

# The Founding Legend of the Qing Dynasty Reconsidered

MATSUMURA, Jun

In 1989, the First Historical Archives of China published a collection of documents, titled *Qingchu neiguoshiyuan Manwen dang'an yibian* 清初內國史院滿文檔案譯編 (Translated compilation of Manchu archives of the early Qing Inner Historical Office).<sup>1)</sup> The source of this collection is the Manchu-language archives of the pre-conquest (i.e., pre-1644) Inner Historical Office of the Qing court, materials now housed in the First Historical Archives in Beijing. According to the preface to the published collection,

The Manchu archives of the pre-conquest Inner Historical Office are one type of Manchu-language archives dating from before 1644 held in the collection of the First Historical Archives of China. These archives number forty-seven fascicles (*ce*): eighteen from the Tiancong reign period and twenty-nine from the Chongde reign. They are all written on fine unlined paper of varying size, and the thickness and dimension of each fascicle also vary. Orthography shows that the text was written during the transitional phase, with old and new forms of the Manchu script combined together on the page.

Both the Tiancong 天聰 (1627–1635) and Chongde 崇德 (1636–1643) reign periods occur in the reign of Qing Taizong 清太宗, Hong Taiji (1592–1643). Nothing is mentioned here of any Manchu archives dating from the reign of Qing Taizu 清太祖, Nurhaci (1559–1626). However, in the box into which *juan* number 001 of the “Manchu-language archives of the pre-conquest Inner Historical Office” has been sorted, two additional fascicles of Manchu-language documents are collected. On the cover of Fascicle 1 is written, “*aisin i kooli jai*.” This contains a Manchu translation of the *Jin shi* 金史 (“History of the Jin Dynasty”). On the cover of Fascicle 2 is written “*uju / nenehe [genggiyen] han i sain yabuha kooli uheri juwan nadan debtelin*” (“first [chapter], the good deeds of the former [brilliant] khan, complete in seventeen chapters”). The main text consists of thirty-eight folio pages. It is written on fine, unlined paper, 38.8 cm high by 34.5 cm wide. During the first nine years of the reign of Qing Taizong, that is, the Tiancong era, the preceding khan, Qing Taizu, was called *nenehe han*, “the former khan.” During the second part of the reign of Qing Taizong, that is, in the Chongde era, Qing Taizu was called *taidzu hwwangdi* (the Manchu transcription of the Chinese title, *taizu huangdi* 太祖皇帝, “emperor Taizu”). The words *nenehe han* on the cover thus indicate that the text

dates from the Tiancong era.

Now, in the *Jiu Manzhou dang* 舊滿洲檔 (“Old Manchu Archives”), on the eighth day of the eighth month of the ninth year of Tiancong (1635), we find the following entry:

*tere inenggi sure han. nenehe genggiyen han i yabuha kooli bithe be juwe howajan jang jiyan. jang ing küi de niru seme afabuha weile be nirume wajiha sain seme. jang jiyan de emu juru niyalma. emu ihan. jang ing küi de emu juru niyalma šangnaha.*

On that day, the artisans Zhang Jian 張儉 and Zhang Yingkui 張應魁 having completed the illustrations for the “Record of the deeds of the former khan,” the wise khan [Qing Taizong] praised their work and presented a pair of people and one ox to Zhang Jian, and one pair of people to Zhang Yingkui.<sup>2)</sup>

The *Jiu Manzhou dang* may be considered the draft of the *Taizong shilu* 太宗實錄 (“Veritable Records of the Taizong reign”). In the *Taizong shilu*, the above account is translated into Chinese and recorded as follows:

是日。畫匠張儉。張應魁恭畫太祖實錄圖成。上稱喜。賞張儉人一雙牛一隻。張應魁人一雙。

On that day, the artisans Zhang Jian and Zhang Yingkui finished illustrating the *Taizu shilu tu*. The emperor expressed his pleasure and gave Zhang Jian a pair of people and one head of cattle. To Zhang Yingkui he gave one pair of people.<sup>3)</sup>

In another article I have already explained in detail concerning the erroneous translation into Chinese of the phrase, “*nenehe genggiyen han i yabuha kooli bithe*” (“Record of the deeds of the former khan”) and the consequent misunderstanding leading to the identification of the original of the *Manzhou shilu* 滿洲實錄 (the “Manchu veritable records”)—that is, the *Taizu shilu* (“Veritable records of Taizu”)—with what was in fact a completely separate text, the *Taizu shilu tu* (“illustrated deeds of Taizu”).<sup>4)</sup> This error was made on the basis of the foregoing passage at the time when the *Taizu shilu* was re-illustrated in the Qianlong era (1736–1795) and published as the *Manzhou shilu*. As the original passage from the *Jiu Manzhou dang* makes clear, “*Taizu shilu tu*” does not refer to the “illustrations for the *Taizu shilu*” but to the illustrations for something called in Manchu the “*nenehe han i yabuha kooli bithe*,” i.e., the “Record of the deeds of the former khan.” (The Chinese term, *shilu* 實錄, rendered in English as “veritable records,” is invariably translated in Manchu as *yargiyan i kooli*.)

Further evidence of the existence of separate texts is found in the entry in the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, under the twenty-eighth day of the second month of the ninth year of Tiancong (1635):

*lungsi be si bithe boode yabume nenehe han i banjiba kooli bithe be sambikai.*

“Lungsi, you are indeed familiar with the the record of the deeds of the former khan, since you have worked in the scriptorium.”<sup>5)</sup>

In the *Taizong shilu*, this item is recorded as follows:

上語龍什曰。爾辦事文館。先汗舊例，爾所稔知。

The emperor said to Lungsi, “You worked in the literary office. The [record of] the deeds of the former khan are well known to you.”<sup>6)</sup>

Here, however, the original title, “*nenehe han i banjiha kooli*,” is revealingly translated *not* as the “veritable records of Taizu” but more literally and accurately as “the precedents [or deeds] of the former khan” (*xianhan jiuli* 先汗舊例). In other words, it seems that it was the *nenehe genggiyen han i yabuha kooli bithe*, i.e., the “Record of the deeds of the former khan”—which I will show was one draft of the *Taizu taihou shilu* 太祖太后實錄 (“Veritable records of the emperor Taizu and the empress”) completed in the Chongde era—that was consulted by the artisans Zhang Jian and Zhang Yingkui in preparing the illustrations for which they were rewarded. At the same time, it would also seem that “Fascicle 2,” that is, the Inner Historical Office manuscript titled “*nenehe [genggiyen] han i sain yabuha kooli*” (“the good deeds of the former [brilliant] khan”) was another copy of the same draft history. The reasons for this are explained below.

In the *huangzi dang* 荒字檔 of the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, in the entry for the forty-third year of Wanli 萬曆 (1615), it is written:

*sure genggiyen han i ilibuha eiten hacin i sain doru be. erdeni baksi ejeme bitheme gaiha.*  
“Erdeni *Baksi* recorded in writing all the good policies established by *sure genggiyen han* [Nurhaci].”<sup>7)</sup>

This Erdeni is no doubt the same person who was responsible for creating the *Taizu ji* 太祖記 (“Records of Taizu”), noting Nurhaci’s main achievements from the beginnings of the dynasty up to the time he was given the title of “*genggiyen han*” and took the throne as emperor. According to the *Wu huangdi shilu* 武皇帝實錄 (“Veritable records of the martial emperor [Nurhaci]”), in the second month of the *yi-hai* 乙亥 year (Wanli 27, i.e., 1599), Nurhaci ordered Erdeni *Baksi* and G’ag’ai *Jargūci* to create a writing system for the Manchu language.<sup>8)</sup> From this point on records begin in the Manchu language. However, in the eighth year of Tianming 天命 (1623) in the fifth month, Erdeni was executed. After his death, it appears that Kūrcan *Baksi* took up Erdeni’s work. In the Shunzhi-era first redaction of the *Taizong shilu*, the entry for the fourth month of the third year of Tiancong (1629) contains the following passage:

上命分文人爲兩班職掌。命大海榜式翻譯明朝古書。筆帖式剛林，蘇開，孤兒馬弘，托布威四人副之。庫里纏榜式記本朝往來文移。及得失事蹟。筆帖式吳把什，加素

哈，胡丘。詹巴四人副之。滿洲文字。太祖由心肇造。著爲軌範。上卽位。聰明盛德。復樂聞古典。故分清漢文人爲兩班。以歷代帝王得失爲鑑。因以考己之得失焉。The emperor divided his literary men into two staffs with separate responsibilities. He ordered Dahai *Baksi* to translate the ancient texts of the Ming court, assisted by the four scribes Garin, Sukai\*, Gvlmahvn\*, and Tubci\*. Kūrcan *Baksi* [he ordered] to record the transmission of court documents and major events, assisted by the scribes Ubasi, Jasuha, Hukio, and Jamba. He made the Manchu alphabet, created on the inspiration of Taizu, the standard [for writing]. The enthroned emperor was wise and exceedingly virtuous; he also enjoyed listening to the classics. Thus in dividing Manchu and Han literary men into two staffs, he took the experience of past emperors as a guide in judging what was beneficial and what was not.<sup>9)</sup>

The compilation of historical records took place at the Literary Office, with Kūrcan at its center. Hence, in the entry for the tenth day of the tenth month of the seventh year of Tiancong (1633), we find the following words attributed to Hong Taiji:

昔先汗在時。欲興滿書。厄兒得溺榜式。以爲不能。先汗曰。汝何爲不從。如阿字下連一馬字。非阿馬乎。厄字下連脉字。非厄脉乎。吾意已定。不必再爭。厄兒得溺遂編輯成書。先時原無滿洲字。厄兒得溺乃一世之賢者。今也則亡。彼所造之書。義成有在。其後庫里纏所增者。恐未合於義。爾翻書衆人。宜將所寫之書自首至尾細者看。若有逆理處。細心酌量改之。予嗣先汗之位。修先汗之道。行兵事一一備書。明載於史。若留此名。予亦不孝。後世子孫何得知之。

Before, when the former khan was alive, he wished to promote the Manchu script. Erdeni *Baksi* thought this was impossible. The khan said, "Why do you not listen to me? If you take the sound "a" and add "ma," is that not *ama* ["father"]? If you take the sound "e" and add "me," is that not *eme* ["mother"]? My mind is made up. There is no need for further disputation." Erdeni thereupon composed [this into] a book. Before there was no such thing as Manchu writing, but Erdeni was a sage for all time. Now he is dead, but the book he created faithfully remains. The later additions to it by Kūrcan were not quite in accordance with [my] intent. When translating books for ordinary people, it is proper to look carefully at the contents of the book from beginning to end. If there are places contrary to reason, exercise care and discretion in changing them. In acceding to the place of the late khan, I have pursued his path. Every matter pertaining to [his] military activities must be written down in order to leave a clear record for history. It would be unfilial of me to leave my father with the sort of reputation [now in this book]. How would later generations be able to know about things?"<sup>10)</sup>

From this it is apparent that the *Taizu ji* written by Erdeni was expanded on by

Kūrcan, but that in Taizong's view it was not done in accordance with his wishes, and he determined to order further emendations. This episode may be seen to represent the start of the compilation of the *Taizu taihou shilu*, completed in the Chongde era.

While Taizu assumed the title “*genggiyen han*” and ascended the throne in the first year of Tianming (1616), events relating to Taizu that preceded this are collected in the *huangzi dang* of the *Jiu Manzhou dang*. Unfortunately, the *huangzi dang* begins in the middle of a narration of the fighting with Bujantai of the Ula tribe in the third month of the thirty-fifth year of Wanli (1607); the previous section is missing. This same narration is found in the *Manwen laodang* 滿文老檔, *juan* 1–4. In contrast to *juan* 5 and later chapters of the *Manwen laodang*, which are arranged in chronological fashion (so-called *biannian ti* 編年體 style), *juan* 1–4 record things event by event (so-called *jishi benmo* 紀事本末 style). Thus, our knowledge of the history of the pre-1616 period is based on the latter half of the above-mentioned *Taizu ji*, written by Erdeni, while the first half is available *only* from material in the *Wu huangdi shilu*. For this reason, although it has long been assumed that the materials for the compilation of the first part of the *Wu huangdi shilu* were no longer extant, it seems likely that the manuscript recently discovered in the Inner Historical Office Archives (“Fascicle 2”) in fact corresponds to a draft based on those lost original materials and can serve as an additional historical source for the very earliest period of Manchu history.

On the cover of Fascicle 2 it is noted that there are seventeen chapters in all. From the “*uju*” in the legend (“*uju / nenehe [genggiyen] han i sain yabuha kooli uheri juwan nadan debtelin*”) we can deduce that this represents the very first section. The contents begin with a recounting of the founding legend of the three heavenly maidens and end in the year *jia-shen* 甲申 (1584). This corresponds to *juan* 1 of the *Manzhou shilu*.

Now the full formal title of the first redaction of the *Taizu shilu* that was completed in the Chongde era was as follows:

“太祖承天廣運。聖德神功。肇紀立極。仁孝武皇帝。  
孝慈照憲。純德貞順。承天育聖。武皇后實錄”<sup>11)</sup>

Since it refers both to Nurhaci (*wu huangdi* 武皇帝, “martial emperor”) and his empress (*wu huanghou* 武皇后, “martial empress”), it by rights should be called the *Taizu taihou shilu* (“Veritable records of the emperor Taizu and the empress”). However, the text itself is no longer extant; the oldest extant version of the *Taizu shilu* we have is the Shunzhi-era *Taizu Wu huangdi shilu*. The *Manzhou shilu*, said to have been the re-illustrated edition of the old copy left over from pre-conquest times that was stored in the Qianqing gong 乾清宮 palace in the reign of the Qianlong emperor—that is, what would have been the original Chongde-era *Taizu taihou shilu* version—was in fact based on the Shunzhi-era *Taizu Wu huangdi shilu* revision.<sup>12)</sup> This is plain from the written forms of proper names of persons and

places, which in many cases are newer than those contained in the Qianlong-era revision, the *Taizu Gao huangdi shilu* 太祖高皇帝實錄 (“Veritable records of the supreme emperor Taizu”) and which are moreover consistent with the usages found in the *Kaiguo fanglüe* 開國方略 (“Military record of the founding of the dynasty”), compiled very late, in 1786.

But the *Manzhou shilu* was not just another copy of the original materials, like the *Manwen laodang* (also copied in the Qianlong era). It was rather composed in the same style using the events of the original source materials; where events more than once in a given year, the latest version was followed in drafting the final version. It is thus not the case that the *Manzhou shilu* is an older source, simply that its organization followed the same eight-fascicle, eight-chapter format as the lost original Chongde-era Manchu-language version of the same history, giving the (false) impression of “authenticity.”

Also, while the *Taizu shilu* was built on the form of its original materials as well as on a copy of the *Taizu dang* 太祖檔 of the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, the *Taizu dang* in the *Jiu Manzhou dang* as it has come down to us begins in the *ding-wei* 丁未 year (1607), and is lacking anything before that. This is as much to say that we have no materials to consult that touch on the early period of the formation of the dynasty. On this point, the newly-found Inner Historical Office materials are of some help. As they represent a draft of the Chongde-era version of the *Taizu shilu* from which the section on the early history of the dynasty found in the *Jiu Manzhou dang* would have been copied, we can assert that these materials represent the only historical source that enables us to restore that missing section of the original text.

The next section presents a romanized transcription of the first part of Fascicle 2 of the Manchu Inner Historical Office Archives. However, as the text dates from the time when the transition was being made from pointed to unpointed script,<sup>13)</sup> romanization presents some difficulties. The romanization system is that found in P. G. von Mollendorf, *A Manchu Grammar*. Words in the unpointed script are romanized following their rendering in the Qianlong *Manwen laodang*, based on the contemporary lexical aid, the *Wu quandian zishu* 無圈點字書 (“Unpointed script word-book”). However, in the case of personal and place names with unclear readings, I follow the Manchu version of the Shunzhi-era redaction of the *Wu Huangdi shilu*.

uju

nenehe genggiyen han i sain yabuha kooli uheri juwan nadan i debtelin. ○ jušen gurun i ilan halai niyalma, gurun de ejen tere sorin temšeme, inenggi dari begdure afandurebe, abkai han safi, ere facuhün jušen gurun de emu enduri be unggifi, gurun i ehe facuhün be gemu ilibume etufi, gurun de ejen ofi banjikini seme gūnifi, emu enduri be saksahai beye obufi takūrafi unggime, musei ilan sargan jui, bukūri alin i dade bisire bulhūli omode ebišeme genehebi, ere fulgiyan tubihebe gamafi, fiyanggū sargan jui etukude sindafi jio seme tacibufi unggihe. tere enduri saksahai beye 1a/1b ofi, tere fulgiyan

tubihebe saifi genefi, fiyanggū sargan jui etukude sindaha. ilan sargan juse omoi mukeci tucifi, etuku etuki sere de fiyanggū sargan jui etukui dele fulgiyan tubihe be bahafi hendume, ere ai bihe absi saikan seme hendufi, etuku eture de gūwa bade sindaci hairame ini anggade ašufi etuku etuki sere, ašuha tubihe bilgade šuwe dosika. tere tubihe bilgade dosika manggi, beye kušun ofi wesihun geneki seci ojarahū ofi, juwe eyun de hendume, gege mini beye wesihun geneki 1b/2a seci ojarahū hušun ohobi. bi adarame tuwara seme henduhe manggi, juwe eyun hendume muse lingdan okto jeke, bucere kooli akūkai. si ume joboro. sinde emu fulin ofi, sini beye kušun ohobi dere. beye wesihuken oho manggi, jai amala jio seme hendufi, juwe eyun wesihun genehe. tere abkai fulinggai enduri fayangga be kūbulibufi, jušen niyalma beye banjibuha, tere jui inenggi biya jalufi, banjire erin de banjija, tere jui abkai fulinggai banjibuha jui ofi, aniya goidahakū amban oho 2a/2b tereci jui amban oho manggi, eme jui de tacibume hendume, simbe jušen gurun de genefi banjikini seme abka fulinggai banjibuha, jui si jušen gurun de genefi banji. jušen gurun i niyalma, simbe ainaka niyalma. sini ama eme we. gebu hala ai seme fonjiha de bukūri alin i dade bulhūri omoi dalin de banjija mini gebu bukūri yongšon. mini hala abka ci wasika aisin gioro. minde ama akū. mini eme abkai ilan sargan jui bihe. eyungge sargan jui gebu enggulen, jacin sargan jui gebu jenggulen, ilaci sargan jui 2b/3a gebu fekulen de banjihangge bi inu bi abkai dergi enduri bihe. mini fayangga be, abkai han fulgiyan tubihe obufi emu enduri be saksahai beye obufi takūrafi unggifi, bi banjija seme uttu hendu seme tacibufi, weihu baifi hendume, si ere weihude tefi gene gurun bisire bade isinaha manggi, muke gajjara dogon de jugūn bi. tere dogon i jugūn be sahade, dalinde akūnu. tubade gurun bi seme jui de tacibufi unggihe. abkai fulinggai banjija jui bukuri yongšon, 3a/3b weihude tefi genehei gurun i tubade isinafi, muke gajjara dogon i jugūn be sabufi birai dalinde tucifi, burha be bukdafi suiha be sujafi mulan arafi, mulan i dele tefi bisirede, emu niyalma muke ganame genefi, tere jui be safi fergume tuwafi, amasi jifi gurun de ejen tere sorin temšeme becenure bade genefi hendume, suwe ubade becendurebe naka. musei muke gajjara dogon de dembei hojo sain emu haha jui jifi, suiha sujame, burhai bukdemu mulen arafi tehebi. tere jui musei ere jušen gurun i niyalma waka. abkai niyalma 3b/4a aise seme alaha manggi, tere becendure bade isaha geren niyalma gemu tuwaname genefi, tuwaci hojo sain mujanga. tere tuwanaha geren niyalma fonjime, si ainaha niyalma, wei jui sini hala ai. gebu we seme fonjiha. bukūri yongšon inde ini emei tacibuha gisun be gemu wacihiyame alaha manggi, tere geren niyalma hendume, ere jui be yafahan gamara jui waka seme gisurefi, juwe niyalmai gala be ishun joolame jafafi galai dade tebufi boo de gamafi, ilan halai niyalma acafi hebdeme, muse gurun de ejen ojoro sorin temšere be nakaki. 4a/4b erebe tukiyefi, musei gurun de beile obufi, musei non beri gege be ede sargan buki seme gisurefi, sargan bufi ceni geren i dele terebe ejen obuha. bukūri alin i dade, bulhūri omoi dalinde banjija bukūri yongšon,

omohoi bigan, odoli hecen de tefi, facuhūn manju gurun de beile obufi banjiha. tuttu banjifi, udu jalan oho manggi, amala banjire juse omosi banjime tebefi, jušen irgen be ambula jobobure jakade, abka wakalafi geren irgen gemu ubašafi, ○ ninggun biya de tehe hecen be kafi wara de, 4b/5a beilei emu jui beye tucike, tere tucike jui šehun bigan be burlame genere de, coohai niyalma sabufi amcara de, emu saksaha, tere jui ujui dele dooha. terebe sabufi amcara coohai niyalma hendume, niyalma de geli saksaha doombio. mukdehen aise seme hendume amasi bederehe. tere tucike jui gebu fanca. tereci udu udu jalan banjiha manggi, [○ aisin i gurun i da mafa jibuci taidzu agūda han de isitala aisin gurun de bithe akū bihebi. aisin i ilaci jalan i hisung hūwangdong han, ini mafai tehe huining fui susu be waliyafi, nikan i biyanjing hecen de gurihe. juwanci jalan de doro efujere jakade gurun irgen gemu monggo, nikan ofi, hafan irgen, bithe coohai doro gemu lakcaha. fe bade funcehe gurun gemu ejen akū doro akū balai banjime, jalan be yargiyan sarkū ofi buhiyeme ududu 5a/5b jalan shebikai. huining fu, omohoi bigan gemu šanggiyan alin i šun dekdere ergi de bi. aisin han i hala wan yan, genggiyen han i hala aisin gioro. hala udu encu bicibe, gurun i da banjihange emu ba. julgei enduringge niyalma isire isirakū be ainambahafi sara. taidzu genggiyen han inu julgei enduringge niyalmaci ainahai ambula ekiyehun.]

When the lord of heaven saw how the people of the three clans of the Jušen country contended over the throne occupied by the country's lord, how they quarreled and fought each other, he sent a spirit to that chaotic Jušen country to put an end to all the evil disorder there. Deciding to set one lord over the country, he sent a spirit in the form of a magpie. "Our three daughters have gone to bathe in Lake Bulhūri, at the base of the Bukūri Mountains. You take this red fruit and put it on the clothing of the youngest one. Then return." So the spirit was instructed. The spirit assumed the form of a magpie, took the red fruit in its mouth, and went and placed it on top of the clothes of the youngest daughter. When the three daughters emerged from the lake's water to get dressed, the youngest one picked up the red fruit that lay on top of her clothes and said, "What is this? How pretty!" In order to get dressed she hesitated to put it somewhere else, so she put it in her mouth to hold it. But the fruit entered straight into her throat. After the fruit entered her throat her body became heavy and so she was not able to go [back] up [to heaven]. She said to her sisters, "Sisters, my body has become heavy [with child] and cannot go up. How am I to stay here?" After she had spoken, the two elder sisters replied, "We have taken a magical medicine of immortality. Do not worry. Your body has probably become heavy because a certain fate has come to you. Return once your body has become light [again]." So saying, the two elder sisters reascended. Then, because of that heavenly fate, the soul of the spirit was changed, and [she] became a Jušen person incarnate. Day by day, month by month, the child grew fuller, until at the time it was to be born, it



was born. Because this was a child born by heaven's decree, before many years had passed it had already grown large.

Once the child became an adult, his mother instructed him: "You should go to the Jušen country to live. Go, son born of heaven's decree, and live in the Jušen country. When the Jušen people ask you who you are, who your parents are, and what your name is, say, 'I am from the shores of Lake Bulhūri lake at the foot of the Bukūri Mountains. My name is Bukūri Yongšon. My clan, descended from heaven, is the Aisin Gioro. I have no father. My mother was the third of heaven's daughters. The eldest daughter was called Enggulen; the second was named Jenggulen, and the third, who bore me, was called Fekulen. I was also a spirit of heaven above. My soul was made into a red fruit by the king of heaven, and was delivered by a spirit who had taken the form of a magpie. And so I was born.'" So she taught him. She [then] took a hollowed-tree canoe, saying, "Get in this canoe and go. After you have arrived at the place where there are countries, there will be a road by a ford where water is drawn. When you see the road by the ford, go ashore. That is where the [Jušen] country is." Having instructed her son, she sent him on his way. When Bukūri Yongšon, the child born of heaven's decree, reached the place of the countries he was going to by canoe and saw the road at the ford where water is drawn, he went ashore. Bending willow branches and supporting them with artemisia, he made a stool. While he was sitting on the stool, a person came by to fetch water. When he saw the child he looked in surprise and went back whence he had come, to the country [where they were] fighting and quarreling over who should be king. "Stop your fighting here," he said. "At the ford where we draw our water has come an exceedingly handsome male child, sitting on a stool he has fashioned of artemisia and bent willow branches. That child is not a person of this, our Jušen country. Perhaps he is someone from heaven." After he had reported this, all the people of that quarrelsome place went to have a look, and when they saw [him] they could see he was truly exceedingly handsome. The people who had gone to look then asked him, "Who are you? Whose child are you? What is your clan? What is your name?" After Bukūri Yongšon finished explaining to them in the words his mother had taught him, all the people said, "This child must not go on foot." So they brought him to their houses, making him sit [instead] on the joined-together hands of two people. The people of the three clans joined in discussion, [saying] "Let us stop contending over our country's royal throne. Let us raise him and make him a prince [*beile*] of our country and give him our sister, Beri gege, as a wife." So saying, they gave him a wife and made him the lord over all of them.

Bukūri Yongšon, from the shores of Lake Bulhūri lake at the foot of the Bukūri Mountains, having occupied the city of Odoli in the wilderness of Omohoi, lived [now] as the prince of the chaotic Manchu country. In this way, after many generations, the sons and grandsons who lived later [also] lived there.

As the Jušen people were greatly troubled by them, they blamed heaven and all the people arose in revolt. ○ In the sixth month when the city they lived in was surrounded and [there was] killing, one son of the prince escaped. When this escaped son fled to the barren wilderness and the soldiers spotted him and gave chase, a magpie alit on the son's head. Observing this, the pursuing soldiers said, "How could a magpie perched on a man's body? It must be a withered tree." And they went back. The name of the son who escaped was Fanca.

Many more generations later, [○ Until the time of the great ancestor of the Jin Dynasty Agūda the Jin country had no writing. The third-generation khan of the Jin, Xizong huangtong, gave up the old residence of his ancestors at Huining fu and moved to the capital city of Bian [Kaifeng]. Because by the eleventh generation the way [of ruling] had declined, all the people of the country became Mongols or Han and the civil and military traditions of officials and people alike were broken. The country[men] left behind in the old place lived aimlessly, with no ruler and no [ruling] way; it was said that several generations lived in doubt without their knowing the truth. Huining fu and the wilderness of Omohoi are both on the eastern side of the White Mountains. The Wanyan are the clan of the Jin khan, and the Aisin Gioro are the clan of the brilliant khan [Nurhaci]. Though there are several other clans, in the country's beginning they all lived in the same place. How can we know what the revered people of ancient times attained or did not attain? How could Taizu genggiyen khan be very much lacking compared to those revered people of ancient times?]"

The foregoing represents the section concerning the Qing founding legend, on the cover and folio pages one through five of the Inner Historical Office document. How was this edited for the *Wu huangdi shilu* revised during the Shunzhi reign? The Manchu version of the *Wu huangdi shilu* is preserved in the Beijing National Library and in the Taipei National Central Library, but in both instances, the first of the four chapters is missing. However, in 1991 a complete version of the *Wu huangdi shilu*, including the first chapter, was found. Moreover, it is has been determined that this is an original copy.<sup>14)</sup> Here is the romanized transcription of that Manchu text:

○ golmin šanggiyan alin den juwe tanggū ba, šurdeme minggan ba, tere alin i ninggude tamun i gebungge omo bi, šurdeme jakūnju ba, tere alin ci tucikengge yalu, hūntung, aihu sere ilan giyang, yalu giyang alin i julergici tucifi wasihūn eyefi, liyoodung ni julergi mederi de dosikabi, hūntung giyan alin i amargici tucifi amasi eyefi, amargi mederi de dosikabi, aihu bira wesihun eyefi, dergi mederi de dosikabi, ere ilan giyan de boobai tana, genggiyen nicuhe tucimbi, šanggiyan alin edun mangga, ba šahūrun ofi, juwari erin oho manggi, šurdeme alin i gurgu gemu šanggiyan alin de genefi

bimbi, šun dekdere ergi 1a/1b ufuhu wehe noho šanggiyan alin tere inu, 1b/2a manju gurun i da golmin šanggiyan alin i šun dekdere ergi bukūri gebungge alin, bulhūri gebungge omoci tucike, tere bukūri alin i dade bisire bulhūri omo de abkai sargan jui enggulen, jenggulen, fekulen ilan nōfi ebišeme jifi muke ci tucifi etuku etuki sere de, fiyanggū sargan jui etukui dele enduri saksaha i sindaha fulgiyan tubihe be bahafi na de sindaci hairame angga de aššufi etuku eture de, ašuka tubihe bilga de šuwe dosifi, gaitai andan de beye de ofi, wesihun geneci ojurakū hendume, mini beye kušun ohobi, adarame tutara sehe manggi, juwe eyun hendume muse lingdan 2a/2b okto jeke bihe, bucere kooli akū, sinde fulin bifi kušun ohobidere, beye weihuken oho manggi jio seme hendufi genehe, fekulen tereci uthai haha jui banjiha, abkai fulinggai banjibuha jui ofi uthai gisurembi, goidaha akū ambakan oho manggi, eme hendume, jui simbe abka facuhūn gurun be dasame banjikini seme banjibuhabi, si genefi facuhūn gurun be dasame toktobume banji seme hendufi, abkai fulinggai banjibuha turgun be giyan giyan i tacibufi, weifu bufi, ere bira be wasime gene sefi, eme uthai abka de wesike, tereci tere jui weihi de tefi eyen be dahame wasime genehei muke juwere 2b/3a dogon de isinafi dalin de akūnafi, burha be bukdafi, suiha be sujafi mulan arafi, mulan i dele tefi bisire de, tere fonde tere ba i ilan hala i niyalma gurun de ejen ojoro be temšenume inenggi dari becehdume afandume bisire de, emu niyalma muke ganame genefi tere jui be sabufi ferguweme tuwafi, amasi jifi becehdure bade isaha geren i baru alame, suwe becehdure be naka, musei muke ganara dogon de dembei ferguwecuke fulingga banjiha emu haha jui jifi tehebi seme alaha manggi, becehdure bade isaha geren niyalma gemu genefi tuwaci, yala ferguwecuke fulingga jui mujangga, geren gemu ferguweme fonjime, 3a/3b enduringge jui si ainaha niyalma, tere jui ini emei tacibuha gisun i songkoi alame, bi abkai enduri bihe, bukūri alin i dade bisire bulhūri omo de abkai sargan jui enggulen, jenggulen, fekulen ilan nōfi ebišeme jihebihe, abkai han suweni facuhūn be safi gurun be toktobukini seme, mini beye be fulgiyan tubihe obufi emu enduri be saksaha i beye ubaliyambufi fulgiyan tubihe be gamafi, bulhūri omo de ebišeme genehe, fiyanggū sargan jui etuku de sindafi jio seme takūrafi, tere enduri saksaha fulgiyan tubihe be saifi gajifi fiyanggū sargan jui etukui dele sindafi fiyanggū sargan jui muke ci tucifi etuku etuki sere de tere tubihe be 3b/4a bahafi na de sindaci hairame angga de ašufi, bilga de dosifi bi banjiha, mini eme abkai sargan jui, gebu fekulen, mini hala abka ci wasika aisin gioro, gebu bukūri yongšon seme alaha manggi, geren gemu ferguweme ere jui be yafahan gamara jui waka seme, juwe niyalma i gala be ishunde joolame jafafi galai dele tebufi boo de gamafi ilan hala i niyalma acafi hebdeme, muse gurun de ejen ojoro be temšerengge nakaki, ere jui be tukiyefi musei gurun de beile obufi, beri gege be sargan buki seme gisurefi, uthai beri gebungge sargan jui be sargan jui be sargan bufi, gurun de beile obuha, bukūri yongšon šanggiyan alin i šun dekdere ergi 4a/4b omohoi gebungge bihan i odoli gebungge hecen de tefi facuhūn be toktobufi gurun i gebu be

manju sehe, tere manju gurun i da mafa inu, tereci ududu jalan oho manggi, amala banjire juse omosi gurun irgen be jobobure jakade gurun irgen gemu ubašafi, ninggun biya de tehe odoli hecen be kafi afafi bukūri yongšon i uksun mukūn be suntebume wara de, bukūri yongšon i enen fanca gebungge jui tucifi šehun bihan be burlame genere be, batai coohai niyalma amcara de, emu enduri saksaha deyeme jifi, tere fanca gebungge jui ujui dele dooha, amcara coohai niyalma gūnime niyalma de geli saksaha doombio, 4b/5a mukdehen aise seme hendume gemu amasi bederehe, tereci fanca guwefi tucike, tuttu ofi manju gurun i amaga jalan i juse omosi gemu saksaha be mafa seme warakū bihe, fanca tucifi beye be somime banjiha, fanca i amaga jalan i omolo dudu mengtemu erdemungge banjifi ini nendehe mafari be waha kimungge niyalma i juse omosi dehi niyalma be, ini mafai tehe omohoi bihan i odoli hecen ci šun tuhere ergide emu minggan sunja tanggū ba i dubede suksuhu bira, hūlan hada, hetu ala gebungge bade jalidame gajifi, dulin be ini mafari kimun bata seme waha, dulin be jafafi ini ahūn deo i boigon be joolime gaifi sindafi 5a/5b unggihe, tereci dudu mengtemu tere hūlan hada hetu ala i bade uthai tehe.

The Long White Mountains are two hundred *li* in height and one thousand *li* in circumference. At the summit of these mountains is a lake called Tamun measuring eighty *li* around. Flowing out from the mountains are three rivers, called the Yalu, the Hūntung, and the Aihu. The Yalu River flows westward from the south side of the mountains and enters the sea south of Liaodong; the Hūntung River northward from the north side of the mountains and enters the Northern sea; and the Aihu River runs eastward into the Eastern sea. Precious freshwater pearls and shining pearls come from these three rivers. The wind in the White Mountains is strong and the place is cold. Once summer has come, all the wild animals from the surrounding mountains gather in the White Mountains. On the east side, the White Mountains are covered all over with pumice stones.

The Manchu country originated from a lake called Bulhūri, in the Bukūri Mountains on the east side of the Long White Mountains. The three daughters of heaven, Enggulen, Jenggulen, and Fekulen, came to bathe at Lake Bulhūri at the foot of the Bukūri Mountains. When the three maidens came out of the water and were about to put on their clothes, the youngest daughter found a red fruit that had been put on top of her clothes by a spirit-magpie. Taking the fruit, and not wanting to put it on the ground, held it in her mouth while she dressed. But the fruit went straight down her throat. In an instant she became with child and could not go back up [to heaven]. "I have become sick. How should I stay behind?" she said. To which her two elder sisters replied, "We have taken a miraculous medicine and are immortal. You have become sick by heaven's decree. Come once your body has become light [again]."

Fekulen soon afterward gave birth to a boy. Since the child had been born by heaven's decree, he could speak immediately after his birth. Before long he had grown rather big, and his mother said to him: "Son, heaven gave birth to you in order that you might rule the countries which are in chaos. Go to those chaotic countries, rule them, and bring them to order." She told him in detail how he had been born by heaven's decree, and after giving him a canoe and told him to go down a certain river, she went back up to heaven.

Then the son got in the boat and went downstream, following the river to a ford where water was drawn, and went ashore on the banks. Bending willow branches and supporting them with artemisia, he made a stool and sat on it. At that time, the people of the three clans in that region were daily contending over who should be king, quarreling and fighting with each other. A person came [from there] to fetch water, and when he saw the boy [sitting on the stool] he looked in surprise. He went back to the place where people were fighting and said to those who were gathered there, "Stop your fighting! There is an exceedingly handsome child, who is born of heaven's decree and has come and is now sitting at the ford where we get our water."

After he had reported this, the people who were gathered at the place where the fighting was taking place all went to look, and indeed saw that the handsome child of heaven's decree was truly there. They all asked him in wonder, "Heavenly child, who are you?" The child answered according to the words his mother had taught him: "I was a spirit in heaven. When the three daughters of heaven, Enggulen, Jenggulen, and Fekulen, were bathing at lake Bulhūri at the foot of the Bukūri Mountains, the lord of heaven, seeing that your country was in turmoil and deciding to pacify it, turned me into a red fruit. He sent a spirit, whose body had been transformed into that of a magpie, to take the fruit and go to Lake Bulhūri and place it on the clothing of his youngest daughter. That spirit-magpie thus bit the fruit and took it and put it on top of the youngest daughter's clothing. When the youngest daughter was about to put on her clothes, she took the fruit and, not wishing to put it on the ground, placed it in her mouth to hold. But the fruit went down her throat and I was born. My mother is the daughter of heaven. Her name is Fekulen, and my clan, descended from heaven, is Aisin Gioro. My name is Bukūri Yongṣon. When he had finished, the people were in wonder and brought him back to their houses, making him sit on the joined-together hands of two people so that he would not have to walk. Then the people of Ilan hala joined in discussion, saying "Let us stop contending [with each other] over who will be lord of our country. Let us have this child and make him our prince [*beile*] and give Beri Gege to him as a wife." So saying, they then gave the maiden called Beri to him for a wife and made him prince of the country. Bukūri Yongṣon occupied the walled city of Odoli in the wilderness of Omohoi on the east side of the White Mountains; the name of the country he subdued was "Manju." This was the original ancestor of the Manchu country.

Several generations after this the sons and grandsons [of Bukūri Yongšon] caused trouble to the people of the country, and as a result the people all rose up in revolt. [In the] sixth month they surrounded Odoli and attacked, exterminating the entire family and clan of Bukūri Yongsōn. One of Bukūri Yongšon's descendants, a boy called Fanca, got out and escaped into the wilderness. When the enemy soldiers pursued him, a spirit-magpie flew down and perched on the head of the boy named Fanca. The soldiers pursuing him all went back, saying, "How could a magpie perch on a man's body? It must be a withered tree." Thus Fanca safely escaped. For this reason, the sons and grandsons of later generations in the Manchu country never kill the magpie, and consider it their ancestor. Fanca lived a long time after his escape. Dudu Mentemu, a later descendant of Fanca, was a man of virtue by birth. He enticed forty descendants of his sworn enemy who had killed his ancestors to the place called Hetu Ala, at the foot of Mount Hūlan hada by the Suksuhu River, 1,500 *li* west of Odoli in the wilderness of Omohoi, where he killed half of them as sworn enemies of his ancestors. Then, capturing the other half, he sent them to his brothers' households to be ransomed. Thereafter Dudu Mentemu settled at Hetu Ala.

The Manchu texts of the *Wu huangdi shilu* and the *Manzhou shilu* are almost exactly the same, with only minor variations of diction, as shown in the table below. However, the text of the Inner Historical Office Archives version exhibits some differences. Comparing the respective instances, we find that conformity with the *Wu huangdi shilu* is more common.

<i>Wu huangdi shilu</i> 武皇帝實錄 page-line ↓		<i>Manzhou shilu</i> 滿洲實錄	Inner Historical Office Archives 內國史院滿文檔案 page-line ↓	
2a-7	andan de	andande		
2a-7	bilga de	bilha de	3a-b	bilgade
2b-1	jeki bihe	jekebihe	2a-2	jeki
2b-1	fulin	fulingga	2a-3	falin?
2b-3; 6	abkai	abka i	2a-5; 7	abkai
3a-2; 4	bisire de	bisire de	3b-3	bisirede
3b-3	jihebihe	jihe bihe		
4a-1	bilga de	bilha de	1b-7	bilhade
4b-1; 7	bihan	bigan	4b-4	bihan
4b-9	dooha	doha	4b-3	dooha
4b-9	doombio	donbio	4b-4	doombio

4b-9	Fanca i	fancai		
5a-5	niyalma i	niyalmai		
5a-6	bihan	bigan		
5a-6	ergide	ergi de		
5a-7	ba i	bai		
5a-7	dubede	dube de		
5a-8	bade	ba de		

The Chinese-language version of the Shunzhi-era redaction of the *Wu huangdi shilu* is housed in the National Central Library in Taipei, but it has been pointed out that the first two pages of the section recording the founding legend have been changed.<sup>15)</sup> More on this will be said later. The chart below compares the different ways that Manchu names are written in the two different Chinese-language versions of the founding legend.

<i>Wu huangdi shilu</i> 武皇帝實錄	<i>Manzhou shilu</i> 滿洲實錄
布庫里山	布庫哩山
布兒瑚里	布勒瑚里
甫着衣	甫著衣
汝以定亂國	汝爲國主
鰲謨惠	鄂謨輝
鰲朶里	鄂多哩
爭爲雄長	夷酋爭長
三姓人	三酋長
布庫里英雄	布庫哩雍順
范噉	樊察
以鵲爲祖	以鵲爲神
都督孟特木	都督孟特穆
蘇蘇河	蘇克素護河
虎欄哈達	呼蘭哈達
黑禿阿喇	赫圖阿拉

## 順治重修太祖武皇帝實錄漢文本

長白山。高約二百里。週圍約千里。此山之上有一潭。名他們。週圍約八十里。鴨綠·混同·愛濤三江俱從此山流出。鴨綠江自山南瀉出。向西流。直入遼東之南海。混同江自山北瀉出。向北流。直入北海。愛濤江向東流。直入東海。此三江中每出珠寶。長白山山高地寒。風勁不休。夏日環山之獸俱投憩此山中。此山盡是浮石。乃東北一名山也。滿洲源流。滿洲原起于長白山之東北布庫里山下一泊。名布兒湖里。初天降三仙女。浴於泊。長名 1a/1b 恩古倫。次名正古倫。三名佛古倫。浴畢上岸。有神鵲。啣一朱果。置佛古倫衣上。色甚鮮妍。佛古倫愛之。不忍釋手。遂啣口中。甫着衣。其果入腹中。卽感而成孕。告二姉曰。吾覺腹重。不能同昇奈何。二姉曰。吾等曾服丹藥。諒無死理。此乃天意。俟爾身輕上昇未晚。遂別去。佛古倫後生一男。生而能言。條爾長成。母告子曰。天生汝。實令汝為夷國主。可往彼處。將所生緣由一一詳說。乃與一舟。順水去。卽其地也。言訖。忽不見。其子乘舟。順流而下。至於人居之處。登岸。折柳條為坐具。似椅形。獨踞其上。彼時長白山東南驚莫惠 地名 驚朶里 城名 內有三姓。夷酋爭長。終日 1b/2a 互相殺傷。適一人來取水。見其子。舉止奇異。相貌非常。回至爭鬪之處。告衆曰。汝等無爭。我於取水處遇一奇男子。非凡人也。想天不虛生此人。盍往觀之。三酋長聞言。罷戰。同衆往觀。及見果非常人。異而詰之。答曰。我乃天女佛古倫所生。姓愛新 漢語金也。覺羅 姓也。名布庫里英雄。天降我。定汝等之亂。因將母所囑之言詳告之。衆皆驚異曰。此人不可使之徒行。遂相插手為輿。擁捧而回。三酋長息爭。其奉布庫里英雄為主。以百里女妻之。其國定號滿洲。乃其始祖也 南朝誤名建州。歷數世後。其子孫暴虐。部屬遂叛。於六月間。將驚朶里攻破。2a/2b 盡殺其鬪族。子孫內有一幼兒。名范噶。脫身走至曠野。後兵追之。會有一神鵲。棲兒頭上。追兵謂。人首無鵲棲之理。疑為枯木椿。遂回。於是范噶得出。遂隱其身以終焉。滿洲後世子孫俱以鵲為祖。故不加害。其孫都督孟特木生有智略。將殺祖仇人之子孫四十餘。計誘於蘇蘇河。虎欄哈達 山名 下黑禿阿喇。黑禿漢語橫也。阿喇崗也。距驚朶里西千五百餘里。殺其半以雪仇。執其半以索眷族。既得。遂釋之。於是孟特木居於黑禿阿喇。

The Long White Mountains are about two hundred *li* high and one thousand *li* around. In the mountains there is a pool, called the Tamen, which is about eight *li* in circumference. Three rivers, the Ya-lu, the Hun-dong, and the Ai-hu, all flow out of these mountains. The Ya-lu River emerges from the south of the mountains and flows to the west, entering the Southern Ocean by Liaodong. The Hun-dong River emerges from the north of the mountains and flows to the north, entering the Northern Ocean. The Ai-hu River flows to the east and enters the Eastern Ocean. All three of these rivers produce precious pearls. The peaks of the Long White Mountains are high, and the land is cold. The wind is hard and ceaseless. In the summertime, wild animals from all around all come to repose in the mountains. The mountains are covered with pumice, and are well-known in the Northeast.

The origins of the Manchus: The Manchus originated from a lake called Bu-



er-hu-li, below Mount Bu-ku-li in the northeast [section] of the Long White Mountains. Once three immortal maidens came down from heaven to bathe in the lake. The oldest one was called En-gu-lun, the next one was called Zheng-gu-lun, and the third one was called Fo-ku-lun. When they were through bathing, they went up on the banks, and there [they saw] a spirit-magpie holding a red fruit in its mouth. [The magpie] put [the fruit] on the clothes of Fo-ku-lun. It was of a bright and beautiful color. Fo-ku-lun was so enraptured of it that she could not bear to put it down, so she placed it in her mouth. Just as she was getting dressed, the fruit entered her belly and she immediately felt that she was pregnant. She said to her two sisters: "I feel that my belly is heavy. I cannot go back up with you. What shall I do?" The two sisters replied: "We have taken a medicine that makes us immortal. This [your pregnancy] is heaven's decree. There is time to wait until your body is light [again] and then go up [to heaven]." Then they departed. Later, Fo-ku-lun gave birth to a son, who could speak as soon as he was born. Soon he grew up. [One day] his mother spoke to him: "Heaven gave birth to you with the true intent of making you the lord of the barbarian (*yi* 夷) countries. You can go to those places [now]." And she told him all the details of his fate, gave him a boat, and told him to follow the river until he got to that place. When she was through speaking, she suddenly disappeared. The boy got into the boat and went downstream until he got to a place where people lived. Going ashore, he bent willow branches to make a seat like a stool, and sat alone atop it. At the time, in the places called Ao-mo-hui and Ao-duo-li, to the southwest of the Long White Mountains, there were three clans fighting over who would be their leader. Every day there was killing and wounding on both sides. It so happened that one of those people went to fetch water. He saw the boy, whose behavior was marvelous and appearance so unusual. Returning to the place where they were fighting, he said to everyone: "Stop your fighting. I have come upon a remarkable child at the place where we draw water. He is not an ordinary person. I think perhaps heaven has given birth to this person." So they all went to have a look. The three clan heads heard this speech, quit their battle, and went with the people to look. They saw that, indeed, [the boy] was not an ordinary person. Curious, they investigated. [The boy] replied: "I was born of the heavenly maiden Fo-ku-lun. My clan is the Ai-xin ("gold") Gioro (his clan). My name is Bu-ku-li Ying-xiong. Heaven made me descend [to earth] in order to put an end to your disorder," and so told them in detail everything his mother had said. The people exclaimed in wonder: "We cannot make this person walk on foot." So they made a sedan chair of their intertwined arms and carried him back. The three clan heads stopped quarrelling and made Bu-ku-li Ying-xiong their lord, giving him the woman Bai-li as a wife. The name of the country was fixed as Man-zhou. This was the original ancestor (the Southern Dynasty [i.e., the Ming] wrongly called this Jian-zhou).

After many generations, his descendants became violent and so their followers

rebelled. In the sixth month they attacked Ao-duo-li, and killed all of his clan. Among the descendants there was a young boy named Fan-cha who escaped and ran away to the wilderness. The soldiers chased after him. But then a spirit-magpie perched on his head, causing the soldiers to say, "Who ever heard of a magpie perched on someone's head?" They thought it was a withered tree, and returned. Thus Fan-cha escaped. He lived the rest of his days in seclusion. Later descendants of the Manchus all take the magpie as their ancestor and so never harm them. [Fan-cha's] grandson, Du-du Meng-tu was born with innate wisdom. He lured forty descendants of enemies who had killed his ancestors to Hei-tu a-la (*hei-tu* means "horizontal", *a-la* means "hillock"), by Hu-lan ha-da (a mountain) and the Su-su-he River. This lies more than 1500 *li* to the west of Ao-duo-li. He killed half of them in revenge. The other half he ransomed to their families and then released them. Thus Meng-tu settled at Hei-tu a-la.

As we can see, the founding legend in the Shunzhi revision of the *Wu huangdi shilu* is composed of three sections. The first section is about the Long White Mountains, the second section is the legend of the founding ancestor, and the third section tells the story of the descendants of Bukūri Yongxon. However, the first section on the Long White Mountains is missing from the Inner Historical Office Archives version. When we look at the Manchu-language version of the Shunzhi revision, we can see that this section was inserted as an addition just before the completion of the Shunzhi redaction. It is not found in the early Chongde-era draft. One surmises that the reason for this is that the idea of making the Long White Mountains the sacred place of ancestral origin did not occur until the Shunzhi reign. And in fact, on this basis later generations did come to take the Long White Mountains to be the ancestral homeland.

The myth of the three immortal maidens seen in the second section on the legend of the founding ancestor is told by a certain Samsika, who surrendered to Nurhaci after the campaign against the Hūlha in 1635. The entry for the fifth month, sixth day, in the *Tiancong jūnian dang* of the *Jiu Manzhou dang* is as follows:

*mini mafa ama jalan halame bukūri alin i dade bulhūri omode banjija. meni bade bithe dangse akū. julgei banjija be ulan ulan i gisureme jihengge tere bulhūri omode abkai ilan sargan jui enggulen, jenggulen, fekulen ebišeme jifi enduri saqsaha benjihe fulgiyan tubihe be fyanggū sargan jui fekulen bahafi anggade ašufi. bilgade dosifi beye de ofi bukūri yongšon be banjija. terei hūncihūn manju gurun inu. tere bulhūri omode šurdeme tanggū ba, helong giyang ci emu tanggū orin gūsin ba bi. minde juwe jui banjija manggi. tere bulhūri omoci gurime genefi sahalijan ulai narhūn gebungge bade tehe seme alaha.*

For generations my forefathers lived by Lake Bulhūri at the foot of the Bukūri Mountains. Although I have no written records of it, from ancient times the story has come down of the three daughters of heaven, Enggulen, Jenggulen, and Fekulen, who came to bathe at Lake Bulhūri. The youngest daughter,

Fekulen, picked up a red fruit brought by a spirit-magpie and held it in her mouth. It went down her throat and she became pregnant and gave birth to Bukūri Yongšon. The Manchu people are all of this family. Lake Bulhūri is one hundred *li* around and lies one hundred twenty or thirty *li* from the Heilongjiang. After my two sons were born, we moved from Lake Bulhūri and settled at a place called Narhūn on the Sahaliyan ula.<sup>16)</sup>

As I have previously hypothesized, since the ancestral homeland of Mount Bukūri and Lake Bulhūri as well as the names of the three immortal maidens, Enggulen, Jenggulen, and Fekulen, which are noted here are all identical with those in the *Wu huangdi shilu*, it is likely that this source was borrowed from during the composition of the Shunzhi-period revisions.<sup>17)</sup> This conclusion was deduced from the very clear changes made in the first couple of pages of the Chinese-language version of the Shunzhi redaction where the founding legend appears. Now, however, we find that the legend of the three immortal maidens is recorded in the Inner Historical Office archives manuscript, dating this draft clearly to the Tiancong period. Moreover, since we may consider this to have been a rough draft of the early-Chongde period chronicle, *Taizu taihou shilu*, and since the legend of the three immortal maidens is found in that version, it is virtually certain that this section was copied verbatim into the Shunzhi-period revision of the *Wu huangdi shilu*. Hence the proposition that the Qing founding legend became fixed during the Shunzhi revisions is definitively established. On top of this, we can ascertain that composition of the Inner Historical Archives manuscript dates from *after* the sixth day of the fifth month of the ninth year of Tiancong (1635) but before the beginning of the Chongde reign period in 1636.

The third section, the story of the descendants of Bukūri Yongšon, is said to reflect the power struggles between the three Northeastern *wei* 衛 (frontier garrisons), Jianzhou *wei* 建州衛, Jianzhou *zuowei* 建州左衛, and Jianzhou *youwei* 建州右衛, which corresponded roughly to tribal divisions. But despite their similar names, the Fanca who appears here as a later descendant of Bukūri Yongšon should probably be recognized as someone different from the Fanca who founded the Jianzhou right garrison. *That* Fanca was the half-brother of Qing Zhaozu 肇祖, Dudu Mengtemu, who appears in the Ming Veritable Records 明實錄 as Tong Meng-gu-tie-mu-er 童猛古帖木兒. The narrative concerning Fanca in the Inner Historical Office Archives manuscript (“The name of the son who escaped was Fanca. Many more generations later.”) is abruptly cut off, after which, in a smaller hand, the history of the Jin dynasty is written in and it is stated that the homeland of the Jin and of the Manchu state of the Aisin Gioro is one and the same. This interpolated section was not used by the editors of the *Taizu Wu huangdi shilu*.

## Notes

- 1) 2 volumes. Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe 光明日報出版社, 1989.
- 2) *Jiu Manzhou dang* 舊滿洲檔 (“The Old Manchu Archives”), (Taipei: National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院, 1969), vol. 9, pp. 4240–4242.
- 3) Entry for the ninth year of Tiancong [1635], eighth month, eighth day, in *Qing Taizong shilu* 清太宗實錄, first draft edition of the Shunzhi reign 順治初纂本 in the collection of the National Central Library 國立中央圖書館, Taipei.
- 4) Matsumura Jun 松村潤, “Qing Taizu Wuhuangdi shilu kao” 清太祖武皇帝實錄考 (“A study of the *Taizu Wu huangdi shilu*”) in *Qingzhu Wang Zhonghan xiansheng bashi shouchen xueshu lunwenji* 慶祝王鍾翰先生八十壽辰學術論文集 (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe 遼寧大學出版社, 1993), pp. 39–51.
- 5) Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫, Matsumura Jun, and Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘, trans. and ed., *Kyū Manshū tō—Tensō kyū nen* 舊滿洲檔—天聰九年 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫, 1972), vol. 1, p. 85.
- 6) *Taizong shilu* 太宗實錄 *juan* 18, entry for the ninth year of Tiancong, second month, twenty-sixth day.
- 7) *Jiu Manzhou dang*, vol. 1, p. 312; Kanda Nobuo et al., trans. and ed., *Manbun rōtō* 滿文老檔 I (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko, 1955), Taizu I, p. 56.
- 8) *Qing Taizu Wu huangdi shilu kao* 清太祖武皇帝實錄考, Shunzhi revision, entry for the first month of 1599.
- 9) *Qing Taizong shilu* 清太宗實錄, Shunzhi first redaction, *juan* 4.
- 10) *Ibid.*, *juan* 12.
- 11) *Ibid.*, *juan* 23, entry for the first year of Chongde [1636], eleventh month, fifteenth day. The Manchu text is found in Manbun rōtō VII, Taizong 4, p. 1445: “*dergi taidzu, abkai hese be alifi forgon be mukdembuhe, gurun i ten be fukjin ilibuha, ferguwecuke gungge gosin hiyoosungga horonggo enduringge hūwangdi, dergi taiheo gosin hiyoosungga doro be akūmbuha, ginggun ijishūn hūturingga eldengge enduringge hūwangheo i yabuha sain jurgan be yargiyān kooli.*”
- 12) Matsumura, “Qing Taizu Wuhuangdi shilu kao,” pp. 50–51.
- 13) Matsumura Jun, “Guanyu wuquandian laodang” 關於無圈點老檔 (“On the unpointed *Laodang*”), *Manxue yanjiu* 滿學研究 3, 1996.
- 14) Matsumura, “*Qing Taizu Wu huangdi shilu kao*,” pp. 45–47.
- 15) Matsumura, “*Qing Taizu Wu huangdi shilu kao*,” pp. 47–49.
- 16) *Kyū Manshū tō Tenso kyū nen*, pp. 124–125.
- 17) Matsumura Jun, “On the Founding Legend of the Ch’ing Dynasty,” *Acta Asiatica* 53 (1988), pp. 1–23.