.

147 *ǰaši*(扎 失) 'information': 270, 818. Ligeti also reconstructs **ǰaši.*[33] Grube regarded this character in these two examples as different characters due to having read one as *čāh-šīh* and the other as *čāh.*[34] Cf. character 304.

148 *săn*(上) 'white': 013, 134, 190, 269, 578, 619, 630, 634. **sa* (撒) 'know': 353, 723, 738, 812. Two different pronunciations are indicated for this character. It is impossible to say whether similar characters with different pronunciations were erroneously written the same way.

149 *tuwan*(團) 'look': 826.

150 *ya*(牙) phonogram: 496.

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[29] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 19.

[30] Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 225.

[31] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 10. See footnote 140 to Chap. IV.

[32] Grube, *loc. cit.*

[33] Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 216–217.

[34] Grube, *loc. cit.*

151  *guwai*(乖)phonogram (?): 523, 707, 772, 774, 793.

152  *bu*(卜)phonogram: 555.

153  *wi*(衛)phonogram: 458, 627, 633.

154  *tu*(禿)phonogram: 026, 687.

155  *lefu*(勒付) 'bear': 145.

156  *tedu*(忒杜) 'sleep': 355.

157  *duli*(杜里) 'middle': 610, 760.

158  *ge*(革)phonogram: 082, 102, 149, 192, 193, 284, 700, 774, 807, 824, 866, 43.

159  *bulun*(卜卢) 'mirror': 251.

160  *to*(脫)phonogram: 250, 445. Ligeti also reconstructs **to*.[35]

161  *her*(赫兒)phonogram: 852.

162  *tun*(通) 'through': 03.

163  *gula*(古剌) 'shoe': 546.

164  *amu*(阿木) 'back': 599, 614, 868. Ligeti also reconstructs **amu*.[36] Since the dot is missing on the right portion of the character in entries 599 and 614, Grube regarded it as a different character from that in entry 868.[37]

165  *du*(都)phonogram: 022, 306, 417, 459, 464, 467, 507, 611, 676, 684, 708, 729, 802.

166  *te*(忒) 'dwell': 423, 819.

167  *yan*(羊)phonogram: 248, 261, 346, 579.

168  *yu*(約) 'starve': 536.

169  *ume*(兀脉) prohibitive particle: 472. Ligeti reconstructs **üme*.[38]

170  *gira*(古波) [sic] 'bone': 510. See footnote 228 to Chap. IV.

171  *tol*(脫) 'dream': 356.

172  *tangu*(湯古) 'hundred': 663. Grube confused this character with character 171.[39] These two characters, however, differ from each other slightly in their shapes.

173  *gen*(根)phonogram: 835.

174  *yen*(言)phonogram: 729.

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[35] Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.224.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp.216–217.

[37] Grube, *op. cit.*, pp.48 and 54.

[38] Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.223.

[39] Grube, *op. cit.*, p.54.

175  *ča(又)phonogram: 232.

176  *gar(哈勒)'clear': 028.

177  *tulhu(禿魯)'dark': 027.

178  *a(阿)phonogram: 139, 248, 579, 705.

179  *mei(昧)nonperfective converb suffix: 025, 111, 385, 392, 394, 395, 397, 401, 402, 410, 417, 457, 458, 464, 481, 536, 692, 714, 751, 764, 767, 768, 769, 771, 775, 778, 797, 804, 821, 827, 834, 860, 32, 38. This suffix is appended to front-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 355.

180  *bak(巴)phonogram: 797.

181  *ul(儿)phonogram: 733.

182  *sure(素勒)'sagacious': 753.

183  *yo(約)phonogram: 736.

184  *sai(賽, 賽)phonogram: 009, 788; 09. Ligeti erroneously reconstructs *se.[40]

185  *wen(晚)phonogram: 022, 708.

186  *ninǰu(寧住)'sixty': 572, 659. Ligeti reconstructs *ninǰü.[41]

187  *tehi(忒希)'forty': 657.

188  *tuwe(禿屯)'winter': 076.

189  *sok(瑣)'intoxicated': 445. Ligeti also reconstructs *sok.[42]

190  *ulgu(兀魯兀)'pheasant': 188. Ligeti also reconstructs *ulγu.[43]

191  *gušin(古申)'thirty': 656.

192  *buha(卜哈)'leaf': 119.

193  *un(溫)nominal ending: 101, 308, 01, 06, 18, 29. This is used only as the ending *-un* in Chinese loan words.

194  *dun(東)phonogram: only in the *Memorials.*

195  *uliyan(兀里彦)'boar': 162, 172.

196  *la(剌)denominal verbal suffix: 271, 305, 334, 387, 430, 471, 504, 547, 564, 605, 510, 621, 724, 734, 744, 760, 768, 802, 833, 835, 848, 10, 12, 17, 20, 25, 31, 34. Ligeti also reconstructs *la.[44] This suffix is appended to back-vowel nouns, and also denotes dative-locative case. Cf. character 313.

197  *weile(委勒)'affair': 271, 398, 827.

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40 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.12. See also Chap. II: 2, p. 41.

41 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp.222 and 225.

42 *Ibid.*, p.224.

43 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.12

44 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.227; XII, p.12.

198 反 *tu(禿)phonogram: 208, 519.

199 旻 *ǰe(者)phonogram: 122, 253, 278, 372, 374, 535, 563, 597, 746, 749.

200 乔 *ači(阿 赤)'move': 447.

201 龙 *mei(梅)'snake': 165.

202 夫 *dau(道)phonogram: 317, 457.

203 犬 *la(剌)perfective participle suffix (?): 108, 109, 110, 173, 228, 359, 373, 375, 383, 386, 446, 449, 451, 459, 475, 489, 723, 742, 750, 754, 756, 764, 766, 773, 782, 791, 795, 804, 809, 810, 826, 839, 858, 41. Cf. Neg. *-la* perfective participle, Solon *-lla* id., Ev. *-lla/-lda* id., Gold. *-lta* id., etc. < *-*lasa.* Ligeti reconstructs two ways, **la* and **ra.*[45] Grube neglected the dot on the rignt portion of this character in entry 359, and erroneously regarded it as a different character from the others.[46]

204 天 *tai(太 乙, 太) phonogram: 200; 207, 303, 870. Grube erroneously regarded this character in entries 200 and 207 as different from that in entries 303 and 870,[47] but no difference is recognized between them.

205 犬 *dai(台, 帶) phonogram: 023; 543. **da*(大)phonogram: 206, 718.

206 乔 *abka(阿 卜 哈)'sky': 001, 027, 028, 629.

207 乔 *ejen(尼 然)'master': 331, 792. Ligeti reconstructs **eje.*[48]

208 夬 *huhun(忽 渾)'nipple': 541.

209 矢 *ǰe(者)phonogram: 044, 069, 072, 475, 612, 779, 860.

210 失 *ur(儿 魯)'ripe': 539.

211 夫 *omi(儿 迷)'drink': 534.

212 火 *tam(彈)phonogram: 745. Ligeti reconstructs **tan.*[49]

213 犬 *buru(卜 魯)nonperfective participle suffix: 273, 368, 369, 419, 427, 435, 740, 769, 796, 805, 809, 821, 864, 867. This suffix presumably consists of *-bu-,* forming the transitive verbal stem, and *-ru,* a variant of the nonperfective participle *-ra/-re.*

214 犬 *ho(和)phonogram: 116, 133, 259, 340, 445, 588, 691, 788. Ligeti also reconstructs **xo.*[50]

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[45] Ligeti sometimes reconstructs **la* (*AOH* XII, p.10) and sometimes **ra* (*ibid.*, pp.9, 21, 22, and 24) for the same character, and regards this *ra* as a prospective participle suffix. Refer to character 652.

[46] Grube, *op. cit.*, p.48.

[47] *Ibid.*, p.56.

[48] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.15.

[49] *Ibid.*, p.18.

[50] Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.224; XII, p.16.

215 *sur*(素魯) phonogram: 453, 566. Grube was in error to read this character only in the case of entry 453 as merely *lù* due to having read the preceding Jurchen character in the same entry as *hū-sú.*[51] Refer to character 588.

216 *mamu*(麻木)'common': 16.

217 *e*(厄)phonogram: 606, 607, 667, 822.

218 *den*(登)phonogram: 761, 862.

219 *ma*(麻)phonogram: 217, 761.

220 *šun*(順)phonogram: only in the *Memorials.*

221 *huwi*(揮, 巳) phonogram: 310;540.

222 *adi*(阿的)'et cetera': 837.

223 *bure*(卜勒) prospective participle suffix: 059. *buren*(卜連)prospective verbal noun: 384, 767. Presumably the causative suffix *-bu-* plus the prospective participle *-re* followed by the nominal suffix *-n* denoting an action. Two different pronunciations, to wit **bure* and **buren,* are indicated for this character, and it seems that only when this character appears as the last character of a word the final *-n* is attached.

224 *udi*(兀的)'wild': 061, 172, 174, 175, 333.

225 *ǰir*(阿兒兒)'deed': 170.

226 *hau*(好, 候[52])phonogram: 222; 301. Grube was in error to read this character in these two examples as different characters.[53]

227 *ai*(哀)phonogram: 842.

228 *an*(岩)phonogram: 816.

229 *nu*(奴)phonogram: 406, 436, 454.

230 *kan*(康)phonogram: 751.

231 *anču*(安春) 'gold': 564, 568, 635, 828. Ligeti reconstructs **alču.*[54]

232 *sun*(孫)deverbal nominal suffix: 351, 401, 513, 527, 777, 818, 826. Ligeti reconstructs **su.*[55]

233 *or*(幹兒)'grass': 116, 588.

234 *fan*(番)phonogram: 220.

235 *iha*(委罕) 'cattle': 143. Since the following character in entry 143 is to be read merely as *an,* Grube was in error to read this character as

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51 Grube, *op. cit.,* pp.56 and 72.

52 See footnote 147 to Chap. IV.

53 Grube, *op. cit.,* p.57. See also Chap. II: 2, p. 53.

54 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.225. See footnote 246 to Chap. IV.

55 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.217.

*wèi.*[56] Cf. Ma. *ihan* id.

236  **ha*(哈)phonogram: 012, 066, 157, 159, 163, 166, 252, 257, 262, 267, 278, 296, 360, 361, 478, 488, 507, 159, 146, 567, 575, 682, 688, 694, 726, 838.

237  **uye*(兀也)'horn': 583, 602.

238  **fun*(分)phonogram: 727.

239  **bu*(卜)phonogram: 530.

240  **mu*(木)phonogram: 746.

241  **wei*(委)phonogram: 495, 582, 07.

242  **haha*(哈哈)'male': 298.

243  **jirhon*(以兒歡)'twelve': 647.

244  **bu*(卜)phonogram: 389.

245  **mahi*(麻希)'hat': 547.

246  **mingan*(皿干)'thousand': 664, 869.

247  **šunja*(順扎)'five': 024, 100, 640.

248  **budi*(卜的)'leg': 505.

249  **te*(忒)phonogram: 397, 765, 809.

250  **hai*(孩)modal converb suffix: 150, 254, 268, 330, 334, 336, 376, 377, 388, 470, 488, 564, 613, 679, 685, 722, 728, 763, 777, 824, 845, 849, 08. This suffix is coupled with back-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 255.

251  **gu*(吳)instrumentive suffix (?): 354. Since there is only one example, denotation of this suffix is not known exactly. Cf. Ma. *-ku/-kû* agentive-instrumentive verbal suffix.

252  **na*(納)phonogram: 375, 585, 786, 839. Ligeti also reconstructs **na.*[57]

253  **če*(車)phonogram: 044, 069, 072, 475, 612.

254  **mer*(脉魯)'will': 748.

255  **hei*(黑)modal converb suffix: 026, 102, 158, 182, 186, 278, 389, 404, 493, 515, 565, 687, 713, 727, 840, 847. This suffix is coupled with front-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 251.

256  **inengi*(一能吉)'day': 003, 025, 077, 085. Ligeti also reconstructs **inengi.*[58]

257  **biya*(必阿)'moon': 004, 026, 100.

## Six Stroke Characters

258  **en*(恩)phonogram: 404, 732, 774, 815, 834, 05, 33, 43.

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56 Grube, *loc. cit.*

57 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 12.

58 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 222.

259  *fu*(弗)phonogram; 498.

260  *bu*(卜)'from': 433, 752. Grube confused this character with character 259 and classified the two as a single character.[59] See also footnote 302 to Chap. IV.

261  *čau*(鈔, 朝) phonogram: 278, 296; 344.

262  *šin*(申) phonogram: 375.

263  *had*(哈 都)'dress': 551, 554.

264  *gu*(兀)phonogram: 057, 058, 062, 785.

265  *au*(敖)phonogram: 212, 585, 623, 811. Ligeti also reconstructs **au*.[60]

266  *ga*(哈)phonogram: 008, 030, 042, 157, 399, 440, 475, 702.

267  *nure*(弩 列)'liquor': 520.

268  *so*(瑣)'yellow': 193, 618, 635, 819, 24, 37. Ligeti also reconstructs **so*.[61]

269  *sa*(撒)phonogram: 439. Ligeti also reconstructs **sa*.[62]

270  *ge*(哥)phonogram: 368, 369, 754, 758.

271  *han*(寒, 罕) phonogram: 099; 258, 264, 454.

272  *bei*(背)phonogram: 277, 763.

273  *se*(塞)phonogram: 758.

274  *eru* ?(叵 舞)'ugly': 716.

275  *gai*(該)phonogram: 230, 599, 614, 680, 737, 789, 836, 868. Ligeti also reconstructs **gai*.[63]

276  *ti*(替)phonogram: 060.

277  ? (?) 'finish': only in the *Memorials*. The Manchu equivalent to this word is *wajimbi*. Accordingly, **waji* ? or **wadi*? See footnote 19 to Chap. V.

278  *fuli*(弗 里)'walk': 421, 781, 817.

279  *pi* ?(匹?, 疋?)counter for horses: only in the *Memorials*. See footnote 18 to Chap. V.

280  *šau*(少)phonogram: 456.

281  *o*(斡)phonogram: 823.

282  *ye*(也)phonogram: 385, 392, 458, 771, 791, 15.

283  *jun*(準)phonogram: 759.

284  *huši*(忽 十)'skirt': 552.

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[59] Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[60] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 12.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[63] Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 216–217.

285  *bei*(背)'cold': 095.

286  *miye*(滅)'duck': 160, 631.

287  *ju*(卓)phonogram: 473.

288  *mongu*(蒙古)'Mongol': 318.

289  *telhe*(忒勒)'separate': 390, 778.

290  *miyen*(緬)phonogram: 323.

291  *ul*(吉魯, 兀魯)phonogram: 318; 673. Grube read this character in entry 318 as *lù* and that in entry 673 as *wúh-lù*,[64] but this is incorrect.

292  *na*(那)phonogram: 706, 732, 757.

293  *duwe*(都厄)'altogether': 42.

294  *ja*(扎)phonogram: 726, 848, 02. Grube erroneously regarded this character in entry 848 as a different character from the others.[65]

295  *iye*(厄)phonogram: 035, 036, 715, 772, 820. See also footnote 295 to Chap. IV.

296  *bi*(必)phonogram: 151, 308, 295, 537, 784.

297  *de*(德)'virtue': 785. The Tōyō Bunko text confuses this with character 562.

298  *ge*(革)phonogram: 102, 370, 371, 565, 713, 736, 862. Ligeti also reconstructs *ge* (< *ŋe in Chin Jur.).[66] Throughtout Grube's version, the two strokes of the left portion of this character are miscopied, drawn in a different way:  .

299  *ala*(阿剌)'defeat': 090, 689, 794.

300  *buren*(卜連)verbal noun: 473, 733, 735. Cf. character 223.

301  *gai*(該)phonogram: 628.

302  *giyun*(君, 軍)'sovereign': 275, 279.

303  *garu*(哈兒)'goose': 185.

304  *r*(魯, 兒)phonogram: 599, 614, 868; 818. Grube was in error to read this character in entries 559, 614, and 868 as *múh-lù* and that in entry 818 as *šíh-rh*.[67] Ligeti also reconstructs *r.[68]

305  *bitehe*(必忒黑)'writings': 216, 277, 44.

306  *ču*(出)phonogram: 824, 845.

307  *li*(里)phonogram: 167, 205, 214, 457, 511, 516, 521, 759, 788, 13, 15.

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64 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.60.

65 *Ibid.*, p.54.

66 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.227. See footnotes 58 and 184 to Chap. IV.

67 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.60.

68 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp.216–217.

Ligeti also reconstructs **li*.[69]

308 **gi*(吉) phonogram: 234.

309 **ti*(替) phonogram: 025, 087, 096, 202, 470, 592, 593, 613, 679, 685, 714, 752, 805. Ligeti also reconstructs **ti*.[70] Judging from the example in entry 752, this character was perhaps used as the ablative case suffix. Cf. Ma. *-či* id.

310 **doko*(朵 課) 'reverse side': 545.

311 **ha*(哈) phonogram: 252, 462, 722.

312 **dondi*(端 的) 'hear': 351, 354, 777, 818. Ligeti reconstructs **doldi*.[71]

313 **le*(勒) denominal verbal suffix: 010, 096, 182, 197, 277, 332, 370, 371, 530, 565, 595, 598, 601, 613, 615, 751, 755, 763, 770, 799, 800, 831, 42. Ligeti also reconstructs **le*.[72] This suffix is appended to front-vowel nouns. Cf. character 196.

314 **buw ?*(卜 斡) 'retainer': 276.

315 **tuko*(禿 科) 'surface': 544.

316 **go*(戈) phonogram: 326, 701. Grube read this character at first as *kuō* and amended it to *kuō-lô* in the errata, adding *lô* after it,[73] but this may be incorrect. As regards entry 701 this character seems to be read as *goro*, because the following Jurchen character in the same entry is to be read as *o*, not *lo*. Judging from entry 326, however, this character is to be read as *go*. See also footnote 290 to Chap. IV.

317 **le*(勒) phonogram: 807, 824.

318 **mejiren*(脉 日 藍) 'heart': 506.

319 **bori*(薄 里) 'bow': 236.

320 **o*(斡) phonogram: 391, 606, 829.

321 **ei*(厄 一) 'dis-': 292, 474, 476. Throughout Grube's version, the left portion of this character is miscopied: 𢘑.

322 **din*(丁) phonogram: 126, 686.

323 **o*(斡) phonogram: 034, 289, 701, 745, 783, 795. Ligeti neglects to read this character in entry 034.[74]

324 **gi*(吉) nominal and adjectival ending: 344, 349, 382, 470, 478, 510, 576,

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69 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.23.

70 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.224.

71 *Ibid.*, p.223. See footnote 173 to Chap. IV.

72 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp.224 and 227; XII, p.12.

73 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.88.

74 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.16 and 18.

613, 626, 666, 670, 678, 679, 684, 685, 690, 695, 698, 703, 731, 735, 749, 759, 788, 789, 801, 807, 817, 818, 824, 852, 26. Ligeti also reconstructs **gi*[75]

325  **fonto*(分 脫)'chestnut': 121.

326  **cě*(車)phonogram: 389, 727, 847.

327  **ešì*(厄 申) 'not': 710, 738, 739. This appears as *ešin,* with the ending *-n,* and is preposed as a negative particle. Grube was in error to read this character as *'óh,*[76] because the following Jurchen character in the examples is *in,* not *šin.*

328  **te*(忒)'now': 088, 437, 480, 784.

329  **tau* (頭) phonogram: 011, 024, 266, 335, 435, 769, 821.

330  **mei*(梅)phonogram: 509.

331  **mula*(木 剌) 'stool': 239. Since the following Jurchen character in the example is *an,* not *lan,* Grube was incorrect in reading this character as *múh.*[77] See also footnote 115 to Chap. IV.

332  **tem*(忒)'camel': 137. Omission of a transliteration character indicating *m* is presumed here; cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **temge*(忒 木 革) id. and Ma. *temen* id.

333  **se*(塞)phonogram: 190, 191.

334  **amba*(安 班) 'big': 029, 668, 724, 803. Ligeti also reconstructs **amba.*[78] Grube was incorrect in reading this character as *'ān* in entry 29 only.[79] See footnote 282 to Chap. IV.

335  **šan*(善)phonogram: 405.

336  **ai*(愛)phonogram: 776.

337  **mo* (莫, 沒) 'tree': 104, 105, 107, 111, 115, 121, 126, 152, 36; 117.

338  **fan*(番)phonogram: 199.

339  **on*(灣) nominal ending: 058, 081, 669, 728, 823. Ligeti also reconstructs **on.*[80]

340  **te*(忒)phonogram: 740.

341  **boi*(卜)'earch': 038.

342  **sori*(瑣 哩) 'fight': 455, 484.

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75 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp.216–217; XII, pp.12 and 19.

76 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.61.

77 *Ibid.*, p.62.

78 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp.222 and 225.

79 Grube, *loc. cit.*

80 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.225; XII, p.14.

343  *honi*(和 你) 'sheep': 144.

344  *dorgon*(朵 兒 歡) 'wolf': 177.

345  *čі*(赤) conditional converb suffix: 158, 214, 280, 556, 589, 776. Ligeti also reconstructs *čі.*[81] Grube miscopied this character, drawing the middle horizontal stroke longer throughout the text: .

346  *ša*(沙, 紗) 'gauze' and intensive verbal suffix: 418, 442, 456, 475, 795, 815; 561. Ligeti also reconstructs *ša.*[82]

347  *tur*(禿 魯) phonogram (?): 729, 770.

348  *r*(兒) phonogram: only in the *Memorials.*

349  *bi*(別) 'be': 473, 614, 704, 776, 806, 819, 831.

350  *wo*(斡) phonogram: 078, 736.

351  *ja*(扎) phonogram: 440.

352  *neku*(捏 古) 'friend': 329, 798, 800.

353  *hiyen*(縣) 'district': 055.

354  *ta*(塔) phonogram: 500, 518.

355  *mai*(埋) nonperfective converb suffix: 125, 271, 380, 381, 387, 400, 418, 420, 430, 442, 456, 471, 677, 741, 768, 772, 774, 800, 815, 10, 12, 17, 31, 34. Ligeti also reconstructs *mai.*[83] This suffix is appeanded to back-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 179.

356  *fisa*(非 撒) 'back of the body': 503.

357  *beye*(背 也) 'body': 490, 750, 04. Ligeti also reconstructs *beye.*[84]

358  *yam*(吉) phonogram: 098.

359  *ge* (革) phonogram: 742, 780. Ligeti also reconstructs *ge* (< *ger* in Chin Jur.).[85]

360  *foyo*(縛 約) [sic] 'apricot': 107. Grube read this character as *čuén-yōh,*[86] but the transliteration character *ṭsuan* 縛 is a scribal error for *fu* 縛. See footnote 61 to Chap. IV.

361  *yun*(水) phonogram: only in the *Memorials.*

362  *diyen*(殿) 'possible': 739.

363  *čen*(千) phonogram: 312, 804. Ligeti also reconstructs *čen.*[87]

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81 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 12.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

83 *Ibid.*

84 *Ibid.*, p. 21

85 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 215.

86 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

87 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 24.

364  *ho*(和, 化) phonogram: 316; 399.

365  *mer*(脉 兒, 埋[sic][88]) phonogram: 403, 766, 796; 226. The hook in the lower left hand portion of the character appears only in the Tōyō Bunko text.

366  *gi* < **gi*?(吉) nominal suffix: 006, 009, 014, 017, 018, 065, 134, 449, 512, 524, 526, 532, 630, 791, 41. Ligeti also reconstructs *gi.*[89] **ngi*(吏) phonogram: 328, 408. Although this Chinese transliteration character would seem to indicate the pronunciation *gen,* it seems that the character is to be read as *ngi.* Compare entries 328 and 408 with Ma. *senggime* id.

367  **hen*(恨)phonogram: 467.

368  **mengu*(蒙古) 'silver': 570.

369  **we*(韓)phonogram: 427, 594, 796, 814, 840.

370  **ra*(剌) prospective participle suffix (?): 208, 358, 376, 377, 438, 465, 477, 790. This suffix is appended to back-vowel verbal stems.

371  **gomi*(戈 迷) 'broad': 735.

372  **bu*(卜) phonogram: 182, 814, 38.

373  **ulu* or **uru*(兀 魯) 'strong': 761.

374  **te*(忒)phonogram: 855.

375  **gulma*(古 魯 麻) 'hare': 150.

366  **ta*(塔)phonogram: 376, 377, 790.

377  **lha*(勒 哈) 'flower': 118. Since the preceding Jurchen character in the example is to be read as *i,* Grube was incorrect in reading this character as *hāh.*[90] Cf. Ma. *ilha* id.

378  **egu*(厄 兀) 'haste': 362, 363, 470.

379  **wan*(晚) 'how': 728.

380  **te*(忒)phonogram: 482.

381  **bi*(別) nonperfective indicative suffix: 183, 352, 364, 365, 366, 367, 391, 393, 405, 411, 423, 471, 480, 680, 737, 741, 773, 775, 789, 819, 861. Ligeti reconstructs **be.*[91]

382  **gan*(安)nominal ending: 240, 270, 272, 293, 342, 350, 469, 552. Ligeti also reconstructs **γan.*[92]

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[88] This transliteration character may be a scribal error. See footnote 110 to Chap. IV.

[89] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.11 and 12.

[90] Grube, *op. cit.,* p.64.

[91] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.8 and 20.

[92] Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.217; XII, p.14.

383  *ma*(馬) phonogram: 009, 018, 108, 164, 173, 188, 284, 585, 589. Ligeti also reconstructs **ma*.[93]

384  **ja*(扎)'light': 349, 698, 703. Ligeti also reconstructs **ja*.[94]

385  **bo*(卜, 薄) phonogram: 016, 151, 448, 559, 844; 745, 783. Ligeti also reconstructs **bo*, and regards it as an accusative case suffix.[95]

386  **guwiholo*(囘 和 羅) 'turtledove': 184.

387  **go*(戈) phonogram: 213, 250, 460, 566.

388  **ge*(革) phonogram: 096. Ligeti reconstructs **gek*.[96]

389  **kada*(哈 荅) 'truly': 409, 748, 777.

390  **gin*(興) nominal ending: 356, 743.

391  **so*(瑣) phonogram: 134, 326, 524.

392  **us*(兀 速) 'raw': 539.

393  **ka*(哈) phonogram: 434.

394  **u*(兀) phonogram: 116, 179, 531, 813.

395  **te*(忒) phonogram: 392, 491, 615, 746.

396  **sele*(塞 勒) 'iron': 574, 578.

397  **ta*(塔) phonogram; 018, 198, 229, 306, 414, 434, 463, 766, 805. A dot chanced to be added to the central right hand portion of this character in entry 229 in the text, and Grube treated it as a different character from the others,[97] but it is the same character. Ligeti also reconstructs **ta*.[98]

398  **hu* (忽, 斤, 琥, 瑚) phonogram: 106, 129, 180, 205, 228, 245, 344, 418, 446, 548, 632, 750, 798, 833; 312, 313; 584; 586. Ligeti also reconstructs **xu*.[99]

399  **ku*(苦) phonogram: 376, 377, 790.

400  **duman*(都 蠻) nominal suffix (?): 455, 484. The first syllable *-du-* could be the cooperative verbal suffix; cf. Ma. *-ndu-* id. This character seems to be exactly the same as character 399 as far as appearance goes. These characters were, however, perhaps different from each other, and one or the other is presumably a scribal error.

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93 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.10–13.

94 *Ibid.*, p.12.

95 *Ibid.*, p.18. See also footnote 35 to Chap. II.

96 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.224. See footnote 53 to Chap. IV.

97 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.73.

98 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.11, 18, and 19.

99 *Ibid.*, pp.20–24.

401  *gi*(吉)phonogram: 833. Ligeti reconstructs **ku*, considering it as character 399.[100] Grube confused this character with characters 399 and 400,[101] but these characters are written in obviously different ways in the text. That is to say, the horizontal line of the top portion of the character 399 and 400 is drawn left to right and that of this character right to left in the Berlin text, and both cases are exactly reversed in the Tōyō Bunko text.

402  **ge*(果, 騍) phonogram: 735, 19; 171.

403  **da*(荅)'root': 120, 588.

404  **uǰu*(兀 住) 'head': 334, 492, 751.

405  **di*(的)phonogram: 098, 103, 228, 254, 446, 478, 483, 549, 678, 681, 712, 797. Ligeti also reconstructs **di*.[102]

406  **us*(兀 速) 'grudge': 384. Grube miscopied the Chinese transliteration characters as *wúh-làh* 兀 剌 in the index.[103]

407  **ku*(庫, 苦) phonogram; 122, 126, 251, 550, 553, 686, 07; 466. There is no hook at the right point of the middle horizontal stroke in the Tōyō Bunko text: .

408  **fu*(弗)phonogram: 595.

409  **ǰa*(扎)phonogram: 731.

410  **uǰe*(兀 者)'heavy': 395, 396, 699. This character is to be read as *uǰe* by itself, but the Jurchen character indicating *e* follows in entries 396 and 699. Although no Chinese transliteration character expressing *e* is given, the long vowel *ee* should be presumed there.

441  **odon*(斡 端)'permission': 420.

412  **akda*(阿 荅)'castrated': 168.

413  **fan*(番)phonogram: 509, 737.

414  **baha*(八 哈) 'get': 366, 367, 480, 741.

415  **ete*(厄 忒)'win': 794.

416  **ite*(一·忒) 'people': 288, 297. Ligeti reconstructs **ilde*.[104]

417  **ǰan*(將)'general': 279.

418  **ǰi*(子)phonogram: 125, 196, 211, 252, 259, 270, 560, 623, 870, 871.

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100 *Ibid.*, p.21. See footnote 350 to Chap. IV.

101 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.65.

102 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.22 and 24.

103 Grube, *loc. cit.*

104 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.222. See footnote 142 to Chap. IV.

Ligeti reconstructs **se*.[105]

419 **yarha*(牙 剌)'panther': 148.

420 **če*(扯)phonogram: only in the *Memorials*.

421 **ǰi*(以, 知) phonogram: 186, 426, 595, 674, 675, 711, 860; 311.

422 **an*(晏)phonogram: 330.

423 **yu*(嗢)phonogram: 197.

424 **fu*(府, 弗, 撫) phonogram: 053, 231, 792; 357, 426, 535, 667; 314.

425 **še*(舍)phonogram: 048, 10.

426 **šumu*(舒 目)'sparrow hawk': 156.

427 **hal*(哈 魯)'heat': 092.

428 **iši*(一 十)'reach' and 'oak': 105, 380, 381.

429 **ošī*(斡 失)'star': 012.

430 **nam*(南)phonogram: 488, 682.

431 **u*(兀)phonogram: 397.

432 **šu*(受)'shade': 019, 763, 849, 08.

433 **ba*(巴)phonogram: 439, 463, 745, 784. Ligeti also reconstructs * *ba*, and regards it as an accusative case suffix.[106]

434 **in*(因)phonogram: 108. Ligeti reconstructs **in*.[107]

435 **ulhi*(兀 里)'comprehend': 783.

436 **ǰi*(以)'pity': 387, 734.

437 **šu*(舒, 書) phonogram: 129, 607, 695, 730, 06; 304. Ligeti also reconstructs **šu*.[108]

438 **golmi*(戈 迷)'long': 690.

439 **niyon*(孃)phonogram: 152, 192, 616, 629.

440 **ǰu*(朱)'ice': 015.

441 **yun*(容)'figure': 832. Grube made an error in copying this Chinese transliteration character, writing a similar character, 客 in the index, and read it as *k'éh*.[109]

442 **han*(罕)phonogram: 217, 350.

443 **omo*(斡 莫)'lake': 045.

444 **ǰuwe*(捌)phonogram: 443, 768, 769, 827, 32.

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105 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.217.

106 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.17–19. See also footnote 35 to Chap. II.

107 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.10.

108 *Ibid.*, pp.19 and 23.

109 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.66.

445  *ho*(和)phonogram: 038.

446  *kada*(哈 荅) 'govern': 430, 471.

447  *niyon*(嫩)phonogram: 159, 19.

448  *tuwanǰu*(團 住) 'elect': 804.

449  *čі*(赤)phonogram: only in the *Memorials.*

450  *tu*(禿)phonogram: 006, 014.

451  *fume*(弗 脉) 'bundle': 614, 856.

452  *ǰa*(扎)phonogram: 047, 214, 468, 485, 722, 782.

453  *herse*(赫 路 塞) 'language': 762.

454  *ǰam*(站) 'station': 14. Cf. Mo. *ǰam* id.

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455  *guri*(古 里) 'remove': 394, 817.

456  *ači*(阿 赤) 'divine': 273, 864, 867.

457  *tafa*(塔 法) 'associate': 429.

458  *shun*(宣) 'mutual': 676, 802.

459  *ehe*(厄 黑) 'bad': 337, 341, 477, 697. Ligeti also reconstructs **exe.*[110]

460  *ǰo*(卓)phonogram: 801, 844.

461  *bale*(巴 勒) concessive converb plus locative case suffix: 776.

462  *bo*(卜)phonogram: 412.

463  *ǰargu*(扎 魯 兀) 'wolf': 169.

464  *ga*(哈)phonogram: 494, 504. Ligeti also reconstructs **ga* (< **ŋa* in Chin Jur.).[111]

465  *bo*(孛)phonogram: 815.

466  *uli*(兀 里) 'stay': 402, 767, 821.

467  *tasha*(塔 思 哈) 'tiger': 136.

468  *doro*(多 羅) 'night': 078.

469  *huri*(忽 里) 'pine-cone': 127.

470  *kiwe*(撅, 闕) phonogram: 787; 828. Throughout Grube's version, the left portion of this character is miscopied: .

471  *uli*(兀 里) 'wealth': 580.

472  *gu*(古)phonogram: 146, 514.

473  *bo*(卜)phonogram: 213.

474  *hala*(哈 剌) 'alter': 393, 553, 795.

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110 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 223.

111 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 227; XII, p. 9. See footnotes 224 and 226 to Chap. IV.

475  *daši*（荅失）'cover': 765.

476  *bu*（卜）causative verbal suffix: 047, 146, 742, 780. Ligeti also reconstructs *bu.*[112] Although there are only examples that in the *Hua-i i-yü* this character is used as a phonogram, this is used as a causative verbal suffix in inscriptions. See p.55 for the valiant -*bü*-.

477  *hutun*（忽屯）'haste': 674, 475. Grube erroneously copied the second Chinese transliteration character as , and read it as *pi.*[113]

478  *yu*（于）phonogram: 707.

479  *ta*（塔）phonogram: 360, 361, 478, 807, 845.

480  *teni*（忒你）'just': 788.

481  *tom*（貪）phonogram: 401.

482  *ahu*（阿渾） 'elder brother': 286.

483  *ai*（愛）phonogram: 298, 338. The final *i* denotes genitive case in both examples.

484  *šira*（失剌）'old': 087, 425, 752.

485  *širi*（失里）'copper': 573.

486  *gu*（古）phonogram: 180, 221, 295, 464, 499, 569, 587, 634. Ligeti also reconstructs *gu.*[114]

487  *fan*（番）phonogram: 321.

488  *miya*（滅）phonogram: 166, 267, 391, 466.

489  *ǰafa*（扎法） 'catch': 364, 365. Ligeti also reconstructs *ǰafa.*[115]

490  *se*（塞）phonogram: 082, 102, 328, 408, 512, 822, 866.

491  *am*（安）phonogram: 411, 494, 764, 775. Ligeti also reconstructs *am.*[116]

492  *tun*（屯）phonogram: 437, 480, 485, 603, 784. Grube miscopied this Chinese transliteration character, writing a similar character, , and read it as *pi.*[117]

493  *tiyen*（天）phonogram: 325, 778.

494  *heb*（黑卜）'belt': 227.

495  *fonǰu*（番住）'seek': 775.

496  *he*（黑）perfective participle suffix and nominal suffix: 015, 052, 067, 068, 114, 124, 131, 160, 165, 223, 382, 390, 403, 428, 476, 487, 495,

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112 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.215.

113 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.68.

114 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.22.

115 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.223.

116 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.227; XII, pp.8–10.

117 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.69.

505, 525, 539, 558, 572, 582, 583, 602, 603, 631, 633, 755, 794, 796, 19. This verbal suffix is coupled with fron-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 89.

497  *ke*(克)phonogram: 131, 190, 191, 368, 369, 450, 693, 725, 751, 820, 842.

498  **niyohu*(捏 渾) 'younger sister': 291.

499  **a*(阿)phonogram: 008, 030. **ha*(哈)phonogram: 087, 752. Two different pronunciations, to wit **a* and **ha*, are indicated for this character. There is a possibility that this character was originally read as *ha* and the initial consonant *h-* came to be lost in the initial position of the word as in entries 008 and 030. Cf. Tg. **x-* > Ma. *ϕ-*.[118]

500  **tu*(禿)'come out': 025, 714.

501  **ula*(兀 剌)'river': 049.

502  **ken*(肯)phonogram; 256.

503  **ya*(牙)'flesh': 511, 521.

504  **lefu*(勒 付) 'sea leopard': 178.

505  **lau*(老)'toil': 17.

506  **šin*(申)deverbal nominal suffix: 413, 415, 416, 443, 538, 799, 813.

507  **er*(厄 魯)'fast': 083, 097, 452.

508  **ba*(巴)phonogram: 406.

509  **fi*(非)'brush': 224, 245, 468, 791. Ligeti also reconstructs **fi* (<**pi* in Chin Jur.).[119]

510  **čo*(截)phonogram: 36.

511  **hi*(希)optative verbal suffix: 206, 339, 353, 373, 386, 516, 738, 786, 812, 855, 23. In the *Hua-i i-yü* there are only examples that this verbal suffix is appended to the verb *sa-* 'to know' as in entries 353, 738, and 812, but in inscriptions this is coupled with other verbs.[120]

512  **e*(厄)phonogram: 450, 725,

513  **we*(韓)phonogram: 026, 052, 687.

514  **šilu*(失 魯) 'pear': 112.

515  **lo*(羅)phonogram: 285, 327, 412, 540, 562, 600, 691, 37. Ligeti also reconstructs **lo*.[121]

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[118] See also footnote 38 to Chap. II and footnotes 174 and 239 to Cahp. IV.

[119] Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.24.

[120] E.g. the *pei-ch'ing-ch'eng Ch'uan-shan mo-yai pei* 北 青 城 串 山 摩 崖 碑 inscription, line 3,  **iši-hi* 'Ah, if we arrived!'

[121] Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.224.

516 *edu*(厄 都)'wind': 005, 029.

517 *giyahu*(加 渾) 'hawk': 155.

518 *hoǰo*(和 卓)'pretty': 717.

519 *inda*(引 荅)'dog': 147, 176.

520 *pu*(普) phonogram: only in the *Memorials.*

521 *doko*(朶 和)'road': 115.

522 *dir*(的 兒)'pleasant': 383, 489, 756.

523 *hula*(虎 剌)'thief': 336.

524 *ubu*(兀 卜)'divide': 263.

525 *fari*(法 里)'dark': 609.

526 *eihen*(厄 恨)'ass': 141, 175.

527 *gemu*(革 木)'together': 757, 841.

528 *ne*(捏) phonogram: 102, 713. Ligeti also reconstructs **ne.*[122] Grube miscopied this character, drawing a horizontal stroke between the two dots in the upper portion: 𠂉.[123]

529 *či*(賜)'bestowal': 34.

530 *geli*(革 里)'also': 077, 30.

531 *hadi*(哈 的)'valuable': 281. 347, 571.

532 *tuli*(禿 里)'outside': 332, 601, 615, 770.

533 *r*(兒)phonogram: 761, 781.

534 *yala*(牙 剌)'true': 709.

535 *du*(都)phonogram: 405.

536 *dulhu*(都 魯)'sunlight': 020, 101.

537 *ha*(哈)phonogram: 352.

538 *fushe*(伏 塞, 弗 塞) 'fan': 221; 761.

539 *ur*(斡)phonogram: 372, 374, 473, 749, 814.

540 *sa*(撒)phonogram: 232.

541 *ma*(麻)phonogram: 839.

542 *en*(恩)phonogram: 226.

543 *loho*(羅 和)'sword': 235.

544 *če*(車)phonogram: 033, 851. Ligeti also reconstructs **če.*[124]

545 *sabi*(撒 必)'plan': 861.

546 *isu*(一 速)'soy': 528.

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122 *Ibid.*, p.227.

123 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.70.

124 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.16.

547  *dus (都 速) 'vinegar': 529.

548  *šen (先) phonogram: 244, 324. Ligeti also reconstructs *šen (< *čen in Chin Jur.).[125]

549  *nan (南) phonogram: 693.

550  *fi (非) perfective converb suffix: 139, 247, 248, 579, 829.

551  *ǰi (指, 旨) phonogram: 310; 864.

552  *se (塞) phonogram: 253.

553  *širha (失 兒 哈) 'roebuck': 154.

554  *ul (兀 魯) 'needle': 249.

555  *hehe (黑 黑) 'return': 478, 678.

556  *širi (失 里) 'sand': 067

557  *ser (塞 魯) 'cool': 093.

558  *moro (莫 羅) 'bowl': 246.

559  *gau (高) phonogram: 320.

560  *mur (木 兒) 'inch'?: 265.

561  *wa (瓦) phonogram: 211, 459, 824, 845. Grube erroneously regarded this character in entry 824 as a different character from the others,[126] but there is no difference between this and the others in the Berlin text, nor in the Tōyō Bunko text, either.

562  *fa (法) 'window': 209, 415.

563  *kara (哈 剌) 'look about': 469.

564  *nar (納 兒) 'small': 030, 220, 670, 672.

565  ? (?) 'open': only in the *Memorials*. On the basis of Ma. *nei-* 'to open,' *nei ? See footnote 76 to Chap. V.

566  *bey (背) phonogram: 385.

567  *omo (幹 莫) 'grandchild': 285.

568  *ča (察, 茶) phonogram: 264, 320, 352, 411, 775; 522. Ligeti also reconstructs *ča.[127]

569  *e (厄, 者) phonogram: 299; 396, 699. Grube was incorrect in reading this character as čè in entries 396 and 699 and as 'óh in entry 299.[128] Refer to character 410.

570  *ge (厄) phonogram: 288, 297.

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125 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 226–227. See footnotes 118 and 166 to Chap. IV.

126 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

127 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 8.

128 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

571  *gar*(哈 兒) 'branch': 123, 836.

572  **ju*(如) phonogram: 106, 632, 750. Ligeti also reconstructs **ju*.[129]

573  **gun*(宮) 'palace': 194.

574  **ma*(麻) 'rough': 671.

575  **arawa*(阿 剌 瓦) 'edict': 576.

576  **ji*(只) 'coin': 262, 575. Grube erroneously copied this character, adding a dot on the right upper portion: .[130]

577  **huwi*(回) 'Moslem': 319.

578  **šin*(深) 'cold': 091.

579  **fu*(富) phonogram: 722.

580  **tu*(禿) phonogram: 231. Grube confused this character with character 581 due to the similarity in shape.[131]

581  **ni*(你) genitive case suffix: 032, 033, 034, 272, 274, 331, 758, 760, 792, 793, 801, 851, 853, 863, 28. Ligeti also reconstructs **ni*.[132] This suffix is appended to nouns ending in *-n*. Cf. character 25.

582  **re*(勒) prospective verbal suffix: 355, 370, 371, 372, 374, 537, 749, 23. This suffix is appended to front-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 652.

583  **dudu*(都 督) 'military governor': 309.

584  **fute*(弗 忒) 'send': 410, 771.

585  **liwa*(里 襪) 'fish': 163.

586  **eb*(厄 不) 'hither': 857.

587  **ge*(厄) nominal ending: 061, 137, 172, 174, 175, 203, 269, 292, 333, 483, 502, 517, 748, 843, 852.

588  **hu*(忽) phonogram: 453, 673. Grube was definitely incorrect in reading this character as *hūh-sú*.[133]

589  **ter*(忒) 'table': 238. Omission of a transliteration character indicating *r* should be presumed here; cf. the *HIIY*-Without-Script **dere*(得 勒) id. and Ma. *dere* id.

590  **ši*(失, 食) phonogram: 230, 315, 368, 369, 427, 468, 516, 590, 591, 594, 764, 779, 796, 857; 099. Ligeti also reconstructs **ši*.[134]

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129 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp. 21 and 23.

130 Grube, *loc. cit.*

131 Ibid.

132 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp. 13–17 and 19.

133 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

134 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 9.

591  *er*(脉 兒[sic], 厄 兒)[135] 'direction': 825.

592  *doribi*(朵 里 必)'fox': 153.

593  *ǰu*(住, 註) phonogram: 057, 058, 062, 132, 397, 785, 797, 11; 808.

594  *te*(忒)phonogram: 083, 097, 227, 284, 404, 452, 482, 700, 739, 804.

595  *tik*(替)phonogram: 745. Ligeti also reconstructs *tik,[136] and not *ti.

596  *fula*(弗 剌) 'red': 587, 617, 624, 632.

597  *aha*(阿 哈) 'slave': 338.

598  *di*(的)phonogram: 486.

599  *fe*(非)phonogram: 625.

600  See character 397.

601  *giwen*(絹) 'silk': 560.

602  *usu*(兀 速) 'poor': 348.

603  *aiwan*(愛 晚) 'buy': 417.

604  *ša*(沙)phonogram: 042, 222, 497, 567.

605  *fule*(伏 勒)'ash': 065.

606  *uši*(兀 失) 'rice field': 050.

607  *hiši*(希 石) 'well': 056.

608  *akdiyan*(阿 站) 'thunder': 007.

609  *ge*(革)phonogram: 226.

## Eight Stroke Characters

610  *e*(厄)phonogram: 278, 537.

611  *buru* (卜 魯) 'lose': 840.

612  *ha*(平) 'king': 272. Ligeti also reconstructs *xa.[137]

613  *šiši*(失 失)'hazel: 128, 558.

614  *hefuli*(黑 夫 里)'stomach': 508.

615  *ǰe*(惹)phonogram: 786.

616  *uru*(兀 魯) 'permission': 831.

617  *san*(桑)'weep': 460.

618  *mori*(母 林) 'horse': 138, 168, 170, 171, 174. Since the following Jurchen character in the examples is to be read merely as *in,* Grube was in error to read this character as *mù.*[138] Cf. Ma. *morin* id.

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135 See footnote 344 to Chap. IV.

136 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 18.

137 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

138 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

619 *diyen*(殿, 甸) 'temple': 195; 323.

620 *fama*(法馬)'country': 041.

621 *ilen*(一·稜) 'tongue': 499.

622 *fes*(肥)'trouble': 373, 386. Omission of a transliteration character indicating *s* should be presumed here; cf. Ma. *feshe-* 'to suffer.'

623 *ge*(革)phonogram: 825.

624 *ǰi*(只)phonogram: 126, 686.

625 *fundu*(粉都) 'garden': 063.

626 *fo*(弗, 伏) phonogram: 556, 691; 081. Ligeti also reconstructs **fo*.[139]

627 *mudu*(木杜) 'dragon': 135.

628 *men*(門)phonogram: 526, 532.

629 *tan*(貪)'strong': 462.

630 *dab*(荅卜)'salt': 527.

631 *ši*(失)phonogram: 084, 158, 183.

632 *buwa*(卜阿)'territory': 070, 071.

633 *eniyen*(厄寧) 'mother': 283.

634 *niyeniyen*(捏年) 'spring': 073.

635 *tin*(聽)phonogram: 400.

636 *lo*(老)phonogram: 142.

637 *hutu*(忽禿)'happy': 258, 343, 803. Grube confused this character with character 636 due to the similarity in shape.[140]

638 *ukči*(兀稱) 'armor': 233.

639 *giyen*(見, 監) nominal ending: 608, 609; 303. Cf. character 21.

640 *ǰu*(朱)'Jurchen': 324. Ligeti reconstructs **ǰü* (< **ǰür* in Chin Jur.).[141]

641 *yaru*(牙魯)'lead': 772, 774.

642 *ha*(哈)phonogram: 199, 442, 795.

643 *susai*(速撒一)'fifty': 658.

644 *sa*(撒)phonogram: 142, 257, 342, 555, 681, 747, 782.

645 *da*(荅)phonogram: 064, 072, 229, 234, 330, 400, 418, 438, 451, 481, 723, 764, 801, 35. Ligeti also reconstructs **da*.[142]

646 *kiyen*(謙) phonogram: 790.

647 *saha*(撒哈)'black': 481, 620. See footnote 220 to Chap. IV.

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139 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 224 and 225; XII, p. 14.

140 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

141 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 224 and 226–227. See footnote 166 to Chap. IV.

142 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp. 9 and 20.

648  **fila*(非 剌) 'dish': 243.

649  **sai*(塞)'good': 696, 730, 806, 823.

650  **aniya*(阿 捏)'year': 079, 103.

651  **dule*(都 厄[sic],[143] 都 勒) 'pass': 834.

652  **ra*(剌)prospective participle suffix: 200, 534, 743, 765. This suffix is appended to back-vowel verbal stems. Cf. character 582.

653  **ir*(一 兒)'comb': 549.

654  **hun*(洪)'correct': 611.

655  **en*(恩)phonogram: 487. Grube made an error, copying this Chinese transliteration character as 思 and read it as *sī*.[144]

656  **hiyu*(許)phonogram: 18.

657  **dalu*(荅 魯)'assume chiefdom': 471.

658  **u*(武)phonogram: 05.

659  **fun*(分)'hair': 493, 515.

660  **fuli*(弗 里)'west': 591.

661  **ki*(其)phonogram: 059, 068, 167, 813, 847.

662  **ǰa*(扎)'thing': 838.

663  **mi* (密, 迷)phonogram: 414, 853; 695, 819. Ligeti also reconstructs **mi*.[145]

664  **ši*(師, 侍, 史, 士) phonogram: 496, 790; 305; 307; 317.

665  **tu*(禿, 突) phonogram: 778, 784, 31; 787.

666  **tuwe*(禿 赫)'fruit': 124, 525.

667  **lu*(綠)'green': 622, 631.

668  **hoto*(和 脫) 'pond' and 'gourd': 034, 133. Ligeti also reconstructs **xoto*.[146]

669  **huwan*(皇)'imperial': 868, 871. Ligeti also reconstructs **xuan*.[147]

670  **seri*(塞 里) phonogram: 084. Entry 084 can be compared with Ma. *sik-seri* 'evening,' and Ma. *sikse* means 'yesterday.' Accordingly, this character *seri* can not be considered as a morpheme.

671  **dan*(丹)phonogram: 350, 816.

672  **wan*(王)'king': 274.

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143 See footnote 351 to Chap. IV.

144 Grube, *op. cit.*, p.76.

145 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp.17 and 19–20.

146 *Ibid.*, p.16.

147 Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.217.

673  *si*(西, 犀) phonogram: 321, 325, 812; 583. Used only for Chinese loans. Compare this character with character 590.

674  *ta*(塔) 'camp': 268.

675  *bud*(卜都) 'meal': 523. This character seems to be exactly the same as character 674 as far as appearance goes. These characters, however, were perhaps different from each other, and one or the other is presumably a scribal error.

676  *bai*(伯, 百, 拍) phonogram: 302, 346, 415, 416, 813; 313, 322; 584. Ligeti also reconstructs **bai*, but reads it as *pai* (< **bai* in Chin Jur.) in entry 584.[148]

677  *gur*?(儿 鲁) phonogram?: 436.

678  *hir*(希 兒) 'lookout': 203, 269.

679  *sala*(撒 剌) 'old': 718.

680  *ala*(阿 剌) 'resemble': 677.

681  *ga*(哈)phonogram: 090, 359, 383, 384, 489, 681, 742, 756, 826, 858.

682  *sadu*(撒 都) 'relative': 683.

683  *jule*(諸 勒) 'front': 590, 598, 613, 822.

684  *duru*(都 魯) verbal suffix: 447. Function of this suffix is not known. Cf. Ma. co-operative verbal suffix *-du-* and character 35, *-ru*, a hortative verbal suffix.

685  *gin*(斤) 'catty': 260.

686  *ima*(一 · 麻) 'snow': 017, 630.

687  *tu*(禿)phonogram: 737.

688  *kin*(墾)phonogram: only in the *Memorials*.

689  *hun*(洪)nominal ending: 147, 176, 488, 682, 736.

690  *holdo*(和 朶) 'pine': 104. Ligeti also reconstructs **xoldo*.[149]

691  *dira*(的 剌) 'thick': 692.

692  *fuji*(弗 只) 'subordinate': 339.

693  *gin*(京) 'metropolis': 031.

694  *doro*(多 羅) 'seal': 255, 577, 745, 783. Ligeti also reconstructs **doro*.[150]

695  *dibo*(卜的)[sic] 'cover': 557. See footnote 241 to Chap. IV.

696  *liyan*(良)phonogram (?): 267, 620.

697  *fiju*(非 如) 'god': 22.

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148 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 24.

149 *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 14.

150 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

## Nine Stroke Characters

698  *giyau*(交)'chair': 241. Grube made an error in copying this Chinese transliteration character, writing the character 文 in the index, though he read it correctly as *kiāo*.[151]

699  **bira*(必阿)[sic]'river': 040. See footnote 26 to Chap. IV.

700  **hiyen* (咸, 賢元) 'somber': 38; 27. This character is written exactly the same as character 699 as a scribal error in the *Glossary*. However the correct shape appears in Memorial IX, the Toyo Bunko text: .

701  **yu*(御)'royal': 307.

702  **r*(兒, 魯) nominal ending: 063, 135, 343, 757, 803, 841, 22; 329, 798.

703  **lau*(樓)'donjon': 196.

704  **do*(朶) dative-locative case suffix: 070, 081, 151, 407, 412, 413, 600, 799, 816. Ligeti also reconstructs **do*.[152] See p. 42 for the valiant -**dö*.

705  **ton*(團)'loyal': 407.

706  **use*(兀寒)'seed': 778.

707  **gun*(溫)nominal ending: 091, 092, 093, 094, 409, 448, 518, 528, 748, 844.

708  **ǰuwa*(朱阿)'summer': 074.

709  **ǰuwan*(磚)'brick': 210.

710  **guwan* (關, 觀, 館, 冠) phonogram: 043; 204; 215; 542.

711  **duka*(都哈)'gate': 201.

712  **he*(黑) phonogram: 033. Ligeti also reconstructs **xe*.[153]

713  **fen*(分)'crowd': 772, 820.

714  **i* (一, 亦, 驛, 椅, 夷) phonogram: 173, 526, 532, 706, 732, 743, 757, 863; 676, 802; 215; 241; 322. Ligeti also reconstructs **i*.[154]

715  **guru*(國倫)'nation': 032, 274, 760. Since the following character in the examples is to be read merely as *un*, Grube is in error to read this character as *kuôh*.[155] Cf. Ma. *gurun* id. Ligeti reconstructs **gürun*.[156]

716  **mu* (木) phonogram: 244. Ligeti reconstructs **mü* (< **mül* in Chin Jur.).[157]

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151 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

152 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 14.

153 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

154 *Ibid.*, pp. 10 and 17.

155 Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

156 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, pp. 13–14.

157 Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 224 and 226–227.

717  *fan*(番) 'south': 592.

718  *kau*(口) phonogram: 043.

719  *tali* (塔 里) 'lightning': 002.

## Ten Stroke Characters

720  *mete*(脉 忒) 'sea': 046, 176, 177.

721  *aihu*(阿 丁) 'turtle': 164, 419. Ligeti reconstructs *aiγu.*[158]

722  *gen*(根) 'bright': 608.

723  *tuwi*(退) phonogram: 441, 767.

724  *na* (納) 'land': 037.

725  *yohi*(姚 希) 'folding case': 865.

726  *su*(素) phonogram: 514.

727  *kun* (孔) 'hole': 40.

728  See character 700.

158 Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 12.

# CHAPTER IV

## DECIPHERMENT OF THE *SINO-JURCHEN GLOSSARY* (*NÜ-CHEN-KUAN TSA-TZU* 女眞館雜字)

All of the eight hundred and seventy-one entries in the *Sino-Jurchen Glossary* of the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 of the Berlin National Library text and the forty-six entries from the *Sino-Jurchen Glossary* of the *Hua-i i-yü* of the Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 text which supplement them are treated in this chapter.

Wilhelm Grube made a copy of the Berlin National Library text in his own hand which was then published with indexes and a Jurchen-German word list.[1] Grube's work, however, contains many scribal errors as well as errors in interpretation of Jurchen characters and words. Grube merely Romanized Chinese characters used in interpretation in accordance with Chinese phonology, and never tried to reconstruct Jurchen sounds of the Ming period. Even in the word list the Romanized Chinese transliterations are cited, and are listed in alphabetical order with the German equivalents and the probable Manchu cognates. The entry number of the Berlin text are indicated in this chapter by three-digit numbers, 001 to 871.

Altogether one hundred and fifty-eight entries are listed in the *Sino-Jurchen Glossary* of the Tōyō Bunko text under a single heading, "Further Supplement (*Hsin-tseng* 新增)." The first sixty-two entries correspond exactly to all the entries under the heading of "Supplement (*Hsü-t'ien* 續添)," i.e. entries 760 to 821 in the Berlin text, and the last fifty entries also correspond exactly to all the entries under the heading of "Further Supplement (*Hsin-tseng* 新增)," i.e. entries 822 to 871 in the Berlin text. Forty-six entries, specifically from the sixty-third entry to the hundred and eighth, other than the entries mentioned above in the Tōyō Bunko text are not listed in the Berlin text, and these forty-six entries are given here in two-digit numbers, i.e. 01 to 46 as a supplement to the Berlin text. These forty-six entries were formerly introduced by Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹

[1] W. Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen,* Leipzig 1896.

之助 in his article,[2] but with unacceptable amount of copying errors.

In the original text, each page, except for some of the beginning or last pages under each heading, has four entries, and all the entries are written vertically. In each entry, the Chinese word is written in slightly larger script in the central line; the Jurchen word with the same meaning is written to the right in the Jurchen script, while the Chinese transliteration character which indicates the pronunciation of the Jurchen word is written to the left. All the entries are written here horizontally, however, as a matter of convenience, and in each entry, the Jurchen word is in its own script, the Chinese transliteration character, the reconstructed sound of the Jurchen word, the Chinese equivalent, and the English translation all appear in the order given here.

In some footnotes, words in the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script texts are quoted. In these cases where "*HIIY*-without-Script" appears with no special reference to "AB. text" or "SB. text," the quoted word is listed both in the Awanokuni Bunko 阿波國文庫 text and in the Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫 text with the same Chinese transliteration characters.

## 1. The Berlin National Library Text

Astronomy (*T'ien-wen men* 天文門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 001 |  | 阿卜哈以 | abkai[3] | 天 | heaven (gen.) |
| 002 |  | 塔里江 | talgiyan | 霆 | lightning |
| 003 |  | 一能吉 | inengi | 日 | day[4] |
| 004 |  | 必阿 | biya | 月 | moon |
| 005 |  | 厄都溫 | edun | 風 | wind |

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2 Ishida Mikinosuke, "Jurčica," *Ikeuchi Hakushi Kanreki Kinen, Tōyōshi Ronsō,* Tokyo 1940, pp. 50–56.

3 The Jurchen word 'heaven' is *abka* alone, and the *-i* attached to this is a genitive case suffix; cf. Ma. *abka* id. Concerning this *-i*, refer to character 25 in Chap. III. All cases of the case suffix *-i* below are the same. Compare this with entries 027, 028, and 629.

4 This word probably does not have the meaning 'sun' but means 'day.' Since the Chinese gloss means both 'sun' and 'day,' this word may have been confused. Cf. Ma. *inenggi* 'day' and *šun* 'sun.' The Jurchen character  meaning 'sun,' which may be read as **šun*, is found in line 27 of the *Ta-chin te-sheng-t'o-sung-pei* 大金得勝陀頌碑. Cf. *HIIY*-without-Script **šun* (受温) id. Consequently, this entry should not be cited under the heading of "Astronomy," but should be under the heading of "Times and Seasons." Lajos Ligeti also reconstructs **inengi* and gives 'jour.' Louis Ligeti, "Note préliminnaire sur le déchiffrement des ≫petits caractères≪joutchen," *AOH* III:2, 1953, p. 222.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 006 | 𡨴 𡨴 | 禿吉 | tugi | 雲 | cloud |
| 007 | 𠯿 | 阿坫 | akdiyan | 雷 | thunder |
| 008 | 𠬜 𡍮 | 阿哈 | aga | 雨 | rain |
| 009 | 𠂤 吣 𡨴 | 塞馬吉 | saimagi[5] | 霜 | frost |
| 010 | 𡈼 𠂆 𠂢 | 失勒溫 | šileun[6] | 露 | dew |
| 011 | 𠂇 | 頭 | tau[7] | 斗 | Ursa Major |
| 012 | 𠂤 𠂢 | 斡失哈 | ošiha | 星 | star |
| 013 | 𠯿 𠂉 | 上江 | šangiyan | 煙 | smoke |
| 014 | 𠆢 𡨴 𡨴 | 卜楚禿吉 | bočo tugi | 霞 | mist |
| 015 | 𢪐 𠂤 | 朱黑 | juhe | 冰 | ice |
| 016 | 𠯿 𠯿 | 卜嫩 | bonon[8] | 雹 | hail |
| 017 | 𣲘 𡨴 | 一麻吉 | imagi[9] | 雪 | snow |
| 018 | 𠂢 吣 𡨴 | 塔馬吉 | tamagi[10] | 霧 | fog |
| 019 | 𠂤 𠂢 | 受溫 | šun | 陰 [sic] | shady?[11] |
| 020 | 𠂤 𠂢 | 都魯溫 | dulhun | 陽 [sic] | sunny?[12] |
| 021 | 𠂤 | 脫委 | tuwe | 火 | fire |

[5] Grube compared this word with Ma. *silenggi* 'dew' (*op. cit.* p.98), but this is incorrect. See the following entry. There are Manchu words, which are possible cognates, *suman* 'enveloping smother' and *su-* 'to freeze white.' Ligeti erroneously reconstructs **semagi.* Louis Ligeti, "Les inscriptions djurtchen de Tyr. La formule *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ,*" *AOH* XII: 1–3, 1961, p.12. Regarding the reconstruction of **saimagi*, see p.41.

[6] Ligeti reconstructs **šileün. Ibid.*

[7] < Chin. 斗 .

[8] Cf. Ma. *bono* id., and the SB. text **bonon*? (博 罨)id. Whereas, the AB. text gives **bonongi*? ( 博罨吉 ) id. with the ending *gi.*

[9] Later the consonant *n-* (< **y-*) is added before the initial *i-*. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **imangi* ( 亦忙吉 ); however, Ma. *nimanggi* id. < **yimaŋgi* < **imaŋgi.* See N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, Teil I, Vergleichende Lautlehre,* Wiesbaden 1960, pp.32–33.

[10] Although the first character is to be read as *ta* and the second as *ma,* the consonant **r* could have been pronounced between them; cf. Ma. *talman* id. and *HIIY*-without-Script **tarmagi* ( 塔兒馬吉 ) id. Ligeti has **tamagi* <**tanmagi.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.11.

[11] See the following footnote and footnote 4 to this chapter.

[12] It seems that the Chinese gloss of this entry and that of entry 19 are reversed; cf. Ma. *tulhun* 'shade' and the *HIIY*-without-Script **tulgu* (禿魯兀) id. See also entry 27.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 022 |  | 晚都洪 | wenduhun | 空 | empty[13] |
| 023 |  | 以藍台 | ilan dai[14] | 三台 | six stars of Ursa Major |
| 024 |  | 順扎頭 | šunǰa tau | 五斗 | five Dippers |
| 025 |  | 一能吉禿替昧 | inengi tutimei[15] | 日出 | sun rises[16] |
| 026 |  | 必阿禿斡黑 | biya tuwehei[17] | 月落 | moon falls |
| 027 |  | 阿卜哈禿魯溫 | abka tulhun | 天陰 | sky is dark |
| 028 |  | 阿卜哈哈勒哈 | abka garha[18] | 天晴 | sky is clear |
| 029 |  | 安班厄都溫 | amban[19] edun | 大風 | gale |
| 030 |  | 納兒洪阿哈 | narhun aga | 細雨 | drizzle |

Geography (*Ti-li wen* 地理門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 031 |  | 京 | gin[20] | 京 | metropolis |
| 032 |  | 國倫你 | gurunni[21] | 國 | country (gen.) |

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13 The Chinese gloss also means 'sky,' but this means 'empty'; cf. Ma. *untuhun* id. This entry should not be under the heading of "Astronomy."

14 < Chin. 台.

15 This verbal ending forms nonperfective converb; cf. character 179. All cases of the verbal suffix *-mei* below are the same. No matter what verbal forms may appear in entries, the English translation will be given in the present form for clauses or the infinitive form for words henceforth.

16 This entry literally means "the day appearing." See footnote 4 to this chapter. The *HIIY*-without-Script has **šun tutihei* ( 受溫禿提黑 ) for the corresponding entry.

17 This verbal ending forms the modal converb; cf. character 255. All cases of the verbal suffix *-hei* below are the same.

18 This is the perfective participle form. Cf. character 89 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-ha* below are the same.

19 Ligeti also has **amban*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 225.

20 < Chin. 京.

21 The second character *ni* 禾 is a genitive case suffix. Cf. character 581 in Chap. III. All cases of the case suffix *-ni* below are the same. Ligeti reconstructs **gürunni* even in Ming Jurchen. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 13.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 033 | 果亦余 | 黑車你 | hečeni[22] | 城 | citadel (gen.?) |
| 034 | 里弗余 | 和脫斡你 | hotooni[23] | 池 | pond, moat (gen.?) |
| 035 | 夫北朱 | 黑勒厄甲 | heriye giya[24] | 街 | street |
| 036 | 夫北 | 黑勒厄 | heriye | 市 | city |
| 037 | 尝 | 納 | na | 地 | land |
| 038 | 反秒 | 卜和 | boiho | 土 | ground |
| 039 | 此列 | 阿里因 | alin[25] | 山 | mountain |
| 040 | 倚 | 必阿 [sic][26] | bira | 河 | river |
| 041 | 夜少 | 法馬阿 | famaa | 邦 | state |
| 042 | 洋舍 | 哈沙 | gaša | 村 | village |
| 043 | 泰答 | 關口 | guwankau[27] | 關 | frontier pass |
| 044 | 矢平 | 各車 | ǰeče | 塞 | frontier |
| 045 | 究 | 斡莫 | omo | 湖 | lake |
| 046 | 風电 | 脉忒厄林 | meterin | 海 | sea |
| 047 | 杰[sic]支 | 扎卜 [sic] | ǰabu?[28] | 林 | forest |
| 048 | 忍爭 | 舍厄 | šere[29] | 泉 | spring |
| 049 | 秀 | 兀剌 | ula[30] | 汇 | river |
| 050 | 杀列 | 兀失因 | ušin | 田 | rice field |

22 This ending *-ni* might be the genitive case suffix *-ni*. If so, this word should be read as *hečenni*. Cf. Ma. *hečen* id. Ligeti also has **xečeni*; *AOH* XII, p. 16.

23 Ligeti reconstructs **xotoni*; *loc. cit.*

24 < Chin. 街.

25 Ligeti also has **alin*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 225.

26 This transliteration character **a* 阿 may be an error for **ra*, because *biya* means 'moon' as is seen in entry 004. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **bira* ( 必剌 ) 'river' and Ma. *bira* id.

27 < Chin. 關口.

28 The order of these characters might be inverted from 支杰 **buǰa*? Cf. Ma. *buǰan* id.

29 Grube compared this word with Ma. *šele* 'puddle' (*op. cit.*, p. 99), but this word should have been compared with Ma. *šeri* 'spring.'

30 This indicates a river bigger than *bira*, entry 40. Cf. Ma. *sahaliya ula* 'Amur River' and *sunggari bira* 'Sungari River.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 051 |  | 沒 | mu[31] | 水 | water |
| 052 |  | 韓黑 | wehe | 石 | stone |
| 053 |  | 府 | fu[32] | 府 | prefecture |
| 054 |  | 州 | ǰau[33] | 州 | province |
| 055 |  | 縣 | hiyen[34] | 縣 | district |
| 056 |  | 希古 | hiši[35] | 井 | well |
| 057 |  | 住兀 | ǰugu | 路 | road |
| 058 |  | 韓速灣住兀 | oson ǰugu | 徑 | path |
| 059 |  | 卜勒其 | dureki | 塵 | dust |
| 060 |  | 替法 | tifa[36] | 泥 | mud |
| 061 |  | 兀的厄 | udige | 野 | field |
| 062 |  | 住兀伯 | ǰugube[37] | 道 | way (acc.) |
| 063 |  | 粉都兒 | fundur[38] | 園 | garden |
| 064 |  | 法答岸 | fadan | 墻 | wall |
| 065 |  | 伏勒吉 | fulegi | 灰 | ashes |
| 066 |  | 牙哈 | yaha | 炭 | charcoal |
| 067 |  | 矢里黑 | širihe | 沙 | sand |
| 068 |  | 黑其 | heki | 堤 | dike |
| 069 |  | 者車 | ǰeče | 邊境 | border land |

31 Ligeti reconstructs **mü*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 22.

32 < Chin. 府.

33 < Chin. 州.

34 < Chin. 縣.

35 Cf. Ma. *hûčin* id. For the same Chinese gloss the *HIIY*-without-Script has **huti* (忽提), corresponding to Ma. *hûti* id.

36 Grube compared this word with Ma. *lifan* [sic] (*op. cit.*, p. 101), which was probably mistaken for *lifahan* 'mud,' but it should have been compared with Ma. *čifahan* 'viscous mud.'

37 Cf. Ma. *ǰugûn* id. The last character *be* 丈 is an accusative case suffix. Concerning this suffix *-be*, refer to character 34 in Chap. III. All cases of the case suffix *-be* below are the same.

38 No Manchu cognate for this word has been found. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give the word **yafa* (牙發) for the same entry. Cf. Ma. *yafan* id.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 070 | 奔 羊 | 卜阿朶 | buwado[39] | 地面 | territory (dat.-loc.) |
| 071 | 奔 史 | 卜阿以 | buwai | 地方 | region (gen.) |
| 072 | 矢 平 孔 育 羊 | 者車法荅岸 | ǰeče fadan | 藩籬 | border fence |

Time and Seasons (*Shih-ling men* 時令門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 073 | 矣 屯 | 捏年厄林 | niyeniyen erin[40] | 春 | spring |
| 074 | 要 屯 | 朱阿厄林 | ǰuwa erin[41] | 夏 | summer |
| 075 | 扎 屯 | 卜羅厄林 | bolo erin[42] | 秋 | autumn |
| 076 | 矛 屯 | 禿厄厄林 | tuwe erin[43] | 冬 | winter |
| 077 | 日 乔[44] | 一能吉革里 | inengi geli[45] | 晝 | daytime |
| 078 | 夂 吏 | 多羅斡 | dorowo | 夜 | night[46] |
| 079 | 㑹 | 阿捏 | aniya | 年 | year |
| 080 | 屯 列 | 哈稱因 | hačin | 節 | term |
| 081 | 玫 发 羊 | 伏灣朶 | fondo[47] | 時 | time[48] (dat.-loc.) |

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[39] Cf. Ma. *ba* id. The ending *-do* is a dative-locative case suffix. Refer to character 704 in Chap. III. All cases of the case suffix *-do* below are the same. Compare this entry with the following entry *buwa-i*.

[40] The second word *erin* 'season' is combined with the preceding word as **niyeniyeri* (捏捏里) id. in the *HIIY*-without-Script, like Ma. *niyengniyeri* id. See also the following three footnotes.

[41] The *HIIY*-without-Script **ǰuwanri* (莊里) id.; cf. Ma. *ǰuwari* id.

[42] The *HIIY*-without-Script **bolori* (博羅力) id.; cf. Ma. *bolori* id.

[43] The *HIIY*-without-Script **tuweri* (禿額里) id.; cf. Ma. *tuweri* id.

[44] The second character 乔 is listed by itself in the TB. text as **geli* 'also'; cf. Ma. *geli* id. See also Ishida, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Accordingly, Grube was in error to compare this word with Ma. *gere-* 'to dawn.' Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[45] There is also a possibility that this is one word, *inengigeli*. Cf. Ma. *inenggidari* 'every day' and *inenggishûn* 'about noon.'

[46] The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **dobori* (多博力) instead, corresponding to Ma. *dobori* 'night.'

[47] Ligeti also has **fon*; cf. Ma. *fon* id. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 225; XII, p. 14.

[48] For the same entry, the *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **eri* (額力), corresponding to Ma. *erin* 'time.' See entry 089. See also Ligeti, "Le anciens éléments mongols dans le mandchou," *AOH* X, 1960, pp. 237–238.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 082 | 𘓱𘓐 | 塞革 | sege | 歲 | age |
| 083 | 𘓵𘓳 | 厄魯忒 | erte[49] | 早 | early |
| 084 | 𘓱𘓴 | 失塞里 | šiseri[50] | 晚 | evening |
| 085 | 𘓺𘓜 | 一車一能吉 | iče inengi | 朔 | new-moon day (1st day of the month) |
| 086 | 𘓝𘓜 | 脫卜歡一能吉 | tobohon inengi | 望 | full-moon day |
| 087 | 𘓱𘓪𘓧 | 失剌哈替 | širahati | 古 | old |
| 088 | 𘓴𘓺 | 忒厄 | tee | 今 | now |
| 089 | 𘓽 | 厄林 | erin | 季 | season |
| 090 | 𘓻𘓲 | 阿剌哈 | alaga | 閏 | intercalary |
| 091 | 𘓼𘓱 | 深溫 | šingun[51] | 冷 | cold |
| 092 | 𘓸𘓱 | 哈魯溫 | halgun | 熱 | hot |
| 093 | 𘓹𘓱 | 塞魯溫 | sergun | 凉 | cool |
| 094 | 𘓷𘓱 | 都魯溫 | dulgun | 溫 | warm |
| 095 | 𘓾 | 背 | bei[52] | 寒 | chilly |
| 096 | 𘓶𘓧𘓿 | 革替勒 | getile[53] | 凍 | frozen |
| 097 | 𘓵𘓳 | 厄魯忒 | erte | 朝 | morning |
| 098 | 𘓶𘓯𘓬 | 言的洪 | yamdihun[54] | 夕 | evening |

[49] Cf. Ma. *erde* id. Grube erroneously gave *erte* 'present?' as the Manchu cognate (*op. cit.*, p.96), perhaps confusing it with Mo. *erte* 'early.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **timari* (替麻里) for the same entry. Cf. Ma. *čimari* 'early morning.'

[50] Cf. Ma. *sikseri* id. The word might have been **šikseri*. See p.50. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **yamdiha* (様的哈) instead, corresponding to Ma. *yamǰiha* 'dusk.'

[51] Cf. Ma. *singkeyen* 'chilly.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **šahuru* (厦忽魯) instead, corresponding to Ma. *šahûron* 'cold.'

[52] Cf. Ma. *beiguwen* id. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give two differrent forms, i.e. the SB. text **šimugu* (失木克/兀) and the AB. text **šibugu* (失不/木兀), probably related to Ma. *singkeyen* 'chilly.'

[53] Cf. Ma. *geče-* 'to freeze.' Ligeti reconstructs **gektile* on the basis of Gold. *gekči-* id. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.224.

[54] The second Jurchen character is to be read as *di* and the third as *hun*, but this word could have been pronounced **yamdishun*; cf. Ma. *yamǰishun* id.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 099 | 压 盂 屯 列 | 寒食哈稱因 | hanši[55] hačin | 清明 | Clear and Bright (about April 5) |
| 100 | 礼 月 屯 列 | 順扎必阿哈稱因 | šunǰa biya hačin | 端午 | Boy's Festival (5th day of the 5th month) |
| 101 | 扎 及 禹 土 | 出溫都魯溫 | čun[56] dulhun | 重陽 | Chrysanthemum Festival (9th day of the 9th month) |
| 102 | 犯 赛 [sic] 57 升 天 秀 | 革捏黑塞革 | genehei[58] sege | 去歲 | last year |
| 103 | 角 仟 洲 | 的溫阿捏 | digun aniya | 來年 | next year |

## Flowers and Trees (*Hua-mu men* 花木門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 104 | 帝 支 | 和朶莫 | holdo[59] mo | 松 | pine tree |
| 105 | 朱 支 | 十一莫 | iši mo | 柏 | oak tree |
| 106 | 尚 压 | 忽如 | huǰu[60] | 桃 | peach |
| 107 | 夾 支 | [sic]61 縛約莫 | foyo mo | 李 | damson |
| 108 | 秉 兀 犬 | 因馬剌 | inmala[62] | 桑 | mulberry |
| 109 | 丸 犬 | 孩剌 | haila[63] | 榆 | elm |
| 110 | 屯 [sic] 兆 犬 | [sic] 歸法剌 | guwifala?[64] | 杏 | apricot |
| 111 | 右 支 | 昧莫 | mei[65] mo | 梅 | plum tree |
| 112 | 庐 | 失魯 | šilu | 梨 | pear |

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55 < Chin. 寒食.

56 < Chin. 重.

57 This *-hei* is probably an error for 夬 **he*, a perfective participle suffix.

58 Ligeti also has **gene-* (< **ŋene-*). Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 227.

59 Ligeti also has **xoldo*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 14.

60 Ligeti also has **xuǰu*; *ibid.*, p. 23.

61 The transliteration character 縛(**čuwan*?) is a scribal error for **fo* 縛. Cf. Ma. *foyoro* id.

62 Cf. Ma. *nimala* id. Refer to footnote 9 to this chapter. Ligeti also has **immala*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 10.

63 Ligeti also has **haila*; *ibid.*

64 The last two characters might be inverted, and **guilafa*? Cf. Ma. *guilehe* id.

65 < Chin. 梅.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 113 |  | 兀鲁 | ulu[66] | 枣 | jujube |
| 114 |  | 素黑 | suhe | 柳 | willow |
| 115 |  | 朵和莫 | doko mo | 树 | roadside tree |
| 116 | [67] | 斡兒和 | orho | 草 | grass |
| 117 |  | 汶 | mo | 木 | wood |
| 118 |  | 一勒哈 | ilha | 花 | flower |
| 119 |  | 阿卜哈 | abuha[68] | 葉 | leaf |
| 120 |  | 荅 | da | 根 | root |
| 121 |  | 分脫莫 | fonto mo[69] | 栗 | chestnut tree |
| 122 |  | 吝庫 | ǰeku | 苗 | seedling |
| 123 |  | 哈兒 | gar | 枝 | branch |
| 124 |  | 禿斡黑 | tuwehe | 果 | fruit |
| 125 |  | 埋子 | maiǰi[70] | 麥 | wheat |
| 126 |  | 只丁庫莫 | ǰidinku mo (?) | 柴 | firewood |
| 127 |  | 忽里 | huri | 松子 | pine-cone |
| 128 |  | 失失 | šiši | 榛子 | hazelnut |
| 129 |  | 忽舒 | hušu[71] | 核桃 | walnut |
| 130 |  | 脉出 | meču | 葡萄 | grape |
| 131 |  | 黑克 | heke[72] | 西瓜 | melon |
| 132 |  | 捏住 | niyaǰu | 蘿蔔 | radish |

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66 Cf. Ma. *uli* 'damson.' For the same entry, the *HIIY*-without-Script texts give the Chinese loan word **ǰaur* ( 皂兒 ) from Chin. 棗兒, which occurs as *soro* 'jujube' in Manchu.

67 Grube miscopied this character, adding a hook to the right end of the horizontal stroke:  . Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

68 Although the first character is to be read as *a* and not *ab*, this word could have been **abdaha*. Cf. Ma. *abdaha* id.

69 No Manchu cognate has been found. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **hušiya mo* ( 忽厦莫 ) corresponding to Ma. *hûšiha moo* id.

70 < Chin. 麥子.

71 Ligeti also has **xušu*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 23.

72 The first character is to be read as *he* and the second as *ke*, but this word could have been **henke*. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **henke* ( 恨克 ) id. and Ma. *hengke* id.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 133 | 𡨴 𡨸 | 和脫和 | hotoho[73] | 葫蘆 | bottle-gourd |
| 134 | 𠂤 𠂆 𠂢 𠂤 | 上汇瓒吉 | šangiyan sogi | 白菜 | cabbage |

Birds and Beasts (*Niao-shou men* 鳥獸門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 135 | 𡨴 𠂢 | 木杜兒 | mudur | 龍 | dragon |
| 136 | 𡨴 | 塔思哈 | tasha | 虎 | tiger |
| 137 | 𠂢 𡨸 | 忒厄 | temge | 駝 | camel |
| 138 | 𠂤 𠂆 | 母林 | morin | 馬 | horse |
| 139 | 𠂇 𠂢 | 阿非 | afi[74] | 獅 | lion |
| 140 | 𠂢 𠂆 | 素法 | sufa | 象 | elephant |
| 141 | 𠂤 | 厄恨 | eihen | 驢 | ass |
| 142 | 𠂢 𠂇 | 老撒 | losa[75] | 騾 | mule |
| 143 | 𠂢 𠂢 | 委罕 | ihan | 牛 | ox |
| 144 | 𠂤 | 和你 | honi | 羊 | sheep |
| 145 | 𠂇 | 勒付 | lefu | 熊 | bear |
| 146 | 𠂢 𠂤 | 卜古 | bugu | 鹿 | deer |
| 147 | 𠂢 𠂇 | 引荅洪 | indahun | 犬 | dog |
| 148 | 𠂢 | 牙剌 | yarha | 豹 | panther |
| 149 | 𠂆 𠂇 | 申革 | šinge | 鼠 | rat |
| 150 | 𠂤 𠂆 | 古魯麻孩 | gulmahai | 兎 | rabbit (gen.?) |
| 151 | 𠂢 𠂆 𠂤 𠂇 | 朶必卜孀 | dobi bonon | 猿 | monkey |
| 152 | 𠂤 𠂆 | 莫孀 | moniyon | 猴 | ape |
| 153 | 𠂢 | 朶里必 | doribi[76] | 狐 | fox |
| 154 | 𠂢 | 失兒哈 | širha | 獐 | roebuck |
| 155 | 𠂢 𠂆 | 加渾溫 | giyahun | 鷹 | hawk |
| 156 | 𠂤 | 舒日 | šumu | 鷂 | sparrow hawk |

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[73] Ligeti also has **xotoxo*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 16.

[74] The *HIIY*-without-Script **afiya* ( 阿非阿 ) id.; whereas, Ma. *arsalan* id.

[75] Probably, < Chin. 騾子, in the early stage. See pp. 48–49.

[76] Grube compared this word with Ma. *dobihi* 'fox fur' (*op. cit.*, p. 100), but this should have been compared with Ma. *dobi* 'fox.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 157 | 𛱔 𛰽 | 哈哈 | gaha | 鴉 | crow |
| 158 | 𛰾 𛰿 𛱀 | 失赤黑 | šičihei | 雀 | sparrow (gen.?) |
| 159 | 𛱁 𛱂 𛰽 | 嫩捏哈 | niyonniyaha | 鵝 | goose |
| 160 | 𛱃 𛱄 | 滅黑 | miyehe[77] | 鴨 | duck |
| 161 | 𛱅 | 替和 | tiko | 雞 | chicken |
| 162 | 𛱆 | 兀黑彥 [sic][78] | uliyan | 猪 | boar |
| 163 | 𛱇 𛰽 | 里襪哈 | liwaha[79] | 魚 | fish |
| 164 | 𛱈 𛱉 | 阿于馬 | aihuma[80] | 鼈 | turtle |
| 165 | 𛱊 𛱋 | 梅黑 | meihe | 蛇 | snake |
| 166 | 𛱌 𛱍 𛰽 | 兀滅哈 | umiyaha | 蟲 | worm |
| 167 | 𛱎 𛱏 𛱐 | 其里因 | kilin[81] | 麒麟 | unicorn |
| 168 | 𛱑 𛱒 𛱓 | 阿荅母林 | akda morin | 騸馬 | gelding |
| 169 | 𛱔 | 扎魯兀 | ǰargu | 豺狼 | wolf |
| 170 | 𛱕 𛱒 𛱓 | 阿只兒母林 | aǰir morin | 兒馬 | stallion |
| 171 | 𛱖 𛱒 𛱓 | 騍母林 | ge[82] morin | 騍馬 | mare |
| 172 | 𛱗 𛱘 𛱙 | 兀的厄兀里彥 | udige uliyan | 野猪 | wild boar[83] |
| 173 | 𛱚 𛱛 𛱜 | ·馬剌 | imala[84] | 山羊 | goat |

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77 The initial consonant *m* was later alternated with *n*; cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **niyehe* ( 捏黑 ) id. and Ma. *niyehe* id.

78 As Grube pointed out in the errata (*op. cit.*, p. 88), this transliteration character 黑 (**he*?) is a scribal error for **li* 里 in the text. Cf. Ma. *ulgiyan* id. Compare this with entry 172. On the basis of the Manchu cognate this word might have been **uligiyan*.

79 Should it be **limaha*? Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **nimha* ( 泥木哈 ) id. and Ma. *nimaha* id. < **ǰirmagai* (Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 61 and p. 140).

80 Ligeti reconstructs **aiɣuma*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 12.

81 < Chin. 麒麟. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **arsalan* ( 阿撒郎 ), but *arsalan* in Manchu means 'lion.' See also entry 139.

82 < Chin. 騍.

83 The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **aida* ( 艾荅 ) instead, corresponding to Ma. *aidagan* 'male boar.'

84 Ligeti also has **imala*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 10.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 174 | 𘓱𘊴𘐯𘐯[85] | 兀的厄母林 | udige morin | 野馬 | wild horse |
| 175 | 𘓱𘊴𘐯 | 兀的厄厄恨 | udige eihen | 野驢 | wild ass |
| 176 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 脉忒厄林引荅洪 | meterin indahun | 海狗 | seal |
| 177 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 脉忒厄林朶兒獾 | meterin dorgon | 海獾 | a species of wolf |
| 178 | 𘐯 | 勒付 | lefu | 海豹 | sea leopard |
| 179 | 𘐯𘐯 | 哈里兀 | hariyu | 海獺 | sea lion |
| 180 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 古牙忽 | guyahu[86] | 鴛鴦 | mandarin duck |
| 181 | 𘐯𘐯 | 素岸 | suwan | 鸕鷀 | cormorant |
| 182 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 卜勒黑 | bulehei | 仙鶴 | crane (gen.?) |
| 183 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 失別洪 | šibihun[87] | 燕子 | swallow |
| 184 | 𘐯 | 呵和羅 | guwiholo | 鴿鵓 | turtledove[88] |
| 185 | 𘐯𘐯 | 哈兒溫 | garun | 天鵝 | wild swan |
| 186 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 只里只黑 | jirǐjihei[89] | 麻雀 | house sparrow (gen.?) |
| 187 | 𘐯𘐯 | 申科岸 | šinkoan | 海青 | falcon |
| 188 | 𘐯𘐯 | 兀魯兀馬 | ulguma[90] | 野雞 | pheasant |
| 189 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 莽魯溫 | manlun[91] | 蟒龍 | Python |
| 190 | 𘐯𘐯𘐯𘐯 | 上江塞克 | šangiyan seke | 銀鼠 | ermine |
| 191 | 𘐯𘐯 | 塞克 | seke | 貂鼠 | sable |

[85] Grube made an error in copying, writing the Chinese transliteration character *lin* 林 instead of this Jurchen character. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[86] Ligeti also has **guyaxu*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 22.

[87] Although the second character is to be read as *bi* and the third character as *hun*, this word could have been pronounced **šibirhun*. Cf. Ma. *sibirgan* id.

[88] Grube gave 'turtledove' as an equivalent to this word (*op. cit.*, p. 93). According to the *Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wen-chen* 五體清文鑑 (ca. 1790), however, the Chinese equivalant to the Manchu word *način* 'a species of small hawk' is this Chinese gloss 鴿鵓.

[89] Grube compared this word with Ma. *čečike* 'bird' (*op. cit.*, p. 90), but its probable Manchu cognate is *jirha* in *jirha čečike* 'tailor bird.'

[90] Ligeti also has **ulɣuma*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 12.

[91] < Chin. 蟒龍.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 192 | ᡮᡠᠩᡤᡳᠶᠠᠨ ᡧᡳᠩᡤᡝ | 嫩江申革 | niyongiyan šinge[92] | 青鼠 | squirrel |
| 193 | ᠰᡠᡤᡳᠶᠠᠨ ᡧᡳᠩᡤᡝ | 瑣江申革 | sogiyan šinge[93] | 黃鼠 | weasel |

Buildings (*Kung-shih men* 宮室門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 194 | ᡤᡠᠨ | 宮 | gun[94] | 宮 | palace |
| 195 | ᡩᡳᠶᡝᠨ | 殿 | diyen[95] | 殿 | temple |
| 196 | ᠯᡠᠸᠠᠨᠵᡳ | 樓子 | lauji[96] | 樓 | donjon, tower |
| 197 | ᠶᡠᠯᡝ | 嘔勒 | yule | 院 | courtyard |
| 198 | ᡨᠠᠨ | 塔安 | tan[97] | 堂 | hall |
| 199 | ᡥᠠᡶᠠᠨ | 哈番 | hafan | 衙 | officer[98] |
| 200 | ᡨᠠᡳᡵᠠ | 太乙剌 | taira | 寺 | monastery |
| 201 | ᡩᡠᡴᠠ | 都哈 | duka[99] | 門 | gate |
| 202 | ᡨᡳᠨ | 替因 | tin[100] | 廳 | court |
| 203 | ᡥᡳᡵᡤᡝ | 希兒厄 | hirge | 臺 | terrace |
| 204 | ᡤᡠᠸᠠᠨ | 觀 | guwan[101] | 觀 | turret |
| 205 | ᡥᡠᠯᡳ | 忽里 | huli[102] | 閣 | pavilion |
| 206 | ᡥᡳᡩᠠ | 希大 | hida | 簾 | rattan blind |

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[92] This is a mere word-for-word translation of the Chinese gloss. It is not known whether a Manchu phrase *niowanggiyan singgeri* 'blue rat' existed or not. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **ulhu* ( 兀魯忽 ), corresponding to Ma. *ulhu* being the general term for silver-gray rats.

[93] The word-for-word translation of the Chinese gloss 'yellow rat.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **solohi* ( 瑣羅希 ). Cf. Ma. *solohi* 'weasel.'

[94] < Chin. 宮.

[95] < Chin. 殿.

[96] < Chin. 樓子.

[97] < Chin. 堂.

[98] Although the Chinese gloss means 'governmental office' and not 'official, clark,' this Jurchen word has only the latter meaning; cf. Ma. *hafan* 'officer.' This entry, accordingly, should not be cited under the heading of "Building."

[99] Cf. Ma. *duka* 'gate of the castle.' Yet, the *HIIY*-without-Script texts, in addition to **duka* ( 都哈 ), also give, in a different entry, **uči* ( 兀尺 ) corresponding to Ma. *uče* 'gate of the house.'

[100] < Chin. 廳.

[101] < Chin. 觀.

[102] Ligeti also has **xuli*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 23.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 207 | 天 歹 | 太 本 | taibun | 梁 | beam |
| 208 | 反 戈 | 禿 剌 | tura | 柱 | pillar |
| 209 | 化 夕 | 法 阿 | faa | 窓 | window |
| 210 | 庾 | 磚 | ǰuwan[103] | 磚 | brick |
| 211 | 爻 亦 | 瓦 子 | waǰi[104] | 瓦 | tile |
| 212 | 业 业 | 下 放 | hiyau[105] | 學 | study |
| 213 | 厌 氖 | 卜 戈 | bogo | 房 | house |
| 214 | 杰 臾 休 | 扎 赤 里 | ǰačili | 帳 房 | tabernacle |
| 215 | 奉 南 | 館 驛 | guwanni[106] | 館 驛 | post-house |

Implements (*Ch'i-yung men* 器用門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 216 | 使 | 必 忒 黑 | bitehe | 書 | book |
| 217 | 尧 攴 | 罕 麻 | hanma | 劒 | sword |
| 218 | 秕 片 | 下 安 | hiyan[107] | 香 | incense |
| 219 | 弓 | 爐 | lu[108] | 爐 | stove |
| 220 | 玉 存 | 番 納 兒 | fannar | 旗 | banner |
| 221 | 库 足 | 伏 塞 古 | fushegu | 扇 | fan |
| 222 | 帝 舍 | 好 沙 | hauša | 紙 | paper |
| 223 | 史 臾 | 伯 黑 | behe | 墨 | ink |
| 224 | 羊 | 非 | fi[109] | 筆 | writing brush |
| 225 | 罗 | 塞 | se | 硯 | ink stone |
| 226 | 向 学 伏 | 恩 革 理 [sic][110] | engemer | 鞍 | saddle |

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103 < Chin. 磚.

104 < Chin. 瓦子.

105 < Chin. 學.

106 < Chin. 館驛.

107 < Chin. 香.

108 < Chin. 爐.

109 < Chin. 筆.

110 Cf. Ma. *enggemu* id. It seems that this transliteration character is that of a similar character *mai* 犬. This Jurchen character伏 in the text is to be read as *mer*. Refer to character 365 in Chap. III.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 227 | 夹 丛 | 黑卜式 | hebte[111] | 鞍 | saddle-flap |
| 228 | 尚 角 犬 | 忽的剌 | hudila[112] | 轍 | crupper |
| 229 | 帝 甬 | 塔荅 | tada | 轡 | bit[113] |
| 230 | 耒 丟 奇 | 素失該 | sušigai | 鞭 | whip (gen.?) |
| 231 | 关 东 | 秃府 | tufu | 鐙 | stirrup |
| 232 | 庆 光 | 撒义 | sača | 盔 | helmet |
| 233 | 更 列 | 兀稱困 | ukčin | 甲 | armor |
| 234 | 仟 甬 | 吉荅 | gida | 鎗 | spear |
| 235 | 亩 | 羅和 | loho[114] | 刀 | blade |
| 236 | 隼 | 薄里 | beri | 弓 | bow |
| 237 | 秀 | 你魯 | niru | 矢 | arrow |
| 238 | 里 爻 | 忒厄 | tere | 卓 | table |
| 239 | 夙 米 | 木剌[115] | mulan | 櫈 | stool |
| 240 | 刈 兎 | 又安 | yagan | 床 | bed |
| 241 | 俘 南 | 交椅 | giyauwi[116] | 椅 | chair |
| 242 | 此 列 [sic][117] | 阿里庫 | aliku | 盤 | platter |
| 243 | 角 | 非剌 | fila | 楪 | dish |
| 244 | 冕 釜 | 木先 | mušen[118] | 鍋 | pan |

[111] Grube compared this word with Ma. *hebtehe* 'woman's girdle' (*op. cit.* p.93), but it should also be noted that there is a Manchu word *hebte* in *hebte ihan* 'cattle with white hairs on the sides and the abdomen.'

[112] Ligeti reconstructs **xudira*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 22. See also footnote 209 to this chapter.

[113] The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **hadala* ( 哈荅剌 ) instead, corresponding to Ma. *hadala* id.

[114] Cf. Ma. *loho* id. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts, in addition to **loho* ( 羅火 ), also give, in a different entry, **huwoši* ( 或失 ) corresponding to Ma. *huwesi* 'dirk.'

[115] A Chinese transliteration character **an* 岸 is probably missing as a scribal error after these characters in the text, because the second Jurchen character is to be read as *an*. Cf. Ma. *mulan* id.

[116] < Chin. 轎椅 (?).

[117] Cf. character 105 in Chap. III. The Chinese transliteration character **ku* 庫 is not incorrect; cf. Ma. *alikû* id.

[118] Ligeti reconstructs **müšen* (< **mülčen*). Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 226–227.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 245 | 尚 平 | 忽非 | hufi[119] | 壺 | pot[120] |
| 246 | 芳 | 莫羅 | moro | 碗 | bowl |
| 247 | 米 芳 | 非本 | fibun | 燈 | lamp |
| 248 | 尒 冊 米 芳 | 阿羊非本 | ayan fibun | 燭 | candle |
| 249 | 央 手 | 兀魯脉 | ulme | 針 | needle |
| 250 | 芳 氖 | 脫戈 | togo[121] | 線 | thread |
| 251 | 芳 舟 | 卜弄庫 | bulunku | 鏡 | mirror |
| 252 | 付 赤 申 | 哈子哈 | hajiha | 剪 | scissors |
| 253 | 双 叉 | 寒者 | seje | 車 | wagon |
| 254 | 角 丑 | 的孩 | dihai[122] | 船 | boat (gen.?) |
| 255 | 飛 土 | 多羅溫 | doron (?) | 印 | seal |
| 256 | 休 夾 | 同背 | tunken | 皷 | drum |
| 257 | 尒 芳 申 | 撒本哈 | sabunha | 筋 | chopsticks |
| 258 | 央 匠 | 忽禿罕 | hutuhan | 鐘 | cup |
| 259 | 叉 赤 | 和子 | hoji[123] | 盒 | casket |
| 260 | 杀 | 斤 | gin[124] | 斤 | catty |
| 261 | 冊 | 羊 | yan[125] | 兩 | tael |
| 262 | 米 申 | 只哈 | jiha | 錢 | copper coin |
| 263 | 育 | 兀卜 | ubu | 分 | percent |
| 264 | 布 匠 | 察罕 | čahan | 尺 | feet |
| 265 | 欠 庐 | 寸木兒 | čun[126] mur | 寸 | inch |

[119] Ligeti also has **xufi*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 24.

[120] The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **tampin* ( 湯平 ) instead, corresponding to Ma. *tampin* 'pot.'

[121] Although the first character is to be read as *to* and the second as *go*, this word could have been pronounced **tongo*. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **tongo* ( 同谷 ) id. and Ma. *tonggo* id.

[122] Cf. L. Ligeti, "Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise," *AOH* I, 1950, pp. 163–164, and Denis Sinor, "On Water-transport in Central Eurasia," *UAJ* XXXIII, 1961, p. 172.

[123] < Chin. 盒子.

[124] < Chin. 斤.

[125] < Chin. 兩. See also p. 40.

[126] < Chin. 寸.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 266 | 𐨴 | 頭 | tau[127] | 斗 | peck |
| 267 | 𐨨𐨪𐨯 | 滅良哈 | miyaliyanha | 升 | pint |
| 268 | 𐨱𐨱𐨪 | 塔塔孩 | tatahai[128] | 下營 | to camp |
| 269 | 𐨪𐨲𐨨𐨫 | 上江希兒厄 | šangiyan hirge | 煙墩 | signal fire |
| 270 | 𐨫𐨫𐨯𐨴 | 扎失安肥子 | jašigan faiji[129] | 令牌 | label |
| 271 | 𐨪𐨫𐨫𐨪𐨫 | 召剌埋委勒伯 | jaulamai[130] weilebe[131] | 奏事 | to report things to the throne |

Persons (*Jen-wu men* 人物門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 272 | 𐨭𐨫𐨴 | 罕安你 | haganni[132] | 皇帝 | emperor (gen.) |
| 273 | 𐨲𐨪𐨯 | 阿赤卜魯捏兒麻 | ačiburu niyarma[133] | 聖人 | saint |
| 274 | 𐨵𐨪𐨴𐨲 | 國倫你王 | gurunni wan[134] | 國王 | king |
| 275 | 𐨲 | 君 | giyun[135] | 君 | sovereign |
| 276 | 𐨯𐨪 | 卜韓厄 | buwe | 臣 | retainer |
| 277 | 𐨪𐨭𐨯 | 必式黑背勒 | bitehe beile | 文官 | civil official |
| 278 | 𐨱𐨴𐨰𐨪𐨯 | 鈔哈厄吝黑 | čauha ejehei | 武職[136] | military commission (gen.?) |

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127 < Chin. 斗.

128 Cf. Ma. *tata-* 'to camp.' This ending *-hai* is a verbal suffix forming the modal converb. Refer to character 250 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-hai* below are the same.

129 < Chin. 牌子. Ligeti reconstructs **jašiγan faise.* Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 217.

130 The stem of this verb is only *jau-la-*, namely the Chinese loan *jau* (< 奏) plus the denominal suffix *-la.* Cf. Ma. *joola-* 'to memorialize.' This ending *-mai* is a verbal suffix forming the nonperfective converb. Concerning this *-mai,* refer to character 355 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-mai* below are the same.

131 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *weile* 'matter.'

132 Ligeti also has **xaγanni.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 14.

133 Ligeti reconstructs the second word **ñalma,* considering Ma. *niyalma* 'person.' Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 225. See also footnote 39 to Chap. II.

134 < Chin. 王.

135 < Chin. 君.

136 Grube made an error in copying, writing the Chinese word 武官 which means 'military officials' instead. Grube, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 279 |  | 將軍 | jangiyun[137] | 將軍 | general |
| 280 |  | 厄赤 | eči[138] | 使臣 | vassal |
| 281 |  | 哈的捏兒麻 | hadi niyarma | 貴人 | nobleman |
| 282 |  | 阿民 | amin | 父 | father |
| 283 |  | 厄寧 | eniyen[139] | 母 | mother |
| 284 |  | 忒革馬法 | tege mafa[140] | 高祖 | ancestor |
| 285 |  | 斡莫羅 | omolo[141] | 孫子 | grandchild |
| 286 |  | 阿渾溫 | ahun | 兄 | elder brother |
| 287 |  | 斗兀溫 | degun | 弟 | younger brother |
| 288 |  | 一忒厄 | itege[142] | 黎民 | commoner |
| 289 |  [sic][143] | 和的斡 | hodiyo | 女婿 | son-in-law |
| 290 |  | 厄云溫 | eyun[144] | 姐 | elder sister |
| 291 |  | 捏渾溫 | niyohun | 妹 | younger sister |
| 292 |  | 厄一厄 | eige | 丈夫 | husband |
| 293 |  | 撒里安 | sarigan | 妻 | wife |
| 294 |  | 追 · | ǰuwii | 孩兒[145] | child |
| 295 |  | 古出 | guču | 皂隸 | servant |

[137] < Chin. 將軍.

[138] Although the first character is to be read as *e* and the second as *či*, this word could have been pronounced **elči*; cf. Ma. *elči* id.

[139] Cf. Ma. *eniye* id. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **eme* ( 額墨 ) instead, corresponding to Ma. *eme* id.

[140] This literally means 'high ancestor,' a word-for-word translation of the Chinese gloss, though the Chinese characters form a compound meaning 'great-great-grandfather.' Ligeti also has **mafa* (< **mapa*). Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 10.

[141] Cf. Ma. *omolo* id. The Chinese gloss means 'descendant.'

[142] Cf. Ma. *irgen* id. Ligeti reconstructs **ilde*, considering Gold. *elda* id. (Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 222), but the *HIIY*-without-Script texts also give **ite* ( 亦忒 ) id.

[143] Since this character is to be read as *o*, a character or characters the pronunciation of which is to be *hodi* seem to be missing before it. Cf. Ma. *hoǰihon* id.

[144] Cf. Ma. *eyun* id. The AB. text gives **gege* ( 革革 ) and SB. text gives **gegu*? ( 革兀 ), which is presumably a scribal error for 革革, instead, corresponding to Ma. *gege* 'elder sister, young lady.'

[145] Grube was in error to write the Chinese character 子 meaning 'child' in place of this character of the same meaning; Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 296 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 鈔哈 | čauha | 軍 | army |
| 297 | 𗴲 𗹦 | 一忒厄 | itege | 民 | people |
| 298 | 𗰗 𗰘 | 哈哈愛 | hahai | 男子 | man (gen.?) |
| 299 | 𗼻 𗼺 𗼻 | 黑黑厄捏兒麻 | hehee niyarma | 婦人 | woman |
| 300 | 𗼻 | 公 | gun[146] | 公 | duke |
| 301 | 𗼺 | 候 | hau[147] | 候 [sic] | marquiss |
| 302 | 𗼻 | 伯 | bai[148] | 伯 | earl |
| 303 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 太監 | taigiyen[149] | 太監 | chief eunuch |
| 304 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 尚書 | šanšu[150] | 尚書 | minister |
| 305 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 侍刺安 | šilan[151] | 侍郎 | vice-minister |
| 306 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 都塔安 | dutan[152] | 都堂 | chief censor |
| 307 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 御史 | yuši[153] | 御史 | censor |
| 308 | 𗼻 𗼺 𗼻 𗼺 | 素温必因 | sunbin[154] | 總兵 | brigade general |
| 309 | 𗼻 | 都督 | dudu[155] | 都督 | military governor |
| 310 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 指揮 | jihuwi[156] | 指揮 | commander |
| 311 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 同知 | tunji[157] | 同知 | prefect |
| 312 | 𗼻 𗼺 | 千戶 | čenhu[158] | 千戶 | head of a thousand |

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146 < Chin. 公. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give the native Jurchen word **amha* (阿木哈) instead. This, however, is probably misinterpretation; cf. Ma. *amha* 'wife's father.'

147 < Chin. 侯. The text gives 候 meaning 'to wait' as a scribal error in the gloss. Grube gave 侯 correctly in his version; Grube *loc. cit.*

148 < Chin. 伯.

149 < Chin. 太監.

150 < Chin. 尚書.

151 < Chin. 侍郎.

152 < Chin. 都堂.

153 < Chin. 御史.

154 < Chin. 總兵.

155 < Chin. 都督.

156 < Chin. 指揮.

157 < Chin. 同知.

158 < Chin. 千戶. Ligeti also has **čenxu*; *AOH* XII, p. 24.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 313 | 金 尚 | 百戶 | baihu[159] | 百戶 | head of a hundred |
| 314 | 夫 尔 | 鎭撫 | jinfu[160] | 鎭撫 | guard judge |
| 315 | 佐 孟 件 | 法失捏兒麻 | faši[161] niyarma | 匠人 | carpenter |
| 316 | 史 仕 | 和尚 | hošan[162] | 和尚 | Buddhist priest |
| 317 | 夫 艺 | 道士 | dauši[163] | 道士 | Taoist monk |
| 318 | 电 兆 | 蒙古魯 | mongul | 韃靼 | Mongolian |
| 319 | 宋 宋 | 回回 | huwihuwi | 回回 | Persian |
| 320 | 并 右 件 | 高察安 | gaučan[164] | 高昌 | Uighur |
| 321 | 孟 矣 | 西番 | sifan | 西番 | Tibetan |
| 322 | 金 南 | 百夷 | baii | 百夷 | Shan[165] |
| 323 | 老 何 | 緬甸 | miyendiyen | 緬甸 | Burmese |
| 324 | 更 丞 | 朱先 | jušen[166] | 女直 | Jurchen |
| 325 | 孟 奉 | 西天 | sitiyen[167] | 西天 | Indian |
| 326 | 弟 仪 | 瑣戈 | sogo[168] | 高麗 | Korean |
| 327 | 罕 罕 | 邏邏 | lolo | 邏邏 | Lolo[169] |
| 328 | 矣 火 考 | 塞更革 | sengige | 親戚 | relative |
| 329 | 史 羊 | 捏苦魯 | nekur | 朋友 | friend |

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159 < Chin. 百戶. Ligeti also has **baixu*; *ibid.*

160 < Chin. 鎭撫.

161 The first character is to be read as *fa* and the second as *ši*, but the consonant *k* could have been pronounced between *fa* and *ši*; cf. Ma. *faksi niyalma* id.

162 < Chin. 和尚.

163 < Chin. 道士.

164 Kara-Khojo in the Turfan region.

165 For details, see F. W. K. Müller, "Vocabularien der Pa-Yi- und Pah-Poh-Sprachen aus dem *Hua-I-Yi-Yü*," *TP* I: 3, 1892, pp. 1–39, and Izui Hisanosuke, *Hikaku Gengogaku Kenkyū*, Osaka-Tokyo 1949, pp. 177–304.

166 In Manchu *jušen* means 'Manchu servant.' Ligeti reconstructs **jüšen* (< **jürčen*). Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 224 and 226–227.

167 < Chin. 西天.

168 Although the first character is to be read as *so* and the second as *go*, this word could have been pronounced **solgo*. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **sologo* ( 素羅韓 ) id. and Ma. *solho* id.

169 A tribe in southwestern provinces of China.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 330 | 𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄 | 岸荅孩捏兒麻 | andahai niyarma | 賓客 | guest |
| 331 | 𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈 | 厄然你捏兒麻 | eǰenni[170] niyarma | 主人 | master |
| 332 | 𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌 | 禿里勒捏兒麻 | tulile niyarma | 夷人 | foreigner |
| 333 | 𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐 | 兀的厄捏兒麻 | udige niyarma | 野人 | rustic |
| 334 | 𐨑𐨒𐨓 | 兀住剌孩 | uǰulahai | 酋長 | chieftain |
| 335 | 𐨔𐨕 | 頭目 | taumu[171] | 頭目 | headman |
| 336 | 𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙 | 虎剌孩捏兒麻 | hulahai niyarma | 賊人 | burglar |
| 337 | 𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝 | 厄黑伯捏兒麻 | ehebe niyarma[172] | 犯人 | offender |
| 338 | 𐨞𐨟 | 阿哈愛 | ahai | 奴婢 | slave (gen.?) |
| 339 | 𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣 | 弗只希捏兒麻 | fuǰihi niyarma | 部下 | subordinate |

Human Matters (*Jen-shih men* 人事門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 340 | 𐨤𐨥𐨦 | 嫩木和 | nonmuho | 善 | good |
| 341 | 𐨧𐨨 | 厄黑伯 | ehebe | 惡 | bad (acc.) |
| 342 | 𐨩𐨪𐨫 | 哈撒安 | gasagan | 禍 | calamity |
| 343 | 𐨬𐨭 | 忽禿兒 | hutur | 福 | happiness |
| 344 | 𐨮𐨯𐨰 | 忽朝吉 | hučaugi | 榮 | glory |
| 345 | 𐨱𐨲 | 吉魯出 | giruču | 辱 | shame |
| 346 | 𐨳𐨴 | 伯羊 | bayan | 富 | wealthy |
| 347 | 𐨵 | 哈的 | hadi | 貴 | precious |
| 348 | 𐨶𐨷 | 兀速溫 | usun | 貧 | poor |
| 349 | 𐨹𐨺𐨸 | 扎阿吉 | ǰaagi | 賤 | mean |

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170 Ligeti reconstructs **eǰeni*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 15.

171 < Chin. 頭目.

172 The first word is the accusative form of *ehe*. The genitive case *ehei* should be used here. See entries 341, 477, and 697. Liget reconstructs **exe-be ñalma*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 223.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 350 | 元 兀 求 | 罕安丹 | hangandan | 敢 | daringly |
| 351 | 伙 主 | 端的孫 | dondisun[173] | 聽 | to listen |
| 352 | 南 在 充 | 哈察別 | hačabi[174] | 見 | to see |
| 353 | 兀 屋 | 撒希 | sahi[175] | 知 | to know |
| 354 | 伙 去 | 端的呉 | dondigu[176] | 聞 | to hear |
| 355 | 为 条 | 忒杜勒 | tedure[177] | 睡 | to sleep |
| 356 | 角 为 | 脫興 | tolgin[178] | 夢 | dream |
| 357 | 东 与 丈 | 弗捏魯 | funiyaru[179] | 念 | to read aloud |
| 358 | 讣 主 艾 | 套温剌 | taunra | 讀 | to read |
| 359 | 屯 条 犬 | 禿魯哈剌 | turugala[180] | 視 | to inspect |
| 360 | 叉 申 | 塔哈 | taha[181] | 體 | to observe |
| 361 | 叉 申 | 塔哈 | taha | 順 | obedience |

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[173] The stem of this verb is the first character *dondi* 伙 only; cf. Ma. *donji-* 'to listen.' Compare this with entry 354. Ligeti reconstructs this stem **doldi-* considering Gold. *dolje-* and *dold'i-* id. (*AOH* III, p. 223), but this is incorrect. The second character *sun* 主 can be considered as a deverbal nominal suffix; cf. Ma. *-čun* id. Concerning this *-sun*, refer to character 232 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-sun* below are the same.

[174] The ending *-bi* is the nonperfective indicative verbal suffix; cf. Ma. *-mbi*. Refer also to character 381 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-bi* below are the same. The initial consonant *h* of this verbal stem seems to have been lost later. Cf. the AB. text **ača-* (阿察) 'to see' and Ma. *ača-* id. In fact, Tg. **x-* > Ma. *ϕ-*. Johannes Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen. Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 990–991.

[175] Cf. Ma. *sa-* 'to know.' The second character *hi* 屋 occurring only after this verbal stem in the *HIIY* is perhaps the optative verbal suffix corresponding to Ma. *-ki* id. Refer to character 511 in Chap. III.

[176] This verbal ending *-gu* is perhaps the instrumentive suffix, though its denotation is not known exactly. Cf. character 251 in Chap. III.

[177] The stem of this verb is the first character *tedu* 为 only; cf. Ma. *dedu-* 'to sleep.' The ending *-re* is a verbal suffix forming the prospective participle. Concerning this *-re*, refer to character 582 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-re* below are the same.

[178] Grube compared this word with Ma. *tolgi-* 'to dream' (*op. cit.*, p. 101), but this should have been compared with its noun form *tolgin* 'dream.'

[179] This verbal suffix *-ru* denotes hortative. Refer to character 35 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-ru* below are the same.

[180] The verbal suffix *-la* probably forms perfective participles. Refer to character 203 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-la* below are the same.

[181] This is just a verbal stem; cf. Ma. *daha-* id. The verbal stem is used as the imperative form of verbs, as is the verbal stem in Manchu.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 362 |  | 厄兀魯 | egur | 即 | immediately |
| 363 |  | 厄兀魯 | egur | 忙 | in haste |
| 364 |  | 扎法別 | ǰafabi[182] | 擒 | to capture |
| 365 |  | 扎法別 | ǰafabi | 捕 | to catch |
| 366 |  | 八哈別 | bahabi | 得 | to get |
| 367 |  | 八哈別 | bahabi | 獲 | to obtain |
| 368 |  | 克失哥卜魯 | kešigeburu[183] | 悶 | agonizing |
| 369 |  | 克失哥卜魯 | kešigeburu | 憂 | distressed |
| 370 |  | 革勒勒 | gelere[184] | 懼 | to dread |
| 371 |  | 革勒勒 | gelere | 怕 | to fear |
| 372 |  | 斡溫吝勒 | urgunǰere | 喜 | to rejoice |
| 373 |  | 肥希剌 | feshila | 怒 | to get angry[185] |
| 374 |  | 斡溫吝勒 | urgunǰere | 歡 | to be glad |
| 375 |  | 申納剌 | šinnala | 愁 | to grieve |
| 376 |  | 塔苦剌孩 | takurahai | 差 | to dispatch |
| 377 |  | 塔苦剌孩 | takurahai | 使 | to send |
| 378 |  | 木塔本 | mutabun | 回 | turning |
| 379 |  | 木塔本 | mutabun | 還 | returning |
| 380 |  | 一十埋 | išimai | 至 | to reach |
| 381 |  | 一十埋 | išimai | 到 | to arrive |
| 382 |  | 厄黑吉 | ehegi | 快 | pleasant |
| 383 |  | 的兒哈剌 | dirgala | 樂 | to take pleasure |

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182 Ligeti also has **jafa-*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.223.

183 As regards the ending *-buru,* refer to character 213 in Chap.III.

184 Ligeti also has **gele-* (< **ngele-* in Chin Jur., on the basis of Gold. *ŋələ-* id.). Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.227.

185 The stem of this verb in the entry is *feshi-* and the ending *-la* forms perfective participle. See footnote 187 to this chapter, too. Concerning the ending *-la,* refer to character 203 in Chap.III. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **dili tuti-* (的力禿提) literally meaning 'anger comes out'; cf. Ma. *ǰili* 'anger' and *tuči-* 'to go out.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 384 |  | 兀速哈卜連 | usgaburen[186] | 怨 | grudge |
| 385 |  | 背也昧 | beyemei | 愛 | to love |
| 386 |  | 肥希剌 | feshila[187] | 惱 | to be troubled |
| 387 |  | 只剌埋 | jilamai | 憐 | to pity |
| 388 |  | 半的孩 | bandihai | 生 | to live |
| 389 |  | 卜車黑 | bučehei | 死 | to die |
| 390 |  | 忒勒黑 | telhehe[188] | 離 | to separate |
| 391 |  | 斡滅別 | omiyabi | 會 | to join |
| 392 |  | 忒也昧 | teyemei | 起 | to arise |
| 393 |  | 哈剌別 | halabi | 改 | to alter |
| 394 |  | 古里昧 | gurimei | 遷 | to transfer |
| 395 |  | 兀者必昧 | uǰebimei | 敬 | to respect |
| 396 |  | 兀者 | uǰee | 重 | weighty |
| 397 |  | 住兀忒昧 | ǰuutemei | 尊 | to esteem |
| 398 |  | 委勒伯 | weilebe | 事 | affair (acc.) |
| 399 |  | 哈化以 | gahoi | 取 | to take? |
| 400 |  | 聽答埋 | tindamai | 放 | to release |
| 401 |  | 貪係昧 | tomsunmei | 收 | to collect |
| 402 |  | 兀里昧 | ulimei | 留 | to detain |
| 403 |  | 脉兒黑 | merhe | 賞 | reward |
| 404 |  | 恩忒黑 | entehei | 罰 | to punish |
| 405 |  | 都善別 | dušanbi | 勤 | to endeavor |
| 406 |  | 巴奴洪 | banuhun | 惰 | indolence |
| 407 |  | 團朶 | tondo | 忠 | loyal |
| 408 |  | 塞更革 | sengige | 孝 | filial piety |

[186] Although Grube compared this word with Ma. *usa-* 'to despair' (*op. cit.*, p. 103), its probable Manchu cognate is *usha-* 'to bear a grudge.'

[187] Grube compared this word with Ma. *fohodo-* 'to get angry' (*op. cit.*, p. 91), but its probable Manchu cognate is *feshe-* 'to suffer.'

[188] Cf. Ma. *delhe-* 'to separate.' The verbal ending *-he* in *telhe-he* forms the perfective participle. Refer to character 496 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-he* below are the same.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 409 | 𗍫 𗥃 | 哈荅温 | kadagun | 誠 | sincerity |
| 410 | 𗴂 𗹦 | 弗忒昧 | futemei | 送 | to see off |
| 411 | 𗥃 𗹦 𗵘 | 安察別 | amčabi[189] | 追 | to chase |
| 412 | 𗡶 𗴺 𗴂 | 卜朶羅 | bodolo[190] | 趕 | pursuit |
| 413 | 𗴺 𗥃 | 朶申 | došin[191] | 進 | advance |
| 414 | 𗏁 𗼻 𗅋 | 密塔卜爲 | mitabuwi[192] | 退 | to retreat |
| 415 | 𗥦 𗥃 | 伯申 | baišin[193] | 討 | demand |
| 416 | 𗥦 𗥃 | 伯申 | baišin | 尋 | search |
| 417 | 𗥦 𗼻 𗹦 | 愛晚都昧 | aiwandumei[194] | 買 | to buy |
| 418 | 𗪘 𗾞 𗏁 𗲟 | 忽荅沙埋 | hudašamai[195] | 賣 | to sell |
| 419 | 𗅋[196]𗲟 | 阿于卜魯 | aihuburu | 救 | rescue |
| 420 | 𗪘 𗲟 | 斡端埋 | odonmai | 許 | to permit |
| 421 | 𗍊 𗡶 | 弗里隨 | fulisuwi[197] | 行 | to walk |
| 422 | 𗣼 𗼈 | 牙步 [sic] | yabun[198] | 走 | going |
| 423 | 𗾞 𗵘 | 忒別 | tebi | 坐 | to sit |

189 Ligeti reconstructs **ačabe*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 8.

190 Grube compared this word with Ma. *buta-* 'to entrap' (*op. cit.*, p. 98), but its probable Manchu cognate is *bodo-* 'to drive towards ambush.'

191 Cf. Ma. *dosi-* 'to advance.' Accordingly, the second character *šin* 𗥃 is not an ending, but only the final *-n* is a nominal suffix.

192 Cf. Ma. *mita-* 'to retreat.' The function of this verbal ending *-buwi* is not known. See character 136 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-buwi* below are the same. Ligeti also has **mitabuui*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 19.

193 Grube compared this word with Ma. *beče-* 'to blame' (*op. cit.*, p. 97), but this should have been compared with Ma. *bai-* 'to demand, seek.' Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **baimbi* (拜因必) for the same entry.

194 No Manchu cognate has been found. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **uda-* (兀塔) corresponding to Ma. *uda-* 'to buy.'

195 Cf. Ma. *hûdaša-* 'to trade.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **unča-* (翁察) corresponding to Ma. *unča-* 'to sell.' Ligeti also has **xudašamai*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 20.

196 Grube miscopied this character, by not drawing the slanting stroke on the lower right portion: 𗅋. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

197 Probably the imperative form. Cf. Ma. *felisu* 'walk!' and *feliye-* 'to walk.'

198 Cf. Ma. *yabu-* 'to go.' The transliteration characters show only the stem *yabu*, functioning as the imperative form. Since the second character 𗼈 is to be read as *bun*, the given transliteration character **bu* 步 is a scribal error. Cf. character 49 in Chap. III. As the stem is *yabu-*, the second character 𗼈 is not a suffix here.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 424 | 罗 券 | 一立本 | ilibun[199] | 立 | standing |
| 425 | 先 史 | 失剌鲁 | širaru | 襲 | to inherit |
| 426 | 东 余 | 弗只 | fuǰi | 替 | instead |
| 427 | 爷 盂 史 | 斡失卜鲁 | wešiburu | 陞 | to raise |
| 428 | 方 臭 | 禿斡黑 | tuwehe | 授 | to confer |
| 429 | 矛 券 | 塔法卜麻 | tafabuma[200] | 交 | to associate |
| 430 | 尔 友 犬 | 哈荅剌埋 | kadalamai | 管 | to govern |
| 431 | 仗 | 本 | bun[201] | 本 | root |
| 432 | 伏 刈 | 奴失因 | nušin | 和 | peace |
| 433 | 业 土 | 卜温 | bun | 自 | from, since |
| 434 | 常 扬 | 塔哈 | taka | 且 | for a while |
| 435 | 羊 北 史 | 頭牙卜鲁 | tauyaburu | 傳 | to transmit |
| 436 | 及 盂 | 奴兀鲁 | nugur | 每 | every |
| 437 | 辛 关 | 忒屯[202] | tetun | 常 | usually |
| 438 | 讣 甬 史 | 套荅剌 | taudara | 還 | still |
| 439 | 系 戾 | 巴撒 | basa[203] | 再 | again |
| 440 | 洋 史 史 | 哈扎鲁 | gaǰaru | 要 | to require[204] |
| 441 | 卦 券 | 退本 | tuwibun[205] | 請 | prayer |
| 442 | 戾 戾 犬 | 哈沙埋 | hašamai | 告 | to anounce |
| 443 | 垂 又 关 | 拙木申 | ǰuwemušin | 借 | borrowing |

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[199] Cf. Ma. *ili-* 'to stand.' The second character *bun* 券 is a deverbal nominal suffix. Refer to character 49 in Chap. III.

[200] The ending *-buma* is perhaps the perpetual simultaneous converb suffix; cf. character 42. All cases of the verbal suffix *-buma* below are the same.

[201] < Chin. 本.

[202] Grube made errors in copying this transliteration character, wherever it appears, throughout the text, writing the Chinese character 比 (e.g. *op. cit.*, p. 23), and read it as *pi* (e.g. *ibid.*, p. 69).

[203] Ligeti also has **basa*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 19.

[204] The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **gaisu* ( 盖速 ) instead, corresponding to Ma. *gaisu*, the imperative form of *gai-* 'to get.'

[205] Cf. Ma. *tuibu-* 'to pray.' Accordingly, the second character *bun* is not a suffix, but only the final *-n* is a nominal suffix.

| | | [sic] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 444 | [sic]206 | 埋番住 | fanǰumai[207] | 問 | to ask |
| 445 | | 瑣脫和 | soktoho[208] | 醉 | drunk |
| 446 | | 忽的剌 | hudila[209] | 唱 | to sing |
| 447 | | 阿赤都魯 | ačiduru[210] | 動 | to move |
| 448 | | 卜魯溫 | bolugun | 靜 | quiet |
| 449 | | 孃吉剌 | nongila | 添 | to attach |
| 450 | | 厄克洪 | ekehun | 減 | decrease |
| 451 | | 貴荅剌 | goidala | 遲 | to be late |
| 452 | | 厄魯忒 | erte | 早 | quick |
| 453 | | 忽素魯 | husur | 怠 | idle |
| 454 | | 奴罕 | nuhan | 慢 | lazy |
| 455 | | 瑣里都蠻 | soriduman[211] | 戰 | fighting |
| 456 | | 少沙埋 | šaušamai | 征 | to conquer |
| 457 | | 道里昧 | daulimei | 搶 | to snatch |
| 458 | | 衛也昧 | wiyemei | 奪 | to rob |
| 459 | | 瓦都剌 | wadula | 殺 | to kill |
| 460 | | 桑戈魯 | sangoru | 哭 | to cry |
| 461 | | 印荅 | inǰe[212] | 笑 | to laugh |

206 A character or characters seem to be missing. Just below this character there is an elongate dot which appears to be the first stroke of another character.

207 This is presumably a scribal error for 番住埋, the order of the transliteration characters being inverted. Cf. the AB. text *foni- (佛你) 'to ask' and Ma. *fonǰi-* id.

208 Ligeti also has **soktoxo*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 224.

209 This is the stem only; cf. Ma. *hûǰila-* id. Ligeti reconstructs **xudira* (*AOH* XII, p. 24), but he also reads the third character as **la*, for example, in the case of *la* in 108 **immala* 'mulberry,' etc. (*ibid.*, p. 10).

210 Grube compared this word with Ma. *ašša-* 'to move, to swing' (*op. cit.*, p. 89), but its probable Manchu cognate is *ačinggiya-* 'to move, to stir.' Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **ačingiya-* (阿成加) for the same entry.

211 Cf. Ma. *soridu-* 'to fight.' Therefore, the second character *duman* 都 is not a suffix, but the last syllable *-man* is a nominal suffix.

212 Cf. Ma. *inǰe-* 'to laugh.' Accordingly, this entry is just the stem used as the imperative form.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 462 | 付 | 哈貪 | hatan[213] | 強 | strong |
| 463 | 穹 | 逆塔巴 | nitaba[214] | 弱 | weak |
| 464 | 弗 | 都古昧 | dugumei | 打 | to beat |
| 465 | 讣 | 套溫剌 | taunra | 罵 | to abuse |
| 466 | 辰 | 滅苦魯 | miyakuru | 跪 | to kneel |
| 467 | 艾 | 恨都魯 | henduru | 說 | to say |
| 468 | 杰 | 扎失非 | ǰašifi | 分付 | command |
| 469 | 休 | 哈剌安 | karagan | 哨探 | scout |
| 470 | 休 | 替孩吉厄兀魯 | tihaigi egur | 隨即 | forthwith |
| 471 | 矛 | 哈荅剌埋荅魯別 | kadalamai dalubi | 率領 | to govern and rule |
| 472 | 育 | 兀脉 | ume[215] | 不許 | Don't |
| 473 | 史 | 別厄卓啓卜連 | biye[216] ǰurburen[217] | 有違 | to disobey |
| 474 | 祘 | 厄一吉撒 | eigisa | 不可 | no good, must not |
| 475 | 岸 | 哈沙卜剌荅車 | gašahiyala ǰeče | 犯邊 | to invade the border |
| 476 | 祘 | 厄一黑 | eihe | 不曾 | not yet |
| 477 | 仜 | 只速剌厄黑伯 | ǰisura ehebe[218] | 作歹 | to make evil |
| 478 | 角 | 的黑黑吉塔哈 | dihehegi taha | 歸順 | submission |
| 479 | 卡 | 哈里因伯 | harinbe | 朝廷 | imperial court (acc.) |

213 Although the first character is to be read as *ha* and the second as *tan*, this word could have been pronounced **haktan*; cf. Ma. *akdun* id.

214 Ligeti also has **nitaba*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 18.

215 Ligeti reconstructs **üme*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 223.

216 Cf. Ma. *bi-* 'to be.' Concerning the verbal suffix *-ye*, refer to character 127 in Chap. III.

217 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *ǰurče-* 'to disobey.'

218 Ditto. Cf. Ma. *ehe* 'evil.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 480 | 𘓱𘓐𘓪𘓜 | 忒屯[219]八哈 別 | tetun bahabi | 永享 | to obtain constantly |
| 481 | 𘓐𘓪𘓜 | 撒[sic]荅昧[220] | sahadamei | 打圍 | to hunt |
| 482 | 𘓶𘓐𘓪 | 忒忒卜麻 | tetebuma[221] | 進貢 | to offer tributes |
| 483 | 𘓱𘓐𘓶 | 昧的厄 | medige | 聲息 | tidings |
| 484 | 𘓶𘓪 | 瑣里都蠻 | soriduman | 廝殺 | melee |
| 485 | 𘓐𘓶𘓜 | 屯[222]扎魯 | tunǰaru | 鎮守 | to guard |
| 486 | 𘓪𘓐𘓪 | ·的卜麻 | idibuma | 撫恤 | to soothe |
| 487 | 𘓱𘓜𘓐 | 恩伯黑 | enbehe | 出產 | to produce |
| 488 | 𘓶𘓪𘓐𘓱𘓜 | 南哈洪卡的孩 | namhahun bandihai | 安生 | to live in ease |
| 489 | 𘓱𘓶𘓶 | 的兒哈剌 | dirgala | 快樂 | to enjoy |

## Parts of the Body (*Shen-t'i men* 身體門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 490 | 𘓪 | 背也 | beye | 身 | body |
| 491 | 𘓜𘓪 | 忒厄 | tee | 面 | face |
| 492 | 𘓐[223] | 兀住 | uǰu | 頭 | head |
| 493 | 𘓶𘓪𘓱 | 分一里黑 | funirhei | 髮 | hair of the head (gen.?) |
| 494 | 𘓶𘓐 | 安哈 | amga[224] | 口 | mouth |
| 495 | 𘓪𘓜 | 委黑 | weihe | 齒 | tooth |
| 496 | 𘓶𘓜 | 牙師 | yaši | 眼 | eye |

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219 Grube copied this transliteration character erroneously, writing a similar Chinese character, 比. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

220 Since the first Jurchen character is to be read as *saha,* the Chinese transliteration character **ha* 哈 is missing after the character **sa* 撒. Cf. Ma. *sahada-* 'to hunt.' See also entry 620.

221 In the *HIIY*-without-Script texts this verb is transcribed as **tede-* ( 忒得 ).

222 Grube miscopied this transliteration character, writing the Chinese character 比. Grube, *loc. cit.*

223 Grube miscopied this character, adding a horizontal stroke on the bottom: 亩. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

224 Cf. Ma. *angga* id. Ligeti also has **amga* (< **amnga* in Chin Jur., considering Gold. **amŋga* id.). Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 227; XII, pp. 8–9.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 497 | 舍 | 沙哈 [sic] 225 | šaa | 耳 | ear |
| 498 | 出 | 弗木 | fumu | 唇 | lip |
| 499 | 衲 | 一稜古 | ilengu | 舌 | tongue |
| 500 | 卞 | 肥塔 | faita | 眉 | eyebrow |
| 501 | 老 | 雙吉 | songi | 鼻 | nose |
| 502 | 休 | 桶厄 | tunge | 胸 | breast |
| 503 | 全 | 非撒 | fisa | 背 | back |
| 504 | 兔 | 哈剌 | gala[226] | 手 | hand |
| 505 | 走 | 卜的黑 | budihe | 脚 | leg |
| 506 | 米 | 脉日藍们 | mejilenbe[227] | 心 | heart (acc.) |
| 507 | 弁 | 都哈 | duha | 腸 | intestine |
| 508 | 伴 | 黑夫里 | hefuli | 肚 | abdomen |
| 509 | 爭 | 梅番 | meifan | 項 | nape |
| 510 | 向 | 吉波吉 [sic] 228 | girangi | 骨 | bone |
| 511 | 炎 | 牙里 | yali | 肉 | muscle |
| 512 | 灭 | 塞吉 | segi | 血 | blood |
| 513 | 矛 | 忽孫 | husun | 力 | strength |
| 514 | 看 | 素古 | sugu | 皮 | skin |

225 This transliteration character **ha* 哈 is perhaps a scribal error for **a* 阿. Refer to character 68 in Chap. III. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts have **šan* ( 尚 ) for this word. Cf. Ma. *šan* id.

226 Cf. Ma. *gala* id. Ligeti also has **gala* (<**ɣala* in Chin Jur., considering Gold. *ɣala* id.). Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 227; XII, p. 9.

227 Cf. Ma. *mujilen* id. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts, in addition to **mujile* ( 木日勒 ), give **niyama* ( 捏麻 ) id. corresponding to Ma. *niyaman* 'heart (organ)' in a different entry. Since Ma. *mujilen* means 'heart (mind),' this entry should not be listed here.

228 The second Jurchen character 米 should be read as *an*, despite the fact that this word can be read as **gibogi*? in accordance with the given Chinese transliteration. Therefore, it may be regarded that the second transliteration character **bo*? 波 was miscopied for a Chinese character of which the final is *-an*. Considering that there is a Manchu word *giranggi* meaning 'bone,' which may be a cognate of this Jurchen word, the Chinese transliteration character **bo*? 波, which means 'wave,' is a scribal error for the character **ran* 浪, which also means 'wave.' Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **girangi* ( 吉浪吉 ) id. Cf. Paul Pelliot, compte rendu de Franke et Laufer: *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China*, *JA* XI: IV, 1914, p. 184.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 515 |  | 分一里黑 | funirhei | 毛 | hair, fur (gen.?) |
| 516 |  | 失里希 | šilihi | 膽 | gall bladder |
| 517 |  | 厄林厄 | eringe | 氣 | spirit |
| 518 |  | 塔温 | tagun[229] | 肥 | fat |
| 519 |  | 禿哈 | turha | 瘦 | lean |

Food and Drink (*Yin-shih men* 飲食門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 520 |  | 努列 | nure | 酒 | liquor |
| 521 |  | 牙里 | yali | 肉 | meat |
| 522 |  | 茶 | ča[230] | 茶 | tea |
| 523 |  | 卜都乖 | budgai | 飯 | meal (gen.?) |
| 524 |  | 瑣吉 | sogi | 菜 | vegetable |
| 525 |  | 禿斡黑 | tuwehe | 果 | fruit |
| 526 |  | 一門吉 | imengi[231] | 油 | oil |
| 527 |  | 荅卜孫 | dabsun | 塩 | salt |
| 528 |  | 一速温 | isgun[232] | 醬 | soy |
| 529 |  | 都速洪 | dushun | 醋 | vinegar |
| 530 |  | 卜勒 | bule | 米 | rice |
| 531 |  | 兀法 | ufa | 麪 | flour |
| 532 |  | 酥一門吉 | su[233] imengi | 酥 | butter |
| 533 |  | 他 | ta | 酪 | koumiss |
| 534 |  | 兀迷剌 | omira[234] | 飲 | to drink |

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229 Although the first character is to be read as *ta* and the second as *gun,* this word could have been pronounced **targun.* Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **targu* ( 塔魯兀 ) id. and Ma. *tarhu* id.

230 < Chin. 茶 .

231 See footnote 9 to this chapter. In Manchu *imenggi* means 'oil' and *nimenggi* 'lard.'

232 This is the older form, and later the consonant *m-* was added before the initial *i-*. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **misu* ( 迷速 ) id. and Ma. *misun* id.

233 < Chin. 酥 .

234 The stem of this verb is the first character *omi*  only; cf. Ma. *omi-* 'to drink.' The second character *ra* 卓 is a prospective participle suffix. Refer to character 652 in Chap. III. All cases of the verbal suffix *-ra* below are the same.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 535 | 叉 夯 | 者弗 | ǰefu[235] | 食 | to eat |
| 536 | 同 同 右 | 約約昧 | yuyumei | 饑 | to starve |
| 537 | 屎 粍 余 | 厄必勒 | ebire | 飽 | to be satiated |
| 538 | 攵 夫 | 木申 | mušin | 炒麪 | porridge |
| 539 | 為 牛 夫 臾 | 兀速洪兀魯黑 | ushun urhe | 生熟 | unripe |
| 540 | 吏 昇 史 | 失羅回 | šilohuwi | 燒餅 | baked rice-cake |
| 541 | 夫 | 忽渾 | huhun | 奶子 | milk |

Clothing (*I-fu men* 衣服門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 542 | 奈 | 冠 | guwan[236] | 冠 | cap |
| 543 | 犬 | 帶 | dai[237] | 帶 | girdle |
| 544 | 伋 | 禿科 | tuko | 表 | outer garment |
| 545 | 付 | 朶課 | doko | 裏 | lining |
| 546 | 灰 申 | 古剌哈 | gulaha | 靴 | shoe |
| 547 | 丛 夾 | 麻希剌 | mahila | 帽 | hat |
| 548 | 尚 弓 | 忽魯 | hulu[238] | 環 | ring |
| 549 | 昇 角 牛 | 一兒的洪 | irdihun | 梳 | comb |
| 550 | 尤 爿 | 替勒庫 | tireku | 枕 | pillow |
| 551 | 里 夫 | 哈都 | hadu[239] | 服 | dress |
| 552 | 扑 尤 | 忽十安 | hušigan | 裙 | skirt |
| 553 | 厌 爿 | 哈剌庫 | halaku | 褲 | drawers |
| 554 | 里 夫 | 哈都 | hadu | 衣 | clothing |

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235 The stem of this verb is the first character *ǰe* 叉 only; cf. Ma. *ǰe-* 'to eat.' The second character *fu* 夯 is possibly the imperative verbal suffix for this stem. Cf. Ma. *ǰefu* 'eat!' It may be said in this connection that the Manchu verb *ǰembi* is an irregular verb.

236 < Chin. 冠.

237 < Chin. 帶. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give the native Jurchen word **uče* (兀切) for this. Cf. Ma. *uše* id.

238 Ligeti also has **xulu*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 23.

239 This is probably the older form of Manchu *adu* id. The initial consonant *h-* followed by the vowel *a* seems to have been lost in certain words. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script texts **adu* (阿都) id. For another example, refer to entry 352.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 555 | 𘕕𘕜 | 撒卜 | sabu | 鞋 | sandal |
| 556 | 𘕙𘕘 | 弗赤 | foči[240] | 襪 | socks |
| 557 | 𘕗𘕛 | 卜的洪 [sic] | dibohun[241] | 被 | coverlet |
| 558 | 𘕖𘕚 | 失失黑 | šišihe | 褥 | mattress |
| 559 | 𘕝𘕞 | 卜素 | bosu | 布 | cloth |
| 560 | 𘕟𘕠 | 絹子 | giyuwanǰi[242] | 絹 | silk |
| 561 | 𘕡 | 紗 | ša[243] | 紗 | gauze |
| 562 | 𘕢 | 羅 | lo[244] | 羅 | gossamer |
| 563 | 𘕣𘕤 | 素各 | suǰe | 假 [sic][245] | damask |
| 564 | 𘕥𘕦𘕧𘕨 | 安春温剌孩 | ančunlahai | 織金 | gold braid |
| 565 | 𘕩𘕪𘕫𘕬 | 革出勒黑 | gečulehei | 膝襴 | gown |
| 566 | 𘕭𘕮𘕯 | 素魯脫戈 | surtogo | 皮襖 | leather coat |
| 567 | 𘕰𘕱𘕲 | 沙木哈 | šamuha | 暖耳 | ear muffs |

Jewels (*Chen-pao men* 珍寶門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 568 | 𘕥𘕦 | 安春温 | ančun[246] | 金 | gold |

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240 Grube compared this word with Ma. *fomoči* 'socks' (*op. cit.*, p. 92) and the *HIIY*-without-Script texts have **fomoči* ( 伏莫赤 ) for this, but it should be noted that there is also a similar word in Manchu, *foǰi* 'shoe-cover.'

241 Grube compared this word with Ma. *buri-* 'to cover' (*op. cit.* p.98), but this is questionable. The order of the Chinese transliteration characters, which can be read as **bodihun*?, is presumably inverted, judging from the examples **dibohun* (的伯洪) id. in the *HIIY*-without-Script texts and *ǰibehun* id. in Manchu.

242 < Chin. 絹子. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give the native Jurchen word **doko* ( 多課 ) for this, but the Manchu word *doko* means 'lining,' not 'silk.'

243 < Chin. 紗.

244 < Chin. 羅.

245 This Chinese gloss 假 meaning 'false' is a scribal error for the character 緞 meaning 'damask,' as Grube rewrote it, whether he did so purposly or not. Grube, *op. cit.*, p.30. Cf. Ma. *suǰe* id. It should be noted that the *HIIY*-without-Script texts also have the same scribal error here.

246 Ligeti reconstructs **alčun*, based on Ma. *aisin* id. < **ališin* < **alčun* according to him. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.225. Poppe, however, says Ma. *aisin* < **al'sin* < **altïn*. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p.128.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 569 |  | 古温 | gun | 玉 | gem |
| 570 |  | 蒙古温 | mengun | 銀 | silver |
| 571 |  | 哈的 | hadi | 寶 | treasure |
| 572 |  | 寧住黑 | ninǰuhe[247] | 珠 | pearl |
| 573 |  | 失里 | širi | 銅 | copper |
| 574 |  | 塞勒 | sele | 鉄 | iron |
| 575 |  | 只哈 | ǰiha | 錢 | coin |
| 576 |  | 阿剌瓦吉 | arawagi | 勅 | imperial rescript |
| 577 |  | 多羅温 | doron (?) | 璽 | imperial signet |
| 578 |  | 上江塞勒 | šangiyan sele[248] | 錫 | tin |
| 579 |  | 阿羊非本 | ayan fibun | 蠟 | wax candle |
| 580 |  | 兀里因 | ulin | 財 | wealth |
| 581 |  | 哈稱因 | hačin | 物 | matter |
| 582 |  | 素法委黑 | sufa weihe | 象牙 | ivory |
| 583 |  | 犀兀也黑 | si[249] uyehe | 犀角 | rhinoceros horn |
| 584 |  | 琥珀 | hubai[250] | 琥珀 | amber |
| 585 |  | 馬納敖 | manau[251] | 瑪瑙 | agate |
| 586 |  | 珊瑚 | šanhu[252] | 珊瑚 | coral |
| 587 |  | 弗剌江古温 | fulagiyan gun | 赤玉 | red gem |
| 588 |  | 斡兒和荅 | orhoda | 人參 | ginseng |
| 589 |  | 哈赤馬 | hačima[253] | 阿膠 | glue |

[247] Ligeti has **ninǰü-xe*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 222–223 and 225. See footnote 280 to this chapter.

[248] This literally means 'white iron.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **toholo* ( 托活羅 ) instead, corresponding to Ma. *toholon* 'tin foil.'

[249] < Chin. 犀.

[250] < Chin. 琥珀. Ligeti reconstructs **xupai*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 24.

[251] < Chin. 瑪瑙. Ligeti also has **manau*. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[252] < Chin. 珊瑚. Ligeti also has **šanxu*. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[253] Ligeti reconstructs **gačima*. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Directions (*Fang-yü men* 方隅門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 590 | 朿 孟 | 諸勒失 | ǰuleši[254] | 東 | east |
| 591 | 要 孟 | 弗里失 | fuliši[255] | 西 | west |
| 592 | 芴 仵 | 番替 | fanti[256] | 南 | south |
| 593 | 扎 仵 | 兀里替 | uliti (?)[257] | 北 | north |
| 594 | 爻 孟 | 斡失 | weši | 上 | above |
| 595 | 舟 尒 化 | 弗只勒 | fuǰile | 下 | below |
| 596 | 㑹 | 左 | ǰo[258] | 左 | left |
| 597 | 旻 仟 | 吝温 | ǰegun[259] | 右 | right |
| 598 | 朿 化 | 諸勒 | ǰulee | 前 | front |
| 599 | 勿 [sic][260] 彡 奇 | 阿木魯該 | amurgai[261] | 後 | back |
| 600 | 幸 昇 | 朶羅 | dolo[262] | 内 | inside |
| 601 | 舟 化 | 禿里勒 | tulile | 外 | outside |
| 602 | 术 臾 | 兀也黑 | uyehe | 角 | horn[263] |

254 The Manchu word *ǰulesi* does not mean 'east,' but means 'southwards, frontwards.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **šun tutirge* (受温禿提勒革) 'direction where the sun rises (?)' instead. Cf. Ma. *šun tutimbi* 'sun appears' and *-rgi* the nominal suffix indicating direction.

255 No Manchu cognate has been found. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **šun tuherge* (受温禿黑勒革) 'direction where the sun sets (?)' instead. Cf. Ma. *tuhe-* 'to fall.' See the preceding footnote.

256 No Manchu cognate has been found. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **ǰulerge* (珠勒革) instead, corresponding to Ma. *ǰulergi* 'south.'

257 No Manchu cognate has been found. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **fuhige* (伏希革), of which the Manchu cognate is again not known.

258 < Chin. 左. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give the native Jurchen word **hashu* (哈速) instead, corresponding to Ma. *hashū* 'left.'

259 Cf. Ma. *ǰebele* 'right wing.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **iti* (亦替) instead, corresponding to Ma. *iči* 'right.'

260 The dot on the right side is missing as a scribal error in the text.

261 Ligeti also has **amurgai*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p.216.

262 Grube compared this word with Ma. *dolori* 'inwardly' (*op. cit.*, p.100), but this should have been compared with Ma. *dolo* 'inside.'

263 Although the Chinese gloss also means 'corner,' this Jurchen word means only 'horn.' Cf. Ma. *uihe* id. Accordingly, this entry should not be listed under the heading of "Directions."

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 603 | 臭 矣 | 黑屯[264] | hetun | 橫 | transverse |
| 604 | 写 另 | 一立本 | ilibun | 竪 | verticality |
| 605 | 干 友 | 苔勒巴剌 | dalbala[265] | 傍 | side (dat.-loc.) |
| 606 | 本 史 予 | 韓厄忽 | oehu | 斜 | oblique |
| 607 | 尽 史 | 舒厄 | šuwe | 直 | straight |
| 608 | 倖 東 | 根見 | gengiyen[266] | 明 | light |
| 609 | 肯 東 | 法里見 | farigiyen | 暗 | dark |
| 610 | 为 友 | 杜里剌 | dulila | 中 | central |
| 611 | 拳 弟 | 洪都 | hundu | 正 | correct |
| 612 | 矢 乎 | 者車 | ječe | 邊 | boundary |
| 613 | 伴 史 斥 東 化 | 替孩古諸勒 | tihaigi ǰulee[267] | 從前 | beforehand |
| 614 | 吏 台 勿 [sic][268] 厉 可 | 別弗脉阿禾魯該 | bifume amurgai[269] | 在後 | at the back |
| 615 | 再 化 玉 爭 | 禿里勒忒厄 | tulile tee | 外面 | outside |

Colors (*Sheng-se men* 聲色門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 616 | 瓦 ㄋ | 嫩江 | niyongiyan | 青 | blue |
| 617 | 金 ㄋ | 弗剌江 | fulagiyan | 紅 | red |
| 618 | 伴 ㄋ | 瑣江 | sogiyan | 黃 | yellow |
| 619 | 兄 ㄋ | 上江 | šangiyan | 白 | white |
| 620 | 前 券 | 撒哈良 | sahaliyan | 黑 | blackish |

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264 Grube copied this second Chinese transliteration erroneously, writing the character 比. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

265 This ending *-la* denotes dative-locative case; cf. Ma. *dalba* 'side' and *-la* a dative-locative case suffix. See character 196. All cases of the case suffix *-la* below are the same.

266 Cf. Ma. *genggiyen* id. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **getiye* (革帖) instead, which is probably a cognate of Ma. *getugen* 'clear.'

267 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *čihai* 'as one wishes' and *ǰuleri* 'front.' Cf. entries 679 and 598, too.

268 The dot on the right side is missing as a scribal error in the text.

269 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *bi-* 'to be' and *amargi* 'backwards.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 621 |  | 剌安 | lan[270] | 藍 | indigo |
| 622 |  | 綠 | lu[271] | 綠 | green |
| 623 |  | 孑敖 | ǰiyau[272] | 皂 | black |
| 624 |  | 弗剌江 | fulagiyan | 丹 | vermilion |
| 625 |  | 非稱 | fečin | 光 | light |
| 626 |  | 一屯吉 | ičegi | 鮮 | bright |
| 627 |  | 出衛 | čuwi[273] | 翠 | verdant |
| 628 |  | 卜楚該 | bočogai | 色 | color |
| 629 |  | 阿卜哈嫩江 | abka niyongiyan | 天青 | sky is blue |
| 630 |  | 一麻吉上江 | imagi šangiyan | 雪白[274] | snow is white |
| 631 |  | 滅黑綠 | miyehe lu | 鴨綠 | duck is green |
| 632 |  | 忽如弗剌江 | huǰu[275] fulagiyan | 桃紅 | peach is red |
| 633 |  | 素黑出衛 | suhe čuwi | 柳翠 | willow is verdant |
| 634 |  | 古温上江 | gun šangiyan | 玉白 | gem is white |
| 635 |  | 安春温瓊江 | ančun sogiyan | 金黃 | gold is yellow |

Numerals (*Shu-mu men* 數目門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 636 |  | 厄木 | emu | 一 | one |
| 637 |  | 拙 | ǰuwe | 二 | two |
| 638 |  | 以蓝 | ilan | 三 | three |
| 639 |  | 都因 | duwin | 四 | four |
| 640 |  | 順扎 | šunǰa | 五 | five |

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270 < Chin. 藍.

271 < Chin. 綠.

272 < Chin. 皁. Therefore, this could have been pronounced **ǰan.*

273 < Chin. 翠.

274 Grube made an error in copying, writing the Chinese character 雲 meaning 'cloud' instead. Grube, *op. cit.*, p.33.

275 Ligeti also has **xuǰu.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.23.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 641 | 子 | 寧住 [sic] | ningu[276] | 六 | six |
| 642 | 艹 | 納丹 | nadan | 七 | seven |
| 643 | 丸 | 扎困 | ǰakun | 八 | eight |
| 644 | 丸 | 兀也溫 | uyun | 九 | nine |
| 645 | 丰 | 撾 | ǰuwa | 十 | ten |
| 646 | 毛 | 安朔 | amšo[277] | 十一 | eleven |
| 647 | 尔 | 只兒歡 | ǰirhon[278] | 十二 | twelve |
| 648 | 丑 | 戈兒歡 | gorhon | 十三 | thirteen |
| 649 | 厶 | 獨兒歡 | durhon | 十四 | fourteen |
| 650 | 五 | 脫卜歡 | tobohon | 十五 | fifteen |
| 651 | 亖 | 泥渾 | nilhun[279] | 十六 | sixteen |
| 652 | 土 | 荅兒歡 | darhon | 十七 | seventeen |
| 653 | 犮 | 女渾 | niyuhun | 十八 | eighteen |
| 654 | 尢 | 斡女歡 | oniyohon | 十九 | nineteen |
| 655 | 云 | 倭林 | orin | 二十 | twenty |
| 656 | 尔 | 古申 | gušin | 三十 | thirty |
| 657 | 尒 | 忒希 | tehi | 四十 | forty |
| 658 | 癸 | 速撒一 | susai | 五十 | fifty |

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276 This Chinese transliteration seems to be confused with entry 659, **ninǰu* (寧住) 'sixty.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts have **ningu* (寧谷) for 'six' and **ninǰu* (寧住) for 'sixty.' Cf. Ma. *ninggun* 'six' (supposedly < **žirgun*, Poppe, *op. cit.*, p.130) and *ninǰu* 'sixty.'

277 Ligeti reconstructs **omšo* (*AOH* III, p.219). Cf. Ma. *omšon biya* 'the 11th month.' The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **ǰuwan emu biya* (莊額木別) id.; cf. Ma. *ǰuan emu* 'eleven' and *biya* 'month.' The Jurchen language has special numerals from eleven to nineteen, consisting of a word each. Whereas, those in Manchu are expressed by the word meaning 'ten' plus one of the numerals from one to nine with the exception of the word *tofohon* 'fifteen.'

278 Cf. Ma. *ǰirhon biya* 'the 12th month.' The Manchu numeral indicating 'twelve' is *ǰuwan ǰuwe.*

279 As was discussed earlier (Chap.II: 2, p.41), Tg. -*ö- > Jur. *-u-* in Ming unless preceded by a bilabial consonant. Accordingly, *-hun* < -**hön*, and is appended to front-vowel words. Concerning the suffixes *-hon* and *-hun*, refer to Omeljan Pritsak, "Die Oberstufenzählung im Tungusischen und Jakutischen," *ZDMG* CV, 1955, pp.189–190 and Berthold Laufer, "Jurči and Mongol Numerals," *KCsA* I, 1921, pp.112–115.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 659 |  | 寧住 | ninǰu[280] | 六十 | sixty |
| 660 |  | 納丹住 | nadanǰu | 七十 | seventy |
| 661 |  | 扎困住 | ǰakunǰu | 八十 | eighty |
| 662 |  | 兀也溫住 | uyunǰu | 九十 | ninety |
| 663 |  | 湯古 | tangu | 百 | hundred |
| 664 |  | 皿干 | mingan | 千 | thousand |
| 665 |  | 土滿 | tuman | 萬 | ten thousand |

Miscellany (*T'ung-yung men* 通用門)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 666 |  | 一亜吉 | ičegi | 新 | new |
| 667 |  | 弗厄以[281] | fuwei | 舊 | old |
| 668 |  | 安班剌[sic] | amban[282] | 大 | big |
| 669 |  | 斡速灣 | oson | 小 | small |
| 670 |  | 納兒吉 | nargi | 精 | precision |
| 671 |  | 麻兒 | mar | 粗 | negligence |
| 672 |  | 納兒洪 | narhun | 細 | slender |
| 673 |  | 兀魯忽洪 | ulhuhun | 軟 | soft |
| 674 |  | 忽屯[283]只 | hutunǰi | 緊 | urgent |
| 675 |  | 忽屯[284]只 | hutunǰi | 急 | rapid |
| 676 |  | 亦宣都 | ishundu | 相 | mutual |
| 677 |  | 阿剌埋 | alamai | 似 | resembling |
| 678 |  | 的黑黑吉 | dihehegi | 歸 | return |

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280 Ligeti reconstructs **ninǰü*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, pp. 222–223. This word is supposedly < **inǰü*. P. Pelliot, "Sur quelques mots d'Asie centrale attestés dans textes chinois," *JA* XI: I, 1913, pp. 467–468.

281 Grube made an error in copying, writing the Chinese transliteration character **i* 一 in place of this **i* 以. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

282 This transliteration character **la* 剌 was erroneously appended in the text, perhaps in analogy to entry 724, and should be deleted. Cf. the *HIIY*-without-Script **amba* ( 昂八 ) id. and Ma. *amba* id. Ligeti also reads the first character as **amba* (*AOH* III, p. 222).

283 Grube erroneously copied this transliteration character as 比 (*op. cit.*, p. 36) and read the first Jurchen character as *hūh-pì* (*ibid.* p. 68).

284 Ditto.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 679 | 伟 丸 斥 | 替孩吉 | tihaigi | 從 | following |
| 680 | 可 尤 | 該別 | gaibi | 將 | to take |
| 681 | 角 桑 恭 | 的哈撒 | digasa | 近 | near |
| 682 | 余 申 易 | 南哈洪 | namhahun | 安 | tranquilty |
| 683 | 桑 可 | 撒都該 | sadugai | 親 | familial relationship |
| 684 | 弗 斥 | 都吉 | dugi | 可 | can, may |
| 685 | 伟 丸 斥 | 替孩吉 | tihaigi | 隨 | according |
| 686 | [sic] 要 余 弗 | [sic] 只丁庫 | ǰidinku?[285] | 燒 | burning |
| 687 | 丞 乌 升 | 禿斡黑 | tuwehei | 落 | to fall |
| 688 | 朱 申 | 吉撒哈 | gisaha | 碎 | broken |
| 689 | 忠 用 | 阿剌哈 | alaha | 敗 | to be defeated |
| 690 | 式 斥 | 戈迷吉 | golmigi | 長 | long |
| 691 | 玫 丈 皋 | 弗和羅 | foholo[286] | 短 | short |
| 692 | 厌 右 | 的剌昧 | diramei | 厚 | thick |
| 693 | 发 臭 忏 | 南克洪 | nankehun | 薄 | thin |
| 694 | 毛 申 忏 | 一兒哈洪 | irhahun[287] | 淺 | shallow |
| 695 | 尽 妥 斥 | 舒迷吉 | šumigi[288] | 深 | deep |
| 696 | 考 列 | 塞因 | sain | 好 | good |
| 697 | 寻 丈 | 厄黑伯 | ehebe | 勻 | bad (acc.) |
| 698 | 免 夕 斥 | 扎阿吉 | ǰaagi[289] | 輕 | light |
| 699 | 用 羊 | 兀吝 | uǰee | 重 | heavy |
| 700 | 並 考 | 忒革 | tege | 高 | high |

285 The order of the first two characters might be inverted. If so, this word should be **dinǰiku.* Cf. Ma. *deiǰi-* 'to burn.'

286 Ligeti also has **foxolo.* Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 224.

287 Grube compared this word with Ma. *irga* 'thin.' Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 103. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give a different word, **miča* ( 迷察 ), for the same entry. Cf. Ma. *mičihiyan* 'shallow.'

288 Ligeti also has **šumigi.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 29.

289 Ligeti also has **ǰaagi. Ibid.*, p. 12.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 701 | [sic] 仅 斥 | 戈羅韓 | goroo[290] | 遠 | far |
| 702 | 来 斥 | 莽哈 | manga | 難 | difficult |
| 703 | 兎 夕 斥 | 扎阿吉 | ǰaagi | 易 | easy |
| 704 | 吏 乜 | 別厄 | biye | 有 | to exist |
| 705 | 东 卅 | 阿隨 | asuwi[291] | 無 | non-existent |
| 706 | 南 尤 | 一那 | ina | 是 | as for |
| 707 | 先 冬 | 乖于 | gaiyu[292] | 非 | isn't |
| 708 | 夆 弁 牛 | 晚都洪 | wenduhun | 虛 | vacant |
| 709 | 閂 | 牙剌 | yala | 實 | truly |
| 710 | 申 列 | 厄申 | ešin[293] | 不 | not |
| 711 | 爻 奈 | 厄木只 | emuǰi | 同 | same |
| 712 | 角 仟 | 的温 | digun | 來 | coming |
| 713 | 北 夆[294] 升 | 革捏黑 | genehei | 去 | to leave |
| 714 | 奚 伴 右 | 禿替昧 | tutimei | 出 | to go out |
| 715 | [sic] 史 兆 | 以勒 | iriye[295] | 入 | to enter |
| 716 | 可 | 厄舞 | eru | 醜 | ugly |
| 717 | 卅 | 和卓 | hoǰo | 俊 | pretty |
| 718 | 孟 天 | 撒剌大 | salada | 老 | aged |
| 719 | 吏 予 | 失捏 | šiniya | 幼 | infant |
| 720 | 歹 牛 | 都塔洪 | dutahun | 存 | existence |

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290 Since the first character is to be read as *go* and the second as *o*, a Jurchen character, the pronunciation of which should be **ro* indicated here by the Chinese transliteration character 羅, is missing between these two characters in the text. Cf. Ma. *goro* id.

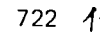
291 Cf. Gold. *ačě* id. and *adsě* id. No Manchu cognate of this Jurchen word of negation is found. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give **aku* ( 阿誇 ) instead, corresponding to Ma. *akû* id.

292 There is no example of its usage in the *HIIY*, but this word is postposed in examples in inscriptions.

293 Cf. Mo. *ese* id., which is preposed. There is no Manchu cognate of this word.

294 Grube miscopied this character, drawing a horizontal stroke between the two dots in the upper portion: 夆. Grube, *op. cit.*, p.38.

295 Cf. Gold. *iri-* 'to enter.' The function of this verbal suffix *-ye* is not known. Since the first character is to be read as *i* and the second as *iye*, probably one Jurchen character read as *ri* is missing between them.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 721 |  | 厄木洪 | emuhun | 獨 | alone |
| 722 |  | 哈富扎孩 | hafuǰahai | 透 | to penetrate |
| 723 |  | 撒答剌 | sadala[296] | 漏 | to drip |
| 724 |  | 安班剌 | ambala | 多 | many |
| 725 |  | 厄克洪 | ekehun | 少 | few |
| 726 |  | 扎魯哈 | ǰaluha | 盛 | full |
| 727 |  | 分車黑 | funčehei | 餘 | to remain |
| 728 |  | 晚灣半的孩 | wanon bandihai[297] | 怎生 | by what means |
| 729 |  | 禿魯溫都言 | turgun duyen | 緣故 | cause |
| 730 |  | 塞舒 | saišu | 好生 | well |
| 731 |  | 厄勒吉扎以 | eregi ǰai | 因此 | hereby |
| 732 |  | 韓恩一·那 | wen ina | 雖是 | notwithstanding |
| 733 |  | 兀忽卜連 | ulhuburen | 曉諭 | admonishment |
| 734 |  | 只剌興 | ǰilagin | 憐憫 | compassion |
| 735 |  | 戈迷吉果卜連 | gomigi geburen | 寬饒 | lenient |
| 736 |  | 革洪約韓洪 | gehun yowohun | 明白 | clear |
| 737 |  | 該別禿番 | gaibi tufan[298] | 將就 | to make the best |
| 738 |  | 厄申撒希 | ešin sahi | 不知 | unknown |
| 739 |  | 厄申殿忒 | ešin diyente | 不會 | not understandable |
| 740 |  | 木忒卜魯 | muteburu | 作成 | to make |

[296] Although the first character is to be read as *sa* and the second as *da*, this word could have been pronounced **sabdala*; cf. Ma. *sabda-* 'to drip.'

[297] This is a word-for-word translation from the Chinese gloss; the first Jurchen word may be related to Ma. *antaka* 'how' and the second to Ma. *banǰi-* 'to live.'

[298] Since the verbal suffix *-bi*, which corresponds to Ma. *-mbi*, in *gaibi* denotes non-perfective indicative, the word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *gai-* 'to take.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 741 | 肖 尤 犬 列 | 八哈別埋因 | bahabi main[299] | 享祿 | to receive a fief |
| 742 | 太 麦 心 秦 犬 | 革卜禿魯哈剌 | gebu turugala | 名望 | renown |
| 743 | 南 刘 阜 | 一乍剌 | ijara | 聚會 | to assemble |
| 744 | 步 友 | 你下剌 | nihiyala | 須臾 | for a moment |
| 745 | 飛 序 兎 会 发 系 | 多羅斡薄替彈巳 | doroobo tiktamba[300] | 法度 | legislation |
| 746 | 未 艾 与 玉 仌 | 木吝革忒厄 | mujege tee | 當面 | at the presence |
| 747 | 尒 尒 | 撒撒 | sasa | 整齊 | good order |
| 748 | 考 奚 字 屋 史 | 哈荅温脉魯厄伯 | kadagun mergebe | 誠意 | sincerity (acc.) |
| 749 | 禾 序 庐 仟 艾 尒 | 莽吉斡温者勒 | mangi urgunjere | 可嘉 | to be joyful |
| 750 | 夆 尚 屋 犬 | 背也忽如剌 | beye hujula[301] | 鞠躬 | to do obedience |
| 751 | 甫 月 臭 化 石 | 兀住康克勒昧 | uju kankelemei | 叩頭 | to kowtow |
| 752 | [sic][302] 坐 土 先 表 仵 | 卜温失剌哈替 | bun širahati[303] | 自古 | from old |
| 753 | 半 | 素勒 | sure | 聰明 | sagacious |
| 754 | 爭 灰 犬 | 稱哥剌 | čingela | 受用 | to utilize |
| 755 | 仌 化 臭 | 厄剌黑 | elehe[304] | 自在 | unrestricted |
| 756 | 羊 系 犬 | 的兒哈剌 | dirgala | 快活 | to be cheerful |
| 757 | 禽 羊 南 尼 | 革木兒一那 | gemur ina | 都是 | all of it |

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299 Ditto. Cf. Ma. *baha-* 'to obtain.'

300 Ligeti has **dorobo tiktan-ba.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 18.

301 Ligeti reconstructs **beye xujira. Ibid.*, p. 21.

302 This character is a scribal error for character 260 坐 in Chap. III. Refer to entry 433.

303 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. entries 433 and 87.

304 Grube read this word as *'oh-léh-hēi-hûng* (*op. cit.*, p. 96), perhaps considering Ma. *elehun* id., but no transliteration character indicating *hûng* is given in the text.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 758 | 厄木你哥塞 | emuni[305] gese | 一般 | uniform |
| 759 | 準里吉 | ǰunligi | 英雄 | hero |

Supplement (*Hsü-t'ien* 續添)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 760 | 杜里剌國倫你 | dulila gurunni | 中國 | China (gen.) |
| 761 | 兀魯麻弗塞登 | uluma (?) fusheden | 強盛 | prosperous |
| 762 | 赫路塞伯 | hersebe | 言語 | language (acc.) |
| 763 | 一立受孩背勒 | ilišuhai beile[306] | 設官 | to establish government |
| 764 | 斡洪昧安失荅剌 | wehunmei amšidala[308] | 包含 | to contain |
| 765 | 忒吉勒荅失剌 | tegile (?) dašira | 徧覆 | to cover all over |
| 766 | 延脉兒塔剌 | yen[309] mertala | 宴犒 | to hold a banquet |
| 767 | 退卜連兀里昧 | tuwiburen ulimei | 延留 | to keep postponing |
| 768 | 召剌埋拙厄林昧 | ǰaulamai ǰuwerinmei | 奏報 | to report to the throne |
| 769 | 頭牙卜魯拙厄林昧 | tauyaburu ǰuwerinmei | 傳報 | to communicate |
| 770 | 禿里勒禿魯温 | tulile turgun | 夷情 | foreign situation |
| 771 | 貴也魯弗忒昧 | guyeru futemei | 伴送 | to send along |

[310]

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305 Ligeti also has **emuni.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 17.

306 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *ili-* 'to stand' and *beile* 'ruler.'

307 Grube miscopied this character, writing two vertical strokes instead of one in the lower portion: 孟. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

308 Ligeti reconstructs **amšidara.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 9.

309 < Chin. 宴.

310 This character is found only in this entry, and the TB. text has the character a little different in shape from this: 朴.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 772 | 𡨴𠂤𠂆𡥈𠯿 | 牙魯乖哩分厄 | yaruguwaimai feniye[311] | 糾合 | to lead a crowd |
| 773 | 𠬜𠦂𠂆𠂤 | 荅別剌魯 | dabilaru | 備寫 | to make a note |
| 774 | 𡨴𠂤𠂆𠫓𠁁 | 牙魯乖哩革恩 | yaruguwaimai gen[312] | 糾衆 | to lead people |
| 775 | 𡨴𠀋𠦂𡨴𠇍 | 安察別番住昧 | amčabi fonǰumei[313] | 追求 | to investigate throughly |
| 776 | 𠂢𠂉𠂤𡥈𠁁 | 愛因別赤巴勒 | ain bičibale[314] | 務要 | by all means |
| 777 | 𠃩𠄎𠫓𠃮 | 端的係哈荅孩 | dondisun kadahai | 聽信 | to wait for further order |
| 778 | 𠯿𠬡𠇍𡥈[315]𠯿𠂤 | 忒勒禿昧兀塞天伯 | telhetumei usetiyenbe[316] | 別種 | different kind |
| 779 | 𠂆𠁁𠫓 | 者失吉撒 | ǰešigisa | 哄誘 | beguilement |
| 780 | 𠂆𠫓𠃮𠯿 | 革卜的勒岸 | gebu dilgan[317] | 名聲 | fame |
| 781 | 𠦂𠫓𠦂𠫓𠃩𠂉 | 法兒法兒弗里隨 | farfar fulisuwi | 另行 | disordered deed |
| 782 | 𠯿𠁁𠄎𠂢𠂆 | 出因扎撒剌 | čuwin[318] ǰasala | 處治 | to govern |
| 783 | 𡥈𠂤𠃩𠄎𠬡 | 兀里厄林多羅斡薄 | ulhiyerin doroobo | 倫理 | ethics |

311 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *yaru-* 'to lead' and *feniyen* 'crowd.'

312 Ditto. Cf. Ma. *yaru-* 'to lead' and *geren* 'group.'

313 This compound verb is compound in accordance with the Chinese words of the gloss. The first word **amča-* means 'to chase'; cf. Ma. *amča-* id. And the second verb means 'to seek'; cf. Ma. *fonǰi-* id. Moreover, the first verb is the indicative form, and the second is a converb. The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese.

314 This word consists of *ain* 'how' plus *bi-* 'to be' with suffixes *-čiba* (concessive) and *-le* (locative).

315 In the TB. text there is no dot in the lower central portion of this character: 𠯿.

316 This phrase is just a word-for-word translation of the Chinese gloss; cf. Ma. *delhe-* 'to part' and *use* 'seed.' The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Almost all compound words and phrases below are word-for-word translations of the given Chinese glosses.

317 Ligeti also has **gebu dilgan*. Ligeti, *AOH* III, p. 215.

318 < Chin. 處 plus the Jurchen nominal ending *-in*.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 784 | 邑 秃 乐 幸 矣 | 秃必巴忒屯[319] | tubiba tetun | 綱常 | obligation |
| 785 | 盂 亚 史 伐[320] | 住儿[sic][321]的德 | jugube de[322] | 道德 | morality |
| 786 | 伕 厚 走 | 惹希納 | jehina | 仁義 | moral code |
| 787 | 邑 秋 | 突厥 | tukiwe | 突厥 | Turk |
| 788 | 年 休 序 交 丈 | 寨里吉忒你和 | sailigi teniho | 危然 | righteous |
| 789 | 礼 序 可 麦 | 弗里吉該別 | fuligi gaibi | 命將 | to convey message |
| 790 | 支 帝 文 甫 邑 | 塔苦剌謙師 | takura kiyenši[323] | 遣師 | envoy |
| 791 | 羊 刘 哭 文 仗 天 | 非也吉木本剌 | fiyegi mubunla | 偏裨 | commander |
| 792 | 乔 杀 存 | 厄然你府 | eǰenni[324] fu[325] | 主輔 | chief assistant |
| 793 | 先 杀 北 乩 | 乖你阿里卜爲 | guwaini alibuwi | 供給 | supply |
| 794 | 育 臭 步 甫 | 厄忒黑阿剌哈 | etehe alaha | 勝負 | victory or defeat |
| 795 | 交 弓 序 爽 夜 天 | 哈剌魯斡哈沙剌 | halaluwo hašala | 捷音 | news of victory |
| 796 | 谷 盂 史 伏 臭 | 斡失卜魯脉兒黑 | wešiburu merhe | 陞賞 | increase in award |
| 797 | 半 盂 右 角 | 巴住昧的[326] | bakǰumei di[327] | 對敵 | to be hostile |

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319 Grube made an error in copying this last transliteration character, writing a similar Chinese character, 比. Grube, *op. cit.*, p.41.

320 In the TB. text the character 伐 (character 562 in Chap.III) is erroneously written in place of this last character.

321 This is a scribal error for **be* 们. Refer to character 34 in Chap.III. The TB. text has the correct transliteration character 们 here. This *-be* is an accusative case suffix. See footnote 37 to this chapter.

322 < Chin. 德.

323 < Chin. 遣師.

324 Ligeti has **eǰeni.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.15.

325 < Chin. 輔.

326 In the TB. text, instead of this transliteration character **di* 的, the original Chinese character 敵 meaning 'enemy' is given as a transliteration character.

327 The last word *di* is < Chin. 敵. The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 798 |  | 忽捏苦魯 | hu[328] nekur[329] | 呼朋 | calling comrade |
| 799 |  | 朶申因勒 | došin inle[330] | 引類 | drawing the same class |
| 800 |  | 捏苦勒埋 | nekulemai | 結交 | to keep company |
| 801 |  | 卓你伯荅出吉 | ǰonibe dačugi | 鋒鋭 | halberd is sharp |
| 802 |  | 厄木剌亦宣都 | emula ishundu | 互相 | one another |
| 803 |  [sic][331] | 安班[sic][331]剌忽禿兒 | amban(la) hutur | 洪福 | vast happiness |
| 804 |  | 千忒昧團住剌 | čentemei tuwanǰula | 考選 | to examine |
| 805 |  | 塔替卜魯 | tatiburu | 習學 | to study |
| 806 |  | 別厄賽因別 | biye sainbi[332] | 有益 | to be profitable |
| 807 |  | 塔以革勒吉 | tai gelegi | 依例 | as usual |
| 808 |  | 註解 | ǰugiyai[333] | 註解 | annotation |
| 809 |  | 剌魯木忒卜魯 | lalu muteburu | 寫成 | to make portrayals |
| 810 |  | 謄剌魯 | tenlaru[334] | 謄寫 | to copy |
| 811 |  | 下放圭因 | hiyauguwin[335] | 學規 | discipline |
| 812 |  | 撒希西因 | sahi sin[336] | 知悉 | to know entirely |

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328 < Chin. 呼. Ligeti also has **hu*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 24.

329 This is just a literal translation of the Chinese gloss, which, when used with the succeeding entry, forms the idiom 呼朋引類 'like draws like.'

330 < Chin. 引類. See the preceding footnote.

331 There is a scribal error either in deleting the character *la* 剌 after this character *an* 安 or in adding the Chinese transliteration character **la* 剌. Refer to entry 668 and 724.

332 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. entry 704, footnote 216 to this chapter, and Ma. *sain* 'good.'

333 < Chin. 註解.

334 < Chin. 謄 with the Jurchen denominal suffix *-la* plus the verbal suffix *-ru*.

335 < Chin. 學規. The Jurchen nominal suffix *-in* is appended to this Chinese loan word.

336 < Chin. 悉. The Jurchen nominal suffix *-in* is appended.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 813 | 其 主 金 夫 | 其兀伯申 | kiyu[337] baišin | 求討 | request |
| 814 | 此 已 支 店 冬 | 阿里卜爲卜斡斡 | alibuwi burwe | 給與 | allowance |
| 815 | 必 寸 灸 犬 丑 | 伯亦沙埋恩 | boišamai en[338] | 謝恩 | to give thanks |
| 816 | 甫 求 羊 | 岸丹朶 | andando | 沿途 | en route (dat.-loc.) |
| 817 | 孛 州 爭 序 | 弗里隨古里吉 | fulisuwi gurigi | 行移 | transfer |
| 818 | 伙 主 宂 厉 序 | 端的係扎失兒吉 | dondisun ǰaširgi[339] | 聽令 | obeying the order |
| 819 | 序 妥 老 舟 吏 | 瑣迷別忒別 | somibi[340] tebi | 潛居 | to lie in hiding |
| 820 | 臭 序 來 丸 | 克安分厄 | kean[341] feniye | 勘合 | tally |
| 821 | 必 右 爭 非 丈 | 兀里味頭牙卜魯 | ulimei tauyaburu | 留傳 | to report and transmit |

Further Supplement (*Hsin-tseng* 新增)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 822 | 來 丈 禿 | 諸勒厄寨 | ǰule ese[342] | 比先 | heretofore |
| 823 | 者 列 寸 发 | 寨因斡濟 | sain on | 便益 | advantage |
| 824 | 伙 扎 爭 处 考 衣 序 | 出出瓦孩革勒吉 | čučuwahai gelegi[343] | 照例 | according to the rule |

337 < Chin. 求.

338 < Chin. 恩. The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese.

339 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *donǰi-* 'to hear' and *ǰasigan* 'letter.' Ligeti reconstructs **doldi-su ǰaširgi* (*AOH* III, p. 217). Cf. footnote 173 to this chapter.

340 Ligeti has **somibe*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p. 20.

341 < Chin. 勘.

342 This word order is probably inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. entry 598, corresponding to Ma. *ǰuleri* 'before, front' and *ǰulergi* id., and Ma. *ese*, the plural form of *ere* 'this.'

343 Since the suffix *-hai* forms the modal converb, the word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *kooli* 'rule, norm.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 825 |  | [sic][344] 脉兒革以 哈稱因 | ergei hačin[345] | 方物 | local product |
| 826 |  | 禿魯哈剌 團下係 | turugala tuwanhiyasun | 看守 | watch and guard |
| 827 |  | 拙厄林昧 委勒伯 | ǰuwerinmei weilebe[346] | 報事 | to report affairs |
| 828 |  | 安春温闕 | ančun kiwe[347] | 金闕 | golden gate |
| 829 |  | 斡非 | ofi | 爲 | because of |
| 830 |  | 蒙 | men[348] | 蒙 | receipt |
| 831 |  | 兀魯勒別 | urulebi | 准 | permission |
| 832 |  | 容 | yun[349] | 容 | approval |
| 833 |  | 忽剌吉 | hulagi[350] | 換 | exchange |
| 834 |  | [sic][351] 都厄恩昧 | dulenmei | 過 | to pass |
| 835 |  [352] | 根剌 | genla | 原 | origin |
| 836 |  | 該哈兒 | gaigar | 領 | acquisition |
| 837 |  | 阿的 | adi | 等 | et cetera |
| 838 |  | 扎哈 | ǰaha | 件 | affair |
| 839 |  | 麻納剌 | manala | 壞 | to destroy |

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344 The transliteration character 厄 (**e*) is given in the TB. text in place of this character **me* 脉. Since the first word is supposed to mean 'direction,' the TB. text seems correct. Cf. Ma. *ergi* 'direction.'

345 Cf. Ma. *ergi* 'direction' and *hačin* 'thing.' This entry is a word-for-word translation of the Chinese gloss. In the AB. text, however, a different phrase, **bai uli* (巴亦兀力) 'wealth of the district,' is given for the same entry; cf. Ma. *ba-i uli* id.

346 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. Cf. Ma. *ǰori-* 'to indicate' (?) and *weile* 'matter.'

347 < Chin. 闕.

348 < Chin. 蒙.

349 < Chin. 容.

350 Ligeti reconstructs **xulaku* (*AOH* XII, p. 21), on the basis of Lo Fu-ch'eng's version of *Nü-chih i-yü* 女直譯語 (Ryojun 1933) where the transliteration character 苦 (**ku*) appears instead of the character 吉 (**gi*) for the third Jurchen character. The BSt. text has 吉 here, whereas the TB. text has 苦. Cf. characters 399 and 401 in Chap. III.

351 The transliteration character 勒 (**le*) is given in the TB. text in place of this character **e* 厄, and the TB. text seems correct. Cf. Ma. *dule-* 'to pass.'

352 In the TB. text a slightly different character, 甬, is given in place of this character.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 840 | 卟 冬 升 | 卜魯韓黑 | buruwehei | 失 | to lose |
| 841 | 肴 羊 | 革木兒 | gemur | 俱 | altogether |
| 842 | 臾 帀 | 克哀 | keai (?)[353] | 開 | opening |
| 843 | 毛 屋 史 | 一兒厄伯 | irgebe | 百姓 | populace (acc.) |
| 844 | 斥 兀 吳 | 卓卜溫 | ǰobogun | 艱難 | hardship |
| 845 | 伏 扎 爻 处 叉 丸 | 出出瓦孩塔以 | čučuwahai tai[354] | 照依 | in obedience to |
| 846 | 充 半 | 厄禿洪 | etuhun | 穿 | wearing |
| 847 | 其 半 升 | 其車黑 | kičehei | 用 | to use |
| 848 | 尼[355]友 米 | 扎剌岸 | ǰalan | 輩 | generation |
| 849 | 歹 赤 处 | 一立受孩 | ilišuhai | 設 | to establish |
| 850 | 仜 史 | 只速魯 | ǰisuru | 做 | to make, do |
| 851 | 亠 祢 羊 | 厄木車你 | emučeni | 一遭 | once |
| 852 | 亠 多 屋 斥 | 厄木赫[356]兒厄吉 | emu hergegi | 一級 | one rank |
| 853 | 妥 羊 | 密你 | mini[357] | 我 | I (gen.) |
| 854 | 友 | 厄塞 | ese | 這 | these |
| 855 | 友 央 斥 | 忒忒希 | tetehi | 被 | cover (?)[358] |
| 856 | 苔 | 弗脉 | fume | 束 | bundle |

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353 < Chin. 開. Therefore, this word may have been pronounced as *kai*, though the first character is to be read as *ke*.

354 The word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese. See entry 807 and footnote 343 to this chapter.

355 Grube erred in copying this character, writing a different character of five strokes, similar to this character: 尾. Grube, *op. cit.*, p.44. Cf. character 294 in Chap.III.

356 In the TB. text the transliteration character 黑 (**he*) is given instead of this character **he* 赫.

357 This is the genitive form of the first peraon singular pronoun, which corresponds to Ma. *mini*. The *HIIY*-without-Script texts give the nominative case form **bi* (必), instead, which corresponds to Ma. *bi*. Ligeti also has **mini*. Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.17.

358 This Chinese gloss means 'cover,' but Grube, comparing it with Ma. *tede* 'there,' gave 'dort' with a question mark as the German equivalent, considering that this Chinese 被 is a scribal error for 彼 meaning 'that, there' due to the similarity in shape. Grube, *op. cit.*, p.101. It could be so, because no Manchu cognates to this word can be found in the sense of 'cover.' Compare this with entry 557. It, however, should also be noted that the TB. text has the Chinese 被 here, too.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 857 | 乘 丟 | 厄不[359]失 | ebši | 以 | ever since |
| 858 | 屯 奈 天[360] | 禿魯哈剌 | turugala | 覽 | to look |
| 859 | 朱 | 吉撒 | gisa | 呵[sic][361] | all right, may |
| 860 | 矢 余 右 | 者只味 | ǰeǰimei | 謹 | to be awed |
| 861 | 苑 老 | 撒必別 | sabibi | 計 | to plan |
| 862 | 北 史 | 革登 | geden | 往 | to leave |
| 863 | 南 糸 南 糸 | 一你一你 | ini ini[362] | 各 | each |
| 864 | 令 艾 垂 | 阿赤卜魯吉 | ačiburu ǰi[363] | 聖旨 | imperial decree |
| 865 | 袖 | 姚希 | yohi | 套 | book case |
| 866 | 方 奚 考 | 土滿塞革 | tuman sege | 萬壽 | long life |
| 867 | 令 艾 屯 列 | 阿赤卜魯哈稱因 | ačiburu hačin | 聖節 | imperial birthday |
| 868 | 里 勿 及 可 | 皇阿木魯該 | huwan amurgai[364] | 皇后 | empress |
| 869 | 五 礼 屯 | 皿干卜羅厄林 | mingan bolo erin | 千秋 | thousand years |
| 870 | 天 保 | 太子 | taiǰi[365] | 太子 | crown prince |
| 871 | 里 亦 | 皇子 | huwanǰi[366] | 皇子 | prince |

## 2. Supplement from the Tōyō Bunko Text

### Further Supplement (*Hsin-tsen* 新增)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | 礼 及 | 出溫 | čun[367] | 充 | full |

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359 In the TB. text the transliteration character 卜 (**b*) is used instead of this character.

360 Grube erred in copying this character, adding two dots by the right side instead of one dot. Grube, *op. cit.*, p.45.

361 This Chinese gloss 呵 'to expel the breath' is probably a scribal error for the Chinese 可 'may, can'; cf. entries 474 *eigisa* 'must not' and 39 *gisa* 'it may be.' The TB. text has the same scribal error here.

362 Ligeti also has **ini ini.* Ligeti, *AOH* XII, p.17.

363 < Chin. 旨.

364 Ligeti also has **xuan amurgai* (*AOH* III, p.217); *huwan* < Chin. 皇.

365 < Chin. 太子.

366 < Chin. 皇子.

367 < Chin. 充.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 02 | 𡨴弓申 | 扎魯哈 | ǰaluha | 滿 | to fill |
| 03 | 𡨴[368] | 通 | tun[369] | 通 | through |
| 04 | 𠂤 | 背也 | beye | 態 | attitude |
| 05 | 𡨴𠂤 | 武恩 | uwen[370] | 穩 | calm |
| 06 | 𠂤𠂤[371] | 舒温 | šun[372] | 屬 | belonging |
| 07 | 𠂤𠂤 | 庫委 | kuwei[373] | 揆 | estimation |
| 08 | 𠂤[374]𠂤[375]𠂤 | 一立受孩 | ilišuhai | 置 | to set |
| 09 | 𠂤 | 賽 | sai[376] | 賽 | thank-offering |
| 10 | 𠂤[377]𠂤𠂤 | 舍剌埋 | šelamai[378] | 捨 | to abandon |
| 11 | 𠂤 | 住 | ǰu[379] | 竹 | bamboo |
| 12 | 𠂤𠂤𠂤 | 眞剌埋 | ǰinlamai[380] | 珍 | to be rare |
| 13 | 𠂤𠂤 | 里因 | lin[381] | 嶺 | summit |
| 14 | 𠂤[382] | 站 | ǰam[383] | 站 | station |
| 15 | 𠂤𠂤 | 里也 | liye[384] | 列 | row |
| 16 | 𠂤[385] | 麻木 | mamu | 凡 | common |

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368 Ishida made an error in copying, adding an additional dot on the left vertical stroke: 𡨴. Ishida Mikinosuke, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

369 < Chin. 通.

370 < Chin. 穩.

371 Ishida's version of this character is slightly miscopied: 𠂤. *Loc. cit.*

372 < Chin. 屬. The native Jurchen nominal ending *-un* is appended. Cf. character 193.

373 < Chin. 揆.

374 Ishida miscopied this character, drawing the horizontal stroke directly underneath the top square: 𠂤. *Loc. cit.*

375 Ishida's version of this character is also slightly miscopied: 𠂤. *Ibid.*

376 < Chin. 賽.

377 Ishida miscopied this character, connecting the top two horizontal strokes: 𠂤. *Loc. cit.*

378 < Chin. 捨. This word is verbalized with the denominal suffix *-la*. Cf. character 196.

379 < Chin. 竹.

380 < Chin. 珍. This word is verbalized. See footnote 378 to this chapter.

381 < Chin. 嶺.

382 Ishida miscopied this character, adding a hook to the lower right portion: 𠂤. *Loc. cit.*

383 < Mo. *ǰam* id. < Chin. 站.

384 < Chin. 列.

385 Ishida's version of this character is slightly miscopied: 𠂤. *Loc. cit.*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | 水 友 犬 | 老 剌 埋 | laulamai[386] | 劳 | to toil |
| 18 | 屏[387] 父 | 許 温 | hiyun[388] | [sic]389 匈 | thorax |
| 19 | 帝 尚 臭 | 嫩 果 黑 | niyongehe | 狼 | wolf |
| 20 | 扎 用 友 | 法 哈 剌 | fakala | 矮 | dwarfish |
| 21 | 休 | 胖 | pan[390] | 胖 | fat |
| 22 | 非 竿 | 非 如 兒 | fijur | 神 | god |
| 23 | 屏 扎 余 | 希 出 勒 | hičure | 柰 | a species of apple |
| 24 | 床 | 瓚 | so[391] | 梭 | shuttle |
| 25 | 友 床 | 剌 安 | lan[392] | 蘭 | orchid |
| 26 | 礼 床 | 弗 里 古 | fuligi | 命 | destiny |
| 27 | [sic]393 倩 | 賢 元 | hiyen[394] | 玄 | sombre |
| 28 | 羔 | 你 | ni[395] | 泥 | mud |
| 29 | 来 父 | 素 温 | sun[396] | 總 | whole |
| 30 | 赤 | 革 里 | geli | 又 | also |
| 31 | 色[397] 友 犬 | 秃 剌 埋 | tulamai[398] | 圖 | to scheme |
| 32 | 寺 屯 右 | 拙 厄 林 昧 | ǰuwerinmei | 報 | to announce |
| 33 | 五 | 恩 | en[399] | 恩 | grace |
| 34 | 赤 友 犬 | 賜 剌 埋 | čilamai[400] | 賜 | to bestow |

386 < Chin. 劳. This word is verbalized.

387 Ishida miscopied this character, omitting one stroke on the left side of the character: 𠂢. *Loc. cit.* He probably confused this with the character appering in entry 36 (character 510 in Chap. III.)

388 < Chin. 匈.

389 The text erroneously gives the Chinese character 匈 meaning 'to beg' instead, the pronunciation of which is *kai*.

390 < Chin. 胖.

391 < Chin. 梭.

392 < Chin. 蘭.

393 See characters 700 and 728 in Chap. III.

394 < Chin. 玄.

395 < Chin. 泥.

396 < Chin. 總.

397 Ishida's version of this character is slightly miscopied: 𠂤. Ishida, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

398 < Chin. 圖. This word is verbalized.

399 < Chin. 恩.

400 < Chin. 賜. This word is verbalized.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35 | 扑 甬 | 牙荅 | yada | 巧 | skill |
| 36 | 麦 平 | 莫截 | močo | 拙 | clumsy |
| 37 | 库 昂 | 瑣羅 | solo | 閑 | leisure[401] |
| 38 | 旻 [sic] 402 甬 右 | 卜咸昧 | buhiyenmei | 疑 | to doubt |
| 39 | 朱 | 吉撒 | gisa | 庶 | it may be, so that |
| 40 | 金 | 孔 | kun[403] | 孔 | hole |
| 41 | 尤 [404] 尺 [405] 夭 | 嫩吉剌 | nongila | 加 | to add |
| 42 | 化 尾 | 都厄勒 | duwele | 盡 | wholly |
| 43 | 劳 五 | 革恩 | gen | 衆 | multitude |
| 44 | 伎 | 必忒黑 | bitehe | 文 | literature |
| 45 | 讣 土 | 套温 | taun | 數 | number |
| 46 | 寸 弓 尤 [406] | 一魯別 | ilubi | 騎 | to mount the horse |

401 Ishida considers this Chinese gloss 閑 meaning 'leisure' a scribal error for 開 meaning 'to open,' comparing it with Ma. *sala-* 'to distribute' (*op. cit.*, p. 55), but this is completely wrong. Cf. Ma. *šolo* 'leisure.'

402 See characters 700 and 728 in Chap. III.

403 < Chin. 孔.

404 Ishida miscopied this character, drawing the second horizontal stroke shorter: 尺. Ishida, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

405 Ishida miscopied this character, too, omitting the hook from the right side of the second horizontal stroke: 夭. *Ibid.*

406 Ishida erroneously gave the Chinese character 老 in place of this Jurchen character. *Ibid.*

# CHAPTER V

## DECIPHERMENT OF THE *SINO-JURCHEN MEMORIALS* (*NÜ-CHEN-KUAN LAI-WEN* 女眞館來文)

The Berlin National Library text contains twenty memorials and the Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 text contains twenty-nine. Ten of the twenty-nine memorials in the Tōyō Bunko text are also listed in the Berlin text. Specifically, Memorials I, III, IV, VII, VI, VIII, X, XII, XIII, and XIV in the Tōyō Bunko text correspond to Memorials XI through XX in the Berlin text respectively.

Each memorial consists of two parts, i.e. the Chinese version, perhaps the principal version, and the Jurchen version. Both versions of each memorial contain exactly the same contents, but, as in the *Memorials* of any of the other language sections of the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語, sentences of the Jurchen version are described syntactically in Sinicized form. For example, each Jurchen word is literally translated from the Chinese. As a result, the word order of the Jurchen sentences is exactly the same as that of the Chinese version. Notwithstanding the fact that the original Jurchen numerals eleven to nineteen are written with a single character, in the *Memorials* they are written with two characters, one indicating "ten" and the second indicating the digit, just like the Chinese numerical system. Jurchen numerals indicating twenty, thirty, forty, etc. up to ninety are also written with a single character, but in the *Memorials* those are wirtten with two characters, too, like Chinese numerals. Further, the Jurchen negative verbal suffix *-aku,* which appears in the Jurchen section of the *Hua-i i-yü*-without-Script series, is not used for negation of verbs, but a prepositive negative particle, *ešin,* is used instead.

In none of the memorials does the date when it was written appear, but they can be assumed to have been written at least several years later than any of the dates which appear in the body of the memorials. The dates that appear in the thirty-nine memorials span the one hundred twelve year period from the 12th year of the Yung-lo 永樂 (1414) to the 5th year of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1526) reign periods. Nevertheless, due to the aforementioned Sinicization, disparity of the Jurchen language among those memorials is not discernible.

Both the Chinese and Jurchen versions in the original text are written vertically from right to left. In this chapter the sentences are written horizontally, however, as a matter of

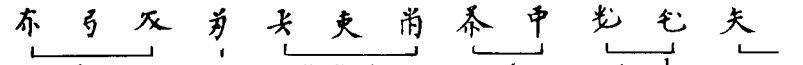
convenience. The text in the Jurchen versions has been broken into words by means of a cross-comparison of the Jurchen vocabulary in the *Glossary* and the Chinese versions in the *Memorials.*

As a point of interest, all the Chinese versions are written in a very vulgar and uncultured style.

## 1. The Berlin National Library Text

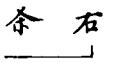
### Memorial I

阿倫衛正千戶撒哈連謹
奏奴婢父祖在邊出力每年叩頭
朝貢奴婢天順三年十一月二
十六日得的職事今來進貢海
東青一連失剌孫三箇可憐見
討陞一級奏得
聖皇帝知道



alun wei jinčenhu saha miyee[1]

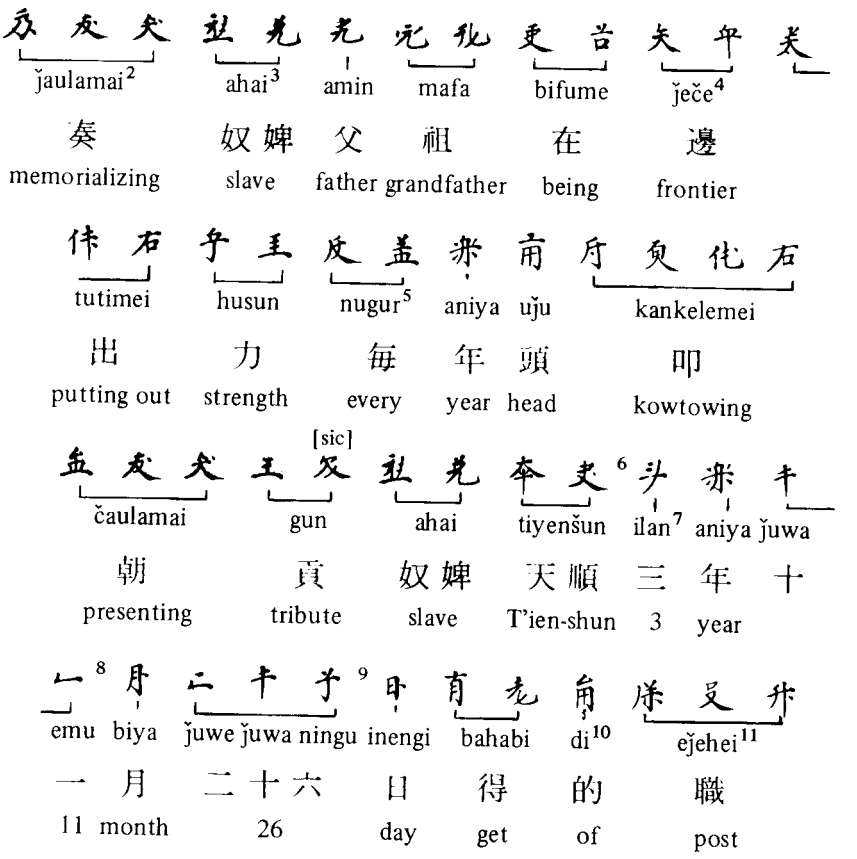
阿倫 衛 正千戶 撒哈 連
Alun guard battalion commander Sahaliyan



jejimei

謹
being awed

[1] This word means 'group,' which is translated erroneously from the Chinese transliteration character 連 (**liyan*) with the same meaning, used in a part of a person's name. Cf. entry 620 in Chap. IV.




[2] This is an nonperfective converb. Although this is not grammatically incorrect, the nonperfective indicative form *ǰaulabi* 及友先 should be used here.

[3] Genitive case of *aha* 'slave' which is used as a humble word for the first person or first person's associate in the *Memorials.*

[4] The locative case suffix is lacking here. Cf. Ma. *ǰečen-de* 'in the frontier.'

[5] This word should presumably be the converb form *nugurmai* 'linking' and be put after *aniya* 'year'; cf. Ma. *aniya nurhûme* 'for successive years.'

[6] This character 史 *šun does not appear in the *Glossary.*

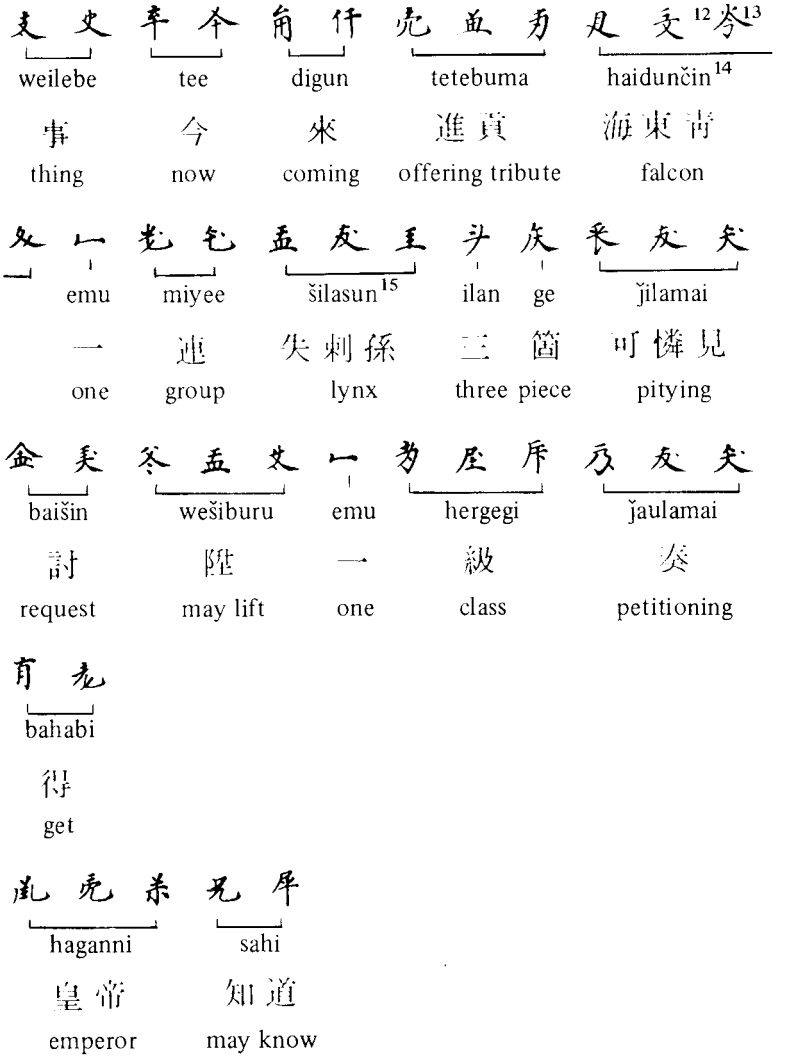
[7] In the Jurchen language, unlike in Manchu, cardinal numerals are used to designate a particular year, judging from the use of the dates appearing in Jurchen inscriptions.

[8] This is a word-for-word translation from the Chinese version and literally means 'ten one.' The Jurchen word meaning 'eleven' is *amšo* 七.

[9] For the same reason as in the previous footnote, this literally means 'two ten six,' and should be *orin ningu* 六子.

[10] This is not a Jurchen word, but is the phonetic equivalent of the Chinese attributive particle 的. This is not even a Chinese loan word in Jurchen, and the use of this is a solecism in Jurchen grammar.

[11] This literally means 'of an Imperial Rescript'; cf. Ma. *ečehe* 'Imperial Rescript.'




In the above, the original Jurchen sentence appears in the uppermost position; the pronunciation of each word, the Chinese equivalent word, and the English translation respectively are then given below. A comparison of the Chinese text which precedes the Jurchen

---

12 This character 攵 **dun* does not appear in the *Glossary*.

13 This character 斧 **či* does not appear in the *Glossary*.

14 A species of falcon native to Hai-tung 海東 region. This is a Chinese loan word and the native Jurchen word is not used, though there is the Manchu word *šongkon* id.

15 In Chinese this is also written 失利孫 or 猞猁猻 . Ma. *silun* id. A sort of lynx, the fur of which is precious for use against the cold.

memorial given above with the Chinese that appear under the Jurchen version will show that they are identical; the sole exception is the phrase *uǰu kankelemei* 'kowtowing.' In the Jurchen version, the word *uǰu* meaning 'head' precedes the word *kankelemei* 'kowtowing,' unlike the word order of Chinese. This phrase may, however, be considered as a compound word. As a matter of fact, this phrase is the only exception in which the Jurchen word order is different from that of Chinese throughout all the memorials. That is to say, the Jurchen word order is inverted to parallel the Chinese version, although it can be assumed, judging from the sentences appearing in Jurchen inscriptions, that the Jurchen language had exactly the same word order as that of Manchu and the other Tunguz languages.

Translation:

I, Sahaliyan, Battalion Commander of the Alun Guard,[16] respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my father and grandfather having made efforts at the frontier and, kowtowing, every year offered tribute to the Court, I obtained on the 26th day of the 11th month in the 3rd year of the T'ien-shun period.[17]

I now come and offer tribute of a pair of falcons and three lynx pelts and, wishing you would take pity on me, request that you promote me one rank.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial II

海西兀者討温千戶所指揮僉
事出加謹
奏比先奴婢父祖在時邊境上往
來出氣力進貢馬匹貂鼠皮多
年了正德十三年正月二十二
日得的職事可憐見奴婢換與
新

[16] For details concerning each Guard, Battalion, Territory, and so forth appearing in the *Memorials*, refer to Watanabe Kuntarō, *Joshinkan Raibun Tsūkai*, Osaka 1933, pp. 58–75, based mainly on *Man-chou yüan-liu-k'ao* 滿洲源流考 (1778). See also Sonoda Kazuki, *Mindai Kenshū Jochokushi Kenkyū* I, Tokyo 1948; II, 1953, as far as the Chien-chou 建州 Jurchens are concerened.

[17] 1459 A.D.

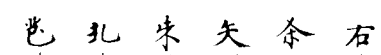
勅書奏得

聖皇帝知道



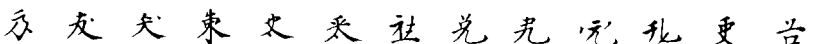
haisi uǰe taugun čenhušu ǰihuwi češi

Hai-hsi Uǰe Taugun battalion guard assistant



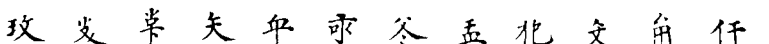
čugiya ǰeǰimei

commander Čugiya being awed



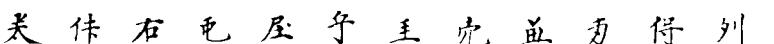
ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai amin mafa bifume

memorializing heretofore slave father grandfather being



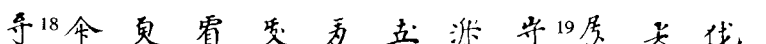
fondo ǰeče gin weši geden digun

time frontier border on going coming



tutimei eringe husun tetebuma morin

putting out spirit strength offering tribute horse



pi? seke sugu gen aniya waǰir? ǰinde

horse sable skin many year finished Cheng-te

---

[18] This character 寺 does not appear in the *Glossary*. It is used here as the equivalent in meaning to Chinese 匹 'horses' and used in other memorials, e.g. Memorial IV of the BSt. text, as the classifier for horses where it also corresponds to Chinese 匹. Therefore, this is presumably a Chinese loan pronounced **pi* from the Chinese *p'i* ( 匹 ). Cf. also usage of this character in Memorial II of the TB. text, where this corresponds to the Chinese *p'i* ( 疋 ).

[19] This character 寺 does not appear in the *Glossary*. This character is used here as the stem of a verb meaning 'to finish' and also used in other memorials, e.g. Memorial IV of the BSt. text, as the stem of an auxiliary verb indicating completion of an action. Such a verb in Manchu is *waǰi-*, e.g. *ǰeme waǰiha* 'finished eating' ← *ǰembi* 'to eat.' Accordingly, this character might be **waǰi* or **wadi*.




Translation:

I, Čugiya, Guard Assistant Commander of the Uǰe Taugun Battalion of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my father and grandfather, when they were alive, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable pelts for many years, I obtained on the 22nd day of the 1st month in the 13th year of the Cheng-te period.[23] Take pity on me by changing the Imperial Rescript thereof to a new one.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

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20 Should be 丩 *gorhon*, meaning 'thirteen.'

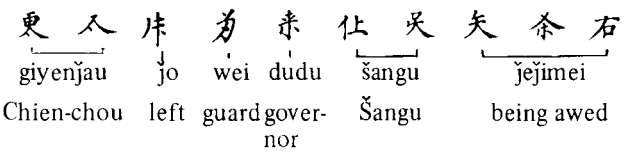
21 Should be 二十二 *orin ǰuwe*, meaning 'twenty-two.'

22 Literally means 'Spring Month.'

23 1518 A.D.

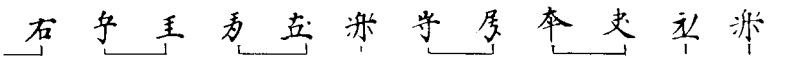
Memorial III

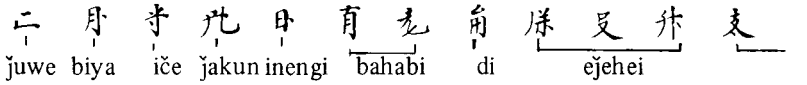
建州左衛都督尚古謹
奏奴婢祖在邊出力多年了天順
五年二月初八日得的職事今
來
金闕下叩頭進貢海東青一連討
陞一級職事奏得
聖皇帝知道



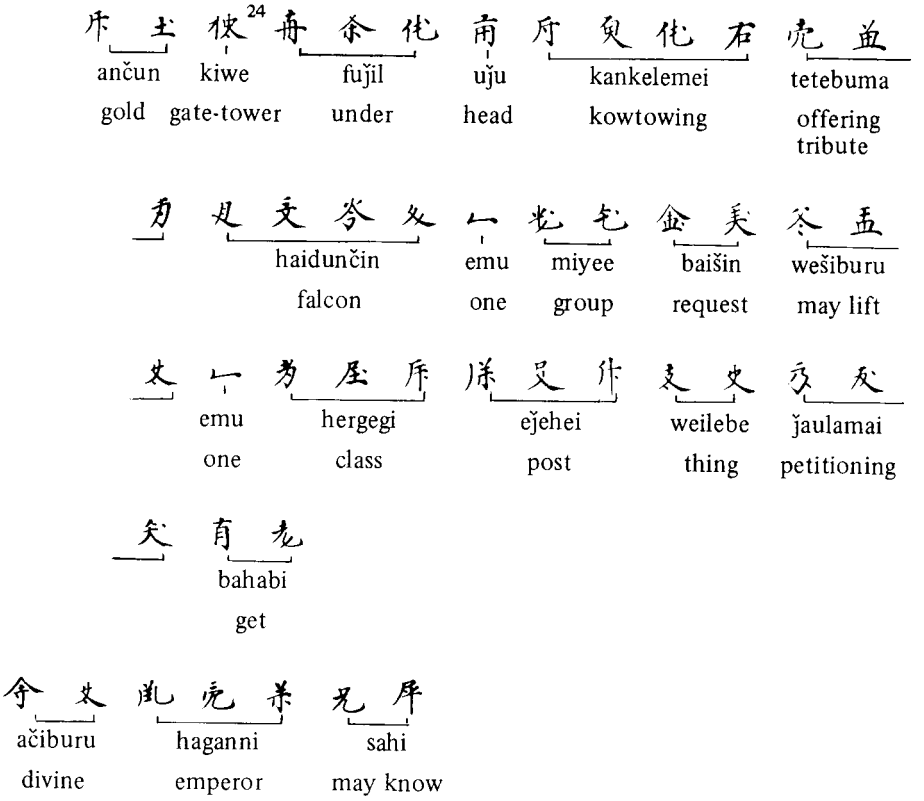









Translation:

I, Šangu, Military Governor of the Left Guard of Chien-chou, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, after having endeavored at the frontier for many years, obtained on the 8th day of the 2nd month in the 5th year of the T'ien-shun period.[25]

I now come and, kowtowing under the Golden Gate, offer tribute of a pair of falcons, and request that you promote me one rank.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial IV

海西塔罕山衛都督僉事李加

[24] Appears as 扌失 in the *Glossary*.

[25] 1461 A.D.

謹

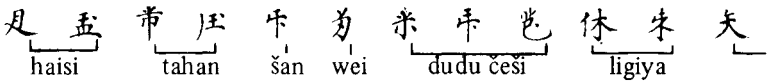
奏奴婢父祖在時進送人口有功

因此得了前職今奴婢來進貢

大馬十匹失剌孫五箇可憐見

討一箇大紅[sic]26段子穿奏得

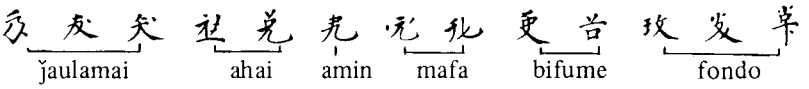
聖皇帝知道


haisi tahan šan wei dudu češi ligiya

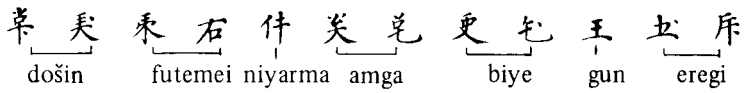
Hai-hsi Tahan moun-tain guard assistant governor Ligiya


ǰejimei

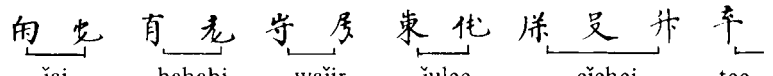
being awed


ǰaulamai ahai amin mafa bifume fondo

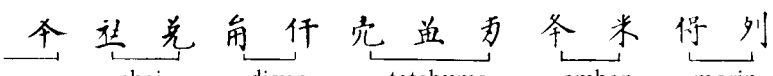
memorializing slave father grandfather being time


došin futemei niyarma amga biye gun eregi

advance sending person mouth exist merit this


ǰai bahabi waǰir ǰulee eǰehei tee

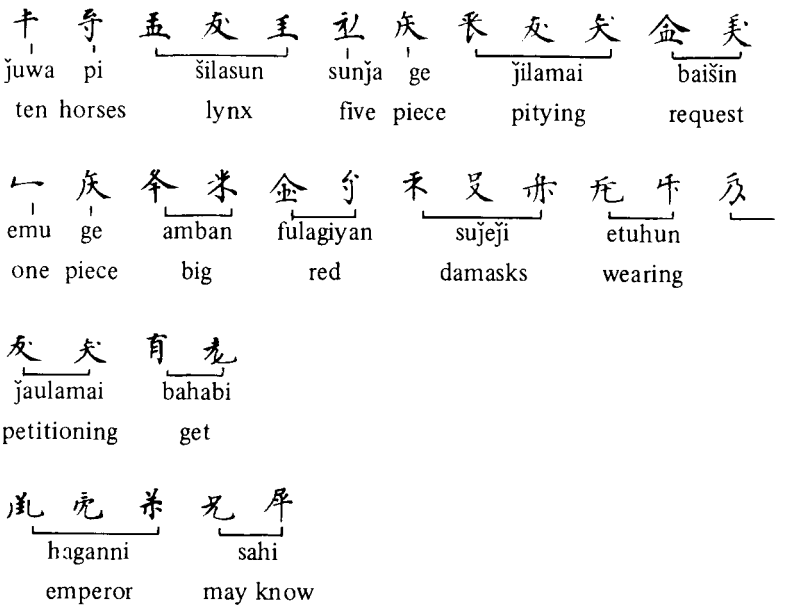
because of get finished before post now


ahai digun tetebuma amban morin

slave coming offering tribute big horse

---

26 Should be 緞, meaning 'damask.' See footnote 245 to Chap.IV.




Translation:

I, Ligiya, Assistant Military Governor of the Tahan Mountain Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

My father and grandfather, when they were alive, performed meritorious deeds by presenting slaves, and due to this, obtained the former position.

I now come and offer tribute of ten large horses and five lynx pelts and, wishing you would take pity on me, request that you let me dress in a crimson damasks court dress.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

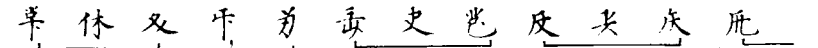
Memorial V

朶林山衛指揮使奴眞哥〔男〕[27]亦
哈赤謹
奏比先奴婢父在時邊境上往來
出氣力多年了嘉靖五年四月
十八日得的職事今來奏討蟒

27 This character, missing in the text, is added here on the basis of the Jurchen version.

龍金帶紗帽奏得

聖皇帝知道



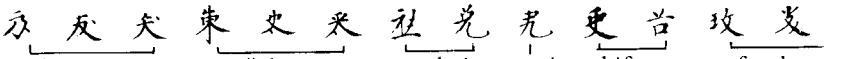
dolin šan wei jihuwiši nuǰinge ǰuwii

Dolin mountain guard guard commander Nuǰinge son



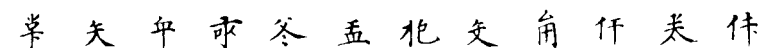
ihači ǰeǰimei

Ihači being awed



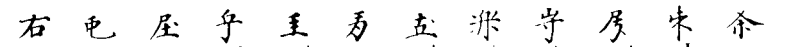
ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai amin bifume fondo

memorializing heretofore slave father being time



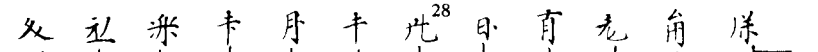
ǰeče gin weši geden digun tutimei

frontier border on going coming putting out



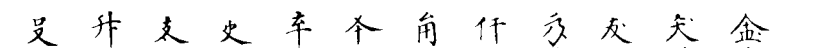
eringe husun gen aniya waǰir giyaǰin

spirit strength many year finished Chia-ching



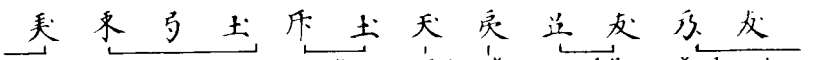
šunǰa aniya duwin biya ǰuwa ǰakun inengi bahabi di

5 year 4 month 18 day get of



eǰehei weilebe tee digun ǰaulamai baišin

post thing now coming petitioning request

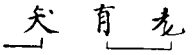


manlun ančun dai ša mahila ǰaulamai

dragon gold girdle gauze hat petitioning

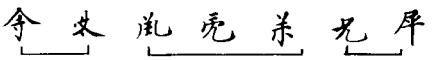
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[28] Should be 为 *niyuhun*, meaning 'eighteen.'



bahabi

get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

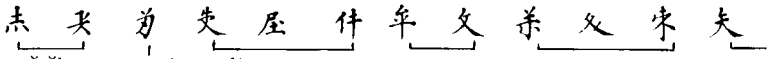
Translation:

I, Ihači, a son of Nuǰinge, Guard Commander of the Dolin Mountain Guard, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my father, when he was alive, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district for many years, obtained on the 18th day of the 4th month in the 5th year of Chia-ching period.[29]

I now come and petition in request of a golden dragon girdle and a gauze court hat. Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial VI

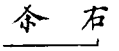
劄眞衛野人頭目寧加謹
奏奴婢原是小王的子孫弘治十
七年因黑龍江野人犯邊鎭守
官說是奴婢每連年不容來進
貢爲此奏得
聖皇帝知道



ǰaǰin wei udige niyarma taumu ningiya

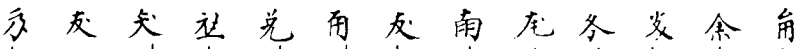
J̌aǰin guard savage headman Ningiya

[29] 1526 A.D.



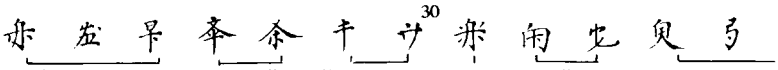
ǰejimei

being awed



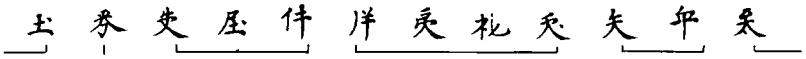
ǰaulamai ahai genla ina oson wan di

memorializing slave origin as for small chief of



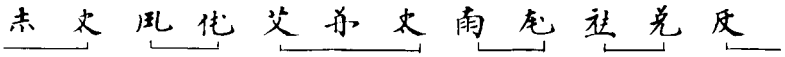
ǰi omolo hunǰi ǰuwa[30] nadan aniya ǰai helun

descendant Hung-chih 17 year due to Amur



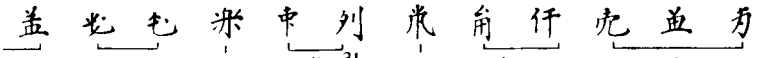
ula udige niyarma gašahiyala ǰeče

river savage invaded border



tunǰaru beile henduru ina ahai

stationed official said as for slave



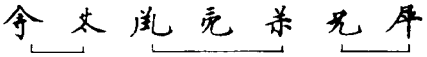
nugur miyee aniya ešin[31] yun digun tetebuma

every successive year not permission coming offering tribute



ofi eregi ǰaulamai bahabi

because of this petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

---

[30] Should be *darhon*, meaning 'seventeen.'

[31] Cf. Mo. negative particle (preposed) *ese*. The Jurchen negative verbal suffix is *-aku* in the *HIIY*-without-Script texts; cf. Ma. *-akû* id.

Translation:

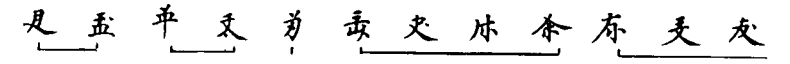
I, Ningiya, Headman of Savages[32] of the Jǎjin Guard, respectfully memorialize.

I am, in fact, originally a descendant of a minor chief. Since Savages of the Amur River area invaded the frontier in the 17th year of the Hung-chih period,[33] the Station Official has pointed this out and has not allowed me to offer tribute for many years in succession. It is for this reason that I memorialize.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

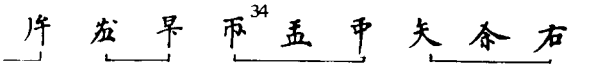
Memorial VII

海西愛河衛指揮同知阿卜蘭
係矮失哈謹
奏奴婢祖在邊出力多年了天順
五年二月初八日得的職事今
可憐見奴婢係矮失哈襲替前
職奏得
聖皇帝知道



haisi aiho wei ǰihuwi tunǰi abulan

Hai-hsi Aiho guard chief commander Abulan

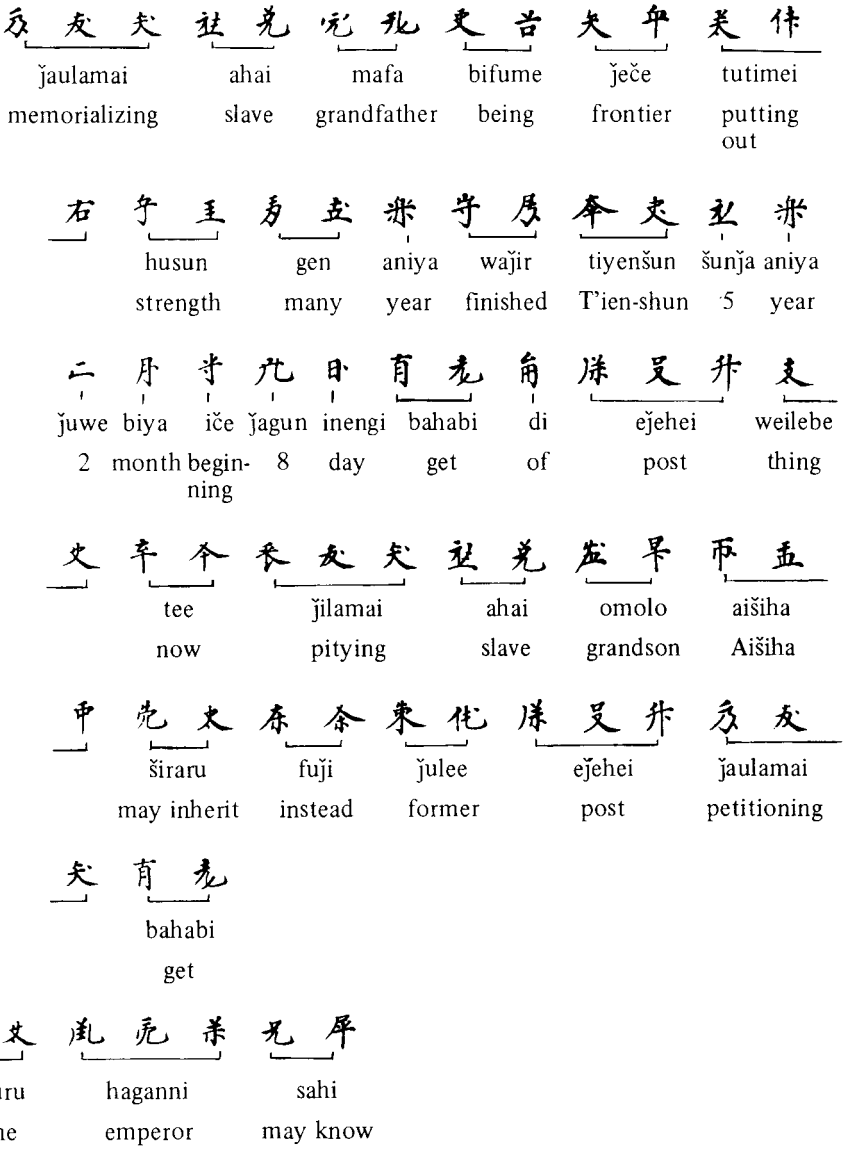


omolo aišiha ǰeǰimei

32 One of the Jurchen tribes. In the Ming period Jurchen peoples in Manchuria were classified into three, Hai-hsi 海西 Jurchen, Chien-chou 建州 Jurchen, and this Yeh-jen 野人 (Savage) Jurchen. Cf. Erich Haenisch, "Beiträge zur altmandschurischen Geschlechtskunde," *OZ* VIII, 1919–1920, p. 173.

33 1504 A.D.

34 This character appears as 帀 in the *Glossary*.



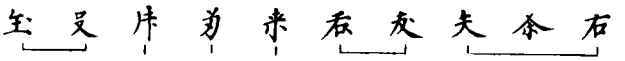

Translation:

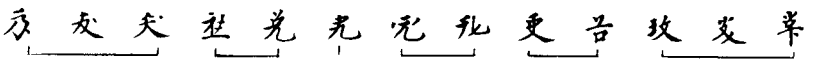
I, Aišiha, a grandson of Abulan, Guard Chief Commander of the Aiho Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, having endeavored at the frontier for many years, obtained on the 8th day of the 2nd month in the 5th year of T'ien-shun period. Take pity on me and let me, Aišiha, his grandson, succeed and assume his former position.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

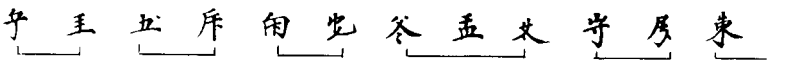
Memorial VIII

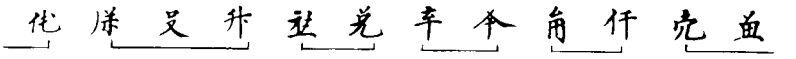
兀 各 左 衛 都 督 察 剌 謹
奏 奴 婢 父 祖 在 時 邊 境 地 方 出 氣
力 因 此 陞 了 前 職 奴 婢 今 來 進
貢 方 物 怎 生 憐 憫 討 陞 都 督 同
知 職 事 奏 得
聖 皇 帝 知 道


uje jo wei dudu čala jejimei
Uje left guard governor Čala being awed

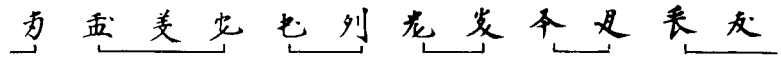

jaulamai ahai amin mafa bifume fondo
memorializing slave father grandfather being time


ječe gin na ergei[35] tutimei eringe
frontier border ground direction putting out spirit

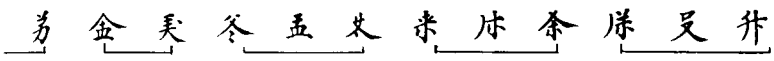

husun eregi jai wešiburu wajir
strength this due to lift finished


julee ejehei ahai tee digun tetebuma
former post slave now coming offering tribute

35 This compound word, consisting of *na* 'ground' and *ergei* 'direction,' is a word-for-word translation of *ti-fang* (地方) in the Chinese version. This should be replaced by *buwai* 𡨴化 meaning 'region.'



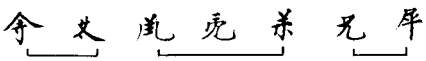
ergei hačin wanon bandihai ǰilagiyan
direction matter how live compassion



baišin wešiburu dudu tunǰi eǰehei
request may lift chief governor post



weilebe ǰaulamai bahabi
thing petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation:

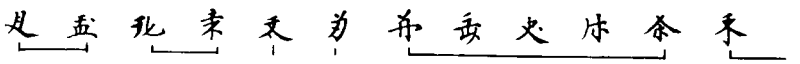
I, Čala, Military Governor of the Uǰe Left Guard, respectfully memorialize.

My father and grandfather, when they were alive, made efforts at the frontier district and the regional area, and for this reason, were promoted to the former position. I now come and offer tribute of local products. Pray feel compassion for me; I request that you promote me to Chief Military Governor.

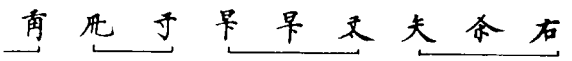
Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial IX

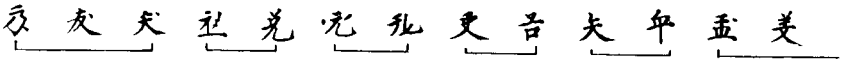
海西法因河衛都指揮同知滿
答男羅羅合謹
奏奴婢祖在邊方出力有年正德
十五年十月初十日得了職事
命奴婢男羅羅合襲職奏得
聖皇帝知道



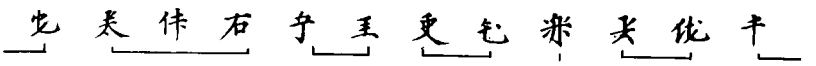
haisi fain ho wei du jihuwi tunji
Hai-hsi Fain river guard chief regional commissioner



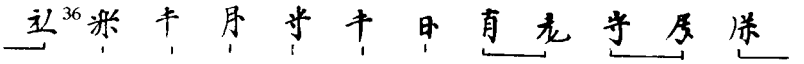
manda juwii loloho jejimei
Manda son Loloho being awed



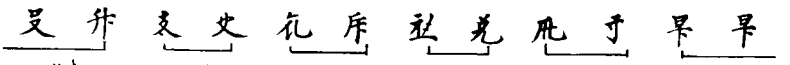
jaulamai ahai mafa bifume ječe ergei
memorializing slave father being frontier direction



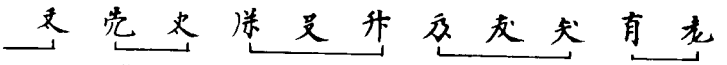
tutimei husun biye aniya jinde juwa
putting out strength exist year Cheng-te



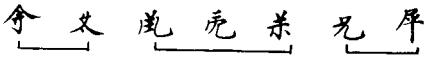
šunja[36] aniya juwa biya ice juwa inengi bahabi wajir
15 year 10 month begin- ning 10 day get finished



ejehei weilebe fuligi ahai juwii loloho
post thing order slave son Loloho



širaru ejehei jaulamai bahabi
may inherit post petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

[36] Should be 五 *tobohon*, meaning 'fifteen.'

Translation:

I, Loloho, a son of Manda, Chief Regional Military Commissioner of the Fain River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

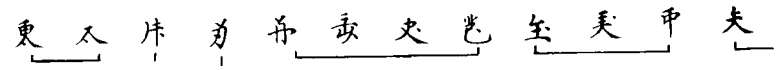
My grandfather, having endeavored at the frontier area for some years, obtained the position on the 10th day of the 10th month in the 15th year of the Cheng-te period.[37]

Appoint me, Loloho, your slave's son, to succeed to this position.

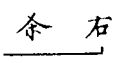
Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial X

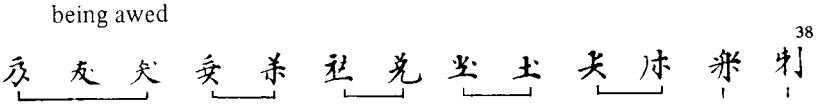
建州左衛都指揮使兀升哈謹
奏我奴婢自正統年間設立衙門
除授官職至今六七十年了不
曾陞賞今差頭目塞因前去
天朝叩頭進貢方物可憐見討陞一
級職事奏得
聖皇帝知道



giyenǰau ǰo wei du ǰihuwi ši ušinha
Chien-chou left guard regional commissioner Ušinha



ǰeǰimei
being awed



ǰaulamai mini ahai bun ǰintun aniya giyen?
memorializing my slave from Cheng-t'ung year during

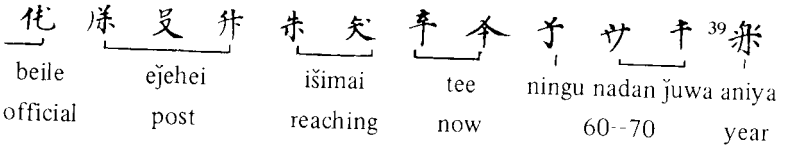
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37 1520 A.D.

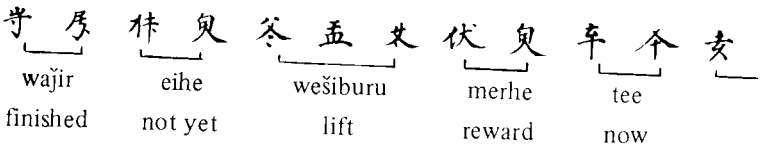
38 This character 𗍫 does not appear in the *Glossary*. Since this character is used as the equivalent in meaning to the Chinese 間 'during' here and in other memorials, e.g. Memorial XIX of the BSt. text, this could be a Chinese loan, **giyen* from the Chinese *kien* (間).



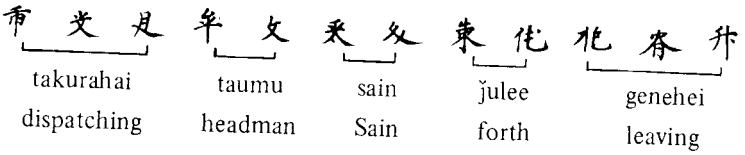
ilišuhai ilibun hafan duka tuwehebi
establishing standing officer gate is conferred



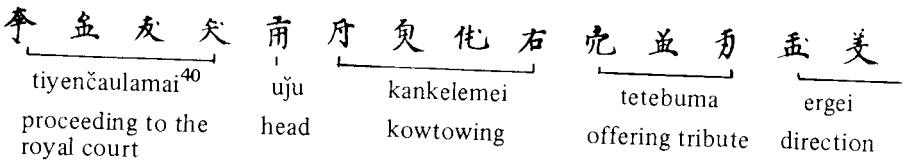
beile eǰehei išimai tee ningu nadan ǰuwa aniya[39]
official post reaching now 60--70 year



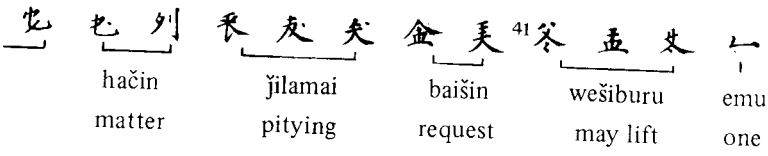
waǰir eihe wešiburu merhe tee
finished not yet lift reward now



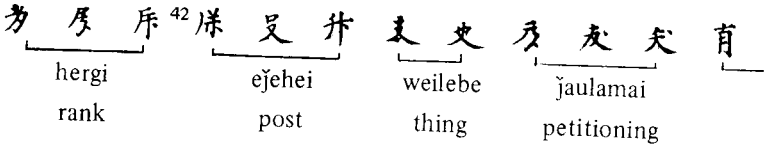
takurahai taumu sain ǰulee genehei
dispatching headman Sain forth leaving



tiyenčaulamai[40] uǰu kankelemei tetebuma ergei
proceeding to the royal court head kowtowing offering tribute direction



hačin ǰilamai baišin wešiburu emu
matter pitying request may lift one



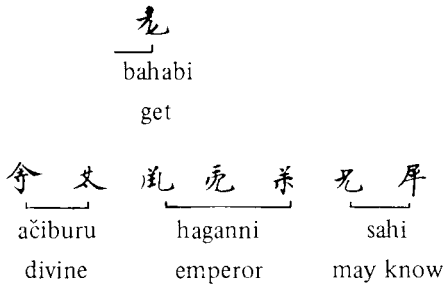
hergi eǰehei weilebe ǰaulamai
rank post thing petitioning

[39] Should be 廿 *nadanǰu*, meaning 'seventy.'

[40] A solecism. Literally means 'royal-courting.'

[41] Appears as 金芙 in the *Glossary*.

[42] This word appears as 芳屋序 *hergegi* in the *Glossary* and some other memorials, e.g. Memorial I of the BSt. text. Ma. *hergen* id.




Translation:

I, Ušinha, Regional Military Commissioner of the Left Guard of Chien-chou, respectfully memorialize.

Ever since I humbly established the yamen and received an official position during the Cheng-te period,[43] sixty or seventy years have so far elapsed, but I have never been granted an award. I now dispatch Sain, Headman, to proceed to the Royal Court and offer, while kowtowing, tribute of local products. Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me one rank in regard to my position.

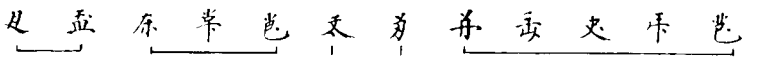
Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XI

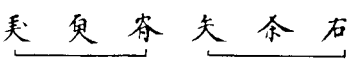
海西弗朵禿河衛都指揮僉事
申克捏謹
奏奴婢成化十四年七月二十一
日得的職事至今進貢馬匹貂
鼠皮不曾有違可憐見奴婢討
新
勅書奏得

43 1436 1450 A.D.

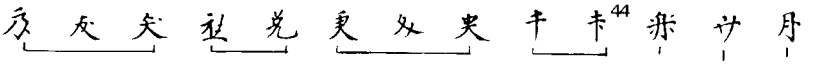
聖皇帝知道



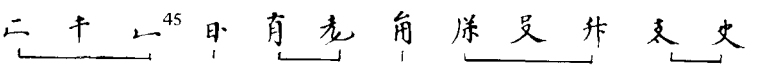
haisi fudotu ho wei du ǰihuwi češi
Hai-hsi Fudotu river guard assistant commander



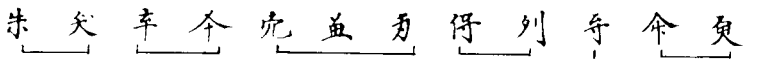
šinkene ǰeǰimei
Šinkene being awed



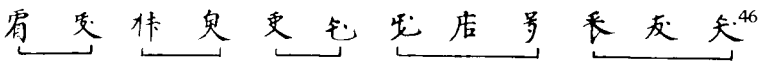
ǰaulamai ahai činho ǰuwa duwin aniya nadan biya
memorializing slave Ch'eng-hua 14 year 7 month



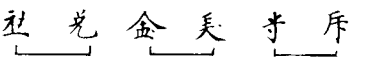
ǰuwe ǰuwa emu inengi bahabi di eǰehei weilebe
21 day get of post thing



išimai tee tetebuma morin pi seke
reaching now offering tribute horses sable



sugu eihe biye ǰurburen ǰilamai
skin not yet exist disobedience pitying



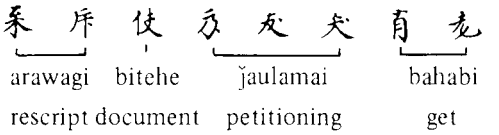
ahai baišin ičegi
slave request new

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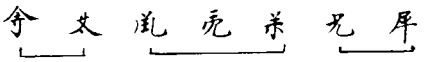
44 Should be 𐊰 *durhon*, meaning 'fourteen.'

45 Should be 𐊲 𐊱 *orin emu*, meaning 'twenty-one.'

46 Memorial I of the TB. text has a scribal error, writing the character 𐊴 *gin* in place of this verbal suffix 𐊵 *mai*.



arawagi bitehe ǰaulamai bahabi
rescript document petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation:

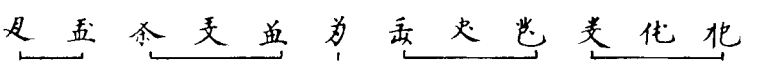
I, Šinkene, Guard Assistant Commander of the Fudotu River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which I obtained on the 21st day of the 7th month in the 14th year of Ch'eng-hua period.[47]

Until now I have offered tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which I have never yet failed. Wishing you would take pity on me, I request a new Imperial Rescript thereof.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial XII

海西只卜得衛指揮使不勒革
買忽謹
奏奴婢父子每年叩頭進貢馬匹
貂鼠皮成化十四年八月二十
八日得的職事至今多年了可
憐見討陞都指揮僉事奏得
聖皇帝知道



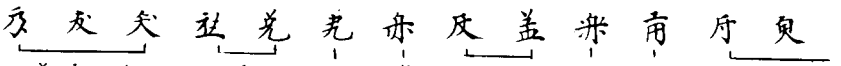
haisi ǰibute wei ǰihuwi ši bulege
Hai-hsi J̌ibute guard guard commander Bulege

47 1478 A.D.



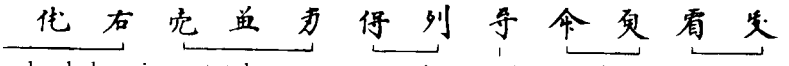
maihu ǰejimei

Maihu being awed



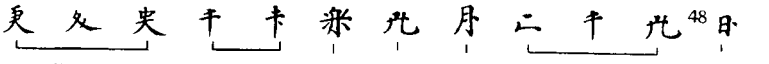
ǰaulamai ahai amin ǰi nugur aniya uǰu

memorializing slave father child every year head



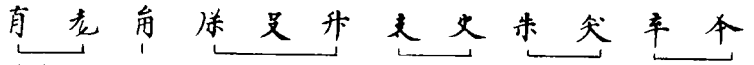
kankelemei tetebuma morin pi seke sugu

kowtowing offering tribute horses sable skin



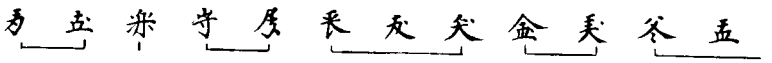
činho ǰuwa duwin aniya ǰakun biya ǰuwe ǰuwa ǰakun inengi

Ch'eng-hua 14 year 8 month 28 day



bahabi di eǰehei weilebe išimai tee

get of post thing reaching now



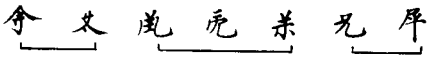
gen aniya waǰir ǰilamai baišin wešiburu

many year finished pitying request may lift



du ǰihuwi ši ǰaulamai bahabi

assistant commander petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine' emperor may know

[48] Should be 二十九 *orin ǰakun*, meaning 'twenty eight.'

Translation:

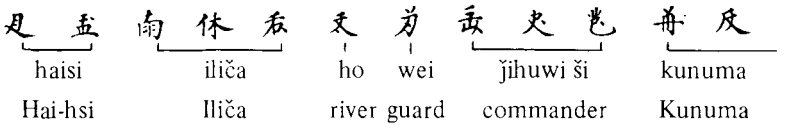
We, Bulege and Maihu, Guard Commanders of the Jibute Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which we, father and son, having offered, kowtowing, tribute of horses and sable pelts every year, obtained on the 28th day of the 8th month in the 14th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.

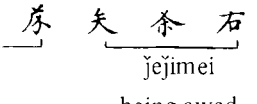
Many years have elapsed since then up to now. Wishing you would take pity on us, we request that you promote us to Guard Assistant Commanders.

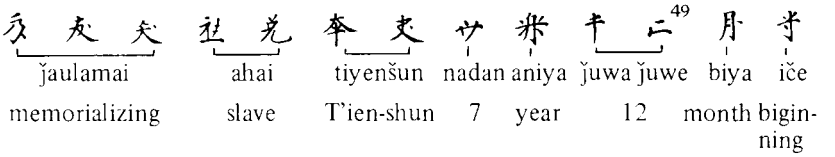
Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge our petition.

## Memorial XIII

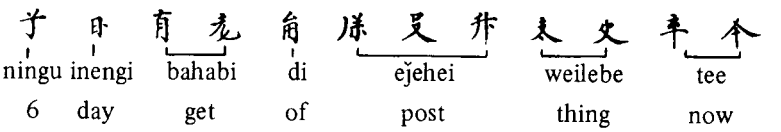
海西亦里察河衛指揮使苦奴
麻謹
奏奴婢天順七年十二月初六日
得的職事今來叩頭進貢有舊
勅書壞了可憐見換與新
勅書奏得
聖皇帝知道

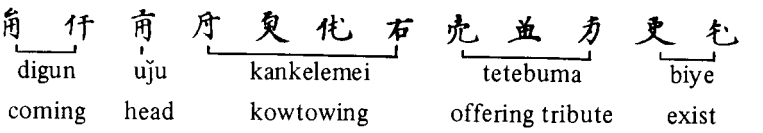


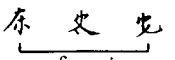



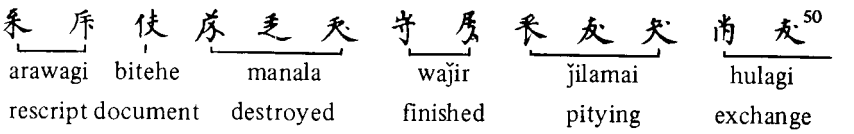



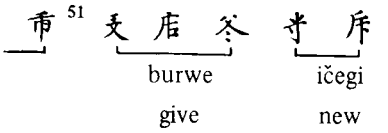

[49] Should be *jirhon*, meaning 'twelve.'

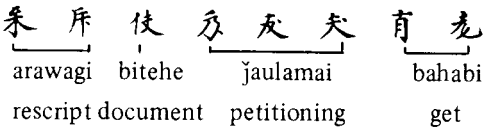

ningu inengi bahabi di ejehei weilebe tee
6 day get of post thing now

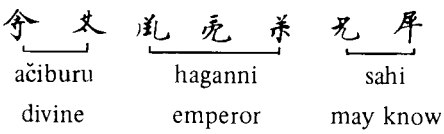

digun uju kankelemei tetebuma biye
coming head kowtowing offering tribute exist


fuwei
old


arawagi bitehe manala wajir jilamai hulagi[50]
rescript document destroyed finished pitying exchange

[51]
burwe ičegi
give new


arawagi bitehe jaulamai bahabi
rescript document petitioning get


ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation:

I, Kunuma, Guard Commander of the Iliča River Guard, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which I obtained on the 6th day of the 12th month in the 7th year

[50] This character 𘓱 *la* is erroneously missing in Memorial IV of the TB. text.

[51] In Memorial IV of the TB. text, the character 𘓱 *ra* is erroneously given after this character 𘓐 *gi*.

of the T'ien-shun period.[52]

I now come and offer tribute, while kowtowing. I have the old Imperial Rescript thereof, which has been damaged. Take pity on me and replace with it a new Rescript for me.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XIV

海西五屯河衛指揮使苔籠哈

謹

奏奴婢祖父在時出氣力有來天

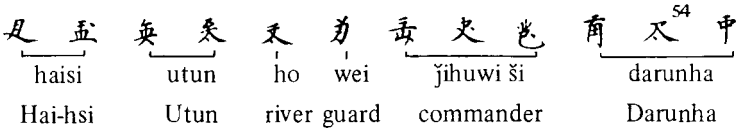
順七年十二月十二日得的職

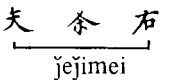
事至今叩頭

進貢馬匹貂鼠皮不曾有違可憐

見奴婢討陞都〔指〕[53]揮僉事奏得

聖皇帝知道

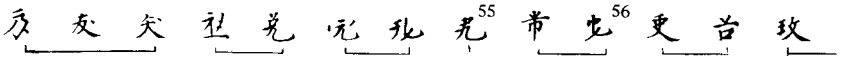



52 1463 A.D.

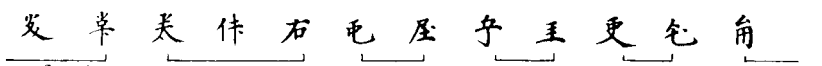
53 This character si missing in the BSt. text, so is supplied here from Memorial VII of the TB. text.

54 This character 丌 *run does not appear in the *Glossary*.



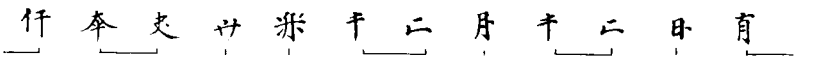
ǰaułamai ahai mafa amin[55] tai[56] bifume

memorializing slave grandfather father et al.? being



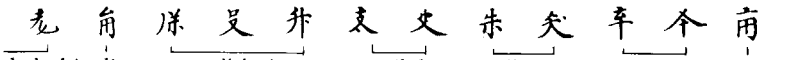
fondo tutimei eringe husun biye digun

time putting out spirit strength exist coming



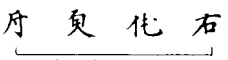
tiyenšun nadan aniya ǰuwa ǰuwe biya ǰuwa ǰuwe inengi

T'ien-shun 7 year 12 month 12 day



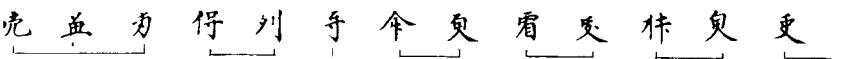
bahabi di eǰehei weilebe išimai tee uǰu

get of post thing reaching now head



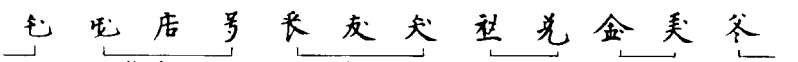
kankelemei

kowtowing



tetebuma morin pi seke sugu eihe biye

offering tribute horses sable pelt not yet exist



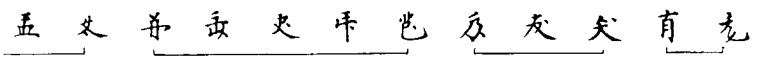
ǰurburen ǰilamai ahai baišin

disobedience pitying slave request

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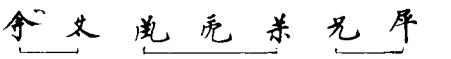
[55] This compound word *mafa amin* is a literal translation from the Chinese, and *mafa* alone would be sufficient to mean 'grandfather' as in Memorials III, VII, etc. Cf. Ma. *mafa* 'grandfather, ancestor.'

[56] The Chinese equivalent in meaning to this word is not given in any memorials throughout the texts. This *-tai*, however, is always appended to the word *mafa amin* 'grandfather' without exceptions. Therefore, it may be that this 𘖵 *ta* indicates the plural of *amin*. Cf. Ma. *amǰi* 'uncle' and *amǰita* 'uncles,' and *eme* 'mother' and *emete* 'mothers.' The second character 𘕕 *i* could be a genitive case suffix.



wešiburu du ǰihuwi češi ǰaulamai bahabi

may lift assistant regional commissioner petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation:

I, Darunha, Guard Commander of the Utun Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, when he was alive, having made efforts, obtained on the 12th day of the 12th month in the 7th year of the T'ien-shun period. Until now I have, kowtowing, offered tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which I have never yet failed. Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial XV

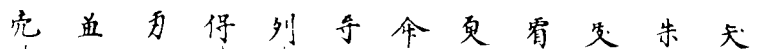
海西亦迷河衛都督賽哈謹
奏奴婢每年叩頭進貢馬匹貂鼠
皮至今多年了可憐見討蟒衣
一套玉帶并大帽子與奴婢每
年往來出氣力進貢不敢有違
奏得
聖皇帝知道

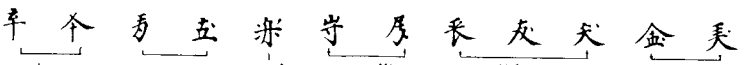


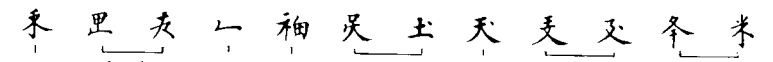
haisi imi ho wei dudu saiha ǰeǰimei

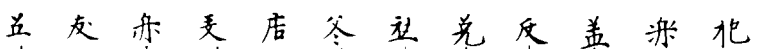
Hai-hsi Imi river guard governor Saiha being awed

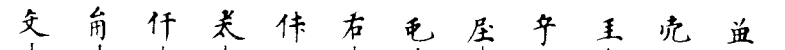

ǰaulamai ahai nugur aniya uǰu kankelemei
memorializing slave every year head kowtowing

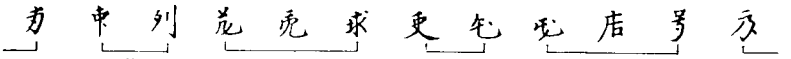

tetebuma morin pi seke sugu išimai
offering tribute horses sable skin reaching

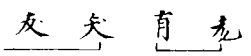

tee gen aniya waǰir ǰilamai baišin
now many year finished pitying request

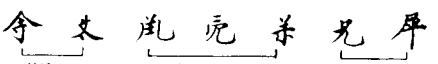

man hadu emu yohi gun dai bulu amban
dragon clothing one case jade girdle together big


mahila ǰi burwe ahai nugur aniya
hat give slave every year


geden digun tutimei eringe husun tetebuma
going coming putting out spirit strength offering


ešin hangandan biye ǰurburen
tribute not daringly exist disobedience


ǰaulamai bahabi
petitioning get


ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation:

I, Saiha, Military Governor of the Imi River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

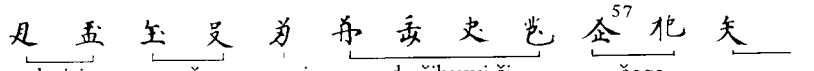
I have, kowtowing, offered tribute of horses and sable pelts every year up to now, and many years have thus elapsed.

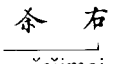
Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you give me a suit of dragon court dress, a jade girdle, and also a big court hat. Every year I will make efforts in coming forth to offer tribute and will never dare to fail.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

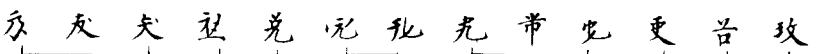
## Memorial XVI

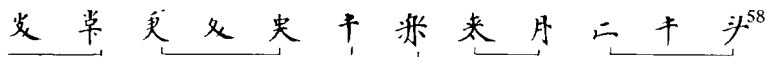
海西兀者衛都指揮使扯革謹
奏奴婢祖父在時成化十年正月
二十三日得的職事正德八年
右侍郎撫安奴婢進貢騧馬一
匹盔一頂甲一副弓一張送人
一名奴婢有這等功勞上可憐
見討陞都督僉事奏得
聖皇帝知道

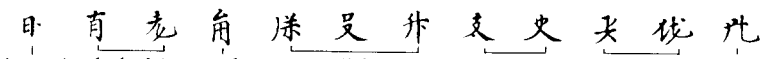

haisi uje wei du jihuwi si čege
Hai-hsi Uje guard regional commissioner Čege

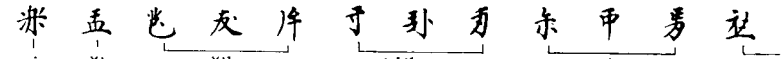

jejimei
being awed

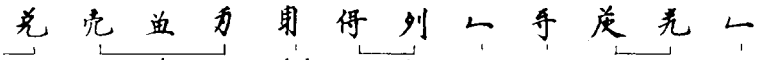
57 The character 佧 *če does not appear in the *Glossary*.

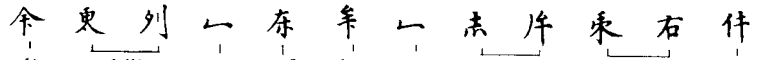

ǰaulamai ahai mafa amintai bifume
memorializing slave grandfather father being

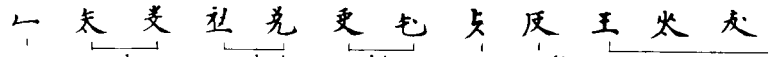

fondo činho ǰuwa aniya niyeniyen biya ǰuwe ǰuwa ilan[58]
time Ch'eng-hua 10 year 1st month 23

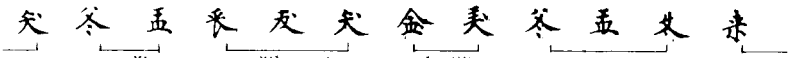

inengi bahabi di ejehei weilebe ǰinde ǰakun
day get of post thing Cheng-te 8


aniya ši šilan idibuma namhahun ahai
year Shih vice-minister soothing calm slave


tetebuma akda morin emu pi sača emu
offering tribute gelding one horse helmet one


din ukčin emu fu beri emu ǰan futemei niyarma
top armor one suit bow one draw sending person


emu gebu ahai biye ese adi gunlaulamai
one name slave exist these etc. rendering merit

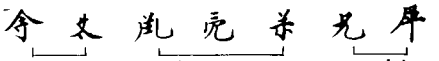

weši ǰilamai baišin wešiburu dudu
on pitying request may lift assistant

[58] Should be 元 礼 *orin ilan*, meaning 'twenty-three.'



češi ǰaulamai bahabi

governor petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation:

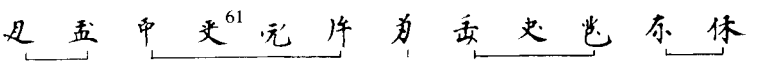
I, Čege, Regional Military Commissioner of the Uǰe Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, when he was alive, obtained on the 23rd day of the 1st month in the 10th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.[59]

In the 8th year of the Cheng-te period,[60] on the Vice-Minister Shih's urging, I offered tribute of a gelding, a suit of armor, a helmet, a bow, and a slave. As I rendered such meritorious deeds as those, wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to Assistant Military Governor.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XVII

海西哈兒蠻衛指揮使阿力謹
奏比先奴婢祖父在時每年進貢
馬匹貂鼠皮至今不曾有違奴
婢成化十四年得的職事今可
憐見討陞都指揮職事奏得
聖皇帝知道



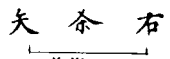
haisi harman wei ǰihuwi ši ali

Hai-hsi Harman guard commander Ali

[59] 1474 A.D.

[60] 1513 A.D.

[61] The character 𘉐 *r does not appear in the *Glossary*.



ǰejimei

being awed



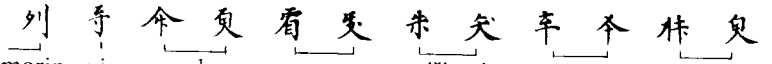
ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai mafa amintai

memorializing heretofore slave grandfather father



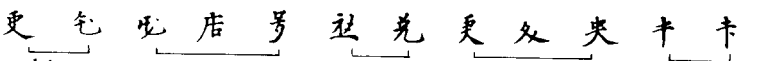
bifume fondo nugur aniya tetebuma

being time every year offering tribute



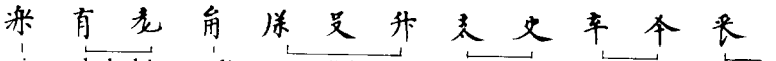
morin pi seke sugu išimai tee eihe

horses sable skin reaching now not yet



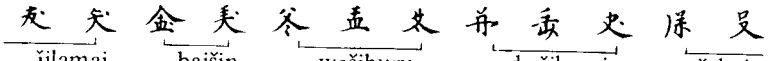
biye ǰurburen ahai činho ǰuwa duwin

exist disobedience slave Ch'eng-hua 14



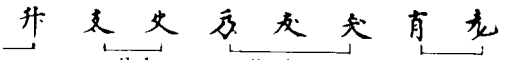
aniya bahabi di eǰehei weilebe tee

year get of post thing now



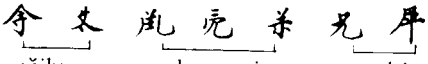
ǰilamai baišin wešiburu du ǰihuwi eǰehei

pitying request may lift regional commissioner post



weilebe ǰaulamai bahabi

thing petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation:

I, Ali, Guard Commander of the Harman Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my grandfather, when he was alive, having theretofore offered tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never yet failed, I obtained in the 14th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.

Wishing you would take pity on me, I now request that you promote me to a position of Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

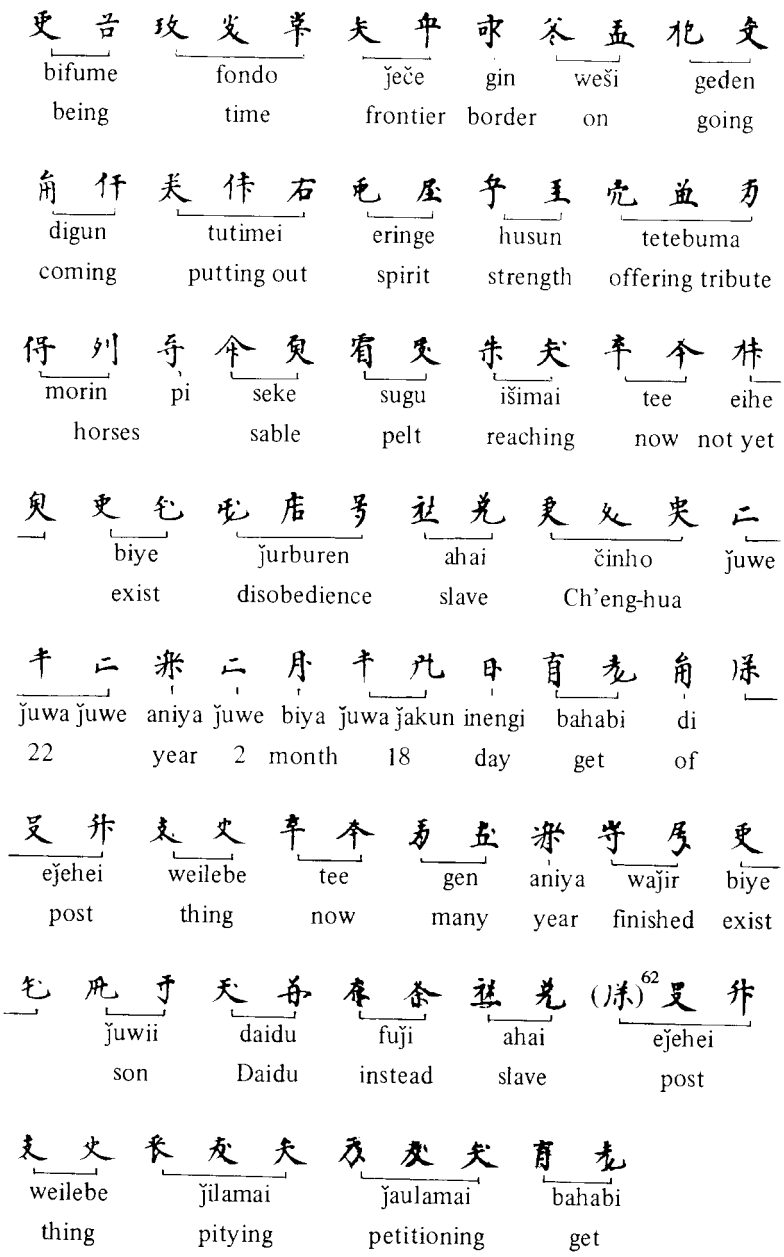
## Memorial XVIII

海西兀者衛都指揮僉事剌卜
苔謹
奏比先奴婢祖父在時邊境上往
來出氣力進貢馬匹貂鼠皮至
今不曾有違奴婢成化二十二
年二月十八日得的職事今多
年了有男歹都替奴婢職事可
憐見奏得
聖皇帝知道

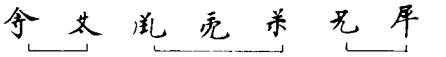
haisi uǰe wei du ǰihuwi češi labuda
Hai-hsi Uǰe guard assistant regional commissioner Labuda

ǰeǰimei
being awed

ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai mafa amintai
memorializing heretofore slave grandfather father




62 This character is supplied here from the TB. text, Memorial XII. In the BSt. text, the irst seven strokes of the Chinese character 職 , which is the Chinese translation of this word *ǰehe* 'position' and is given in the Chinese version, are erroneously written here instead: 耳'.



| ačiburu | haganni | sahi |
|---|---|---|
| divine | emperor | may know |

Translation:

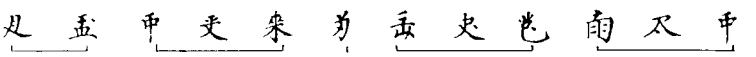
I. Labuda, Assistant Regional Military Commissioner of the Uǰe Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, my grandfather, when he was alive, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never yet failed, I obtained on the 18th day of the 2nd month in the 22nd year of the Ch'eng-hua period.[63]

Many years have now elapsed and I have a son, Daidu. Take pity on me by letting him assume my position.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XIX

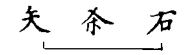
海西哈兒分衛指揮使亦籠哈
謹
奏比先奴婢祖父在時邊境上往
來出氣力進貢馬匹貂鼠皮至
今不曾有違奴婢成化年間得
的職事可憐兒奴婢討陞[64]都指
揮僉事奏得
聖皇帝知道



| haisi | harfen | wei | jihuwi ši | irunha |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hai-hsi | Harfen | guard | commander | Irunha |

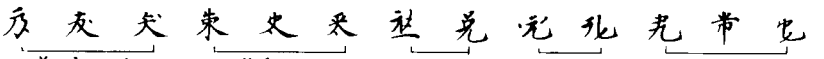
63 1486 A.D.

64 This character is missing in Memorial XIII of the TB. text.



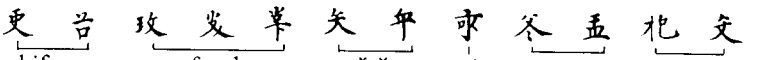
ǰejimei

being awed



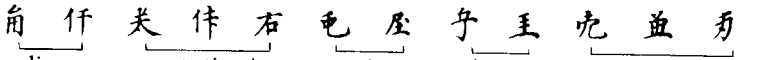
ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai mafa amintai

memorializing heretofore slave grandfather father



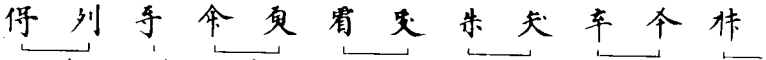
bifume fondo ǰeče gin weši geden

being time frontier border on going



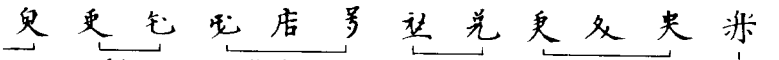
digun tutimei eringe husun tetebuma

coming putting out spirit strength offering tribute



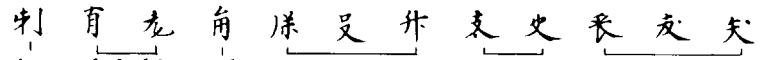
morin pi seke sugu išimai tee eihe

horses sable skin reaching now not yet



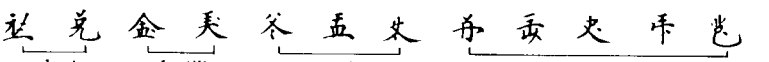
biye ǰurburen ahai činho aniya

exist disobedience slave Ch'eng-hua year



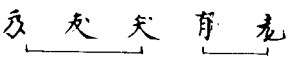
giyen bahabi di eǰehei weilebe ǰilamai

during get of post thing pitying



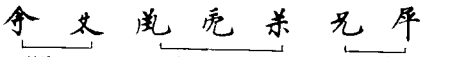
ahai baišin wešiburu du ǰihuwi češi

slave request may lift assistant regional commissioner



ǰaulamai bahabi

petitioning get



| ačiburu | haganni | sahi |
|---|---|---|
| divine | emperor | may know |

Translation:

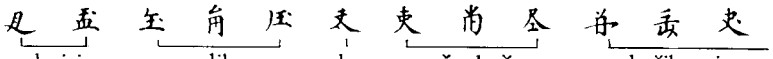
I. Irunha, Guard Commander of the Harfen Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my grandfather, when he was alive, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable plets, at which we have never yet failed, I obtained during the Ch'eng-hua period.[65]

Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XX

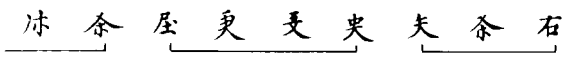
海西兀的罕河千戶所都指揮
同知額赤卜花謹
奏比先奴婢祖父在時邊境上往
來出氣力進貢馬匹貂鼠皮至
今不曾有違奴婢景泰六年十
二月二十五日得的職事奴婢
年老了有男忒木魯替奴婢職
事可憐見[66]奏得
聖皇帝知道



| haisi | udihan | ho | čenhušu | du jihuwi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hai-hsi | Udihan | river | battalion | chief regional |

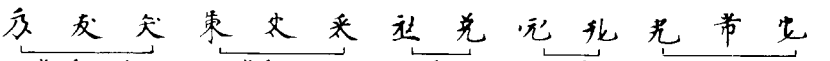
65 1465–1488 A.D.

66 These three characters 可 憐 見 are missing in Memorial XIV of the TB. text.



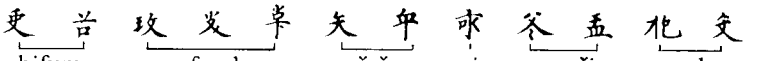
tunǰi gečibuho ǰeǰimei

commissioner Gečibuho being awed



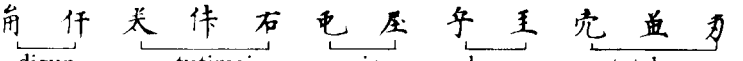
ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai mafa amintai

memorializing heretofore slave grandfather father



bifume fondo ǰeče gin weši geden

being time frontier border on going



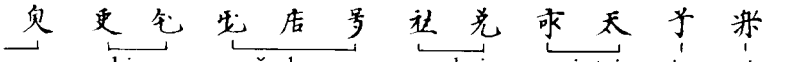
digun tutimei eringe husun tetebuma

coming putting out spirit strength offering tribute



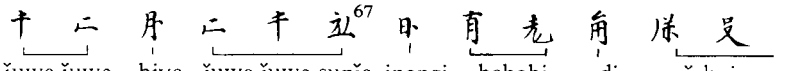
morin pi seke sugu išimai tee eihe

horses sable skin reaching now not yet



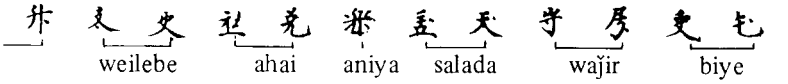
biye ǰurburen ahai gintai ningu aniya

exist disobedience slave Ching-t'ai 6 year



ǰuwa ǰuwe biya ǰuwa ǰuwe sunǰa[67] inengi bahabi di eǰehei

12 month 25 day get of post

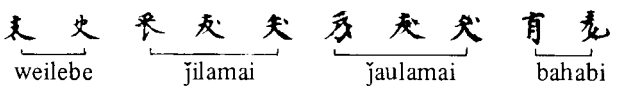


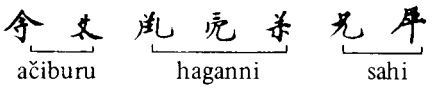
weilebe ahai aniya salada waǰir biye

thing slave year aged finished exist

[67] Should be 二 廿 *orin šunǰa*, meaning 'twenty-five.'




Translation:

I, Gečibuho, Chief Regional Military Commissioner of the Udihan River Battalion of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my grandfather, when he was alive, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never yet failed, I obtained on the 25th day of the 12th month in the 6th year of the Ching-t'ai period.[69]

I have aged and have a son, Temulu. Take pity on me by letting him assume my position.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## 2. The Tōyō Bunko Text

Memorial II

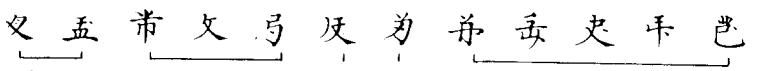
海西塔木魯等衛都指揮僉事
竹孔革等一百一十六名謹
奏奴婢們今來叩頭進貢馬匹貂
鼠皮至今多年了比先賞賜表
裏[sic]段疋多得近年[sic]段疋減少怎

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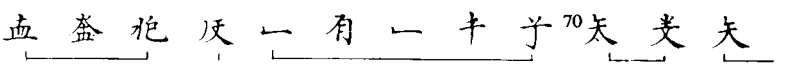
[68] In Memorial XIV of the TB. text, a character, which is slightly different in shape and is probably the correct form, is written:  .

[69] 1486 A.D.

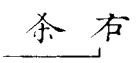
生可憐見賞賜銀兩奴婢們買
賣使益這等[sic]呵奴婢們都喜歡
捨身出氣力每年進貢不敢有
違奏得
聖皇帝知道



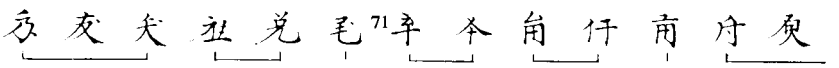
haisi tamulu adi wei du jihuwi češi
Hai-hsi Tamulu etc. guard assistant regional commander



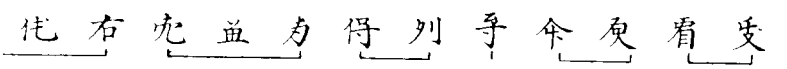
jugunge adi emu tangu emu juwa ningu gebu
Jugunge etc. one hundred and sixteen name



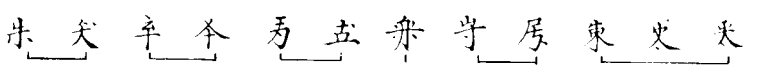
jejimei
being awed



jaulamai ahai miyen tee digun uju kankelemei
memorializing slave et al. now coming head kowtowing



tetebuma morin pi seke sugu
offering tribute horses sable skin

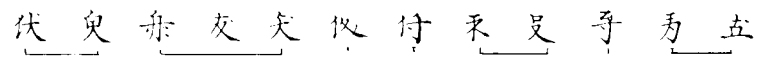


išimai tee gen aniya wajir jule ese
reaching now many year finished heretofore

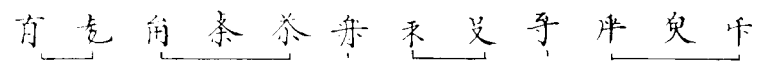
---

[70] Should be 有 三 *tangu nilhun*, meaning 'one hundred and sixteen.'

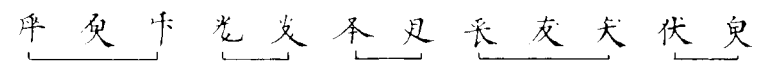
[71] Just a phonetic equivalent to the Chinese plural suffix *mən* (們). The plural form of Ma. *aha* 'slave' is *ahasi*.



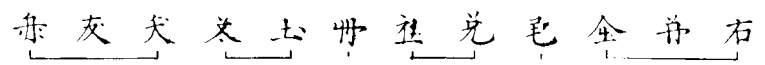
merhe čilamai tuko doko suǰe pi gen
reward bestowing surface lining damask roll many



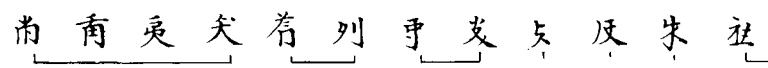
bahabi digasa aniya suǰe pi ekehun
get near year damask roll decrease



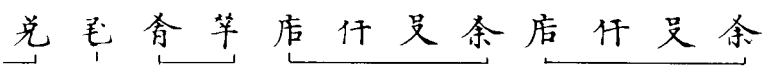
ekehun wanon bandihai ǰilamai merhe
few how living pitying reward



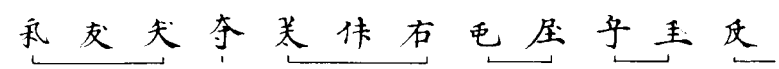
čilamai mengun yan ahai miyen aiwandumei
bestowing silver tael slave et al. buying



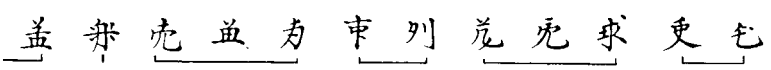
hudašamai sain on ese adi gisa
selling good profit these etc. may



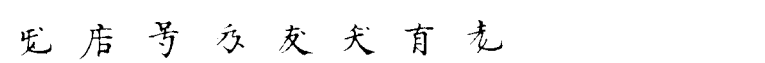
ahai miyen gemur urgunǰere urgunǰere
slave et al. all will rejoice will be glad



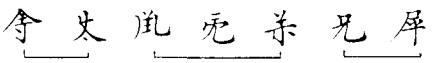
šalamai biye tutimei eringe husun nugur
abandoning body putting out spirit strength every



aniya tetebuma ešin hangandan biye
year offering tribute not daringly exist



ǰurburen ǰaulamai bahabi
disobedience petitioning get



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ačiburu | haganni | sahi |
| divine | emperor | may know |

Translation:

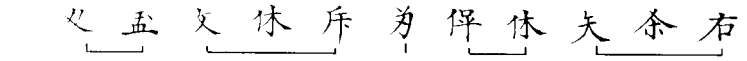
One hundred and sixteen of us, J̌ugunge, Assistant Regional Military Commander, and others of the Tamulu and other Guards of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

We now come and, while kowtowing, offer tribute of horses and sable pelts as we have done for many years up to now. Therefore, we were awarded many double-faced damasks. Recently we have run short of damasks. Pray take pity on us and award us money for our convenience in buying them. This will gladden all of us and make us rejoice, and we will make efforts at the risk of our lives and will offer tribute every year, never daring to fail.

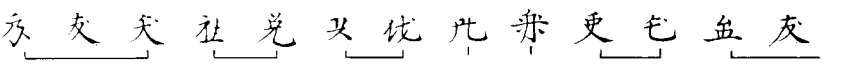
Would tha the Divine Emperor but acknowledge our petition.

## Memorial V

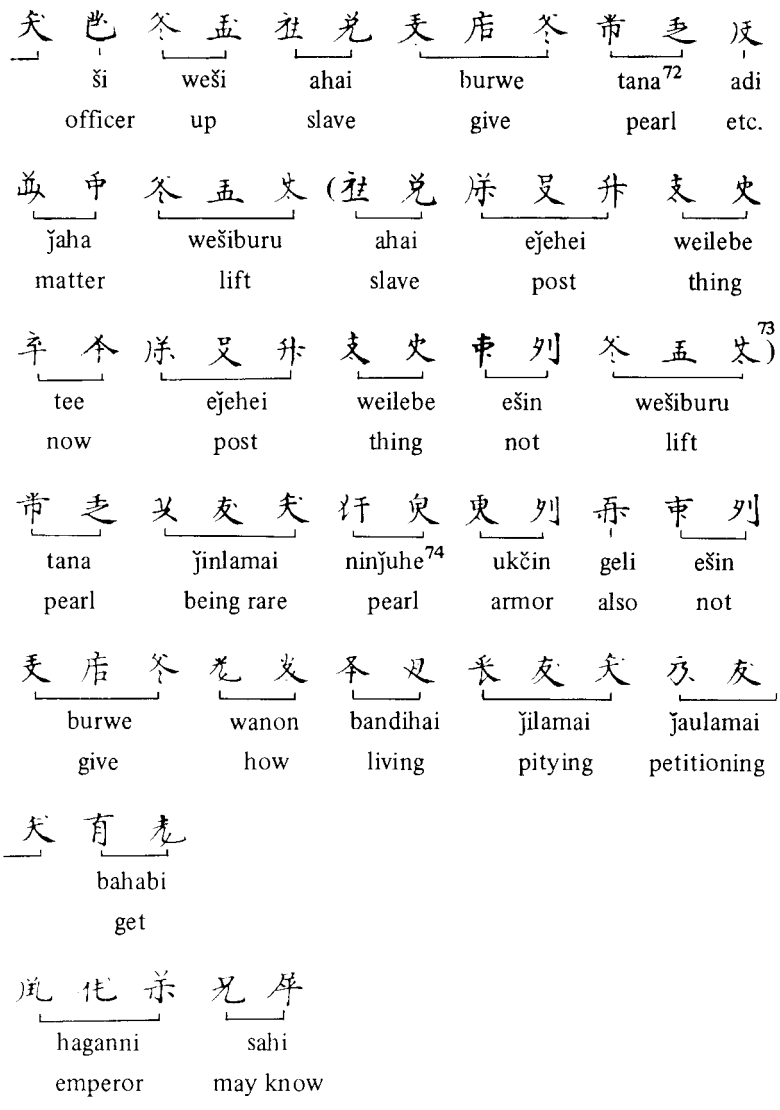
海西木里吉衛教里謹
奏奴婢正德八年有朝士上奴婢
與塔納等件陞奴婢職事今職
事不陞塔納珎珠甲又不與怎
生可憐見奏得
聖皇帝知道



| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| haisi | muligi | wei | giyauli | ǰeǰimei |
| Hai-hsi | Muligi | guard | Giyauli | being awed |



| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ǰaulamai | ahai | ǰinde | ǰakun | aniya | biye | čaulamai |
| memorializing | slave | Cheng-te | 8 | year | exist | imperial |




[72] A species of pearl, which is spherical and precious, fished in Tung-hai (東海 East Sea): Ma. *tana* id.

[73] These nineteen Jurchen characters, missing in the text, are added here on the basis of the Chinese version.

[74] A species of pearl, which is not so precious as *tana* and is not always spherical: Ma. *ničuhe* id.

Translation:

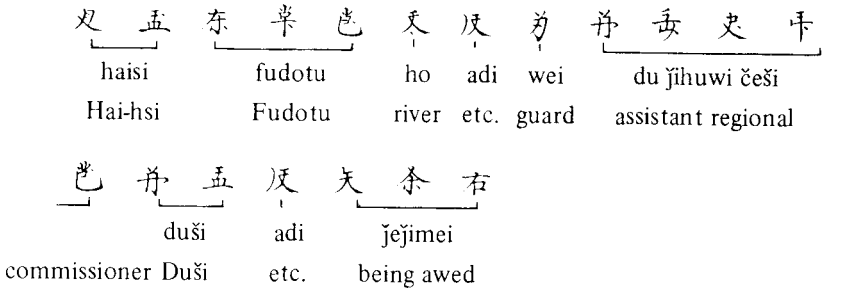
I, Giyauli, of the Muligi Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

I have previously presented court officials with such things as pearls and other objects in hopes of promotion in position in the 8th year of the Cheng-te period. Unless I am promoted now, I will not present pearls and rare pearl-armor any longer. Pray take pity on me.

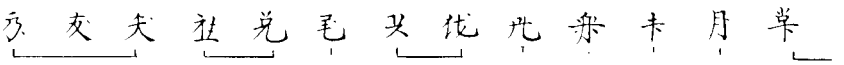
Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial IX

海西弗朶禿河等衛都指揮僉
事都失等謹
奏奴婢們正德八年四月內來進
貢時到石山嶺河邊車上失落
了奴婢六人的
勅勅[sic][75]今來進貢馬匹貂鼠皮可憐
見再給與新
勅書往來進貢不敢有違奏得
聖皇帝知道



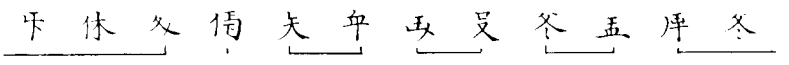

[75] This character is given in the text as a scribal error for 書.



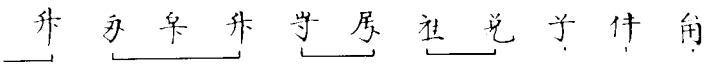
ǰaulamai ahai miyen ǰinde ǰakun aniya duwin biya dolo
memorializing slave et al. Cheng-te 8 year 4 month within



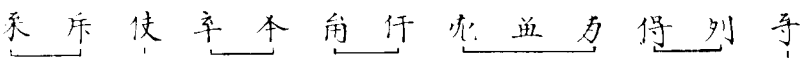
digun tetebuma fondo išimai
coming offering tribute time arriving



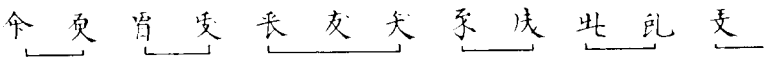
šišanlin bira ǰeče seǰe weši buruwehei
Shih-shan-ling river vicinity wagon on losing



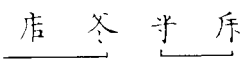
tuwehei waǰir ahai ningu niyarma di
dropping finished slave six person of



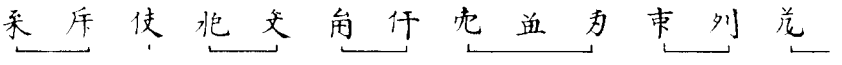
arawagi bitehe tee digun tetebuma morin pi
rescript document now coming offering tribute horses



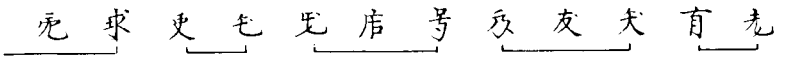
seke sugu ǰilamai basa alibuwi
sable skin pitying again present



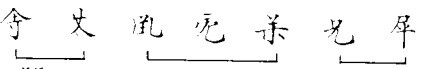
burwe ičegi
give new



arawagi bitehe geden digun tetebuma ešin
rescript document going coming offering tribute not



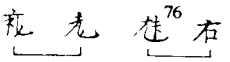
hangandan biye ǰurburen ǰaulamai bahabi
daringly exist disobedience petitioning get



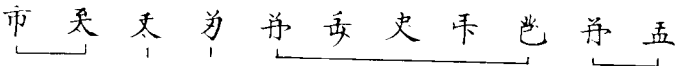
ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

計開

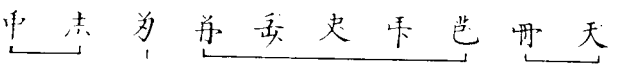
好屯河衛都指揮僉事都失
哈劄衛都指揮僉事羊台
哥吉河衛指揮同知能哥
木蘭河衛指揮使撒哈泥
玄城衛指揮僉事鎖力
哥吉河衛指揮僉禿都



sabibi neimei?[76]
plan opening



hautun ho wei du jihuwi češi duši
Hautun river guard assistant regional commissioner Duši



haǰa wei du jihuwi češi yandai
Haǰa guard assistant regional commissioner Yandai



gegi ho wei jihuwi tunǰi negege
Gegi river guard chief commander Negege

[76] This character 住 does not appear in the *Glossary*. Since this is a verbal stem with the verbal suffix *-mei* 右 and is supposed to mean 'to open,' according to the Chinese version, this could have been on the order of **nei*; cf. Ma. *nei-* 'to open.'




Translation:

We, Duši, Assistant Regional Military Commissioner, and others of the Fudotu River and other Guards of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

When we came to offer tribute in the 4th month of the 8th year of the Cheng-te period, we lost Imperial Rescripts, which six of us had each received, from the wagon, about the time when we arrived at the Shih-shan-ling River. We now come and offer tribute of horses and sable pelts. Take pity on us and grant us new Imperial Rescripts. We will then come forth to offer tribute and will never dare to fail.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge our petition.

List :

Duši, Assistant Regional Military Commissioner of the Hautun River Guard
Yandai, Assistant Regional Military Commissioner of the Haǰa Guard
Negege, Guard Chief Commander of the Gegi River Guard
Sahani, Guard Commander of the Mulan River Guard
Soli, Guard Assistant Commander of the Hiyen Fortress Guard
Tudu, Guard Assistant Commander of the Gegi River Guard

## Memorial XI

海西別兒眞站所鎭撫失普你
充哥洛總甲牙嬖加小甲別伏
加可你赤奴持哥你眞哥謹
奏奴婢每祖父在時每年進貢馬
匹貂鼠皮至今不曾有違奴婢
每永樂十二年九月十五日除
授職事的
勅書多年了奴婢今來各要換新
勅書可憐兒奏得
聖皇帝知道




[77] This character 东 **pu* does not appear in the *Glossary*.
[78] This character appears as 昇 in the *Glossary*.
[79] This character 寺 **kin* does not appear in the *Glossary*.



ǰejimei

being awed



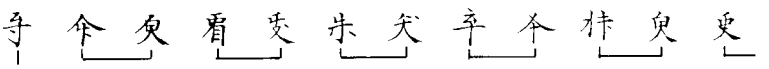
ǰaulamai ahai nugur mafa amintai

memorializing slave every grandfather father



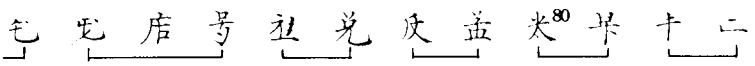
bifume fondo nugur aniya tetebuma morin

being time every year offering tribute horses



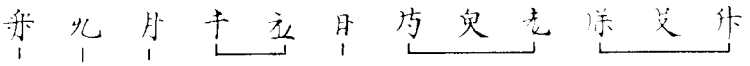
pi seke sugu išimai tee eihe biye

sable skin reaching now not yet exist



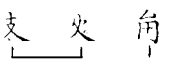
ǰurburen ahai nugur yunlo ǰuwa ǰuwe

disobedience slave every Yung-lo 12



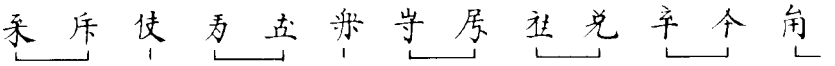
aniya uyun biya ǰuwa šunǰa inengi tuwehebi eǰehei

year 9 month 15 day is conferred post



weilebe di

thing of

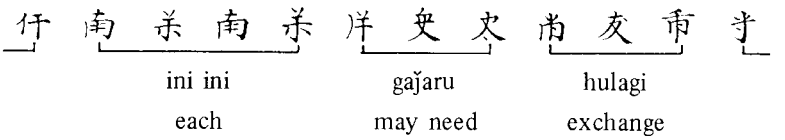


arawagi bitehe gen aniya waǰir ahai tee digun

rescript document many year finished slave now coming

---

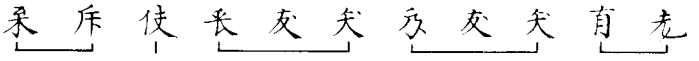
80 This character 夬 **yun* does not appear in the *Glossary*.



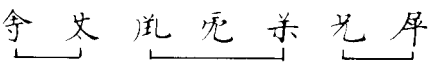
ini ini　　gaǰaru　　hulagi
each　　may need　　exchange



ičegi
new



arawagi　bitehe　　ǰilamai　　ǰaulamai　　bahabi
rescript document　pitying　　petitioning　　get



ačiburu　　haganni　　sahi
divine　　emperor　　may know

Translation :

We Šipuni and Čungelo, Guard Judges, Yakingiya, Head of Tithing, and Bifogiya, Keni, Činu, Tegeni and J̌inge, Assistant Heads of Tithing of Birǰin Station of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

When all of our grandfathers were alive, every year they offered tributes of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never yet failed. All of us received Imperial Rescripts regarding our positions on the 15th day of the 9th month in the 12th year of the Yung-lo period,[81] after which many years have since elapsed. We now come, for all of us need to change the Imperial Rescripts to new ones. Take pity on us.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge our petition.

## Memorial XV

海西察剌禿山衛指揮使的力
占謹
奏奴婢比先我祖父在時邊境上
往來出氣力至今進貢馬匹貂

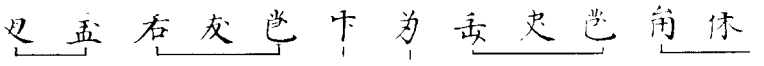
81 1414 A.D.

鼠皮一遭不曾違了奴婢天順

七年十一月初三日得的職事

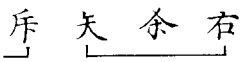
可憐見討陞都指揮僉事奏得

聖皇帝知道



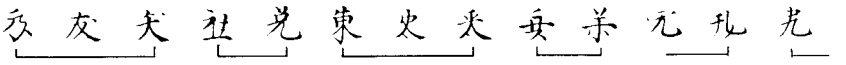
haisi čalatu šan wei jihuwi ši diligi

Hai-hsi Čalatu mountain guard commander Diligi



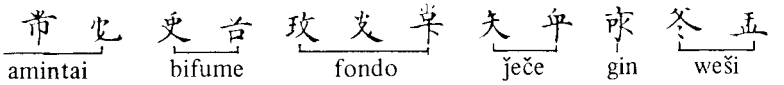
ješimei

being awed



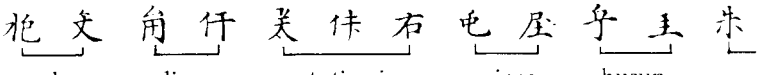
ǰaulamai ahai ǰule ese mini mafa

memorializing slave heretofore my grandfather



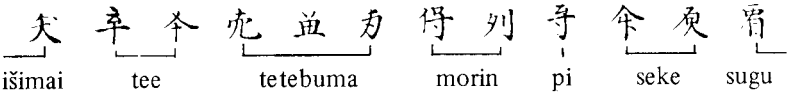
amintai bifume fondo ǰeče gin weši

father being time frontier border on



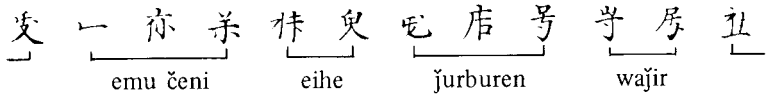
geden digun tutimei eringe husun

going coming putting out spirit strength



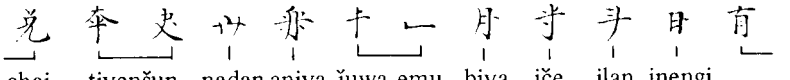
išimai tee tetebuma morin pi seke sugu

reaching now offering tribute horses sable skin



emu čeni eihe ǰurburen waǰir

once not yet disobedience finished



ahai tiyenšun nadan aniya ǰuwa emu biya iče ilan inengi

slave T'ien-shun 7 year 11 month beginning 3 day




Translation :

I, Diligi, Guard Commander of the Čalatu Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my grandfather, when he was alive, having therefore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never yet failed even once, I obtained on the 3rd day of the 11th month in the 7th year of the T'ien-shun period.

Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commander.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XVI

海西塔麻剌衛指揮史失郎哈

謹

奏奴婢比先我祖父在時邊境上

往來出氣力至今領本部百姓

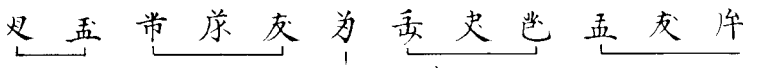
進貢馬匹貂鼠皮不曾違了奴

婢成化二十一年十二月二十

九日得的職事可憐見討陞都

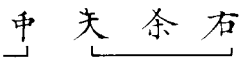
指揮僉事奏得

聖皇帝知道



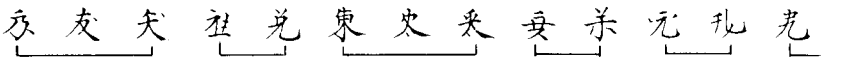
haisi tamala wei jihuwi ši šilanha

Hai-hsi Tamala guard conmmander Šilanha



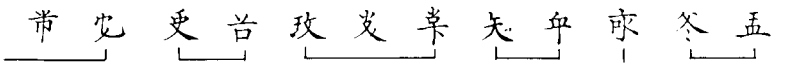
jeǰimei

being awed



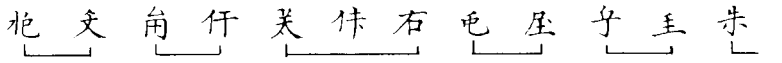
ǰaulamai ahai ǰule ese mini mafa

memorializing slave heretofore my grandther



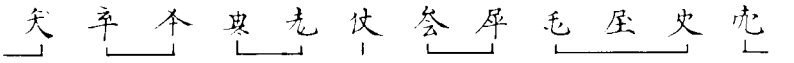
amintai bifume fondo ǰeče gin weši

father being time frontier border on



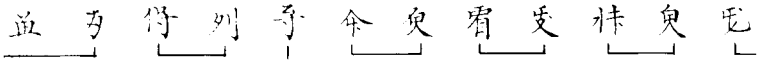
geden digun tutimei eringe husun

going coming putting out spirit strength



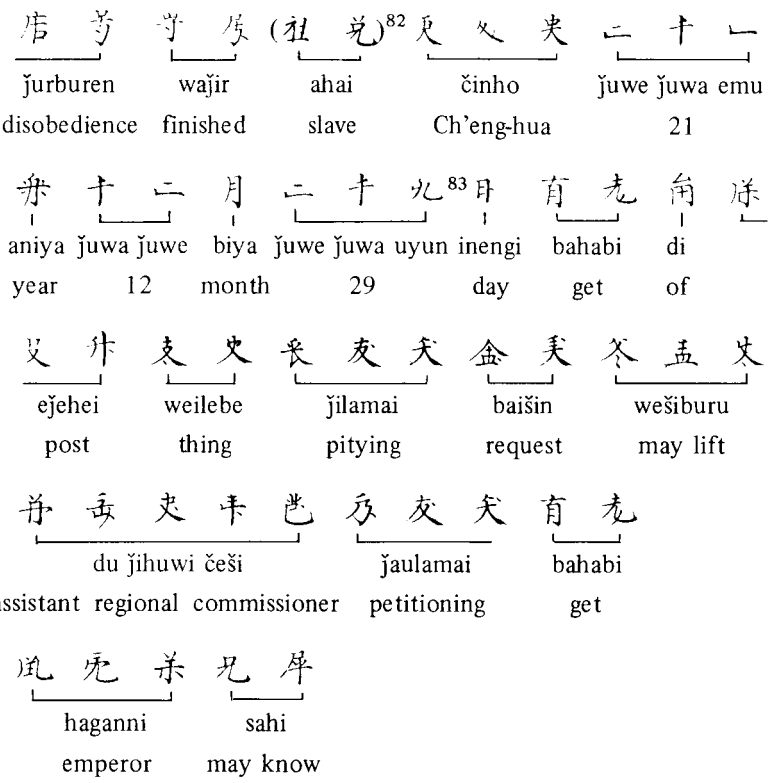
išimai tee dalubi bun fuǰihi irgebe

reaching now lead original inferior populace



tetebuma morin pi seke sugu eihe

offering tribute horses sable skin not yet




Translation :

I, Šilanha, Guard Commander of the Tamala Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my grandfather, when he was alive, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district leading subordinates of our land to offer tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never yet failed, I obtained on the 29th day of the 12th month in the 21st year of the Ch'eng-hua period.[84]

Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

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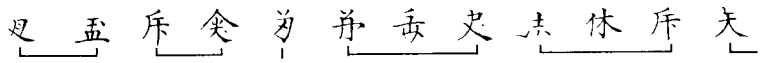
[82] These two Jurchen characters, missing in the text, are added here on the basis of the Chinese version.

[83] Should be 亓 丸 *orinuyun*, meaning 'twenty-nine.'

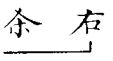
[84] 1487 A.D.

Memorial XVII

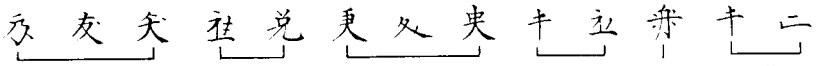
海西吉灘衛都指揮劉里吉謹
奏奴婢成化十五年十二月十九
日得的職事今年老了有男出
羊哈來襲奴婢得的職事奏得
聖皇帝知道



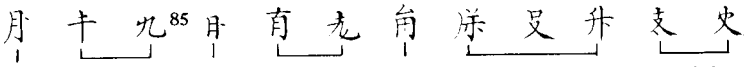
haisi gitan wei du jihuwi jaligi
Hai-hsi Gitan guard regional commissioner Jaligi



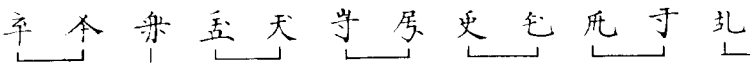
jejimei
being awed



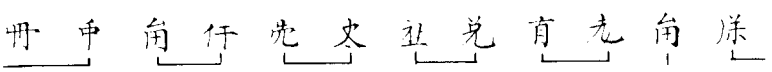
jaulamai ahai činho juwa šunja aniya juwa juwe
memorializing slave Ch'eng-hua 15 year 12



biya juwa uyun[85] inengi bahabi di ejehei weilebe
month 19 day get of post thing

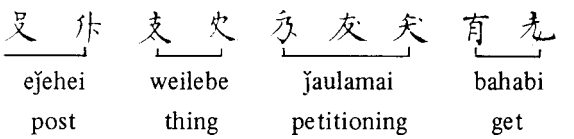


tee aniya salada wajir biye juwii
now year aged finished exist son

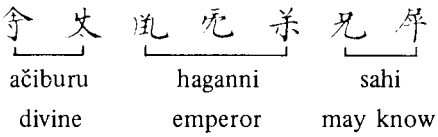


čuyanha digun širaru ahai bahabi di
Cuyanha coming may inherit slave get of

[85] Should be 九 *oniyohon*, meaning 'nine-teen.'



eǰehei weilebe ǰaulamai bahabi
post thing petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

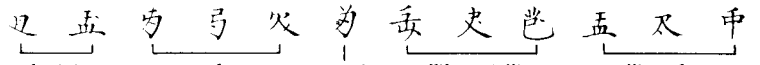
Translation :

I, J̌aligi, Regional Military Commissioner of the Gitan Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which I obtained on the 19th day of the 12th month in the 15th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.[86]

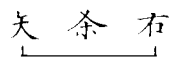
I have aged now and have a son, Čuyanha. Let him come and assume my position. Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial XVIII

海西脫倫衛指揮使失龍哈謹
奏奴婢比先我祖父在時
進貢馬匹貂鼠皮至今一遭不曾
違了奴婢成化十五年正月二
十日得的職事可憐見討陞都
指揮僉事奏得
聖皇帝知道

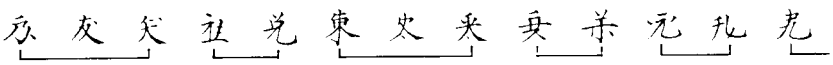


haisi tolun wei ǰihuwi ši širunha
Hai-hsi Tolun guard commander Širunha



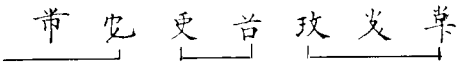
ǰeǰimei
being awed

86 1479 A.D.



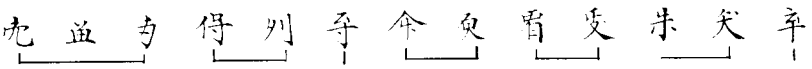
ǰaulamai ahai ǰule ese mini mafa

memorializing slave heretofore my grandfather



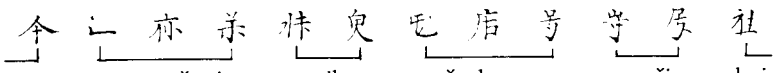
amintai bifume fondo

father being time



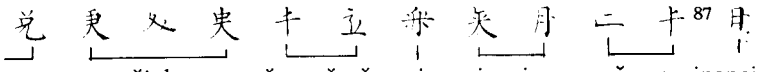
tetebuma morin pi seke sugu išimai tee

offering tribute horses sable skin reaching now



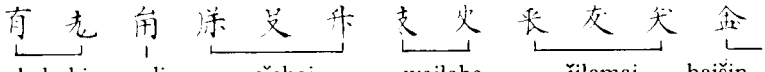
emu čeni eihe ǰurburen waǰir ahai

once not yet disobedience finished slave



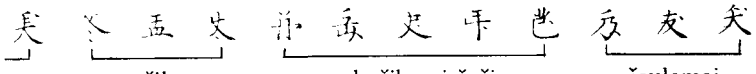
činho ǰuwa šunǰa aniya niyeniyen biya ǰuwa ǰuwe inengi

Ch'eng-hua 15 year 1st month 20 day



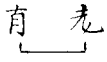
bahabi di eǰehei weilebe ǰilamai baišin

get of post thing pitying request



wešiburu du ǰihuwi češi ǰaulamai

may lift assistant regional commissioner petitioning

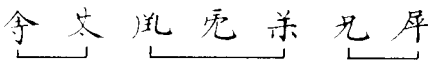


bahabi

get

---

87 Should be  *orin*, meaning 'twenty.'



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation :

I, Širunha, Guard commander of the Tolun Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my grandfather, when he was alive, having theretofore offered tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never failed even once, I obtained on the 20th day of the 1st month in the 15th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.

Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XIX

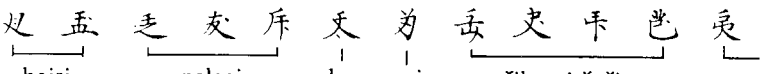
海西納剌吉河衛指揮僉事沙

龍哈男赤奴謹

奏奴婢正統十年二月初三日得

的職事討陞指揮同知奏得

聖皇帝知道



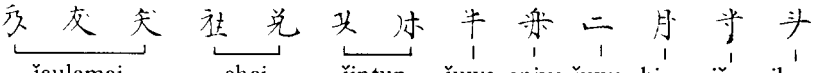
haisi nalagi ho wei jihuwi češi

Hai-hsi Nalagi river guard assistant commander



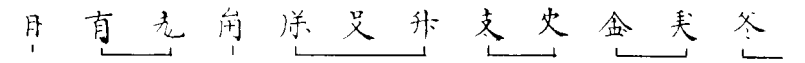
šarunha juwii činu jejimei

Šarunha son Činu being awed

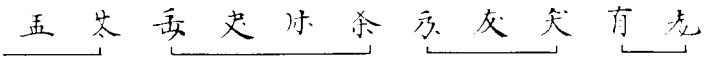


jaulamai ahai jintun juwa aniya juwe biya ice ilan

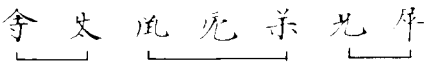
memorializing slave Chen-tung 2 year 2 month bigin- ning 3



inengi bahabi di ejehei weilebe baišin
day get of post thing request



wešiburu jihuwi tunji jaulamai bahabi
may lift chief commander petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation :

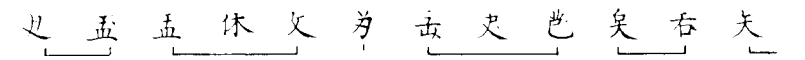
I, Činu, a son of Šarunha, Guard Assistant Commander of the Nalagi River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which I obtained on the 3rd day of the 2nd month in the 10th year of the Chen-t'ung period.[88]

I request that you promote me to Guard Chief Commander.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

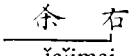
## Memorial XX

海西失里木衛指揮使凡察謹
奏奴婢祖父在時老實出氣力有
功成化十三年二月十二日得
的職事每年叩頭
進貢馬匹貂鼠皮多年了怎生可
憐見討陞都指揮僉事奏得
聖皇帝知道



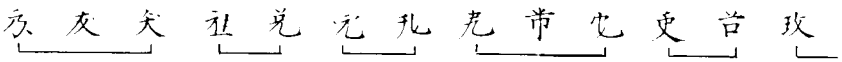
haisi šilimu wei jihuwi ši fanča
Hai-hsi Šilimu guard commander Fanča

[88] 1445 A.D.



ǰejimei

being awed



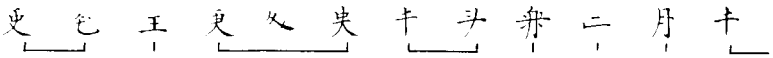
ǰaulamai ahai mafa amintai bifume

memorializing slave grandfather father being



fondo salada yala tutimei eringe husun

time venerable truly putting out spirit strength



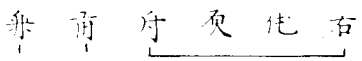
biye gun činho ǰuwa ilan aniya ǰuwe biya ǰuwa

exist merit Ch'eng-hua 13 year 2 month



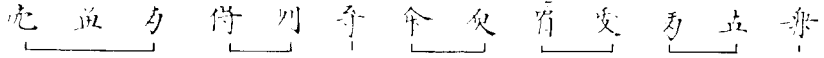
ǰuwe inengi bahabi di eǰehei weilebe nugur

12 day get of post thing every



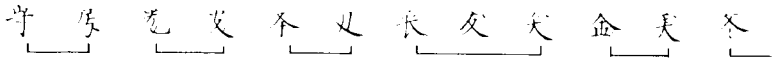
aniya uǰu kankelemei

year head kowtowing



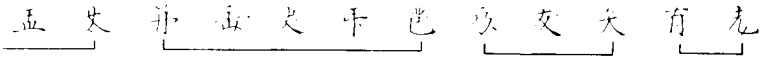
tetebuma morin pi seke sugu gen aniya

offering tribute horses sable skin many year



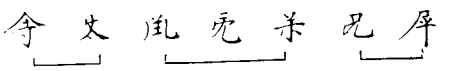
waǰir wanon bandihai ǰilamai baišin

finished how living pitying request



weširuburu du ǰihuwi češi ǰaulamai bahabi

may lift assistant regional commissioner petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation :

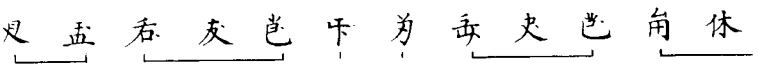
I, Fanča, Guard Commander of the Šilimu Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, having sincerely made efforts and rendered merits, when he was alive, obtained on the 12th day of the 2nd month in the 13th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.[89] Many years have elapsed during which yearly we have, kowtowing, offered tribute of horses and sable pelts.

Pray take pity on me. I request that you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

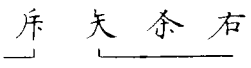
Memorial XXI

海西察剌禿山衛指揮使的力
吉謹
奏奴婢祖父在時出氣力有功天
順七年十一月初三日得了前
職每年老實叩頭進貢馬匹貂
鼠皮多年了怎生可憐見討陞
都指揮僉事奏得
聖皇帝知道



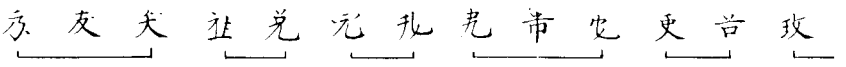
haisi čalatu šan wei jihuwi ši diligi
Hai-hsi Čalatu mountain guard commander Diligi

89 1477 A.D.



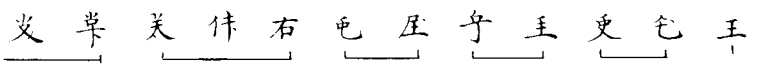
ǰeǰimei

being awed



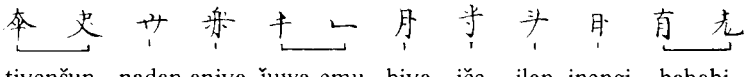
ǰaulamai ahai mafa amintai bifume

memorializing slave grandfather father being



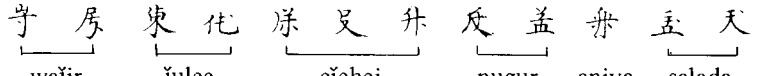
fondo tutimei eringe husun biye gun

time putting out spirit strength exist merit



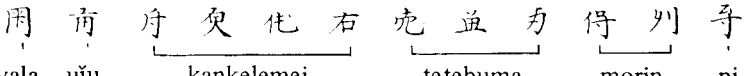
tiyenšun nadan aniya ǰuwa emu biya iče ilan inengi bahabi

T'ien-shun 7 year 11 month biginning 3 day get



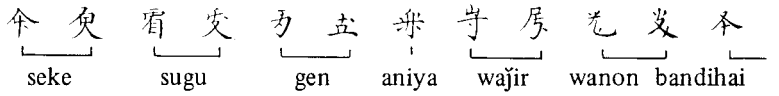
waǰir ǰulee eǰehei nugur aniya salada

finished before post every year venerable



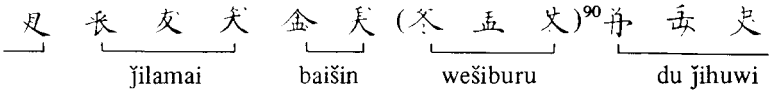
yala uǰu kankelemei tetebuma morin pi

truly head kowtowing offering tribute horses



seke sugu gen aniya waǰir wanon bandihai

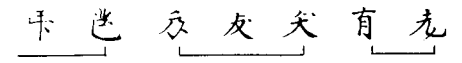
sable pelt many year finished how living



ǰilamai baišin wešiburu du ǰihuwi

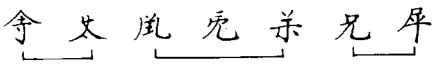
pitying request may lift assistant regional

90 These three Jurchen characters, missing in the text, are added here on the basis of the Chinese version.



češi ǰaulamai bahabi

commissioner petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation :

I, Diligi, Guard Commander of the Čalatu Mountain Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

When my grandfather was alive, he made efforts and rendered merits, and obtained the former position on the 3rd day of the 11th month in the 7th year of the T'ien-shun period. Many years have elapsed during which we have sincerely kowtowed and offered tribute of horses and sable pelts every year.

Pray take pity on me. I request htat you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XXII

海西渚冬河衛指揮使松吉荅

謹

奏奴婢祖父在時出氣力有功成

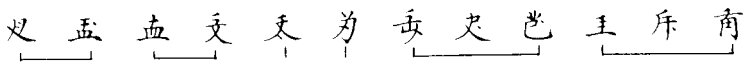
化十五年三月內得的職事每

年老實出氣力叩頭

進貢馬匹貂鼠皮多年了怎生可

憐見討陞都指揮管事奏得

聖皇帝知道



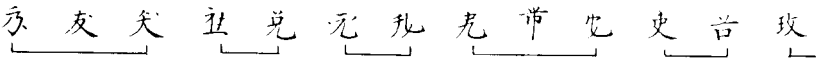
haisi ǰudun ho wei ǰihuwi ši sungida

Hai-hsi J̌udun river guard commander Sungida



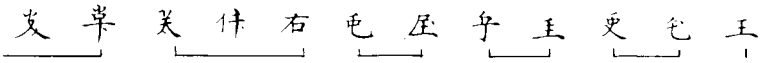
ǰejimei

being awed



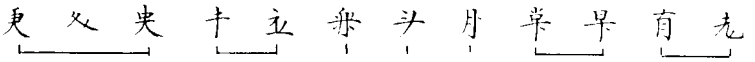
ǰaulamai ahai mafa amintai bifume

memorializing slave grandfather father being



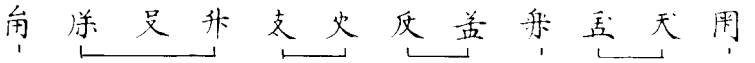
fondo tutimei eringe husun biye gun

time putting out spirit strength exist merit



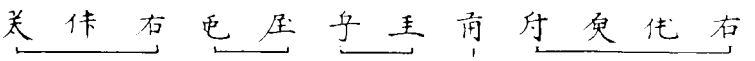
činho ǰuwa šunǰa aniya ilan biya dolo bahabi

Ch'eng-hua 15 year 3 month within get



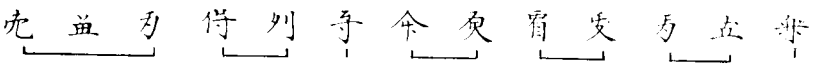
di eǰehei weilebe nugur aniya salada yala

of post thing every year venerable truly



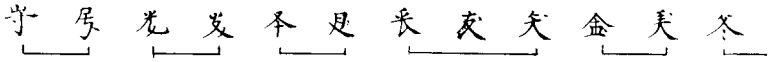
tutimei eringe husun uǰu kankelemei

putting out spirit strength head kowtowing



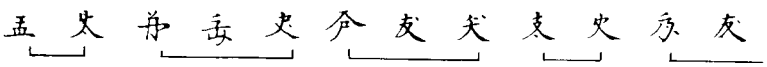
tetebuma morin pi seke sugu gen aniya

offering tribute horses sable skin many year



waǰir wanon bandihai ǰilamai baišin

finished how living pitying request



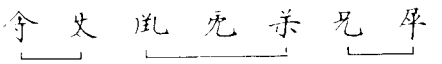
wešiburu du ǰihuwi kadalamai weilebe ǰaulamai

may lift regional commissioner governing thing petitioning



bahabi

get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation :

I, Sungida, Guard Commander of the Judun River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, having made efforts and rendered merits when he was alive, obtained in the 3rd month of the 15th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.

I have sincerely made efforts in offering yearly tribute of horses and sable pelts, while kowtowing, for many years. Pray take pity on me. I request that you promote me so that I may govern as a Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

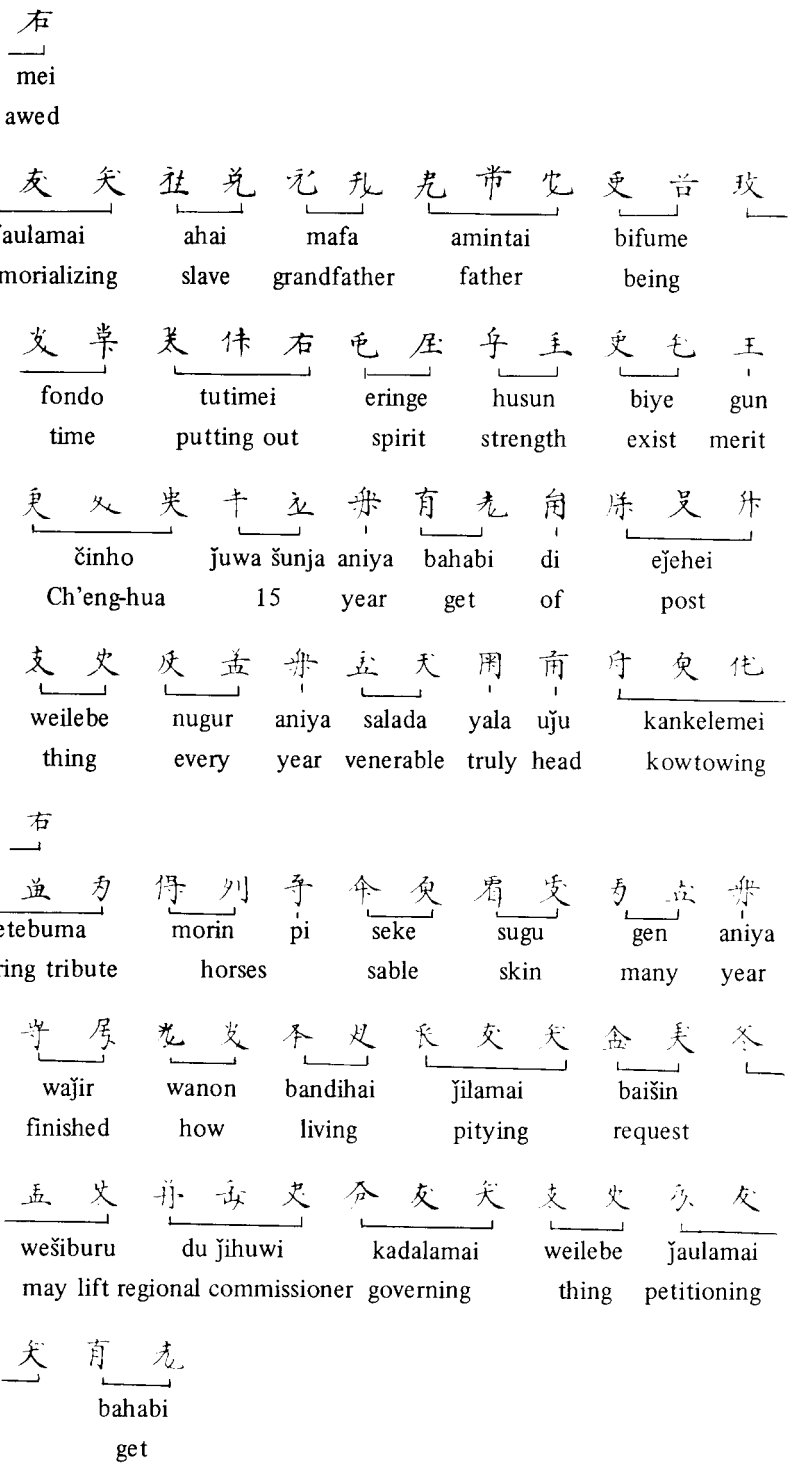
Memorial XXIII

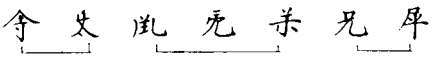
海西愛河衛指揮使罕失謹
奏奴婢祖父在時出氣力有功成
化十五年得的職事每年老實
叩頭
進貢馬匹貂鼠皮多年了怎生可
憐見討陞都指揮管事奏得
聖皇帝知道



haisi aiho wei jihuwi ši hanši jeji-

Hai-hsi Aiho guard commander Hanši being


mei
awed
ǰaulamai ahai mafa amintai bifume
memorializing slave grandfather father being
fondo tutimei eringe husun biye gun
time putting out spirit strength exist merit
činho ǰuwa šunja aniya bahabi di eǰehei
Ch'eng-hua 15 year get of post
weilebe nugur aniya salada yala uǰu kankelemei
thing every year venerable truly head kowtowing
tetebuma morin pi seke sugu gen aniya
offering tribute horses sable skin many year
waǰir wanon bandihai ǰilamai baišin
finished how living pitying request
wešiburu du ǰihuwi kadalamai weilebe ǰaulamai
may lift regional commissioner governing thing petitioning
bahabi
get



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ačiburu | haganni | sahi |
| divine | emperor | may know |

Translation :

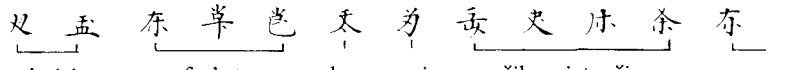
I, Hanši, Guard Commander of the Aiho Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, having made efforts and rendered merits when he was alive, obtained in the 15th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.

I have faithfully offered yearly tribute of horses and sable pelts, while kowtowing, for many years. Pray take pity on me. I request that you promote me so that I may govern as a Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Memorial XXIV

海西弗朶禿河衛指揮同知阿
隴哥男因只納謹
奏奴婢祖父天順六年三月初八
日得的職事至今多年了可憐
見奴婢替父前職奏得
聖皇帝知道

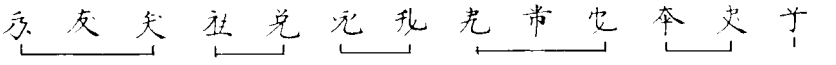


| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| haisi | fudotu | ho | wei | ǰihuwi tunǰi |
| Hai-hsi | Fudotu | river | guard | chief commander |

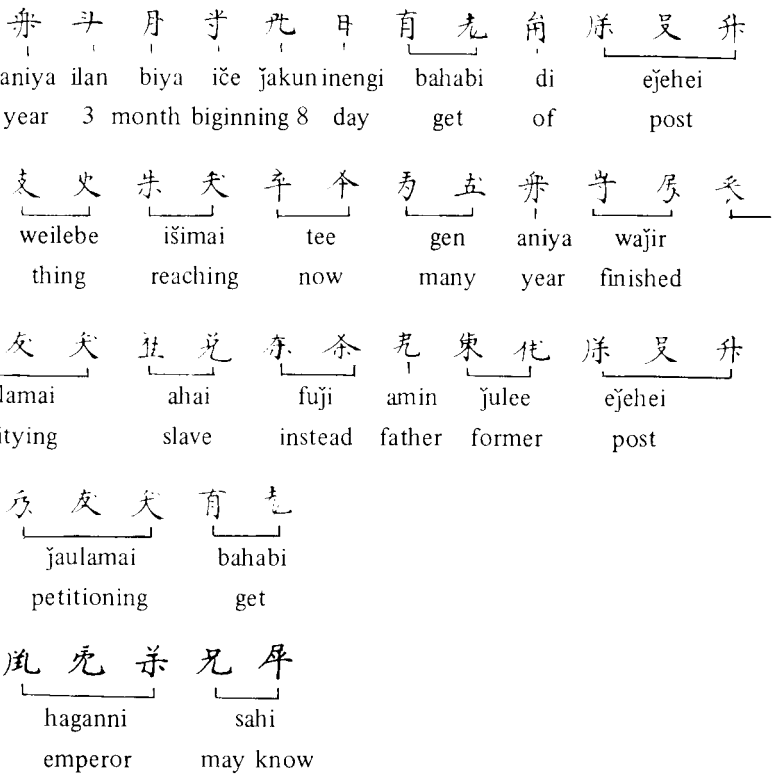
[sic]



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| alunge | ǰuwii | inǰina | ǰeǰimei |
| Alunge | son | Inǰina | being awed |



| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ǰaulamai | ahai | mafa | amintai | tiyenšun | ningu |
| memorializing | slave | grandfather | father | T'ien-shun | 6 |




Translation:

I, Inǰiha, a son of Alunge, Guard Chief Commander of the Fudotu River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather obtained on the 8th day of the 3rd month in the 6th year of the T'ien-shun period.[91]

Many years have since elapsed. Take pity on me by letting me assume my father's former position.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial XXV

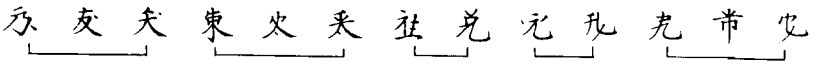
黑龍江地面女直指揮使只魯
古速男禿申哥謹
奏比先奴婢祖父在時邊境地面

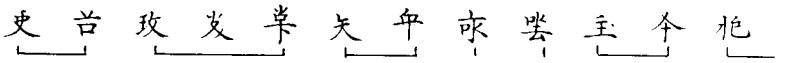
91 1462 A.D.

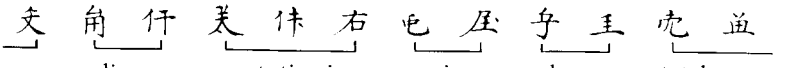
往來出氣力進貢馬匹貂鼠皮
至今不曾有違成化八年正月
〔二〕[92]十七日得的職事今多年了
可憐見奴婢討陞都指揮職事
奏得
聖皇帝知道

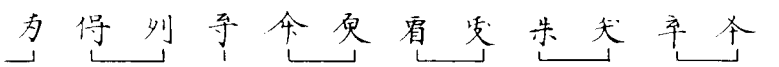

helun ura na tee ǰušen ǰilhuwi ši
Amur river land face Jurchen commander


ǰilugusu ǰuwii tušinge ǰeǰimei
J̌ilugusu son Tušinge being awed


ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai mafa amintai
memorializing heretofore slave grandfather father

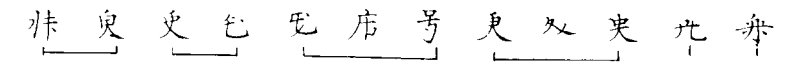

bifume fondo ǰeče gin na tee geden
being time frontier border land face going


digun tutimei eringe husun tetebuma
coming putting out spirit strength offering tribute


morin pi seke sugu išimai tee
horses sable skin reaching now

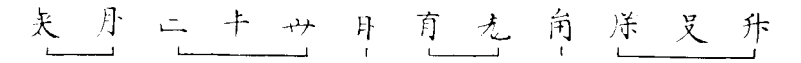
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[92] This character, missing in the text, is added here on the basis of the Jurchen version.
[93] This character appears as 𡨴 in the *Glossary*.



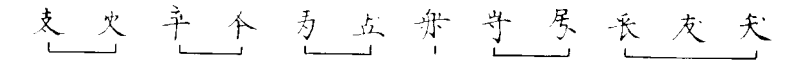
eihe biye ǰurburen činho ǰakun aniya

not yet exist disobedience Ch'eng-hua 8 year



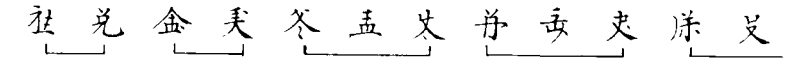
niyeniyen biya ǰuwe ǰuwa nadan inengi bahabi di eǰehei

1st month 27 day get of post



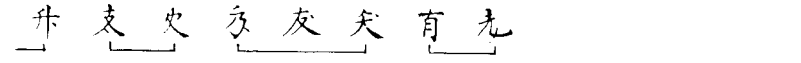
weilebe tee gen aniya waǰir ǰilamai

thing now many year finished pitying



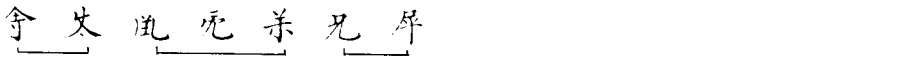
ahai baišin wešiburu du ǰihuwi eǰehei

slave request may lift regional commissioner post



weilebe ǰaulamai bahabi

thing petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation:

I, Tušinge, a son of J̌ilugusu, Jurchen Guard Commander of the Amur River Territory, respectfully memorialize conceming the position which my grandfather, having made efforts in coming forth from the territory in the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable plets, at which we have never yet failed, obtained on the 27th day of the 1st month in the 8th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.[94]

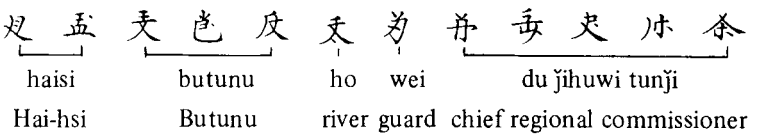
Many years have since elapsed. Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to a position of Regional Military Commissioner.

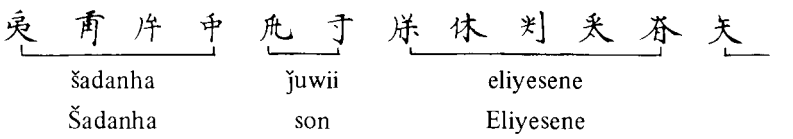
Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

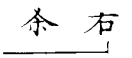
[94] 1742 A.D.

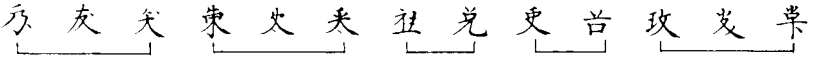
Memorial XXVI

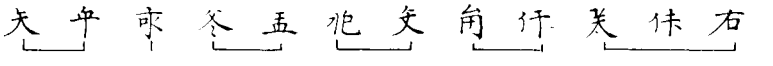
海西卜禿奴河衛都指揮同知
沙當哈男厄列塞捏謹
奏比先奴婢在時邊境上往來出
氣力進貢馬匹貂鼠皮至今多
年了成化十五年正月二十日
得的職事可憐見奴婢討陞一
級職事奏得
聖皇帝知道

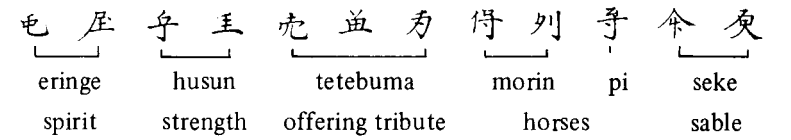

haisi butunu ho wei du jihuwi tunji
Hai-hsi Butunu river guard chief regional commissioner


šadanha ǰuwii eliyesene
Šadanha son Eliyesene


ǰeǰimei
being awed

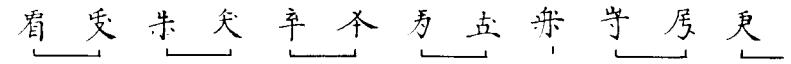

ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai bifume fondo
memorializing heretofore slave being time


ǰeče gin weši geden digun tutimei
frontier border on going coming putting out



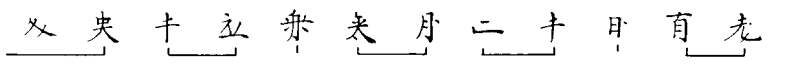
eringe husun tetebuma morin pi seke

spirit strength offering tribute horses sable



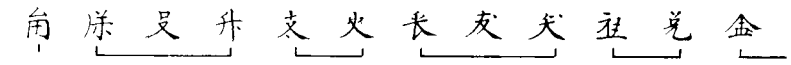
sugu išimai tee gen aniya wajir

skin reaching now many year finished



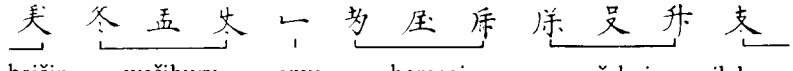
činho ǰuwa sunǰa aniya niyeniyen biya ǰuwe ǰuwa inengi bahabi

Ch'eng-hua 15 year 1st month 20 day get



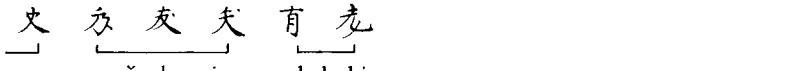
di eǰehei weilebe ǰilamai ahai

of post thing pitying slave



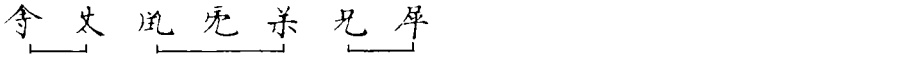
baišin wešiburu emu hergegi eǰehei weilebe

request may lift one class post thing



ǰaulamai bahabi

petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi

divine emperor may know

Translation:

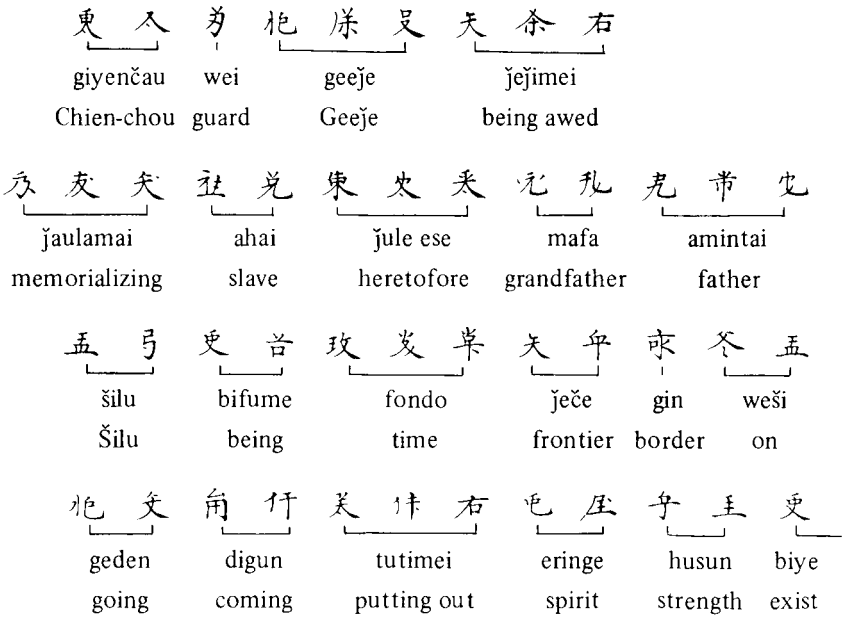
I, Eliyesene, a son of Šadanha, Chief Regional Military Commissioner of the Butunu River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable pelts for many years up to now, I obtained on the 20th day of the 1st month in the 15th year of the Ch'eng-hua period.

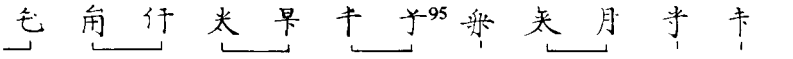
Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me one rank.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial XXVII

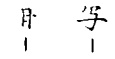
建州衛革厄者謹
奏奴婢比先祖父失魯在時邊境
上往來出氣力有來永樂十六
年正月初四日蒙
朝延可憐見與了職事有指揮千
戶百戶鎮撫等官二十六人得
來進貢行走今係男革厄者等
不得來行走進貢可憐見照依
祖父在時來行走添人進貢奏
得
聖皇帝知道





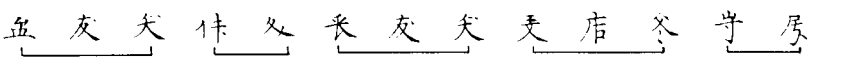
digun yunlo ǰuwa ningu aniya niyeniyen ičegi duwin biya

coming Yung-lo 16 year 1st month biginning 4



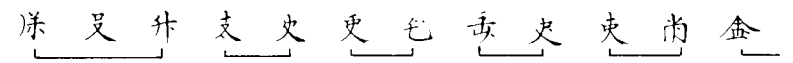
inengi men

day receipt



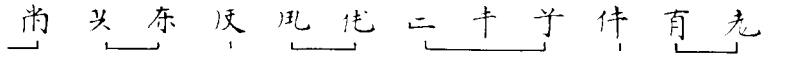
čaulamai tin ǰilamai burwe waǰir

imperial court pitying give finished



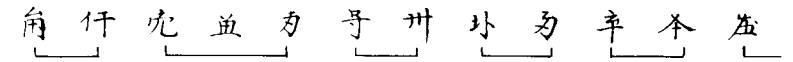
eǰehei weilebe biye ǰihuwi čenhu

post thing exist commander battalion



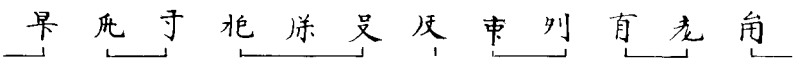
baihu ǰinfu adi beile ǰuwe ǰuwa ningu niyarma bahabi

platoon judge etc. official twenty-six person get



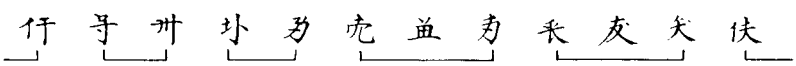
digun tetebuma fulisuwi yabun tee

coming offering tribute walk proceeding now



omolo ǰuwii geeǰe adi ešin bahabi digun

grandchild son Geeǰe etc. not get coming



fulisuwi yabun tetebuma ǰilamai

walk proceeding offering tribute pitying

---

[95] Should be 五 **nilhun*, meaning 'sixteen.'



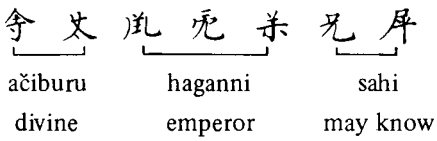
čučuwahai tai　mafa　amintai　bifume
according to　grandfather　father　being



fondo　digun　fulisuwi　yabun　nongila
time　coming　walk　proceeding　attached



niyarma　tetebuma　ǰaulamai　bahabi
person　offering tribute　petitioning　get



ačiburu　haganni　sahi
divine　emperor　may know

Translation:

I, Geeǰe of the Chien-chou Guard, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which, after my grandfather, Šilu, when he was alive, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district, the Court, taking pity on me, conferred upon me on the 4th day of the 1st month in the 16th year of the Yung-lo period.[96]

There are twenty-six officials such as Commanders of battalions and platoons, Guard Judges, and others who can come forth conscientiously to offer tribute, but I, Geeǰe, his grandson, and others cannot come and conscientiously offer tribute.

Take pity on me the same as when my grandfather was alive and came to serve together with other persons by offering tribute.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial XXVIII

海西撒剌兒衛都指揮僉事都

魯花謹

奏比先奴婢祖父在時邊境上往

96 1418 A.D.

來出氣力至今不曾有違多年

了叵憐見奴婢每一百四十人

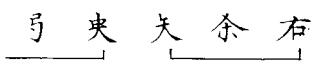
奏討賞賜便益奏得

聖皇帝知道



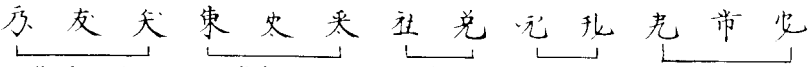
haisi salar wei du jihuwi češi

Hai-hsi Salar guard assistant regional commissioner



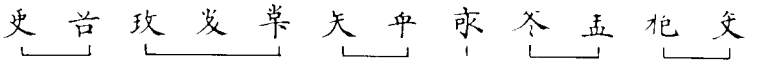
duluho jejimei

Duluho being awed



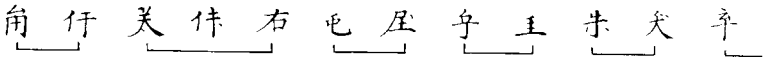
jaulamai jule ese ahai mafa amintai

memorializing heretofore slave grandfather father



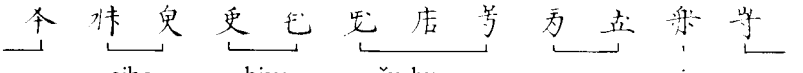
bifume fondo ječe gin weši geden

being time frontier border on going



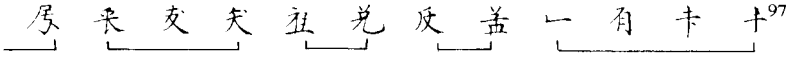
digun tutimei eringe husun išimai tee

coming putting out spirit strength reaching now



eihe biye jurburen gen aniya

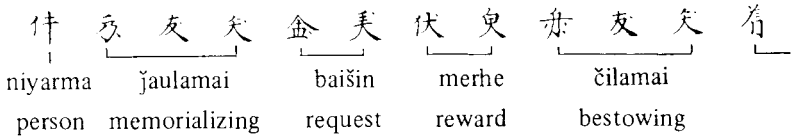
not yet exist disobedience many year



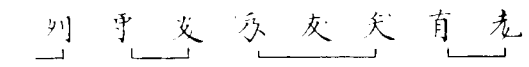
wajir jilamai ahai nugur emu tangu duwin juwa

finished pitying slave every one hundred and forty[97]

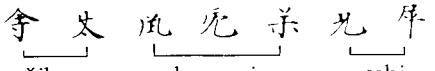
[97] Should be 有 不 **tangu tehi*, meaning 'one hundred and forty.'



niyarma ǰaulamai baišin merhe čilamai
person memorializing request reward bestowing



sain on ǰaulamai bahabi
good profit petitioning get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation:

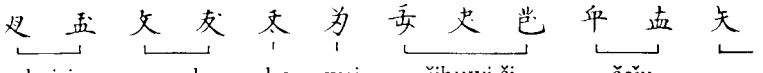
I, Duluho, Assistant Regional Military Commissioner of the Salar Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize.

When my grandfather was alive, he made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district. We have never yet failed to do so for many years. Take pity on us. I request that you graciously reward each of the one hundred and forty of us.

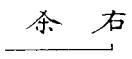
Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

## Memorial XXIX

海西木剌河衛指揮使車住謹
奏比先奴婢祖父在時邊境上往
來出氣力進貢馬匹貂鼠皮至
今不曾有違成化十年正月十
七日得的職事多年了可憐見
奴婢討陞都指揮僉事奏得
聖皇帝知道

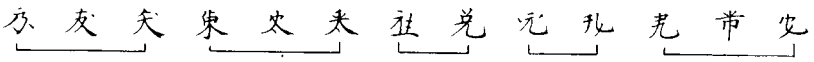


haisi mula ho wei ǰihuwi ši čeǰu
Hai-hsi Mula river guard commander Čeǰu



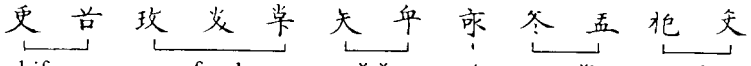
ǰejimei

being awed



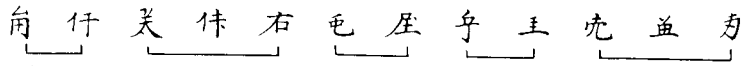
ǰaulamai ǰule ese ahai mafa amintai

memorializing heretofore slave grandfather father



bifume fondo ǰeče gin weši geden

being time frontier border on going



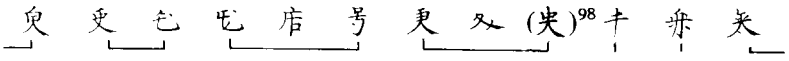
digun tutimei eringe husun tetebuma

coming putting out spirit strength offering tribute



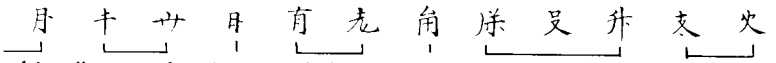
morin pi seke sugu išimai tee eihe

horses sable skin reaching now not yet



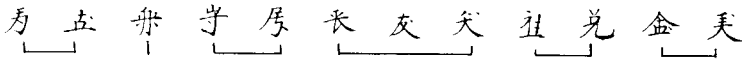
biye ǰurburen činho ǰuwa aniya niyeniyen

exist disobedience Ch'eng-hua 10 year



biya ǰuwa nadan inengi bahabi di eǰehei weilebe

1st month 17 day get of post thing

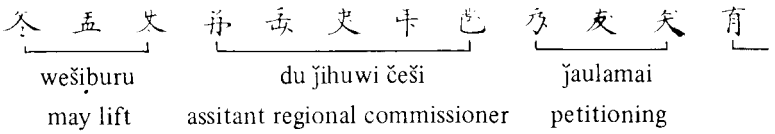


gen aniya waǰir ǰilamai ahai baišin

many year finished pitying slave request

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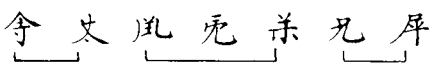
[98] This Jurchen character, missing in the text, is added here on the basis of the Chinese version.



wešiburu du jihuwi češi ǰaulamai
may lift assitant regional commissioner petitioning



bahabi
get



ačiburu haganni sahi
divine emperor may know

Translation:

I, Čeǰu, Guard Commander of the Mula River Guard of Hai-hsi, respectfully memorialize concerning the position which my grandfather, having theretofore made efforts in coming forth from the frontier district to offer tribute of horses and sable pelts, at which we have never yet failed, obtained on the 17th day of the 1st month in the 10th year of the Cheng-hua period.

Many years have elapsed since then. Wishing you would take pity on me, I request that you promote me to Assistant Regional Military Commissioner.

Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.[99]

[99] In this chapter duplicate annotative footnotes have been omitted.

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