8 PERSONAL NAMES

Personal names have existed in one form or another since the dawn of history in all known human societies. Despite the fact that the enormous growth of world population and rapidly expanding travel opportunities have increased the chances of encountering people with the same name as one's own, names remain the only legal way in which we are identified and allocate our wealth. Identification cards, driving licenses, and passports may be more efficient in that they give each person a unique number in the country of issuance, but they belong to the state, are periodically changed, and unlike names, evoke no personal associations. Our names are an inalienable part of us throughout our lives and it is by them that we are remembered after we die.

Naming systems usually categorize and differentiate people by allocating different names to boys and girls and to different age groups. This was particularly true of most societies before modern times, in which possession of certain names could indicate the holder's position in his family and in the wider society. Not surprisingly, naming rituals have been an essential element of all known cultures, and the protocols and taboos to be observed in the use of our own names and how to address others are among the first things that we learn. This has been particularly true of China, in which for most of its history, an unusually elaborate and evolving structure of names conveyed a great deal of information about their owners.

Current scholarship on Chinese names is able to benefit from three new assets: new approaches in onomastics and genetics and their utilization by historians, anthropologists, and sociologists. The second asset consists of newly excavated texts and administrative documents, which often contain onomastic data not available in the received texts—for example, on elite names in the Shang and Zhou and on the names of commoners under the empire. The third asset is the increasing availability since the 1980s of census and other nationwide databases of names that permit much more detailed studies of name usage throughout the entire population from the 1980s to the present than has been possible for any previous period.

A major difference between the Chinese naming system and most Western ones is that it uses only a limited number of family names (*xing* 姓), but (in theory) a large number of given names. European and American systems do the reverse. In practice, in China, not only were few *xing* used and not only was there a heavy concentration on a handful of those few, but only a small number of given names tended to be used. The result is easy to imagine: there is a much greater concentration on a few popular names than can be found in most other countries (§8.14).

To the student of Chinese history, the truly striking feature of today's naming system is that for the first time in 3,000 years Chinese commoners and members of the educated elite all use the same types of names (Table 36).

In the current Chinese naming system the family name precedes the given name (as in other East Asian countries and in Hungary). This simply follows the general rule for the ordering of series in Chinese culture: from the large to the small and from the top to the bottom, i.e., clan, lineage, or family name first, followed by the individual's various personal names. Likewise with dates (year, month, day) and addresses (city, street, house number). Note, however, that in place names, it is the specific that precedes the generic (§15.1.1).

In discussions of the Chinese naming system, two assumptions are commonly made: (1) that the system with which we are familiar today—a family name, usually of one character, followed by a given name of one or two characters plus a separate childhood name—has been in existence throughout Chinese history and (2) that in impe-

rial times the normative naming system of the educated elite was followed by the rest of society (albeit in a simplified form). Both assumptions are false as can be shown by using new evidence from excavated documents and from genealogies.

We also tend to take it for granted that the names by which people were known in their lifetimes were the same as those by which they were referred in subsequent ages. But this was often not the case for members of the elite. Particularly from the Song onwards, they were known by a wide variety of names depending on the social and official context of the moment. For example, during the course of his career, Su Shi 蘇軾 was addressed and referred to by at least 17 different office names composed of his family name plus abbreviations of the official post in which he happened to be serving. In family correspondence he was addressed as "No. 92" (his lineage birth-order number). In other social and scholarly contexts he himself used additional courtesy and alternative names. For several decades after his death, people referred to him by his posthumous title. Thereafter, the majority of names that had actually been used in his lifetime gradually fell out of use and he came to be referred to either by his regular (and only legal) name, Su Shi (a name that had only rarely been used during his lifetime) or as Su Dongpo (Box 19).

Box 19 Su Shi's Names

Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009–66) and his two sons, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) and Su Che 蘇轍 (1039–1112), the "Three Su's" (San Su 三蘇), were outstanding all-round talents. They not only served in multiple official positions, but were prolific writers about whom much was recorded in their own day and since. A recent day-by-day account of their lives runs to over 3,700 pages (Kong Fanli 2004).

Su Shi 蘇軾; second son of Su Xun 蘇洵 (the eldest son, Jingxian 景先 died at an early age)

Family name (*xing* 姓): Su 蘇 (grandfather's name: Su Xu 蘇序; father's name: Su Xun 蘇洵)

Given name (*ming* 名): Shi 軾

Childhood name (*xiaozi* 小字): Tongwen 同文

Birth-order name (*hangdi* 行第, by which he was often addressed in letters from family members): 92 (行九二)

Courtesy name (*zi* 字): Zizhan 子瞻 (also Hezhong 和仲)

Alternative names (*hao* 號, chosen by himself): Dongpo 東坡, Dongpo jushi 東坡居士, Laoquan shanren 老泉山人, Tieguan daoren 鐵冠道人, Jie Heshang 戒和尚, Yuju lao 玉局老, Meiyang jushi 眉陽居士, Xuelang zhai 雪浪齋 (studio name)

Further names (chosen by himself): Dongpo laoren 東坡老人, Dongpo bingsou 東坡病叟, Dongpo weng 東坡翁

Nicknames for him used by others in referring to him (*chuohao* 綽號): Wuxie gong 無邪公, Chouchi weng 仇池翁, Biling xiansheng 毗陵先生, Quannan laoren 泉南老人, Shuidong laoren 水東老人, Dongpo daoren 東坡道人, Chou xian 仇仙, Haishang daoren 海上道人, Su xian 蘇仙, Huanggang weng 黃岡翁, Po xian 坡仙

Other names used by Su Shi's friends in referring to him: Dongpo laoren 東坡老人, Dongpo gong 東坡公, Po 坡, Po gong 坡公, Po lao 坡老, Po weng 坡翁, Lao Po 老坡, Dapo 大坡, Dongpo xiansheng 東坡先生

Office names (*guanzhi* 官職; *guanjue* 官爵; *guanming* 官名): Su Xianlang 蘇賢良, Taishi 太史, Su Taishi 蘇太史, Su Hanlin 蘇翰林, Su Neihan 蘇內翰, Neihan 內翰, Su Xueshi 蘇學士, Su Duanming 蘇端明, Su Libu 蘇禮部, Su Mizhou 蘇密州, Su Xuzhou 蘇徐州, Su Huangzhou 蘇黃州, Su Huizhou 蘇惠州, Su Fushi 蘇副使, Su Meishan 蘇眉山, Su Meizhou 蘇眉州, Meishan gong 眉山公, and many more (Zhou Zhengju 2001)

Nickname: Suda 蘇大 (his younger brother, Su Che 蘇轍, was known as Su xiao xiansheng 蘇小先生)

Posthumous title (*shi* 謚, conferred by the emperor): Wenzhong 文忠

Sources: Kong Fanli 孔凡礼. 2004. *San Su nianpu* 三苏年谱 (Chronological biography of the three Su's). 4 vols. Beijing guji, 2004.

Zhou Zhengju 周正举. 2001. Su Shi chengwei kaobian 苏轼称谓考辨 (Investigation on the naming of Su Shi). *Guji zhengli yanjiu* 古籍整理研究 27.

Posterity usually ends by remembering people by their regular name or courtesy name, but this is by no means always the case. Emperors and empresses are usually known by an abbreviation of their posthumous titles (§18.4) or by their temple titles (§18.3); writers and painters often by one or other of their self-chosen alternative names (§8.9), not by their given name (§8.3), courtesy name (§8.8), or posthumous title (§18.14). For a modern example of a man with many names, Sun Yatsen, see §67.5.10.2.

Historians, of course, need to know the names and appellations used in a person's lifetime if they are to make sense of the sources.

The remainder of this section contains an outline with tables showing the main stages in the development of the Chinese naming system. This is followed by sections on the many different kinds of names—clan, lineage, and family names (§8.2); given names (§8.3); commoners' names (§8.4); selecting a given name (§8.5); childhood names (§8.6); ranking, courtesy, and alternative names (§8.7–9); nicknames (§8.10); office names and other forms of address (§8.11); names of illegitimate children and adopted children (§8.12); name taboos (§8.13); the quandary of many people, few family names (§8.14); bibliography (§8.15), including onomastic research before the twentieth century (§8.15.1) and general indexes of alternative names (§8.15.4); foreign names in Chinese (§8.16); and Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese names (§8.17–18).

Women's names are the subject of §10.1.

In many ways the names of kings and emperors and their immediate families followed the same rules as for the educated elite. But in other respects rulers' names (and titles) were much more elaborate and therefore they receive separate treatment (mainly in Chapter 17).

Daoist masters had religious names (§29.3.7) and Buddhist monks and nuns received Dharma names on being ordained (§29.4.4). In the twentieth century, writers and artists have used *biming* 笔名 (pen names) or *yiming* 藝名 (artist's name; stage name; typically, in the twentieth century, of opera stars) when in the past they would have used one or another type of *hao* 號. For some of the reasons why this was so and for indexes, see §67.5.2. From the nineteenth century, many of those going abroad added a Christian name to their Chinese one (§8.1.4, Table 36).

Chinese names for indigenous peoples and foreigners and foreign countries are dealt with at §27.3; foreign names for the Chinese and China are covered at §12.1.

8.1 HISTORICAL STAGES: OVERVIEW

The *ming* 名 is for the young; the *zi* 字 is for those who have come of age; at fifty they are known by their titles according to seniority and after death they are known by their posthumous title. This was the way of the Zhou. 幼名, 冠字, 五十以伯仲, 死諡, 周道也 (*Liji* 禮記, Tan Gong, shang 檀弓, 上).

There have been four major changes in the Chinese naming system in the course of history. To understand them it is important to realize that key terms such as *xing* 姓, *shi* 氏, *ming* 名, and *zi* 字 meant different things at different times.

Table 34 The Chinese Naming System: Zhou

1. Commoners (Male & Female); 2. Educated Elite (Male); 3. Educated Elite (Female); 4. Outstanding Elite Members (Mainly Male); 5. Rulers

	1	2	3	4	5
xing 姓, clan name (inherited)		✓	✓	✓	✓
shi 氏, lineage name (bestowed or inherited)		✓		✓	✓
ming 名, given name (usually given by father or teacher three months after birth; similar in function to childhood name and given name of the empire)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
zi 字, courtesy name (given by father or selected by self and often encoding birth-order ranking)		✓	✓	✓	✓
shihao 諡[號], posthumous title (granted by ruler)				✓	✓

During the Zhou, nobles had clan names (*xing* 姓), lineage names (*shi* 氏), personal names (*ming* 名), courtesy names (*zi* 字), titles (*jue* 爵), and posthumous names (*shi* 諡). Ordinary people only had given names (*ming* 名); see Table 34. During these years, there was no such thing as a family name in the sense that we know it today. Instead, the *xing* 姓 functioned like a clan name (§8.2.1).

Not all the Zhou elite had all the names in Table 34 and some had more, including noble or official titles. Commoners had neither *xing* 姓 nor *shi* 氏 in the early Zhou. By the Han they had acquired *xing* 姓 (in the new sense of family name), but they only acquired *zi* 字 or *shi* 諡 if they rose in society. The *zi* 字 in Zhou times was intended to indicate a person's seniority in his or her kin group and towards the end of the period, family. Strictly speaking, it was also intended to indicate gender (by the suffix *fu* 父[甫] or *gong* 公 for males and the suffix *mu* 母 or *nü* 女 for females).

8.1.1 Family Names Extended to All

The first major change in this ancient system was the emergence of a family name, eventually, held by all members of society. The process started in the late Spring and Autumn period and was well under way by the Warring States. It was largely completed by the Han dynasty (§8.2). At the same time, the old distinction between *xing* 姓 and *shi* 氏 was lost and the two were run together in the compound *xingshi* 姓氏 in the sense of family name (*xing* 姓), as we know it today (§8.2.2).

8.1.2 A New Type of Given Name

The next big change in the system was the introduction by members of the elite of an additional given name. These *ming* 名 were usually given when a child went to school for the first time, at which point, the new name replaced the old names given shortly after birth. Another innovation was that the new given names were usually elegant. From the fourth century the two types of given name were distinguished by calling the first a childhood name (*xiaozi* 小字 or *xiaoming* 小名) and the second, just *ming* 名 (given name) or *hui* 諱 (taboo name). The term school name (*xueming* 學名) was introduced in the Song. Commoners (both men and women), as already mentioned, did not as a rule go to school, but continued to use their "childhood" names throughout their lives.

Table 35 The Chinese Naming System: Han to Republic
1. Commoners (Male & Female); 2. Educated Elite (Male); 3. Educated Elite (Female); 4. Outstanding Elite Members (Mainly Male); 5. Emperors

	1	2	3	4	5
xing 姓, family name (inherited)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
xioazi 小字 or *xiaoming* 小名, childhood name (usually given by parents)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ming 名, given name (usually given by father or teacher and often encoding birth-order ranking)		✓	✓	✓	✓
zi 字, courtesy name (given by father or selected by self); often, no longer encoding seniority information		✓	✓	✓	✓
hao 號, alternative name (selected by self)		✓	✓	✓	✓
chuohao 綽號, nickname (given by others)				✓	✓
guanzhi 官職 or *guanjue* 官爵, (office names)				✓	✓
shihao 諡[號], posthumous title (granted by state)				✓	✓
zunhao 尊號, honorific name (granted by others)					✓
miaohao 廟號, temple title (selected by emperors for their predecessors)					✓

8.1.3 New Birth-Order Names

The third major innovation in the system took place during the Tang and Song dynasties, when members of the elite began incorporating birth-order and generation indicators into their given names (information that had previously been conveyed by their courtesy names). This marked the blurring of the distinction between the function of *ming* 名 and *zi* 字. A minor related change was the expanded use of alternative names by literati. Another innovation at this time was that commoners adapted the birth-order numbers used by members of elite lineages for use as given names.

8.1.4 Simplification

The last major innovation in the naming system came in the second half of the twentieth century. The system was simplified by abandoning courtesy names (*zi* 字) and nearly all the other types of alternative names that had accumulated over the centuries (Table 36). In this new simplified form the system was extended to the entire population.

Table 36 The Current Chinese Naming System

xing 姓, family name (inherited)

ming 名, given name (usually given by parents or family head at birth)

xiaoming 小名, childhood name (usually given by parents at birth and often now simply the given name or one half of it prefixed by a diminutive, such as *xiao* 小 or *a* 阿. Thus, Zheng Li 郑立 [*xingming* 姓名] might be called Xiaoli 小立 or Ali 阿立 and Zheng Lixin 郑立新 might be called Xinxin 新新 [usually a girl], Xiaoxin 小新 [unlikely] or Axin 阿新)

Note: Although the family and given name (*xingming* 姓名) and the informal childhood name (*xiaoming* 小名) are common to all Chinese people today, certain people may have alternative names; for example, writers may have pen-names (*biming* 筆名); performers, artistic names (*yiming* 藝名); and monks and nuns, names in religion. Also, some people who have been baptized as Christians may have a Christian name (*jiaoming* 教名), while others with no relation to Christianity may simply adopt a foreign first name (*yangming* 洋名)—for example, David Li Dewei or David Li. Translated foreign names also wax and wane in popularity for use as a regular given name—for example, Anna 安娜 for Anna.

The concepts family name, given name, and childhood name have been in existence for many hundreds of years. But their usage today is not the same as in the past. For example, the given name is used more broadly than it was and it has also lost much of its taboo quality. In other words, it now combines the functions of given name and courtesy name (*ming* 名 and *zi* 字). Appropriately, therefore, it is called *mingzi* 名字. On the other hand, the informal childhood name (*xiaoming* 小名) has become more narrowly confined to childhood, because the majority of the population no longer uses it as their given name throughout their lives.

Because of the minutely small stock of commonly used Chinese family names and the habit of choosing again and again the same optimistic and good-fortune given names, there are enormous numbers of people in Chinese history bearing the same names. The rapid increase of the population in the past 200 years coupled with a huge increase in geographical mobility coinciding with the decrease in the number of names used by each individual have exacerbated the problem. No doubt this will lead to major future changes in the naming system (§8.14).

8.2 CLAN, LINEAGE & FAMILY NAMES

8.2.1 Clan & Lineage Names

Before the Three Dynasties, *xingshi* 姓氏 referred to two separate concepts—men were referred to by lineage name (*shi* 氏); women, by clan name (*xing* 姓). The lineage name distinguished high- and low-born; the high-born had lineage names, the low-born had given names, but not lineage names. Today in the South, the Man tribes follow the same practices.... After the Three Dynasties the *xing* and *shi* were combined into one. 三代之前,姓氏分而為二. 男子稱氏婦人稱姓. 氏所以別貴賤.貴者有氏, 賤者有名無氏.今南方諸蠻猶存.... 三代之後姓氏合而為一 (Zheng Qiao 鄭樵. Shizu xu 氏族序 [Lineage (family) names, preface]. *Tongzhi lüe* 通志略 [§51.2.2], *Sibu beiyao*: 1a).

Zheng Qiao's famous passage (in which he also goes on to explain that *xing* were used to maintain marriage exogamy rules) provides an accurate overall description of the early naming system. The names of elite males encoded a lot of information about them, including their place of appointment (*shi* or lineage name), title, given name, courtesy name, and gender (*fu* 父[甫] or *gong* 公). Although, of course, they had clan names (*xing* 姓), as Zheng Qiao points out, they were not normally referred to by these. Thus, the fourth son of King Wen of Zhou (Zhou Wenwang 周文王) was referred to as Zhou gong Dan 周公旦 (*shi* 氏 + abbreviated title [Shanggong 上公] + given name) or very occasionally as Zhou gong Dan fu 周公旦父 (*shi* + title + given name + male gender marker). We do not know for sure his courtesy name (*zi* 字), but we do know that of his eldest son, Lu gong Bo Qin fu 魯公伯禽父. Note that Zhou gong's clan name (*xing*) was never incorporated in his name (so, never, Zhou Ji

Dan gong 周姬旦公 nor, for that matter, Zhou gong Ji Dan 周公姬旦). It was only centuries later, when clan names (*xing*) and lineage names (*shi*) had long since become combined in what were henceforward called *xing* (family name) that people (Liu Zhiji 劉知幾, for example) very occasionally anachronistically referred to him as Ji Dan 姬旦 (*xing* in the new sense plus *ming*).

Unlike elite men, elite women were normally referred to by their clan name (*xing*); see §10.1.

In practice, of course, names recorded on bronzes and in early texts were shortened in many different ways, especially for famous people such as Zhou gong Dan 周公旦 (better known as Zhou gong 周公, despite the mounting possibility of confusion caused by the fact that over the course of time there was an ever-increasing number of Dukes of Zhou). Often for men, it was the gender marker that was left out (we know Confucius's eldest son best by his courtesy name, Boyu 伯魚, or by his lineage and given name, Kong Li 孔鯉, rather than by the more formal forms of his courtesy name, Boyu fu 伯魚父 or Yubo fu 魚伯父). A glance at the Zhou naming system as it appears in a rather late text, such as the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, shows that a huge variety of different naming practices (often for the same person) were followed. These are analyzed in an excellent study by Xia Xianpei (1999 [§18.8]).

The Zhou naming system attracted a great deal of attention over the ages as a key to the Zhou lineage system (*zongfa* 宗法 [Ch. 7]), as a means of understanding the foundational exogamy rules of the Chinese marriage system, and, more recently, to support claims that archaic China was a matriarchal society (because many of the early clan names have the female signific). Exogamy is discussed here, matriarchy at §10.1.

The Zhou was a small polity so its leaders needed to ensure that their sons took wives (and hence formed alliances) with the 50 or so other appointed lords, hence *tongxing buhun* 同姓不婚 (those of the same clan name should not marry), a principle that was to have a huge influence on Chinese marriage for the next 2,500 years. The practice was later justified as *tongxing bufan* 同姓不蕃 (same family name, not productive). In the *Tang code* it was made a criminal offense carrying a punishment of two years' penal servitude and annulment of marriage (although the substatutes seem to recognize the validity of marrying a wife with the same family name but from a different lineage [*xingtong zongyi* 姓同宗異; *Tanglü shuyi* 唐律疏議, Article 182]). The same article appears in *Song xingtong* 宋刑統. Both in the *Ming code* (Article 113) and in the *Qing code* (Art. 107) the punishment was reduced to 60 blows of the light stick and annulment, but by this time these provisions were rarely applied. It was not until 1910 that the article punishing marriage of two people with the same *xing* was finally removed from the code. The prohibition was not included in the 1930 *Civil code* nor in the Marriage Law of 1953 (but as late as the 1970s, many, especially in the villages, frowned on those who married partners with the same family name).

To find that exogamy was practiced in the Chinese marriage system should come as no surprise. Societies with unilateral descent groups usually specify that a person select a spouse from a group other than its own. Lineage exogamy is particularly common in Africa. What makes the Chinese case unique is that what began as clan exogamy in the Zhou was extended to family-name exogamy in the Han and later centuries, even though *xing* was now no longer used in the sense of clan name. The explanation for this strict adherence to the word must be that you did not question a practice sanctioned by the *Classics*.

By the Warring States the old distinction between *xing* and *shi* was becoming lost because the number of lineages and sublineages had increased to such an extent that the old prohibion on not marrying somebody of the same clan name (*xing*) no longer made any sense. The clans had become dispersed and with them the old restrictive usage of their names. It was precisely at this point that

xing or *shi* (in the sense of family name) began to be extended to commoners. By no coincidence it was also at this time that the term *baixing* 百姓 took on the sense of "the ordinary people," as in modern *laobaixing* 老百姓.

More of the new family names were derived from lineage names (*shi* 氏), of which there were large numbers (about 500–600 by the Han) than from clan names (*xing* 姓), of which there were only a few dozen. Most of the *shi* names were by origin the names of places of appointment. Many were also derived from titles of office or nobility or posthumous titles. Prior to their acquiring family names, commoners in China (as in most other early societies) just used given names, because they rarely went far from the places in which they had been born.

The creation and diffusion of inheritable family names represented a critical tool in the power struggle between local and outside authorities in the development of the state and the imposition of a credible private property system. The permanent family name was linked to landholding, household registration, tax collection, and labor and military service obligations. In other societies as well, the introduction of cadastral surveys, standardization of weights and measures, and permanent family name systems all go together. So it was in ancient China and so it was in ancient Rome.

The introduction of family names in both places occurred at roughly the same time and for the same reasons, namely, the desire of states to recruit soldiers for the new-style mass armies that replaced chariot warfare and to mobilize large labor forces. This was achieved by entitling families to own property (essentially land) and by enumerating the entire adult population. Now hundreds of thousands of people could be distinguished, organized, and sent far from their homes more efficiently than by listing them each by only a single name. At the same time, the inheritance of private property argued in favor of establishing clear descent lines within easily distinguished families. The result at both ends of the Eurasian continent was a naming system combining distinctive family and individual given names.

In China, the process started in the states of Qi and Zhao and then spread to Qin, where rulers began to organize and count their populations more carefully. As Shang Yang 商鞅 put it during his time as chief counselor in Qin (361–338): "Within the four borders, husbands, wives, sons, and daughters all have their names recorded on the registers; when new ones are born, they are recorded; when they die, the names are removed." 四境之內, 丈夫女子皆有名於上, 生者著, 死者削 (*Shangjun shu* 19, Jingnei 境內, Within the borders: 152). But the introduction of family names to the whole population took many centuries to complete. A small but suggestive piece of evidence is provided by a list of Han stone carvers. Not all those in the Former Han had a family name. But by the Later Han, they all had one (Chen Zhi 1958).

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Chen Zhi 陈直 (1901–80). 1958. Liang han gongren timing biao 两汉工人题名表 (Table of signatures of Former and Later Han workers). Appendix to the author's *Liang Han jingji shiliao luncong* 两汉经济史料论丛 (Collected articles on Han economic history sources). Shanxi renmin. Chen tabulates the names of 316 Han artisans, of whom only 10 were found in literary sources (the remainder on artifacts).

Liu Zhao 刘钊. 2005. Gu wenzi zhong de renming ziliao 古文字中的人名资料 (Data on personal names in ancient-script texts). In *Gu wenzi kaoshi conggao* 古文字考释丛稿 (Draft explanations of ancient script). Yuelu, 360–83. Liu does not discuss women's names, for which see Wang Zijin (2004 [§10.1]).

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  (amounting to 400 pages) and on pre-Qin numerology.
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  索 (Investigation of the origin of family and kin names in the pre-Qin).
  Fujian renmin. Based on the author's PhD thesis.
Zhao Peng 赵鹏. 2006. Yinxu jiaguwen zhong de renming jiqi dui yu duandai
  de yiyi 殷墟甲骨文中的人名及其对于断代的意义 (Personal names on
  the oracle bones and their interest for periodizing the inscriptions).
  Shoudu shifan daxue PhD thesis (published 2008).
Zhou Fagao 周法高. *Zhou-Qin mingzi jiegu huishi* 周秦名字解詁匯釋
  (§58.9.1).

8.2.2 Family Names

From the Han dynasty to the present day, family names (*xing* 姓;
xingshi 姓氏) have been handed down from father to children. One
characteristic of the Chinese system in comparison with others is
that only a limited number of names were used.

The first extensive scholarly study of Chinese family names and
their origin was by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (one of his most influential
comments is quoted at the head of §8.2.1). He classifies what he
called Chinese lineage (family) names (*shizu* 氏族), from which
most Chinese family names are derived into 18 groups according to
their origins (Shizu 氏族. *Tongzhi lüe* 通志略, *ce* 1–2). If you orga-
nize these groups into larger categories, they resemble the origins of
family names in many other societies. In the following, I have se-
lected from those of his examples that are still current today, but
have deliberately left out some of his smaller groups and also the
large number of two-character family names that were typical of the
pre-Qin, but most of which later fell out of general use or were
shortened into one-syllable family names:

1. Toponyms, especially the names of ancient states: Xia 夏, Zhou 周, Lu 魯,
   Jin 晉, Cao 曹, Yan 燕, Zheng 鄭, Chu 楚, Song 宋, Chen 陳, Zhao 趙, Xu
   許, Zhu 朱, Yue 越, Deng 鄧, Liang 梁, Zhuge 諸葛, Huang 黄, Jiang 江,
   Du 杜, Peng 彭, Su 蘇, Mao 毛, Pei 裴, Lu 陸, Ximen 西門.
2. Personal names. Clan names (*xing*): Yao 姚, Jiang 姜, Ren 任, Ji 姬, Ying
   嬴; courtesy names: Lin 林, Fang 方, Zhang 張, Yan 颜, Yuan 袁; given
   names: Jin 金, Yao 堯, Yu 禹, Wang 汪, Rong 容, Xiong 雄, Lao 牢, Duan
   段; seniority markers: Meng 孟, Bo 伯; barbarian clan names: Dang 黨,
   Shi 釋, Sai 塞, Kou 口; posthumous names: Wen 文, Ai 哀, Wei 威.
3. Official posts: Shi 史, Shuai 帥, Qian 錢, Sima 司馬, Situ 司徒, Li 李;
   relatives of officials: Gongsun 公孫; titles: Huang 皇, Wang 王, Gong 公,
   Hou 侯.
4. Occupations: Bu 卜 (Diviner), Jiang 匠 (Carpenter), Tao 陶 (Potter), Tu 屠
   (Butcher), and Wu 巫 (Shaman). There are several examples in *Zhuang-
   zi* 莊子: Shi the Carpenter (Jiang Shi 匠石), Ding the Cook (Pao Ding 庖
   丁), or Bian the Wheelwright (Lun Bian 輪扁), but no Zhou the Plumber.

If the origins of family names (via lineage names) resembles
those in other societies, their later development in China had a
number of unique characteristics. In the process of amalgamating
pre-Qin clan and lineage names into family names and extending
these to the entire population, most of the old two-character family
names (*fuxing* 複姓) were abandoned or abbreviated in favor of
single-syllable family names (*danxing* 單姓). This helped lead to a
new situation in the Han. Not only did most people of all walks of
life now have family names, but large numbers of them had the
same ones. Most were drawn from toponyms, personal names, or
official posts, because occupational names had already begun to
decline in frequency. A major reason is the overall tendency to
regard names as vital symbols affecting a person's life. Therefore,
fortunate or "successful" names were favored over those that merely
described a trade. It is, therefore, no accident that Wang (King) has
been the most widespread family name in China for many centu-
ries, while names such as Tu 屠 (Butcher) or Fu 釜 (Caldron Mak-
er) were marginalized.

Toponyms were a productive source for family names for the
same reasons as in many other societies: "Who are you?" "I am
Changshou of Wu" easily becomes Wu Changshou 吳長壽. The first
extant list of common family names (in the primer, *Jijiu pian* 急就
篇 [Former Han]) contains many such family names derived from
ancient states. They have remained among the most common fami-
ly names to this day.

The highest frequency family name in the *Shiji* 史記, *Hanshu* 漢
書, and *Hou-Hanshu* 漢書 is naturally the name of the ruling house
during the Han (Liu 劉). It is followed by Wang 王, Zhang 張, and
Li 李. This early concentration in the Han led to even greater con-
centration later (since the Song dynasty, if not before, the top five
family names that appear in the extant literature have normally
accounted for between 20 and 30 percent of the entire population).
Moreover the top four family names have been the same for the
past 2,000 years: Wang, Zhang, Li, and Liu. Chen 陳 joined the list
of top names in the Southern dynasties and remains the leading
family name in many southern provinces to this day. During the
Song, Zhao 趙, the imperial name, temporarily rose to fourth place,
replacing Chen, because it appears more in the sources, such as the
History of the Song, on which historical name counts are perforce
based. In the Yuan it declined to sixth place and in the Ming to
twelfth place.

Sometimes there were slight changes in the order of the top
five, but on the whole it has been remarkably consistent. For exam-
ple, 25 percent of the 51,342 metropolitan graduates (*jinshi*) in the
Ming and Qing had the same five family names: Wang (6.7 per-
cent), Zhang (6.2), Li (5.9), Liu (4.6), and Chen (4.0). Not surpris-
ingly, the top five family names of a sample of 19,700 Qing writers
of collected works are almost the same: Wang, Zhang, Li, Chen, and
Wu account for 23 percent of the total (the Southern name Wu 吳
has replaced Liu, because collected works were not subject to re-
gional quotas, as were higher degrees). Equally unsurprisingly, the
lion's share of the family names in the 52,400+ extant pre-1949
genealogies go to Chen, Zhang, Wang, Li, and Liu.

In 2007, a century after the abolition of the imperial examina-
tion system, the ministry of public security released the largest ever
national survey of family names based on its database of ID files. It
revealed that there was increased concentration on the same names
(and a small change in their order). The top three names, Wang
(7.3), Li (7.2), and Zhang (6.8) alone accounted for over 21 percent
of the population.

Another way of illustrating the high concentration of family
names is to take the top 100. For most of Chinese history they have
accounted for 80–87 percent of the total population.

Apart from the statistical effect of the early concentration of
family names leading to an increased concentration two millennia
later, certain other factors were at work: for example, the wholesale
adoption by non-Chinese peoples of well-known Chinese family
names, sometimes the ruler's name, granted as a reward for sub-
mission (§8.2.4). The same favor was also regularly extended to
loyal followers, particularly at the founding of a dynasty (§8.2.3).
The power of tradition and prestige also assured that instead of new
names being created, long established ones were adopted to gain
favor, to win protection, to escape vengeance, or to avoid imperial
name taboos. In all of this, the pull factor of the family names of
ruling dynasties is evident. The 26 families that formed the main
dynasties of China since the Zhou have had only 17 family names,
of which four are among the top five today (Li, Wang, Liu, and
Chen). There is an even greater concentration on royal names in
Korea, where the three most widely used names, Kim 金 (22 percent
of the population), Lee 李 (15 percent), and Park 朴 (9 percent)
were all royal names (Kim and Park were the ruling houses of Silla;
the Lee were the rulers of the Joseon dynasty [§A.7, Table 6]).

An even higher concentration characterizes Vietnam, where
more than half the population have the family names Ly 李 or

Nguyen 阮 (the names of the rulers of the Lý and Nguyen dynasties (§A.7, Table 7).

Clearly, family names in Korea, Vietnam, and China have retained something of their original nature as clan or lineage names. One result is that although it is possible to count a total of as many as 10,000 Han Chinese family names that have ever been used, in reality only 2,000 to 4,000 were in use at any one time, and of these, 100 or 200 accounted for almost the entire population.

In Europe and the United States, such concentration is only found in isolated pockets of the population such as the Outer Hebrides, where the marriage radius (*hunyin banjing* 婚姻半徑) is limited and cross-cousin marriages (*yibiaohun* 姨表婚 or *jiubiaohun* 舅表婚) are common. Similar conditions characterized China, Vietnam, and Korea until recent times (despite prohibitions of marrying someone of the same family name) and these, too, were a major contributing factor to the perpetuation of huge numbers of people bearing the same family name (Yuan and Zhang 2002).

The habit of regarding a selection of a few hundred family (clan) names as the desirable ones was deeply ingrained from an early age as reflected in grade school wordbooks, from the *Jijiu pian* 急就篇 with its list of over 132 common family (clan) names through the almanacs and genealogical registers of the Six Dynasties and Tang, such as *Baijia pu* 百家譜 (§7.1.2) to the *Baijia xing* 百家姓 (Song) with just over 400 family names, starting with Zhao 趙 (the family name of the Song emperors). By the Song, possessing the right pedigree was no longer the essential means of achieving and maintaining local power and of gaining access to the national elite, but the concentration on a few family names had long since been set.

One possible linguistic phenomenon that may hint at the reason favoring the survival of some names over others is that for most of the top 20 names there are no others with an identical pronunciation. Conversely, those names that have many others with an identical pronunciation are rarely used (e.g., Ji in the fourth tone: 計, 記, 季, 薊, 冀, 墍).

As to the structure of family names, the long-term tendency was for single-syllable ones to emerge as the norm. But the process took many centuries. In the pre-Qin, family names of more than one character (usually two) were widely used. As we have seen, they were called *fuxing* 複姓 (which can also refer to names of more than two characters; *shuangxing* 雙姓 is the term for double-barreled family names today).

By the Qin and Former Han, only about 4 percent of the Chinese people about whom biographical details have been preserved had double family names; this fell to about 2 percent in the Later Han. The biographical sources of later periods show the distribution of two-character family names continuing to dwindle. Today, there are still dozens of double family names, but they are not widely used. Even the most frequently encountered ones today, Ouyang 歐陽, Situ 司徒, and Sima 司馬, do not feature in the top 150 most frequently used family names.

Triple-syllable and above family names account for less than 1 percent of the total. They (and a substantial proportion of the two-character ones) are usually transcriptions from non-Chinese languages. Just like Chinese two-character family names, over time, triple-character foreign family names tended to be shortened to the first character of the transcription, e.g., Na 納 from Nasai'er 納賽爾 (Nasser); see (§8.2.4).

The long-term decline in frequency of two-character family names was counter-balanced by the long-term increase in frequency of two-character given names (§8.3). The trend for more and more people to have three-character names, often led people with a two-character family name to use a single-character given name.

Family names range from one stroke (Yi 乙) to 30 strokes (Luan 鸞 or Yuan 鬮). Given the large number of family names that have accumulated over the centuries, it is not unusual to find words once used as family names but now more familiar for their meaning: for example, Fu 父, Mu 母, Xiong 兄, and Di 弟 (others include Dong* 東, Nan 南, Xi 西, Bei 北; Qian 前, Hou 後, Zuo 左, You 右; Jin* 金, Mu* 木, Shui* 水, Huo 火, Tu 土 [those still in use as family names are marked with an asterisk]). Such unexpected names are sometimes called *qixing* 奇姓 or *xixing* 希姓. The numbers 1–10 were all used in the earlier centuries for family names; Liu 六, Qi 七, Bai 百, Qian 千, and Wan 萬 were among the most common (and the last three remain so to this day). Di-yi 第一, Di-er 第二, and so on to Di-ba 第八 are all attested for the Former Han as double-barreled family names (allocated to the descendants of the Tian 田 of Qi 齊 by Liu Bang 劉邦, when he had them forcibly settled outside Chang'an at the start of his dynasty. After the Han, some of them adopted Di 第 as their family name). Fortunately, modern punctuated texts of old Chinese books include conventions for indicating proper names.

Unlike in many European languages, Chinese family names by their nature rarely provide eponyms (words based on personal names, such as macadam, mackintosh, or sandwich) or derivatives (such as Kafkaesque or Shakespearean).

Traditional studies of the regional distribution of Chinese family names at different periods of history are summed up in Li Chi (1928). New methodologies, notably, correlating the regional clustering of blood types ("B" in the North; "A" along the Yangzi; "O" on the Southeast coast) with the regional distribution of family names has led to new insights regarding population movements in Chinese history. The top five names in the three regions are currently distributed as follows:

North: 王, 李, 張, 劉, 趙 (Wang, Li, Zhang, Liu, Zhao)
Yangzi: 李, 王, 張, 劉, 趙 (Li, Wang, Zhang, Liu, Zhao)
South: 陳, 李, 黃, 林, 張 (Chen, Li, Huang, Lin, Zhang)

Attempts have also been made to plot the incidence of family names with the distribution of haplotypes (the numerical patterns of an individual's DNA). The application of new methods to newly compiled national name databases that are increasingly being opened to researchers has helped take family name studies to a new level; see Yuan and Zhang (2002).

Several dictionaries of Chinese family names exist. One of the best is Yuan and Qiu (2010). There are also many summaries of traditional lore regarding individual family names (not shown) and much of this material is available on the Internet. Their appeal is less to historians than to those who desire a sense of connectedness and belonging on the basis of a shared family name. This frequently leads to efforts to trace all names back through the mists of time to a single mythical ancestor, preferably to the Yellow Thearch himself or to one of his sons. A selection of historical surveys of Chinese names, including family names, can be found at §8.22. For family-name associations (*tongxinghui* 同姓會), see §7.1.

Dou Xuetian 竇学田, chief ed. 1997. *Zhonghua gujin xingshi dacidian* 中华古今姓氏大词典 (Dictionary of Chinese family names, past and present). Jingguan.

Li, Chi. 1928. *The formation of the Chinese people: An anthropological enquiry.* HUP. His PhD thesis, Anthropology, Harvard University, 1923.

Wu Shenghui 巫声惠. 2000. *Zhonghua xingshi da dian* 中华姓氏大典 (Dictionary of Chinese family names). Hebei renmin. Conveniently arranged and indexed summary of the information in traditional family name reference works on 7,000 family names.

Yuan Yida 袁义达 and Zhang Cheng 张诚. 2002. *Zhongguo xingshi qunti yiquan he renkou fenbu* 中国姓氏群体遗传和人口分布 (Chinese family names: analysis of genetic inheritance and population distribution). Huadong shifan daxue. The authors remain committed to the belief that, by origin, clan names date from a matriarchal stage of Chinese society, while lineage names reflect the transition to a patriarchal society (§10.1).

Yuan Yida 袁义达 and Qiu Jiaru 邱家儒, eds. 2010 (1996). *Zhongguo xingshi dacidian* 中国姓氏大辞典 (Dictionary of Chinese family names). Rev. Jiangxi renmin. Contains entries on 23,813 family names (the first edi-

tion contained 12,000). All are written in Chinese characters with pinyin also given. Of the total, 6,931 are single-character names; 9,012 are two-character ones; 4,850 are of three characters; and 2,276 are of four characters. As Yuan points out in his preface many of the names may have been invented in the process of recording them. Of the 7,000+ names in use today, about half are Han and half those of minority peoples.

8.2.3 Imperial Name Bestowals

Under the empire, the bestowal of names (*cixing* 賜姓) referred to the practice of emperors bestowing a new family name on meritorious subjects, particularly on successful military commanders or helpful indigenous leaders, such as the hereditary *tusi* of Yunnan, who were granted Chinese names based on transcriptions by the founder of the Ming (thus did the Naxi *tusi* 土司 in Lijiang gain the name Mu 木 and the Dai *tusi* of Xishuang banna gain the name Dao 刀). The ultimate honor was when the emperor (as was frequently the case) granted his own name. This often happened at the beginning of a dynasty, when founders would reward their closest followers by granting them the imperial family name, a title, and land. The first to do so was the founder of the Han, Liu Bang 劉邦, who ennobled Xiang Bo and three others and granted them the name Liu 劉. Emperors also granted their family names to barbarian leaders who were loyal or who submitted (Liu 劉 for the Xiongnu under the Han and Li 李, not only for the 16 generals at the start of the Tang, but for Tujue, Huihe, Kitan, Shatuo, and Nanzhao rulers).

The practice can be traced back to a very different form of name granting, that of the Zhou monarch appointing his lords with land and a name (*ci tuxing [shi]* 賜土姓[氏]), but with the name often taken from an existing toponym associated with the place of appointment.

An emperor not only expanded the number of his loyal followers by enrolling new members into his "family" by granting them his family name, but on occasion, he might also grant given names (*ciming* 賜名) or both family and given names at the same time. In 1264, Qubilai Khan granted by decree his Buddhist monk confidant, Zicong 子聰, the new lay name (by which he is known today), Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (his pre-ordination name had been Liu Kan 劉侃). The Yongle emperor did the same in 1402 for his monk tutor and later advisor, Daoyan 道衍 (1335–1418), who was granted by decree the lay name Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 (Yao 姚 was his original family name). Another well-known example is Zheng Sen 鄭森, upon whom the Ming emperor bestowed his own name Zhu 朱 as a reward for loyalty to the dynasty and also the given name Chenggong 成功 (Success); see §66.2.19, Box 113.

Emperors also punished people by changing their family or given name to an inauspicious one. Thus, Wu Zetian 武則天, not content with having empress Wang 王 and Consort Xiao 蕭 killed in a most horrific manner, changed their family names to Mang 蟒 (Python) and Xiao 梟 (Owl), respectively (*Jiu Tangshu* 51: 2170). She also changed the family names of the descendants of imperial princes who opposed her from Li 李 to Hui 虺 (Viper; *Jiu Tangshu* 6: 119). Later, she had her nephews Wu Huiliang 武惟良 and Wu Huaiyun 武懷運 murdered and changed their family name from Wu 武 to Fu 蝮 (Water moccasin; *Jiu Tangshu* 5: 90).

8.3 Given Names

8.3.1 Summary

Note: The given name is sometimes called "forename" or "first name" in English because by convention it precedes the family name. Obviously neither of these terms works for Chinese names because the given name (*ming* 名) always comes after the family name. *Ming* throughout the manual is therefore called "given name."

Pre-1912 scholarship tended to focus on family names, because these were more important for arranging marriages, tracing ancestors, and establishing legal title. Given names were chosen carefully by all manner of means (§8.5), but they did not usually attract scho-

larly attention. The main exception is the intense study of those given and courtesy names (*zi* 字) that occur in the *Classics* (§58.9.1). By comparison, the given names chosen by the bulk of the population, the commoners, have been passed over in almost total silence (§8.4).

The most striking characteristic of Chinese given names is that in theory, any word in the language can be used for a name or as part of a name. This increases enormously the number of options available in selecting a given name. It also places more weight on personal names as bearers of semantic content, which can raise difficult questions as to whether or not to translate them (§3.1.1).

While it is true that most words in Chinese could be used as given names, there were taboos, conventions, and fashions that to a certain extent limited their actual number (§8.13).

No doubt the choice of Chinese given names was driven by the "ratchet effect," that is to say, millions of people wanting names that sounded like, but not too like, the names that they were already familiar with (Lieberson 2000). And those would have been the perennial favorites—notably, names expressing the aspirations of the parents for their children, including good health, immortality, longevity, and desirable states, such as "safe, sound, peaceful, smooth; auspicious and prosperous, wealthy and honorable; perpetuating the lineage and carrying on the business" (*Ping'an heshun* 平安和順, *jili xingwang* 吉利興旺, *facai fugui* 發財富貴, *bozong jiye* 傳宗繼業).

Equally important perennials were names encapsulating Confucian virtues. Starting from the Warring States, words for loyalty and virtue began to be incorporated into elite names. In the Han, these were joined by Confucian concepts, giving rise to names incorporating words such as humanity (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), and filial piety (*xiao* 孝). For some readers, these will immediately evoke memories of early Christian names, such as Beneficia or Felicia, or Puritan names, such as those in John Bunyan's *A pilgrim's progress*, or real-life ones, such as Increase Mather (1629–1723), an early president of Harvard University. Morality names and good fortune names received added impetus in the centuries after the Han, as Buddhism and Daoism gained in popularity. Either singly, in combination, or in the form of allusions drawn from the Confucian (and to a lesser extent Daoist and Buddhist canons), such names became one of the most enduring and characteristic features of the system. They remain an influence to this day.

The flexibility in composing given names from almost any word in the language leads to the fourth characteristic of the Chinese naming system, namely, its ability to produce given names that reflected the changing political scene or the intellectual and religious climate. Examples of contemporary events influencing the selection of new names (especially for men) are given in the following sections, including, for example, what might be called "war names," which were popular during the Warring States, the Han-Xiongnu campaigns, the inter-state fighting in the tenth century, at the Ming-Qing divide, and in the early 1950s during the Korean war. Other less permanent fashions are also explored in this chapter.

People changed their given names more readily than they do today. The purpose was to achieve better luck, as with students who failed the exams. Others changed their name after encountering other types of misfortunes. Rulers changed the names of their enemies (as a form of jinx) or their subjects (as a punishment). Wang Mang changed the Xiongnu *chanyu*'s name (§27.3.4.1). Wu Zetian 武則天 changed the name of Mochuo 默啜 (literally, Silent Sob), the Tujue khan (b. ?; r. 691–716) to Zhanchuo 斬啜 (Decapitated Sob) and also changed the name of Sun Wanrong 孫萬榮 (the Kitan general; ?–697) to Sun Wanzhan 孫萬斬 (Sun Ten Thousand Decapitations). A thousand years later, the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor bestowed upon two of his younger brothers Yinsi and Yintang, the Manchu names Seshe (Sai-si-hei 塞思黑, Swine) and Akina (A-qi-na 阿其那, Cur).

Numbers were another feature of given names. Quite apart from their use to indicate seniority in a generation or seniority among siblings (§8.7, §8.4.4), the elite liked to use numbers as part of a given name, especially when these featured in classical allusions. The number nine was most popular, such as Jiusi 九思 (nine things to bear in mind) from the phrase in *Lunyu* 論語 16.10, as in Ke Jiusi 柯九思 (1290–1343), Wang Jiusi 王九思 (1468–1551), and Zhang Jiusi 張九思 (1242–1302) or Jiuling 九齡 (literally, nine years; also, long life), as in Li Jiuling 李九齡 (Northern Song), Lu Jiuling 陸九齡 (Southern Song), Wang Jiuling 王九齡 (?–1710), or, most famous of all the many Jiuling 九齡, the Tang poet and only grand councilor of Sino-Annamite parentage, Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (673–740). Jiu was also popular in women's names, such as Jiufeng 九鳳 or Jiuhong 九紅.

Worldwide, most naming systems have served not only to differentiate individuals and to enumerate the population but also to a greater or lesser extent to indicate their owners' gender, position in society, and seniority in family and kin groups. The seventh characteristic of Chinese given names is that they have been used in particularly ingenious ways to encode this sort of information.

Indicating social differentiation was achieved simply by the fact that different segments of the population employed different naming conventions. The ever more elaborate normative naming system was used by members of the elite only. They were therefore immediately identifiable, not only by their speech, dress, manners, and lifestyles but also by their labels (names). You could tell commoners, too, without meeting them but simply by hearing their names, which followed their own and less elaborate conventions (§8.4). Women, too, were differentiated with a distinctive naming system (§10.1).

Needless to say, the emperor's given name was most distinctive of all because the words in it were taboo for the rest of the population.

Not only did names differentiate social strata and gender, they also served to indicate the seniority by birth order of individuals between generations and within a single generation. This was achieved in a variety of ways, including the use of special characters or numbers incorporated into courtesy or given names (§8.8). By these means generations were linked together in a manner not found in Europe and America, where the absence of taboos on using the given names of the father and grandfather in their lifetimes and for one generation after their death meant that children often bore the same name as their parents or grandparents.

Today, given names can be one character or two. But this has not always been the case. In the pre-Qin, when up to one third of clan and lineage names were two-character ones, it was considered good form to have one-syllable given names. By the Han, about 20 percent of given names were two-character ones. Thereafter, their percentage gradually increased as the population grew, as new ways of incorporating ranking characters into names spread with the growth of lineages and as two-character family names became less widely used. By the Qing, two-character given names accounted for 75 percent. Nevertheless, if you take the 54,000 people listed in the largest Chinese historical biographical dictionary (which includes people from the earliest times to 1912), more than half have single-syllable given names.

Or, to take more impressionistic measures, all the Seven worthies of the Jian'an period, all the Seven sages of the bamboo grove, and all the heroes in the *Sanguo yanyi* have single-syllable names, but in the novels set in the Ming and Qing, all the main protagonists have two-character names. In modern times, especially during the first 30 years of the PRC, the trend (although not so much in Taiwan) was for a while to revert to single character names (§8.3.9). One effect of this was to increase the likelihood of people having identical names, because only two syllables (the family name and the single-syllable given name) were available to distinguish them.

Normally, not all the personal names were cited at once, but when they were, the order of citation changed. In the pre-Qin, the norm was first the courtesy name (*zi* 字) and then the given name (*ming* 名), but this was not always followed. From the Han, people normally placed the *ming* before the *zi*. In modern times, the question does not arise, because the functions of *ming* and *zi* have become combined into a single personal name, the *mingzi*.

When referring to people in the past, the norm is to put *xing* 姓, *ming* 名, *zi* 字, *hao* 號.

Names were considered to directly influence the fate and fortune of their bearers; therefore, enormous efforts were made to ensure that the right ones were selected. Some of the methods are reviewed at §8.5.

Bauer (1959) gives a thorough description of the history of Chinese elite given, courtesy, generation, and childhood names (*ming* 名, *zi* 字, *paihang* 排行, and *xiaoming* 小名). It is based on standard literary and historical sources up to the Qing but does not include family names or alternative names and posthumous names and much newly discovered data was unavailable at the time that it was written. Alleton (1993) is a general introduction to Han Chinese given names that draws on a sample of modern names gathered in interview. Many excellent introductions to Chinese given names are available. Some of the best are incorporated into the general surveys of the development of the Chinese naming system introduced at §8.15.

Alleton, Viviane. 1993. *Les Chinois et la passion des noms*. Paris: Aubier.
Bauer, Wolfgang (1930–97). 1959. *Der chinesische Personenname: Die Bildungsgesetze und hauptächlichsten Bedeutungsinhalte von Ming, Tzu und Hsiao-ming*. Harrassowitz.
Lieberson, Stanley. 2000. *A matter of taste: How names, fashions, and culture change*. YUP.

8.3.2 Pre-Qin Given Names

8.3.2.1 Shang Given Names

It is often said that Shang names are characterized by the use of day-stem (*rigan* 日干) names. But these are mainly posthumous tomb internment names bestowed on rulers and their close relatives (§57.2.3). They were quite different from ordinary Shang names, about 150 of which appear on the oracle bones. These are often words for everyday things or actions suggesting that they were not unlike nicknames. They are without exception composed of a single character:

> Zhong 中, Kou 口, Ci 刺, Shou 受, Da 大, You 尤, Qian 千, Xi 喜, Tun 屯, Mo 莫, Gao 告, Xing 行, Yong 永, Yuan 元, Chui 吹, Ni 逆, Er 兒, Ming 名, She 舍, Shang 商, Shi 史, Lu 魯, Ji 雞, Ming 鳴, Gang 剛, Jiao 角, You 友, Guo 郭, Zhu 竹, Mu 木, Ke 克, Quan 犬, Guang 光, Chou 奧, Mei 媚, Ru 如, Qiang 羌.

Whether given, posthumous, or kin, Shang names usually had a gender prefix (*zi* 子 for men and *fu* 婦 for women were the most common ones) or a birth-order indicator. In about 20 percent of the names, *zi* 子 and *fu* 婦 follow the name.

8.3.2.2 Zhou Given Names

Judging from actual names found in many Zhou sources, including on inscriptions, the elite for a while favored the ten stems (*gan* 干) in their given names, often, as in the Shang, combined with one of the *bozhong-shuji* 伯仲叔季 birth-order (seniority ranking) indicators.

More typical than these were nicknames based on an individual's physical features or other attributes. These are simple, if not crude, and are similar to what are now called apotropaic childhood names (§8.6.1).

Born feet first, Zhuang Susheng Lord of Zheng (Zheng Zhuang gong susheng 鄭莊公寤生); *Zuozhuan*, Yin 1.
Black buttocks, Marquis of Jin (Jin hou Heitun 晉侯黑臀; posthumous title Cheng gong 成公). The description of the marquis's buttocks as black is

not scatalogical, but refers to a prominent birthmark. The same applies to the following two names.

Black Shoulder, Duke Huan of Zhou (Zhou Huan gong Heijian 周桓公黑肩); *Zuozhuan*, Yin 6. The *Zuozhuan* also mentions three other dukes whose name was Black Arm (Heigong 黑肱) and one called Black Back (Heibei 黑背).

Black Balls of Wei (Wei Heiluan 魏黑卵); *Liezi* 列子, Tangwen 湯問 5.

Rabid Dog, Marquis of Jin (Jin hou Nou 晉侯獳, d. 581); posthumous title, Jing gong 景公); *Gongyang zhuan*, Cheng 15.

Scorpion Gongsun of Qi (Qi Gongsun Chai 齊公孫蠆 [d. 534] a noble of Qi 齊; *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 29.

Glow-worm Ji (King Hui of Liang, Liang Hui wang 梁惠王 [b. 400; r. 369–319 BCE]). His name was Ji Ying 姬嬰 (clan name, *xing* 姓 plus given name, *ming* 名); his courtesy name was Hui 惠, and his title was duke (*gong* 公); hence, he was known as Duke Hui of Wei 魏惠公 (Wei was his lineage name, *shi* 氏); see §39.11.2.1.

Of the 35 Zhou kings, at least 10 had given names that were earthy and often apotropaic: Load (Tuo 佗), Barbarian (Hu 胡, Yi 夷), Away-with-the-Disease (Quji 去疾), Beggar (Gai 匄), and Fierce (Meng 猛), are some of them.

The Spring and Autumn and Warring States practice of using given names based on bodily characteristics occurs throughout the remainder of Chinese history among both commoners and the educated elite, but with the difference that commoners used such names throughout their lives, whereas after the Former Han the elite with few exceptions stopped using them on coming of age, if not before. Sometimes, conquest dynasty elites used bodily characteristic names, for example, Yang Xiaoyan 楊小眼 (mid fifth century, Little-Eyes Yang), who named his son, a famous general, Yang Dayan 楊大眼 (Big-Eyes Yang).

Another fashion that became common in the Warring States was to incorporate a negative, usually *bu* 不 but also *wu* 毋 or *wu* 無—famous ones include Lü Buwei 呂不韋[違] and Shen Buhai 申不害 (literally, Raising-No-Objections Lü [reading the *wei* 韋 in Lü Buwei 呂不韋 as the *wei* 違 in *bu-wei* 不違 in *Lunyu* 論語 2.9]) and No-Equals Shen (reading *buhai* as the same as *wanghai* 望海, none equal to). Both were also used as given names. Sometimes names like these may seem apotropaic when they are in fact Daoist. No-knowledge Gongsun (Gongsun Wuzhi 公孫無知), a noble of Qi 齊, is a good example. Compare the popular Han dynasty name Bushi 不識, which does not mean ignorant but comes from the *bushi* in the line "Without consciousness of effort on your part, In accordance with the rules of the gods." 不識不知順帝之則 (*Shi.* Daya 大雅, Huangyi 皇矣). Other examples include Buchen 不臣 (Disloyal) and Wuji 無忌 (Unscrupulous).

Such names remained fairly common during the Han and Nanbeichao, which latter period probably has the family record with Yin Buhai 殷不害 (505–89) and his four brothers, Yin Buning 殷不佞, Yin Buyi 殷不疑, Yin Buzhan 殷不占, and Yin Buqi 殷不齊 (literally, My-Humble-Self Yin, No-Doubts Yin, No-Augurs Yin, and No-Help Yin [*Chenshu* 陳書 32: 426]).

Almost all these names were taken from phrases in the *Classics*, where they usually do not appear in a derogatory sense. In the later empire, such names were less popular, although there was a famous Ming calligrapher named Yang Buqi 楊不器, and the Daoist master Li Buqi 李不器 incurred the wrath of the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor in the early eighteenth century (*buqi* 不器 is from the well-known remark that "a gentleman is not a vessel," *Junzi buqi* 君子不器, i.e., not a specialist; *Lunyu* 2.12).

In the early twentieth century, the childhood name Gou buchi 狗不吃 (A dog would not eat it) is attested among the Monguor of Northwest China (Schram 1954, 100–102) and the mid nineteenth century Tianjin dumpling seller Gou buli 狗不理 (Even a Dog Would Ignore It) gave his name to the dumplings of that city (for four other possible origins of the name of the famous Tianjin dumplings, but not this one, see Tan Ruwei 2005, 41–42).

Some have argued that the *bu* 不, *wu* 毋, or *wu* 無 in these names is a meaningless sound marker. This seems highly unlikely, because, as just mentioned, most of them are from phrases in the *Classics* in which the *bu* 不 clearly functions as a negative. However, as with all names, even if people selected them for their meaning, in daily life they served as referents rather than as meaningful words (§3.1.1).

Good fortune names such as Liang 良, Ji 吉, and Jia 嘉 were also popular in the Zhou.

A common practice whose first traces date to the later Warring States was to name the child after the twelve branch (*zhi* 支) character for the day of birth or that day's 12-animal name (or associated animal name). The earliest evidence for such date names discovered so far has been found in the day books discovered at Fangmatan 放馬灘 and Shuihudi 睡虎地 (§59.6.1) and on the Mawangdui 馬王堆 silk books (§59.6.4).[5]

Goldin, Paul Rakita. 2000. Personal names in early China: A research note. *JAOS* 120.1: 77–81; updated in his *After Confucius: Studies in early Chinese philosophy*. UHP, 2005, 6–18.

Schram, Louis M. J. (1883–1971). 1954–61. *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*. Introduction by Owen Lattimore. 3 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Tan Ruwei 譚汝为. 2005. *Minsu wenhua yuhui tonglun* 民俗文化语汇通论 (General introduction to the vocabulary of folk culture). Tianjin guji.

Wang Hui 王晖. 2000. *Shang-Zhou wenhua bijiao yanjiu* 商周文化比较研究 (Comparative studies on Shang and Zhou culture). Renmin.

Wang Yinzhi 王引之. *Zhou Qin mingzi jiegu* 周秦名字解詁 (§58.9.1).

8.3.3 Han Dynasty Given Names

See also *Given Names of Han Soldiers* (§8.4.1).

Two important innovations to the Chinese naming system were made in the Han dynasty. The first consisted of a more systematic use of a new type of high-sounding given name. This quickly restricted names based on bodily characteristics to childhood names (*xiaoming* 小名; §8.6). The given name continued to be called *ming* 名, but starting in the Song was sometimes also called a study name (*xueming* 學名) or a *xunming* 訓名, because it was usually given to children at the ages of six to eight by their seniors when they first attended school. In the twentieth century, it began to be called a *daming* 大名 to distinguish it from the *xiaoming* (there are several other terms). Of course, those who did not attend school—that is to say, the majority—never aspired to a school name but made good with the childhood name that they had received shortly after birth (§8.6).

The second Han-time innovation was to incorporate Confucian values into given names among the elite more regularly than had previously been the case. These included words such as Ren 仁 (Humanity), Yi 義 (Righteousness), Li 禮 (Rites), Zhi 知 (Knowledge), Zhong 忠 (Loyalty), Xiao 孝 (Filial Piety), Jie 節 (Integrity), Gong 恭 (Reverence), Jing 敬 (Respect), Qin 欽 (Esteem), and De 德 (Morality) and combinations, such as Chonggu 崇古 (Respect the Past), Shangliang 善良 (Good and Kind), Xinde 信德 (Trustworthy and Moral), or Zhongxiao 忠孝 (Loyal and Filial).

Another Confucian influence was the use of the characters Yao

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[5] In a characteristically ingenuous article, Peter Boodberg sought to push back the use of the animal cycle in personal names (and hence the appearance of the cycle in China) to the sixth century BCE. But he does so on the basis of flimsy evidence and strains to read early references to animals in personal names as necessarily marking birth years according to the cycle, whereas in fact they were frequently used independently of the cycle to symbolize qualities such as courage and strength (the tiger) or propitiousness (the dragon); see Boodberg (1940 [§2.1]). Moreover, as Li Ling has shown, animal names from the Warring States period were linked to the day of birth, not as was common from the Nanbeichao, to the year of birth; Li Ling 李零. 1993. Shi'er shengxiao de qiyuan 十二生肖的起源 (The origin of the 12 birth animals) in his *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (§41.3.2, 204–17).

堯 and Shun 舜 from the names of the later sage kings, Tang Yao 唐堯 and Yu Shun 禹舜 or Confucian disciples (Zixia 子夏, Ziyou 子右) for given or courtesy names. So, people with names like Bao De 鮑德, Zhang Yu 張禹, and Cai Lun 蔡倫 started to become more widespread. The popularity of such names followed the adoption of the *Classics* as the basis of the state ideology. They remained the main inspiration for the given names of the educated elite until the twentieth century.

Under the empire, a father could display his wide learning not only in the choice of allusion in a son's given name but also in the subtlety of the interconnections between the name and the courtesy name. Occasionally, learned fathers, such as Su Xun 蘇洵, left notes on what had led them to select particular names for their sons (§8.7.2). But for most members of the elite no such explanation was needed. They had memorized the *Classics* and would have immediately recognized, for example, that the Zhiji 知幾 of Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (Ziyuan 子元) is from the *Changes* (*Yi* 易, Xici xia 繫辭下 [Explication]) and that the Sanxing 三省 of the Yuan scholar Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (as is the Xingwu 省吾 of the oracle-bone scholar Yu Xingwu 於省吾) is from the *Analects*, "I daily examine myself on three points." 吾曰三省吾身 (*Lunyu* 論語 1.4, Xue'er 學而). Likewise, all those names borrowed from the names of people in the *Classics*, such as Boda 伯達 for eldest sons would have been immediately obvious (Boda 伯達 is the first of the eight scholars of Zhou mentioned in *Lunyu* 18.11, Weizi 微子).

Ancient long-life salutations, many of which are recorded in the *Shi* 詩, were a second inspiration for given names during the Han. Actual examples include figures like Xu Yanshou 許延壽 (Ripe Old Age Xu), Han Qianqiu 韓千秋 (One Thousand Autumns Han), Chen Wannian 陳萬年 (Ten Thousand Years Chen), and the head of a border beacon post, Du Weiyang 杜未央 (Everlasting Du). Dozens of these names can be found in the *Histories* of the Han and also on Han wooden slips and Han seals (Qin Jincai 2002, 143–44). Longevity names remain popular to this day. They were also much used for naming buildings and for toponyms. They were not limited to the old salutations as in the names above, but incorporated into new names, for example, Life-Long Good Health (Shoukang 壽康), a typical palace name.

As popular were all those names connected with good fortune and riches, such as Lu Changfu 魯長富 (Ever-Rich Lu), Zhao Duoyang 趙多羊 (Many-Sheep Zhao), Guo Duojiu 郭多酒 (Much-Wine Guo). Because of the Xiongnu wars, names such as Ponu 破奴 (Smash the Slaves), Pohu 破胡 (Smash the Xiongnu), Shengzhi 勝之 (Make Victory), Shenghu 勝胡 (Victory over the Xiongnu), or Miehu 滅胡 (Destroy the Xiongnu) were common.

Many of the new Han Confucian, long-life, or victory names can be found in the Han primer, *Jijiu pian* 急就篇, which lists 132 common names, including Yannian 延年, Wansui 萬歲 (Long Life), Liqin 利親 (Caring for Parents), Hanqiang 漢強 (Strong Han), Guangguo 廣國 (Expanding the Dynastic Frontiers), Moru 莫如 (None Like), and Pohu 破胡 (Victory over the Xiongnu). About 30 of the *Jijiu pian* names on Han wooden slips have been identified (Xing Yitian 1993).

Chen Haibo 陈海波. 2002. Jijiu pian xingming chutan 《急就篇》姓名初探 (A preliminary discussion of the personal names in the *Jijiu pian*). *Huaqiao daxue xuebao, Zhexue shehui kexueban* 2: 109–14.

Qin Jincai 秦进才. 2000. Liang Han xingming qieguan 两汉姓名窥管 (A micro view of personal names in the Han dynasty). In Shen Changyun 沈长云 et al., eds. *Tan guji* 探古集 (Investigation into antiquity). Zhonghua, 136–57.

Xing Yitian 邢義田. 1993. Hanjian zhong renming yu *Jijiu pian* renming zhi xianghe zhe 漢簡中人名與《急就篇》人名之相合者 (The fit between names found on bamboo slips and in the *Jijiu pian*). In *Ōba* (§69.1.6, 274–93).

Zhang Xinwu 张新武. 1998. Hanshu renmingzi santi 汉书人名字三题 (Three points regarding personal and courtesy names in the *Hanshu*). *Xinjiang daxue xuebao* 26.4: 88–91.

8.3.4 Nanbeichao Given Names

The spread of Buddhism and its active support by many rulers ensured a boom in Buddhist names in the centuries from the fall of the Han to the mid Tang. Daoist names were also popular during these centuries.

Another characteristic was the spread of two-character given names. The main reason was to convey birth-order or generation ranking information in given names, but a subsidiary one was the desire to slip in the word Buddha as the first character. Miyakawa Hisayuki (1938) counts 122 people with Seng 僧 as part of their given name (39 combined with Tan 曇; 24 with Fo 佛; and 67 with Fa 法). The Buddha was also incorporated into childhood names (perhaps as much as a charm as an expression of religious conviction).

Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 (1988) lists 36 Buddhist names or terms repeatedly occurring in the given names of people with biographies in the *Histories* between Jin and Sui, including Sengge 僧哥 (Brother Monk), Fozhu 佛助 (Buddha Helper), Luohan 羅漢 (Arhat [Saint]), Shamen 沙門 (Monk), Sanzang 三藏 (Tripitaka), Sanbao 三寶 (Triratna [Triad of Buddha, dharma, and sangha]), and Yecha 夜叉 (Yaksha [malevolent spirit]).

Popular Daoist concepts appearing in names at this time include Dao 道 (The Way), Xuan 玄 (Profound), Yuan 元 (Origin), and Zhen 真 (True).

Another feature of given names in the Nanbeichao was the incorporation of the nominal marker *zhi* 之. The practice became widespread among adherents of the Daoist Tianshi dao 天師道 (better known by its Confucian name, Wudou midao 五斗米道, Five Pecks of Grain movement) in the second century, perhaps as a sign of their membership (Xiao Yaotian 2007 [§8.15.2], 59). Later it was adopted by major families and passed down from father to son (Luo and Wei 2005, 14). Xiao lists over 150 people with this type of name. Some of the famous ones (starting from the earliest), include the writer on agriculture, Fan Shengzhi 泛勝之 (fl. 35–7 BCE), the famous calligrapher, Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–61), who incorporated *zhi* 之 in the names of all his seven sons, including the calligrapher Wang Xianzhi 王憲之 (344–86), the painter, Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (344–406), the celestial master Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365–448), and the historian and annotator of the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372–451). Not infrequently the *zhi* was dropped from references to them, including in the *Histories*.

Lü Shuxiang 吕淑湘. 1995. Nanbeichao renming yu Fojiao 南北朝人名与佛教 (Personal names in the Nanbeichao and Buddhism). In *Wenhua yuyanxue: Zhongguo chao* 文化语言学中国潮 (Culture and language studies: A Chinese wave). Yuwen, 1995.

Miyakawa Hisayuki 宫川尚志 (1913–2006). 1956. *Rikuchōshi kenkyū: seiji, shakai hen* 六朝史研究: 政治社会篇 (Researches on the Six Dynasties: Government and society). Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai. The name lists were originally published in *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 3: 504 (1938); 4: 71, 94 (1938); 4: 538–9 (1939).

Luo Xin 罗新 and Ye Wei 叶炜, eds. 2005. *Xinchu Wei-Jin Nanbeichao muzhi shuzheng* 新出魏晋南北朝墓志疏证 (§60.5.2).

Zhang Menglun 张孟伦. 1988. *Han Wei renmin kao* 汉魏人名考 (Study of the personal names from the Han to Wei). Lanzhou daxue.

8.3.5 Tang Given Names

See *Names of Commoners at Dunhuang* (§8.4.3).

8.3.6 Five Dynasties & Song

The reinvention of lineage and family institutions in the Northern Song to embrace a larger segment of the population than the aristocracy (Tang) has been much written about in recent years, but one aspect that has not received attention is the impact on the Chinese naming system, especially, the adoption as their names by commoners of the old Tang *hangdi* 行第 (*xingdi* 姓第) ranking system. In adopting this system commoners now had a choice of either naming themselves according to the old given name system

(what the literati now called childhood names) or the new number names, which ranked them in their family or lineage according to birth order, whether or not their family was a part of a larger lineage group (§8.4–5).

Elite naming fashions during the Five Dynasties included the popularity of Yan 彥 (a talented man with morals) as a given name (at least 145 known bearers). Yan 彥 remained popular in the Song chiefly in courtesy names. Another elite naming fashion in the Song was the use of words meaning old gentleman (sou 叟, and weng 翁). The popularity of Daoism also led to much use of lao 老, both in given and courtesy names.

The aspiration of succeeding in the civil service examinations began to influence the choice of names in the Song for the first time with the introduction of given names like Yingdeng 應登 (Ought to Pass [the exams]). This particular name grew in popularity in the Ming and Qing and was also used as courtesy name (memorably by a sixteenth-century supervising censor, Xue Jia 薛甲 [Xue First Class (in the metropolitan exams). Courtesy name: Ought to Pass [Yingdeng]).

8.3.7 Ming Given Names

See *Upgrading Names* (§8.4.5).

8.3.8 Late Qing & Early Republic Given Names

See also *Commoners Given Names in the Qing* (§8.4.6).

If rapid political changes coincided with intellectual changes, the generation names laid down in kin and family genealogies to indicate seniority between generations could suddenly seem out of date. But intellectual change during the later empire rarely coincided with dynastic change, so few people felt the need to abandon the generation names they received from their parents. There were some exceptions at the Ming-Qing divide. Perhaps the most famous is Gu Jiang 顧絳 (1613–82), whose name was chosen by his father in the hopes that his son would live to a ripe old age (like the old man of Jiang 絳 mentioned in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 [§9.11.2.2]). But in 1645, just after the fall of the Ming dynasty, when he was 32, Gu Jiang changed his name to Yanwu 炎武 (Ardent Fighter) as an expression of his admiration for Wen Tianxiang's 文天祥 pupil and Song loyalist, Wang Yanwu 王炎午 and perhaps also to indicate his desire that the Chinese people regain their fighting spirit and reestablish the fire phase (yan 炎) dynasty (Ming), as did the Emperor Guangwu for the fire phase Han (yan 炎漢). He also changed his courtesy name at this time from Zhongqing 忠清 (Loyal, honest, and upright; Loyal to the Qing) to Ningren 寧人 (Bring peace and stability to the people).

In the last decades of the Qing and early Republic a political and intellectual paradigm shift coincided for the first time. As a result, a whole generation of intellectuals felt the need to give up their original given names, usually at a key point in their lives, such as going to university or to Japan to study. In doing so, their aim was to break out of the confines of what they regarded as the outmoded sentiments embodied in the old names and to express newfound ideals in new names. For example, none of the given names of the following was their original one (which are given in parentheses):

Yan Fu 嚴復 (Yan Chuanchu 嚴傳初; Yan Zongguang 嚴宗光 [Jidao 幾道]); Fu 復 (one of the 64 hexagrams) was suggested by his previous pen name, Dilei 地雷.

Lin Yutang 林語堂 (Lin Yutang 林玉堂; Hele 和樂 was his childhood name). He changed Yutang 玉堂 to Yutang 語堂 to emphasize his desire for dialogue.

Peng Dehuai 彭德懷 (Peng Dehua 彭德華); childhood name, Zhen Yazi 真伢子; changed his name from Dehua 德華 to Dehuai 德懷 on being released from prison in 1916 (he had participated in an attempt on the life of the governor of Hunan).

Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 (Qu Sen 瞿霜, etc.); childhood name A-Shuang 阿雙 (from the two whorls on the crown of his head). His school name was Qu Shuang 瞿雙. Later he changed this to Shuang 爽 or Shuang 霜 and then to Qiubai 秋白.

In this respect, Mao Zedong 毛澤東 and Zhou Enlai 周恩來 were more conventional, in that, of their contemporaries, they were among the few not to abandon their original given names.

During the May Fourth Movement many intellectuals went a step further and changed their family names as well as their given names.

From the late nineteenth century, anti-Manchu sentiment, reformist zeal, and social Darwinism began to influence intellectuals in their choice of alternative names and even led many to change their original given names. Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, for example, by choosing Jiang 絳 as his new given name showed his admiration for Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 and by selecting Taiyan 太炎 as his new courtesy name expressed his respect for both Gu Yanwu and Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (courtesy name Taichong 太沖).

The popularity of social Darwinism is reflected in the name adopted by Hu Hongxing 胡洪騂. He was 14 at the time and asked his elder brother, Hu Hongzhui 胡洪騅, to suggest a new name. "He thought for a while and then said, 'What about the character "fit" in survival of the fittest?'" 適者生存的適字怎麼洋? Hu took it at first as a pen name, but a few years later in 1910 began to use it as his given name and also as his courtesy name, in the form Shizhi 適之 (Hu Shi 胡適. Wode xinyang 我的信仰 [My beliefs]. In *Hu Shi wenji* 胡適文集. Beijing daxue, 1998, *juan* 1; see also Ng 2003). The phrase *shizhe shengcun* 適者生存 (survival of the fittest) was very much in vogue in China at that time (§5.1.5). One of Hu's friends renamed himself Natural Selection (Tianze 天擇) and another, Struggle for Existence (Jingcun 竟存).

Most of the writers of the May Fourth generation and later decades, including the six most famous ones (Lu, Guo, Mao, Ba, Lao, and Cao 魯, 郭, 茅, 巴, 老, 曹) abandoned not only their given names and courtesy names but also (with the exception of Guo Moruo 郭沫若), their family names in favor of multiple pen names, by the most famous of which they are all known to this day. Their previous or original names are shown in parentheses:

Lu Xun 魯迅 (Zhou Shuren 周樹人; Zhou Zhangshou 周樟壽); Lu 魯 was his mother's maiden name; Xun 迅 had been a childhood name that he had also used as a pen name, chosen, as he later explained, because he thought of himself as rather backward and therefore needed to be quicker and more diligent to catch up. He signed his first great success, *Kuangren riji* 狂人日記 (Diary of a madman), as Lu Xun (Diligence Lu) and the name stuck.

Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (Guo Kaizhen 郭開貞 [Dingtang 鼎堂]); the Moshui 沫水 and the Ruoshui 若水 are rivers near Guo's home town, Leshan 樂山.

Mao Dun 茅盾 (Shen Dehong 瀋德鴻 [Yanbing 雁冰]); his original choice for pen name was Maodun 矛盾 (Contradiction).

Ba Jin 巴金 (Li Yaotang 李堯棠 [Feigan 芾甘]). The name was chosen in 1928 (Ba Jin later explained), because he had just finished the manuscript of his first novel, Miewang 滅亡 (Destruction) and wanted to sign it with a simple name with few strokes in the characters. He chose Jin 金 from the last syllable of Kropotkin (Kelubaotejin 克魯泡特金), because he was at the time translating Kropotkin's *Ethics*. Just then he received the news of the suicide of Ba Enpo 巴恩波, a fellow student who had boarded at the same lodging house in Paris with him, so he added Ba to Jin. Ba is therefore not, as some have claimed, the first syllable of Bakunin in Chinese transcription (Bakuning 巴枯寧).

Lao She 老舍 (Shu Qingchun 舒慶春. Shu 舒 was the Chinese transcription of the first syllable of his Manchu clan name, Sumuru; [courtesy name and one of his pen names, Sheyu 舍予, the two halves of 舒]; Xiaogou weiba 小狗尾巴 [Puppy tail] was his childhood name). Lao She was the pen name he used for his first full-length novel.

Cao Yu 曹禺 (Wan Jiabao 萬家寶); Cao 曹 [standing for cao 艸] and Yu 禺 are the upper and lower halves of Wan 萬).

Another trend was the adoption of transcribed Western given names, as, for example:

Zhang Junmai 張君勱 [Jiasen 嘉森] (Carsun Chang)
Hong Weilian 洪煨蓮 (William Hong)
Fu Baolu 符保盧 (Paolo Fu)

Among overseas Chinese in the West or those who had been educated abroad, including those who had become Christians, baptismal names (*xili ming* 洗禮名) or Christian names (*jiaoming* 教名) and initialisms were already common, as, for example, in, Charlie Song, T. V. Song, T. L. Song, James T. C. Liu, L. S. Yang, K. C. Chang, or Y. R. Chao. Chinese going to Europe and America became used to reversing the order of their names. So Zhang Qiaozhi 張喬治 became Qiaozhi Zhang 喬治張.

8.3.9 Popular Given Names in the PRC

Popular given names in the first 30 years of the PRC are shown in Table 37. There were many changes during the Cultural Revolution. In 1966–67, the top word appearing in given names of both boys and girls was not surprisingly Hong 紅 (Red). It was followed by Hua 華 (Chinese), Jun 軍 (Army), Wen 文 (Cultural [Revolution]), Ying 英 (Heroic), and Ming 明 (Bright). Ten years later, Hong 紅 (Red) had sunk to sixth most favorite and been replaced by the nationalistic Hua 華 (Chinese) as the number one (both for girls and for boys). During the same period Jun 軍 (Army) in names dropped from third to seventh place.

Table 37 PRC Popular Given Names, 1949–79

Jianguo 建国 (Establish the Country)	Wenge 文革 (Cultural Revolution)
Jianjun 建军 (Establish the Army)	Fanxiu 返修 (Oppose Revisionism)
Kaiguo 开国 (Setting up the Country)	Hongjun 红军 (Red Army)
Guoqiang 国强 (Strong Country)	Yonghong 永红 (For Ever Red)
Xinhua 新华 (New China)	Hongwei 红卫 (Red Guard)
Tugai 土改 (Land Reform)	Weibiao 维彪 (Protect [Lin 林] Biao)
Jiefang 解放 (Liberation)	Xuelei 学雷 (Study from Lei [Feng 锋])
Kangmei 康美 (Resist America)	Lei 雷 (Lei; from Lei Feng 雷锋)
Baoguo 保国 (Protect the Country)	Feng 锋 (Feng; from Lei Feng 雷锋)
Yaojin 遥进 (Leap Forward)	Aimin 爱民 (Love the People)
Gongshe 公社 (Commune)	Dongfeng 东风 (East Wind)
Chaoying 超英 (Overtake England)	Aijun 爱军 (Love the Army)
Yishan 移山 (Move the Mountain)	Jun 军 (Army)
Lixin 立新 (Embrace the New)	Bing 兵 (Soldier)
Hongzhuan 红专 (Red and Expert)	Min 民 (People)
Wenge 文革 (Cultural Revolution)	Sixin 四新 (Four Moderns)

In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, many high school students started to change their given names.

Another rapid change during the Cultural Revolution decade (1966–76) was that single-syllable given names became hugely popular. In the period 1949–66, they accounted for only 9 percent of newly chosen names. During the next 10 years their share rose to 28 percent. Many reasons have been advanced in an effort to explain this sudden popularity. An obvious one is that because two-character given names outnumbered single ones by the Qing and because most people in the first half of the twentieth century accepted a two-character name as the norm, when people were encouraged to destroy the old and embrace the new (*pojiu lixin* 破旧立新), two-character names were quickly associated with the old and one-syllable names with the new. Moreover, as the lineage system came increasingly under attack, so did the naming system associated with it, including the need for a two-character ranking name (*paihang* 排行), in which one of the characters (usually the first) identified siblings of the same generation (§8.7).

Once the trend was established, it was further encouraged by the fact that many of the role models and famous people of the day had only one-syllable given names (Lu Xun 鲁迅, Ding Ling 丁玲, Zhu De 朱德, Lei Feng 雷锋, Jiang Qing 江青, Lin Biao 林彪). Some may even have found that it was easier to choose a one-syllable given name for their loved ones than a two-character one and they are certainly quicker to write. Carried along by the trend, many people with two-character names changed them to single ones.

Later, after the 1980s, the trend was reversed and given names with two syllables reestablished themselves as the norm. One sign of this was the announcement on October 1, 2007, by the ID Card Service Center at the ministry of public security that 960,000 people throughout the country held the given name Jianguo 建国 (Establish the Country), although the numbers choosing this name annually had been declining since 2000 (the high point had been in the 1960s). Moreover, there were 406,860 people named Guoqing 国庆 (National Day) and 6,466 people named Shiyi 十一 (October 1). However, only 1,894 people had the family name Guo 国 coupled with the single-syllable given name Qing 庆 to make the full name,

Guo Qing 国庆 (National Day); see Quanguo gongmin shenfenzheng haoma chaxun fuwu zhongxin 全国公民身份证号码查询服务中心 (National Citizen ID Card Number Search Service Center [ministry of public security]), press release, October 1, 2007.

Other changes also took place as the naming system continued to evolve. Experiments began to be made, for example, using the family names of both mother and father for a child's given name; girls began to be given what were previously considered boy's names and many also received rather conventional girl's names; rare characters not on the list of general use characters came back into vogue; full-form characters also began to replace simplified ones in personal names (§2.9.4); and people began to reintroduce courtesy names (*zi* 字). Even foreign names, that is to say, the characters habitually used for them, began to enjoy a certain vogue, for example, Yuehan 约翰 and Mali 玛丽 (after John and Mary). One sign of the times was that political movements were no longer incorporated into given names.

8.4 COMMONERS' GIVEN NAMES

One of the main difficulties in getting a full picture of the historical evolution of the Chinese naming system is that the transmitted sources that have been preserved record almost exclusively the names of the educated elite. Theirs was the normative system, but the vast majority of the population throughout Chinese history never attained the elite, which leaves the intriguing question, what names did commoners use during the past 2,000 years? The question is not often raised, it being assumed that they applied a simplified form of the normative system, often only having a given name (*ming* 名) in the pre-Qin and thereafter, under the empire, only a family name (*xing* 姓) and a given name (*ming*), but not courtesy (*zi* 字), alternative (*hao* 號), or other names that proliferated among the elite.

When commoners make a rare appearance in the transmitted elite literature of the empire, they are clearly marked as such (*buyi* 布衣, *min* 民). In official works, such as the *Histories*, their most regular appearance is as criminals or rebels (*kou* 寇, *dao* 盗, *zei* 賊) or in the chapters on unusual phenomena, where women who gave

birth to quintuplets or men who lived to 120 years of age are taken as auspicious signs worth recording.

Therefore, if the question of commoners' names is raised at all, most modern writers have felt little option but to quote the names of well-known characters from the plays and novels of the later empire, which abound in commoners with quaint number names and earthy nicknames. But there is plenty of evidence today, some of it new, to go beyond such late literary sources. Early census and other administrative documents have been unearthed from the beginning of the Han to the Song with new evidence of the naming system of the non-elite. From the Song, genealogies begin to record sublineages at a stage when their members were still too humble to have acquired fine sounding erudite or Confucian names.

Officials meticulously recorded commoners' names for the purposes of investigating crime or rebellion. These have sometimes been preserved in casebooks based on litigation records (one from the Song was recently rediscovered) or in collections of statutes, such as the *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章, or in original legal case records found in the Qing archives. Excerpts from these new categories of evidence are quoted in this section.

8.4.1 Given Names of Han Soldiers

The Han wooden slips mainly record the administration of the northern border and include the names of several thousand conscript soldiers stationed there. These reveal that as in the pre-Qin, many common people, such as peasant conscripts, still had no family name, let alone a courtesy name (*zi*). However, their given names are similar to the elite given names of the time and like them, most are usually a single syllable (the translations into English below are capitalized because these are names).

Long life: Changsheng 長生 (Long Life), Sheng 生 (Life), Yong 永 (Everlasting), Yanshou 延壽 (Ripe Old Age), Yannian 延年 (Extended Years), Qianqiu 千秋 (One Thousand Autumns), Weiyang 未央 (Never Ending).
Ancestral obligations: Guangzong 廣宗 (Broaden the Lineage), Guang 廣 (Broad).
Victory over the Xiongnu (§8.3.3).
Desire for peace: Dingshi 定世 (Settle the Age); Anshi 安世 (Pacify the Age), Anguo 安國 (Pacify the State), Jiaping 嘉平 (Flourishing Peace), Ping 平 (Peace).
Desirable qualities: Wu 武 (Military Might), Qiang 強 (Strong), Meng 猛 (Ferocious), Fu 福 (Lucky), Ji 吉 (Good Fortune), Chang 常 (Constant), Liang 良 (Good), Zhang 章 (Brilliant), Bao 褒 (Praise), Xi 喜 (Happy), Chengle 成樂 (Complete Happiness), Guang 光 (Bright), Ming 明 (Bright), Yang 陽 (Sunny Side), Xian 憲 (Law), Xuan 宣 (Make Manifest), Chong 充 (Sufficiency). Chang 昌 (Prosperous) was particularly popular as was Xu 詡 (Both Intelligent and Brave).
Confucian virtues: Zhong 忠 (Loyal), De 德 (Virtue), Xin 信 (Trust), Yi 義 (Righteousness).
Mythical rulers: only Yu 禹 appears as a given name.
Sibling seniority: Changzi 長子 (Eldest son), Zhong 仲 (Second son), Yi 乙 (either standing for Yi 一: First Born or possibly meaning Second Born). Zhang 長 (Eldest), Sun 孫 (Grandson).
Numbers: Only five of the conscripts in this sample of about 1,000 have names composed of numbers, including Song Wan 宋萬 (Song Wan) and Zhao Qian 趙千 (see §8.7.2 on this kind of name).
Geographical features: Shan 山 (Mountain), Tian 田 (Field), Di 地 (Earth), Jiang 疆 (Border).
Status or occupation: Wairen 外人 (Outsider), Shiren 市人 (Trader), Zuren 卒人 (Trooper), So and so Zong 宗 (So and so lineage).
Almost none of the conscripts has a *ganzhi* name or zodiacal animal name.

Source: Extracted from *Juyan Hanjian renming biannian* 居延漢簡人名編年 (§59.6.2.1, I). This gives details of the names found on some 1,200 slips that can be dated to years falling between 96 BCE and 104 CE.

8.4.2 Commoners in Fourth-Century Changsha

The next large cache of names of commoners is from 150 years later on the tenancy tallies on wooden tablets found at Zoumalou 走馬樓, Changsha. The first selection to be published (*Changsha Zoumalou*

Sanguo Wujian 長沙走馬樓三國吳簡 [§60. 3]) records the names of some 1,720 taxpayers (mainly tenant farmers but also some local officials and military men) in the state of Wu for the years 235–36. Of these, 1,632 were men and 88 women (95 percent male and 5 percent female).

About 200 of the given names are indecipherable, so the total of decipherable names comes to about 1,520. All the given names are composed of one character and most are clearly what would later be termed childhood names in the elite naming system. But, as for most commoners in Chinese history, these were names given in early childhood and used throughout their lives. One result is that the names on these Zoumalou records are informal and most often do not express Confucian values. This is in marked contrast to those of the elite in these centuries, who on going to school abandoned their childhood names and acquired more elegant, often Confucian, names. In this Zoumalou 走馬樓 sample, many have apotropaic names:

Ten Blacks (Hei 黑), eight Scarlets (Chi 赤), four Wilds (Ye 野), five Slaves (Nu 奴), five Tails (Wei 尾), nine Rats (Shu 鼠), five Dogs (Gou'狗), five Goats (Yang 羊), six Horses (Ma 馬), three Oxen (Niu 牛), and two Dragons (Long 龍). Of these, the black and scarlet no doubt refer to birthmarks or other features of the newborn babies (there are no other color names in the sample). The animals may have been chosen according to the day or the year of birth. Animal names, such as dog, also had an apotropaic function. Although six of the 12 astrological animals are not represented, there are eight Elephants (Xiang 象), perhaps a faint memory of the time when these animals could still be found in Hunan. No fewer than nine people have the (non-apotropaic) name of Tall (Gao 高).

A second large category of names are those to do with farming:

12 Wheats (Mai 麥), 2 Millets (Su 粟), 1 Broomcorn Millet (Mei 糜), 11 Chang 萇 (presumably, the *changchu* 萇楚, Chinese Gooseberry or Kiwi), 11 Granaries (Cang 倉), 6 Silos (Qun 囷), 5 Crops (Gu 穀), 3 Fertilizers (Fei 肥), and 8 Food Applenties (Rao 饒).

The market place also inspires many names:

Market (Shi 市, 2), Buy (Mai 買, 2), Gold (Jin 金, 9), Silver (Yin 銀, 4), Rich (Fu 富, 3), You 有 (Possessing, 12), Silk (Bo 帛, 4), Hemp (Bu 布, 3), Bushel (Hu 斛, 1), and Peck (Dou 斗, 6).

Other people are simply named after their occupations or status, including:

18 Guests (Ke 客, that is, migrants), 6 Wars (Zhan 戰), 2 Soldiers (Bing 兵), and 5 Commoners (Min 民).

Only 12 people have numbers as given names (indicating birth order):

Gu Yi 谷一, Xie Wu 謝五, Wei Wu 衛伍, Shuo Wu 萠伍, and 8 named Three (Sa 仨). Eight have the ranking characters *bo* 伯 or *zhong* 仲 as given names (four Bo 伯 and 4 Zhong 仲). Only 7 people have one of the 22 *ganzhi* as given names, and these 7 only use 3 of them (2 Ding 丁, 1 Ji 己, and 4 Hai 亥). Hai was possibly the most popular because it was intended to signal the last child (*hai* 亥 being the last of the branches). In a similar way, Yuan 元 was one of the most popular given names (13), because it indicated the first born and also had Daoist connotations.

Most of the other names indicate desirable qualities, such as Civil (Wen 文, 11), Peace (10 Ping 平 and four An 安), and various words for Happiness, Bright, or Good Fortune. Caution (Ti 惕) and Appropriate (Yi 宜) were unusually popular (12 and 11). There are a very few names (apart from Yuan 元) that may be Daoist—two Dao 道 (Way), two Zhen 真 (True), and the six Dou 斗 (Peck), already mentioned as "farming names." The only signs of Buddhist inspiration are two Zang 藏 (and possibly the two Dao 道).

Compared with the above, rather few in this frontier prefecture are named after virtues directly associated with Confucian teaching. Ritual (Li 禮) is the most common (10), followed by Morality (De 德, 5), Yielding (Rang 讓, 4), Righteousness (義 Yi, 2), and Respect (Jing 敬, 2). Morality names, such as Wisdom (Zhi 智), Loyalty

(Zhong 忠), Trust (Xin 信), and Filial Piety (Xiao 孝) were not popular. Only one person bears one of these names in the entire sample. For comments on the adult women on the list, see §10.1.

Several dozen people are listed with two family names instead of a family and a given name: for example, Zhou-Zhang 周張, Fan-Zhu 潘朱, Lu-Zheng 魯鄭. This form would be normal for women (usually with a gender indicator suffix), but only two are described as women (danü 大女); the others are all listed as clerks or men (li 吏 or nanzi 男子). Gao Kai 高凱 (2001, 40) comments that this form of name is almost never found among the 4,100 names in the *San-guo zhi* 三國志 and puts it down to the low social level of the Zoumalou taxpayers. To which I would add that this is yet another indicator that the assumption that the normative naming system of the elite was replicated in a simpler form by commoners needs re-examining.

Gao Kai 高凱. 2001. Cong Zoumalou Wujian "Jiahe limin tianjiabie" kan Sun Wu chuqi Changsha junmin de qiming fengsu 从走马楼吴简'嘉禾吏民田家'看孙吴初期长沙郡民的起名风俗 (Naming practices among the people of the Changsha prefecture in the early years of the kingdom of Wu as seen from the "Jiahe Officials and Commoner's Tenancy Tallies" on the Changsha Zoumalou wooden tablets). *Xungen* 寻根 2: 38–41.

8.4.3 Names of Commoners at Dunhuang

The Dunhuang manuscripts offer another large cache of commoners' names—by one count, at least 4,000 (Gao Qi'an 1997). Apart from some transcriptions of the names of foreign monks, nuns, and merchants, most of the names are of Chinese commoners. Typically, adults use their original childhood names, many of which are apotropaic, with Stink, Slave, and Dog (Chou 醜, Nu 奴, and Gou 苟 [狗]) being the most common. Duplicates are typical of women's names, as is the use of Niang 娘 (Aunty) and Miao 妙 (Wonderful). Many of the men's names end in zi 子 or lang 郎. Names based on appearance (Red head, Black head): Chitou 赤頭, Heitou 黑頭) are used by both men and women. There are also the usual Confucian morality names, such as Benevolentia, Righteous, Sage, or Trust (Ren 仁, Yi 義, Zhi 智, Xin 信). Finally, there are many birth-order number names (Zhao Baniang 趙八娘, Gao Nianniang 高廿娘), many with shen 什 (ten) as the first character to indicate the generation, as in Guo Shenba 郭什八, Ma Shenyi 馬什一, or Zhang Shen'er 張什二).

The Dunhuang names contain many kinship terms. These became even more common in the following centuries in commoner's names. For example, Yuan case records have the following names, Liu Po'an 劉婆安, Li Banjie 李伴姐, Liu Banyi 劉伴姨, Li Chouge 李醜哥, An Xiuge 安秀哥, Deng Bangu 鄧伴姑, Huang Hejie 黃鶴姐, Yangfu Yiniang 楊福一娘, Hu Yuan Qiniang 胡元七娘 (Hubu 戶部 4, Hunyin 婚姻, Jiaqu 嫁娶. In *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章, *juan* 18; see Chen Gaohua [2000 (§8.17.2), 129]).

Gao Qi'an 高启安. 1997. Tang-Song shiqi Dunhuang renming tanxi 唐宋时期敦煌人名探析 (Analysis of Dunhuang personal names of Tang and Song times). *Dunhuang yanjiu* 4: 121–87.

8.4.4 Commoners' Number Names in the Song

During the Song, commoners, apparently in imitation of the elite, began to use generational (and sibling) rank numbers (hangdi 行第 or xingdi 姓第) as names on a much wider scale than before, but instead of using these as a polite addition to the regular naming system, as did the elite in the Tang and Song, these were their only names throughout their lives, from infancy to old age (unless they improved their position in society, in which case they would acquire high-sounding given names, just like those of the elite [§8.4.5]). Also in the Song, the practice of naming children by the sum of years of their parents' ages became common.

Literati rarely noted the names of the common people in their various works. One of the few exceptions is the Southern Song

scholar-official, Hong Mai 洪邁. In his late twelfth-century collection of strange tales, *Record of the listener* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志), he mentions the names of over 4,000 people. Most of these are from the national or local elite, but dozens are commoners. The stories are drawn from many parts of the empire, including his home town and the cities in which he served, both in the South and in the North; so, in part he was basing himself on wide and direct experience. Here is a sample of the given names of men that he cites (with the status or occupation noted in brackets). For examples of the names of women in the *Yijianzhi*, see §10.1.

> Baiyi 百一 (101, i.e., either first born in the generation denominated Bai or Rare; *danma ren* 擔麻人, hemp porter)
> Chen Er 陳二 (Chen 2; *nongmin* 農民, peasant)
> Li Shiliu 李十六 (Liu 16; *shimin* 市民, townsman)
> Lin Wushiliu 林五十六 (Lin 56)
> Liu Shi'er 劉十二 (Liu 12; *min* 民, commoner)
> Shen Shijiu 沈十九 (Shen 19; *min* 民, commoner)
> Wang Qiliu 王七六 (Wang 76; *shangren* 商人, trader)
> Xiong Er 熊二 (Xiong 2; *junmin* 軍民, army man)
> Yin Er 尹二 (Yin 2; *yuzhe* 魚者, fisherman)
> Zhou San 週三 (Zhou 3; *tianfuren* 田夫人, landlord or peasant [?])

Most of the above names are birth-order names. Such names were called xingdi 姓第 (family name and number). In an anecdote about a band of robbers, Hong Mai is at pains to relate how each one responded to his xingdi 姓第 (Zhu tongpan 朱通判, *Yijianzhi*, Bingji 丙集). Noticeable about these names is that the numbers are larger than similar ranking names in the Tang, for reasons explained at §8.7.1.

In referring to somebody with a xingdi, it was polite to insert lao 老 (old, used as a term of familiarity) into the name, such as the following characters in *The scholars*: Yang Laoliu 楊老六, Peng Laosan 彭老三, Fang Laoliu 方老六, and Wang Laoliu 王老六 (*Rulin waishi* 儒林外史, *juan* 11, 12, 46, 47, 59).

By a stroke of good fortune, a late Southern Song collection of legal cases came to light in the 1980s. In it are recorded the names of several hundred male litigants from the Wu region. What is striking about these names is that those with any status or wealth almost invariably follow the normative system with names expressing Confucian morality or classical allusions. But the names of the boatmen, farmers, and other commoners do not. Instead they use numbers for names. One of the cases concerns a brawl that broke out after a boat race on the river, in which 13 people died. The names of the 44 people involved in the brawl are listed in Table 38 in the order in which they appear in the court records as found in the *Minggong shupan qingming ji* 名公書判清明集 (1260–65).

Notable about the names of those involved in this case is that of the total of 44 people, only a handful had non-number given names—Wang Rixuan 王日宣, Xu Xing 徐興, Yang Tong 楊童, and Zhang Baoyi 張保義. Of these Wang and Zhang were either a member of the local elite or had connections with it. Wang, one of the chief money collectors (for betting on the race) was punished; the case of Zhang (the town supervisor), who looked on and did nothing to stop the disorder or help the drowning men, was transferred to the prefectural level. The co-translator into English of selections from the *Enlightened judgments*, Brian McKnight, makes the general suggestion in his introduction that the first number in the given name usually indicates the generation from a supposed common ancestor, and the second, the individual's ranking among the children in that generation (i.e., birth-order number). But this explanation does not work for most of the names in the list, in which, for example, eight of the given names begin with Wan 萬 (10,000), six begin with Qian 千 (1,000), and one with Bai 百 (100). These characters are a form of generation ranking character (zibei 字輩, beifenzi 輩分字) used to distinguish generations, not to count them (§8.7.2).

Table 38 Given Names of Commoners in the Song

Name		Translation of Given Name	Name		Translation of Given Name
陳元三	Chen Yuansan	[see notes]	楊萬七	Yang Wanqi	Wan 7
臣再四	Chen Zaisi	Zai 4	楊萬三	Yang Wansan	Wan 3
陳再一	Chen Zaiyi	Zai 1	楊元一	[see notes]	First born 1
陳曾十七	Chen Zeng shiqi	Zeng 17	葉四	Ye Si	No. 4
程千五	Cheng Qianwu	Qian 5	余萬一	Yu Wanyi	Wan 1
蔣省一	Jiang Xingyi	Xing 1	詹百廿八	Zhan Bainianba	Bai 28
金省四	Jin Xingsi	Xing 4	詹省十三	Zhan Xingshisan	Xing 13
李千	Li Qian	Qian	詹萬十四	Zhan Wanshisi	Wan 14
李辛六七	Li Xin Liuqi	Eight 67	詹細十七	Zhan Xi shiqi	Xi 17
李辛一	Li Xinyi	Eight 1	張保一	Zhang Baoyi	Bao 1
馬千十	Ma Qianshi	Qian 10	張六四	Zhang Liusi	64
潘詹萬六	Pan-Zhan Wanliu	Wan 6	張萬二	Zhang Waner	Wan 2
丘省元	Qiu Xingyuan	Xing First born	鄭萬四	Zheng Wansi	Wan 4
邵些小五	Shao Xie xiaowu	Tiny Little 5	周千八	Zhou Qianba	Qian 8
邵些八	Shao Xieba	Little 8	周千七	Zhou Qianqi	Qian 7
王日宣	Wang Rixuan	Daily Declare	周省三	Zhou Xingsan	Xing 3
吳省三	Wu Xingsan	Xing 3	周省一	Zhou Xingyi	Xing 1
吳些十七	Wu Xie shiqi	Little 17	朱千六十	Zhu Qian liushi	Qian 60
徐興	Xu Xing	Rising	朱萬十六	Zhu Wan Shiliu	Wan 16
徐辛一	Xu Xinyi	Eight 1	朱細十七	Zhu Xishiqi	Xi 17
楊省四	Yang Xingsi	Xing 4	朱再二	Zhu Zai'er	Zai 2
楊童	Yang Tong	Young master	諸葛大士官	Zhuge Da shiguan	Big official

Notes: Chen Yuansan 陳元三 (the first on the list) was either the third born in the generation denominated Yuan or born on the third day of the New Year (cf. Yang Yuanyi 楊元一). Tang Zhiyan (2008) makes the interesting suggestion that *xin* 辛 (the eighth *gan*) in these names stands for "eight," whereas *yi* 乙 (the second *gan*) stands for one. It may also have been used instead of *xin* 新.

Source: Minggong shupan qingming'ji 名公書判清明集 (this passage is translated in McKnight and Liu, trs. *The enlightened judgments* [§23.3.2, 488–93]). The translations of the names are by EW.

Apart from large numbers, there are several other generation characters in the *Enlightened judgments*, most suggesting duplication or increase, such as Zai 再 and Zeng 曾, or Xi 細. Xing 省 is less easy to explain than other words commonly used in genealogies to mark generations, such as Fu 福, Nai 鼐, Jun 俊, or Sheng 勝. Perhaps it is a dialect character or stands for Sheng 甥.

Of the 1,900 Song people included in *Songren hangdi kaolu* 宋人行第考錄, 161 (8 percent) have given names starting with the words *bai* 百, *qian* 千, *wan* 萬, or *zhao* 兆 (§62.2.2 #22). Of these, the most common are the lower numbers—*bai* 百 (71 people), *qian* 千 (59), *wan* 萬 (29), and *zhao* 兆 (only 2). Almost without exception, all 161 given names are of the type Wansan 萬三 or Qianer 千二 (whereby the first character indicates the generation rank in a series and the second character the birth order).

Given names consisting simply of a number less than ten almost certainly indicate birth-order ranking of siblings sharing the same grandfather in the male line (by the later empire, genealogies occasionally include a branch lineage, whose members were still too poor to have a name). Individuals are listed by number followed by the designation *lang* 郎 [mister], in exact imitation of the polite form of the *hangdi* 行第 names employed by Tang and Song literati). Numbers from 10 to 50 are probably of siblings sharing the same great grandfather. Rather more difficult to understand are number names over 50, such as 64 or 67. Here, McKnight may well be right. The six could stand for the sixth generation and the four or seven for the ranking by birth order. Support for this view comes from the late Qing scholar, Yu Yue 俞樾, who was one of the very few to comment on the practice among commoners of using numbers as names (Yu Yue. *Chunzai tang suibi* 春在堂隨筆 [§66.4. 10], p. 66). But Yu earlier also quotes a friend and fellow townsman from Deqing 德清 in Zhejiang, who told him,

Looking at the genealogy of the Cai family of our town, I saw a note written in small characters under a previous generation, which says, "Under the Yuan system, commoners without an official post were not permitted to take a

name; but, only to use as a name their seniority in the generation number or the sum of the ages of their mother and father.... If you look in the countryside around Shaoxing today, you can see many people named with numbers. If the husband is 24 and the wife 22, the sum comes to 46 and so the newly born child is called 46. If the husband is 23 and the wife 22, the sum comes to 45, and so the newly born child may be called Five-nine (5 times 9 is 45)."

向見吾邑蔡氏家譜有前輩書小字一行云元制庶民無職者不許取名只以行第及父母年齒合計為名.... 見在紹興鄉間頗有以數目字為名者如夫年二十四婦年二十二合為四十六生子即名四六夫年二十三婦年二十二何為四十五生子或名為五九五九四十五也 (ibid).

Despite the fact (as Yu points out) that there is no trace of a law under the Yuan forbidding names for those without an official post, the remark in the genealogy may have been triggered by the fact that a distinctive feature of the naming system of the Mongols (as indeed of the Jurchens, Kitans, and Manchus) was the widespread use of numbers as names. This has led many scholars, including Wu Han 吳晗 (1959), to conclude that the Yuan dynasty was exceptional in that people used numbers as names. The argument is weak because it can be shown that number names were in popular use among Chinese people many centuries before the Mongol dynasty (see previous section and Hong Jinfu 1984).

In addition to adding the ages of the parents, there are many other methods of creating number names, attested from different parts of China. One was to name the child after the number of the month and day of birth (thus Liusi 六四 could be the name of a child born on the fourth day of the sixth month). This method goes back to antiquity, and today it is still found in some parts of the country. For example, it is the usual way for the Danjia 蛋家 [Tanka] boat people along the southern coasts to select names for their children. Another practice was to name the child with the father's or grandfather's age at the time of birth. There is evidence for this practice among both Monguors and Han in Gansu in the early twentieth century (Schram 1954 [§8.3.2.2], 100–102).

The number names of rebels at the end of the Yuan are the first that can be traced in any detail. The original name of one of them, Zhang Shicheng 張士誠, a salt dealer, was Zhang Jiusi 張九四 (1321–67). The *jiu* 九 in Jiusi 九四 (94) may refer to the ninth generation of Zhang's lineage (unlikely) or it could be a generation ranking character in a cycle such as *jiu* 九, *bai* 百, *qian* 千, rather than a straight number. Another possibility is that it indicates the month in which he was born (the four referring to the day). The first thing to do in trying to sort out number names is to check the names of siblings. In Zhang's case we know the names of his younger brothers and co-conspirators, Jiuwu 九五 (Nine-five), Jiuliu 九六 (Nine-six), and Jiuqi 九七 (Nine-seven). This rules out a month and day type of name. Most likely is that the *si* 四 in Jiusi 九 四 refers to the fact that Zhang was the fourth to be born in his generation, whose identifying character was Jiu 九. After acquiring a certain amount of power, he founded his own dynasty, Da Zhou 大 周 (1354–67), in Jiangsu and adopted the title, Prince of Cheng (Cheng wang 誠王). He also had his advisers help him select a more elegant name, Shicheng 士誠. He then bestowed the names Shiyi 士 義, Shide 士德, and Shixin 士信 on his brothers. As a failed rival of Zhu Yuanzhang, Zhang was excoriated in the early Ming. One sign of this was the story that he had been made a fool of by his advisers, because he was unfamiliar with the punctuation of the allusion from which Shicheng 士誠 had been drawn (see §70.9 for the story).

Hong Jinfu 洪金富. 1987. Shumuzi renming shuo 數目字人名說 (On numbers as names). *Shiyusuo jikan* 58.2: 281–379. The most thorough investigation of this practice by far. However, Hong prefers not to speculate as to why such names should have become so popular between the Tang and the twentieth century. He lists in appendixes several hundred examples of number names from the *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志, the *Minggong shupan qingming ji* 名公書判清明集 (drawn from an early incomplete edition), the *Jinshi* 金史, various Yuan historical sources, the *Jiangsu jinshizhi* 江蘇金石志 (Jiangsu epigraphy). 24 *juan*. Jiangsu tongzhi ju 江蘇通志局, ed. 1927, and the 1984 Taibei telephone directory.

Pan Jiayi 潘家懿. 1998. Ouchuan yumin de ruming wenhua 甌船漁民的乳名文化 (The culture of the childhood names of Ou fishing boat people). *Yuyan wenzi yingyong* 2: 39–41.

Tang Zhiyan 唐智燕. 2008. *Minggong shupan qingming ji* shuzi ming tanxi 名公书判清明集数字名探悉 (An investigation of the number names in the *Minggong shupan qingming ji*). *Hanyushi yanjiu jikan* 11: 404–15.

Wu Han 吳晗. 1959. Song Yuan yilai lao baixing de chenghu 宋元以來老百姓的称呼 (Commoners' appellations since the Song and Yuan). In *Wu Han wenji* 吳晗文集 (Collected works of Wu Han). Beijing, vol. 4, 1988, 170–73. Orig. pub. in *Renmin ribao* 1959/2/27. Wu's short but influential article was largely inspired by Yu Yue 俞樾 (1899).

8.4.5 Upgrading Names

The founders of the Han and of the Ming were the only two emperors in over 2,000 years who came from such obscure backgrounds that they had no regular names. Han Gaozu, Liu Ji 劉季, better known as Liu Bang 劉邦, was called simply by his childhood name, Ji 季 (Youngest). Even the names of Liu's parents are not known for sure. The founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Chongba 朱重八 (better known by the name that he acquired half way through his life, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋) upgraded his original name, not once, but twice on his route to the throne. His first name, Chongba, literally means Eighth One (*chong* being used to indicate successive additions. In Shandong, today, it is still used by farmers as a generational naming character). Early in 1361, his nominal leader Han Lin'er 韓林 兒, proclaimed him Lord of Wu (Wuguo gong 吳國公). In mid 1363, on being rescued by Zhu from an attack, Han Lin'er conferred honors on Zhu's ancestors to his great grandfather, Zhu Sijiu 朱四 九. It was probably on this occasion that Chongba 重八 (aged 35) changed his given name to Xingzong 興宗 (Rising Lineage) and also conferred matching names on his three deceased older brothers, who were now referred to as Xinglong 興隆, Xingsheng 興盛, and Xingzu 興祖. His father (Zhu Wusi 朱五四) was granted a posthumous given name, Shizhen 世珍.

A few days after his elevation to Lord of Wu, Zhu had the details of his ancestry carved on a stele (Box 20) in what he imagined at that time was his ancestral birthplace, Zhuxiang 朱巷 village in Jurong county 句容縣, Jiangsu. Following his victory in 1364 over Chen Youliang 陳友諒 at the battle of Poyang Lake, Zhu claimed the title Prince of Wu (Wu wang 吳王). Then in 1367, after the death of Han Lin'er by drowning (probably at Zhu Yuanzhang's bidding, although it has never been proven), Zhu proclaimed the following year the first year of Wu.

It was probably also at this time (aged 40) that he changed his given name from Xingzong 興宗 to Yuanzhang 元璋 (literally, Yuan Victory Tally). He chose *zhang*, one of four tallies associated with the cardinal points of the compass, because he wished to emphasize the South, from which he came and which *zhang* symbolized, as opposed to the North, the homeland of his opponents, the Mongol Yuan. *Zhang* would also have been considered a good choice for somebody whose family name was Zhu, because that name was also associated with the South (Zhuque 朱雀, the scarlet bird was the symbol of the South and of summer).

For the first time, Zhu also chose a courtesy name (*zi* 字), Guo-rui 國瑞 (State *rui* jade. The allusion is to the *Zhouli* 周禮, Chunguan, Dianrui 春官典瑞 [*zhang* 璋 is one of the five *rui* 瑞 jades, hence the fit between his given and courtesy names]). Perhaps by no coincidence, Guozhang had been the name of one of his allies, Fang Guozhang 方國璋 (elder brother of the salt smuggler and anti-Yuan rebel, Fang Guozhen 方國珍). Guozhang died in a battle outside Taizhou 台州 in 1362 (after Zhu became emperor, Guozhen 國珍 changed his name to Guzhen 穀真, in order to avoid the Guo 國 in Zhu's courtesy name).

Box 20 Zhu Yuanzhang's Ancestors

It is customary today to emphasize Zhu Yuanzhang's 朱元璋 impoverished background (as he himself did). But on his maternal side, his ancestors were not without a certain distinction. His maternal grandfather was a shaman in the suite of the last Song emperor, who survived the Mongol pursuit of his master and lived to be a centenarian.

Zhu Zhongba 朱仲八 (the Second Eighth); not to be confused with his great-great grandson, Zhu Chongba (Zhu Eighth One), the future founder of the Ming dynasty.

朱六二, 朱十二, 朱百六

朱四五, 朱五九

朱初一 (?–1327) 朱初二, 朱初五, 朱初三

朱五一, 朱五四 (1282–1344)

朱重一, 朱重二, 朱重三, 朱重五, 朱重四, 朱重六, 朱重七, 朱重八

Note: Zhu Chongba 朱重八 (later, Zhu Yuanzhang) was the youngest of four brothers and the eighth of eight cousins in two extremely poor families. The reason that the four brothers in Zhu's family received the same generational character Chong 重 but out-of-sequence numbers (4, 6, 7, and 8) was that Zhu Wuyi 朱五一, the elder brother of Zhu Yuanzhang's father, Zhu Wisi 朱 五四, also had four sons (Zhu Yuanzhang's cousins). Naturally, they shared the same generational name, Chong 重, but because the first three were born before Chongsi 重四, they received the higher ranking numbers (One, Two, Three). The fourth boy was born after Chongsi 重四 and so he was called Chongwu 重五. Zhu personally wrote the text of the stele that was erected at the gates of the imperial mausoleum in which he interred his mother, father, and brothers. It is still there today (Wang Jianying 2005 [§16.2], 461–87).

The standard biography of Zhu for many years was written and rewritten by Wu Han 吳晗 (1944–65), not only a leading historian of the Ming but also as Vice-Mayor of Beijing, an influential figure in Beijing cultural circles until the eve of the Cultural Revolution when his play *Hai Rui ba guan* 海瑞罷官 (Hai Rui dismissed from office) was read as an attack on Mao. On Wu Han's life and historiography, see Andrew (2000), Mazur (2009), and Pan Guangzhe (1997). Huang and Liu (1998) provide a more rounded biography of the Ming founder than does Wu. "Jiuyi xiansheng" argues, not entirely convincingly, that Zhu Yuanzhang was a Mongol.

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Jiuyi xiansheng 九夷先生 (Mr. Nine Barbarians). 2002. *Zhu Yuanzhang fei Hua ren kao 朱元璋非華人考 (Invesitigation into Zhu Yuanzhang's not having been Chinese)*. Taibei: Hongwen yiyuan 宏文藝苑, 2002.

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Pan Guangzhe 潘光哲. 1997. Xuexi chengwei Makesizhuyi shixuejia–Wu Han de ge'an yanjiu 学习成为马克思主义史学家—吴晗的各案研究 (Studying to be a Marxist historian—The case of Wu Han's research). *Xin Shixue* 8.2: 133–85.

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Wu Han 吳晗. 1944–65. *Zhu Yuanzhang zhuan 朱元璋*, four editions (1944, 1949, 1955, 1965).

8.4.6 Commoners Given Names in the Qing

Every year capital crimes as decided in the autumn assizes were forwarded to Beijing for review by the board of punishments and following this, ratification by the emperor. Sometimes execution was stayed, sometimes carried out as per the recommendation. In either event, the decision was noted in the veritable records, normally without further detail. But in November 1738, because it was the first time that the young Qianlong emperor had presided over the ritual of the assizes (Qiushen dadian 秋审大典), a decree was issued, listing by name each of 163 people on whom decisions had had to be corrected. Of the 163, no fewer than 85 have names that are obviously childhood ones that they were still using as adults (Table 39). For the most part, these names were one of two types. Either they consisted of a number showing birth order in the family (or more rarely, larger kin group) or they were informal childhood names, usually based on physical characteristics, the circumstances of birth, or the hopes of their parents for the child's good fortune. Here are 18 examples of commoners' names as recorded in the 1738 decree. Note that these are not the names of children, but of adult criminals, many of whom were about to be executed.

Table 39 Commoners' Names in the Qing Shilu

Bu Wannian 卜萬年 (10,000 Years Bu)	Liu Quezi 劉瘸子 (Lame Lad Liu)
Ding Afa 丁阿法 (Little Sūtra Ding)	Lu Xiao'er 陸小兒 (Baby Lu)
Fu Xiangsheng 傅祥生 (Lucky Birth Fu)	Luo Hou 羅厚 (Fat Luo)
Gao Siba 高四疤 (Four Scars Gao)	Meng Dama 孟大麻 (Meng Big Pockmarks)
Gao Xiaogou 高小狗 (Puppy Gao)	Song Maotou 宋毛頭 (Kid Song)
Jiang Hou 江猴 (Monkey Jiang)	Song Situzi 宋四兔子 (Fourth Bunny Song)
Lin Chun 林唇 (Lips Lin)	Sun Da 孫大 (Sun the Fecund)
Lin Meng 林猛 (Ferocious Lin)	Xie Yatian 謝亞添 (Little Addition Xie)
Liu Guazui 劉寡嘴 (Reticent Mouth Liu)	Zhao Da-Han 趙大漢 (Big Guy Zhao)

In addition, there were 25 number names indicating seniority by birth, such as Yang Er 楊二 (Yang 2), Wang San 王三 (Wang 3), Zhang Jiuyi 張九一 (Zhang 9/1), and so forth (*Qing shilu 清實錄, juan 78, Qianlong sannian shiyue, shang 乾隆三年十月上* [first decade of the tenth month, 1738]).

Criminal cases with verbatim records also contain commoners' names; see, for example, the *Neige Hanwen tiben zhuanti dang'an: Xingke hunyin lei tiyao 內閣漢文專題檔案題本刑科婚姻類提要* (§66.4.5.2). Commoner's names recorded in these summaries of cases tend to be simple number names indicating seniority by birth, such as Zhang San 張三 (Zhang 3), Li Si 李四 (Li 4), Wang Wu 王五 (Wang 5), rather than colorful childhood names such as those in Table 39.

Evidence such as that adduced in this section suggests that right to the end of the empire, the naming system for many people did not include one of the two basic elements normally described as forming the Chinese naming system, that is to say, a proper given name (*ming* 名). Instead, large numbers of people appear to have carried throughout their lives given names that were either based on numbers or similar to the informal, often earthy names of the first millennium BCE. Literati, too, used these "childhood names" (*xiaoming* 小名), but they did not regard them as real names and as they grew up, they abandoned them for more refined names according to the normative naming system.

To conclude, it would be a mistake in describing Chinese naming conventions to presume that the normative system that the elite gradually developed was used by the entire population. Clearly, it was not. The situation only began to change in the later twentieth century with the near achievement of universal basic literacy, but that was long after the old naming system had been abandoned. Under the new simplified system that emerged in the course of the twentieth century, everybody has a family name and a given name and most people also use a childhood name in childhood.

8.5 SELECTING A GIVEN NAME

A person's *ming* 命 (fate) was directly linked to his or her *ming* 名 (name). Therefore enormous efforts were made to choose the right name for a child in order to avoid the ever-present dangers of illness and death and to promote the interests of the family and of the child in question.

The earliest set of instructions on how to choose given names occurs in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 in a passage dated 706 BCE. It records that on the birth of his son, Duke Huan 桓公 of Lu asked one of his senior officials, Shen Ru 申繻, how best to choose a good name for the baby. Shen detailed five do's and six don'ts of choosing names that were quoted ever afterwards, either directly or in the slightly enlarged version that appears in the *Liji* 禮記. Of the five do's, three are conditions at birth. None relates to the horoscope:

Names are taken from five things: some pre-information [for example, a birthmark]; some auspices of virtue; some striking appearance about the child; borrowing the name of some object; or some similarity [for example, with the father] ... the name must not be taken from the name of the state, or of an office, or of a mountain or river, or of a malady, or of an animal, or of a utensil, or of a ceremonial offering. 名有五有信有義有象有假有類 ... 不以國 不以官不以山川不以隱疾不以畜牲不以器幣 (Zuozhuan 左傳, Huan 桓 6 [706 BCE]; after James Legge, tr. 49–50). The child, the future Lu Zhuang gong Tong 魯莊公同 (Tong, Lord Zhuang of Lu, b. 706; r. 693–663 BCE), was born on the same day as his father, so, he received the name Tong 同 (Same).

Judging from actual names found in many Zhou sources, including on inscriptions, the six don'ts were rarely applied in real-life (§8.3.2.2).

According to the *Records of ritual* (*Liji* 禮記, Neize 内則), three months after birth, it was the normal practice for the father to bestow on the child its *ming* 名 (given name). This may or may not have reflected ancient practice, but it was not the norm under the empire. Usually, babies received a *xiaoming* 小名 (childhood name)

three months after birth and a given name (*ming* 名), when they first began to attend school. The selection process for the two was not necessarily the same. Childhood names tended to be heavily influenced by the place, time, and circumstances of birth, including a mother's dreams and all kinds of popular beliefs. Study names tended to reflect the aspirations of the elders of the family for the child.

There were numerous schools and guide books to the different techniques of choosing a name and diviners and other specialists could be called upon to advise the father (for the choice was usually his). Newly written naming guides still fill a shelf or two in bookstores today. The methods included:

using the name of the place of birth to suggest the name.

omens and dreams at the time of pregnancy or birth. Although the father (or grandfather) of the child was the person who normally had the responsibility of selecting its name, mothers frequently provided the inspiration, often on the basis of their dreams at the time of conception, during the pregnancy, or just before the birth. Several such stories from ancient China (when there was as yet no distinction between the childhood name and the study name) became part of the language:

Yan Ji 燕姞, the low-born wife of Lord Wen of Zheng 鄭文公 (r. 672–628 BCE), dreamed that a heavenly messenger handed her an orchid (*lan* 蘭), and shortly after, her husband did just that while at the same time inviting her to share his bed. When she had a son, she named him Orchid. Against all odds, her son, Ji Lan 姞蘭, succeeded his father as Lord Mu of Zheng 鄭穆公 (r. 627–606 BCE); *Zuozhuan* 左傳, Xuan 宣 3. From the story come the expressions *Yan Ji menglan* 燕姞夢蘭 and *menglan* 夢蘭 (become pregnant).

Li Bai 李白 was so called because at his birth his mother dreamed about the Changgeng xing 長庚星 (the brightest star, Venus); see *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 202: 5762. He took his courtesy name from another name of the same star, Taibai 太白 (Great White).

During the empire dreams continued to play an important part in the selection of childhood names, but not for study names.

The mother of Zhang Gong'er 張恭兒 dreamed that a puppy with horns licked her. Soon she became pregnant, so the child was named Gou-er 狗兒 (Puppy). Zhu'er 豬兒 (piglet) seemed the most suitable name for her second boy (he later became General Zhang Jing'er 張敬兒 [*Nan-Qi shu* 南齊書: 464]).

Liu Xuande's wife had once dreamed during the night that she had swallowed the Big Dipper (Beidou 北斗) and thus conceived, so she gave her boy the milk name A-dou 阿斗 (Little Big Dipper). He is better known to history as Liu Shan 劉禪, the last ruler of Shu-Han 蜀漢; the story is told in the *Sanguo yanyi*, chapter 34.

matching the day or year of birth with the appropriate one of the 12 animals (*shi-er shengxiao* 十二生肖) or using tables to avoid or match characters with the birth animal.

bazi 八字 (§39.16): balancing with the aid of an astrologer a child's eight characters at the time of birth—for example, correlating them with the five phases (*wuxing* 五行). If by chance one of the five phases was missing, then a name with a character containing that phase would be selected. Generation characters would also be laid down so that the order of the five phases would be followed. In the Song, the five-phase mutually creating cycle (*xiangsheng* 相生) came into vogue. One famous example is Zhu Xi's 朱熹 family (§8.7.2). The practice persisted to the twentieth century. *Bagua* 八卦 and other forms of divination were also used in name selection; Bauer (1959) contains a good account of such astrological and numerological techniques.

balancing deficiencies in the child's perceived nature by choosing an appropriate character.

probing the baby's disposition (*shi'er* 試兒) by letting it choose from various objects on its first birthday and hence finding an appropriate name. The technique, also called first-year grab (*zhuazhou* 抓周) or first-year test (*shizhou* 試周), is first mentioned in *Yanshi jiaxun* 2.6: 118.

chuangming 闖名 (dashing into the street and asking the first passer by for a name). A haphazard way of choosing what was in effect another form of an apotropaic name (§8.6.1).

numerological-graphological techniques, including matching the number of strokes with the meaning of possible characters for a name.

graphological puns: one graphic element being left out of the family-name character, as in Chen Dong 陳東 or Ruan Yuan 阮元. Sometimes a graphic element was added, as in the names of all those called Wang Kuang 王匡, starting with Wang Mang's vicious nephew (d. 23 CE), or the Song official, Qiu Yue 丘岳 (d. 1246), or the Chairman of the GMD, Lin Sen 林森 (1868–1943). Or the given name was chosen for its close graphic resemblance to the family name, as in the Southern Song local geographer of Zhejiang, Chang Tang 常棠.

matching the meaning of the family name, including choosing a given name to form a collocation. Those in modern times with the family name Guo 国 (noted at §8.3.9) who named their children Qing 庆, so that their full name was National Day, were following a well-established tradition. In the early Ming a certain Mr. Jing 井 was named Tian 田 to form the collocation *jingtian* 井田 (Well Field). He chose the definitional courtesy name, Jiuchou 九畴 (Nine Cultivated Fields).

matching generation names (§8.7.2).

deriving a given name from the childhood name. An early eighteenth-century chap-book novel relates how the teacher of two brothers aged about 14 selected a study name for them based on their childhood names. The elder, Junge 俊哥, was named Shengjun 盛俊, and the younger, A-fu 阿福, was called Zhenfu 甄福 (Wuseshi zhuren 五色石主任 [*juren* 舉人 1738], *Ba dong tian* 八洞天, *juan* 5).

euphony: it was clearly important to chose a euphonious given name that fitted with the tone of the family name. The norm was for alternate level and oblique tones 平仄平, as in Zhang Yushu 張玉書. Authors who wished for some reason to stress dysfunction might deliberately name their characters with a succession of oblique tones, as are the main characters in *Honglou meng*: Jiǎ Bǎoyù 賈寶玉 (仄仄仄), Lín Dàiyù 林黛玉 (平仄仄), Xǔe Bǎochāi 薛寶釵 (仄仄平).

The circumstances of birth not only led to the choice of childhood names but also to the choice of given names and courtesy names. Time and place were all important. The First Emperor is said to have been named Zheng 正, because he was born in the first month of the year (*zhengyue* 正月). The economist and president of Peking University, Ma Yinchu 馬寅初 (1884–1982), was born in the year of the horse, in the horse month (fifth month), and on a horse day in the fifth hour (6/24/1882). Hence his courtesy name, Yinchu 寅初 (and hence also, many people thought, the reason he lived to be nearly exactly 100).

The practice of naming people after the place in which they are born is widespread in many cultures, including English (e.g., Florence Nightingale). The practice was more common than in most in China. Yan Zhitui 顔之推 named his first son Silu 思魯 (Remembering Lu, Yan's native place). His other two children were named Minchu 湣楚 (Sorry for Chu, the territory of the Liang dynasty, where Yan had served) and Youqin 游秦 (Sojourning in Qin, because Yan had gone as a prisoner of war to Chang'an). Sima Chi 司馬池 (980–1041) was born at Chizhou 池州, hence his name. Later, when he was stationed at Guangshan county 光山縣 in Guangzhou 光州 prefecture, his wife gave birth to a son, whom he named Sima Guang 司馬光 after the place.

8.6 CHILDHOOD NAMES

During the Han dynasty, educated families began more and more to choose given names expressing Confucian values or aspirations rather than reflecting circumstances at birth (§8.3.3). However, the bulk of the population continued with the old naming practices and educated parents also called their children with affectionate baby names. In the centuries following the Han the two types of given names (*ming* 名) began to be distinguished by calling the childhood name, a *xiaozi* 小字 (or *xiaoming* 小名) and the regular given name, just name (*ming* 名 or, starting in the Song, "study name" or "school name," *xueming* 學名). For the bulk of the population who did not receive a regular name in this sense, they simply continued with the name (*ming* 名) they received as infants. If they were fortunate and rose in the world, they would acquire more formal or learned names along the way and their previous name would be referred to as a childhood name. For example, the name that the Liang general Chu Xianpin 初仙玭 (?–ca. 515) received as a child was Xianbi 仙婢. When he grew up, he (not surprisingly) considered the apotropaic

Bi 婢 (serving girl) in his name unsuitable (budian 不典), so he substituted the jade for the female signific to make Pin 瑝 (a jewel; see *Liangshu* 梁書 17: 281). A much more famous example of upgrading one's name to keep pace with upward mobility is provided by the founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Chongba 朱重八, whose third given name (acquired at the age of 39) was Yuanzhang 元璋 (§8.4.5).

Starting in the Tang, specialized works began to appear on childhood names, such as *Xiaoming lu* 小名錄 (Record of childhood names) by the late Tang poet, Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (?–881) or *Xiaozi lu* 小字錄 (Record of childhood names) by the Song literatus, Chen Si 陳思 (1225–64). They are simply selections of the childhood names of famous people. The latter contains 214.

The terms *xiaozi* 小字 and *xiaoming* 小名 are used interchangeably (although until the Song, *xiaozi* is normally the term of choice). In these and other similar works the habit of distinguishing the childhood name from the given name was *more sinico* traced back to a foundational ancestor, in this case the greatest poet of his day, Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179–118 BCE).

According to his biography in the *Shiji*, "as a child, he liked swordsmanship and so his parents called him Puppy." 學擊劍故其親名之曰犬子 (*Shiji* 史記: 2999). Meng Kang's 孟康 (third century) comment was "they named him out of love" (*ai er zi zhi ye* 愛而字之也). The *History of the Han* simply says, "his given name was Puppy" (*ming* Quanzi 名犬子 [*Hanshu* 漢書 57A: 2529]). Sima himself decided to change his name from Quanzi to Xiangru (taking the name of a Zhao statesman whom he admired, Lin Xiangru 藺相如, fl. 280 BCE). From that point Quanzi can be considered his childhood name, but he was not the first to receive such a name: for centuries before him people had been receiving affectionate diminutive names and many of them had later upgraded them.

The first recorded mention of a special term for childhood or baby name comes in the late fourth, early fifth centuries CE. The *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 records the *xiaoazi* 小字 of over 120 of the people mentioned in its pages (following their family name, given name and courtesy names). *Xiaozi* also begin to be occasionally mentioned in the biographies in the *Histories* written in these centuries starting with the *Hou-Hanshu* 後漢書 and the *Songshu* 宋書.

The vernacular word for childhood name, *ruming* 乳名 (milk name), makes infrequent appearances from the Song (*naiming* 乳名 and *erming* 兒名 are recent terms). After the Song, *xiaoming* is more frequently used than *xiaozi*. The ancient phrase *youming* 幼名 ("when they are young they are are given a *ming* 名") begins to be used in the Nanbeichao in the sense of childhood name. Later, it was re-imported back into China from Japan in the late nineteenth century from Japanese *yōmei* 幼名 and used in the early Republic for *xiaoming* 小名. Table 40 contains a sample of childhood names from all periods. The first, that of Cao Cao 曹操, is one of the best known in all of Chinese history because of his fame and its appearance at some notable verbal exchanges in the *Sanguo yanyi*. The table is arranged alphabetically by childhood name.

The examples in Table 40 illustrate the main features of childhood names. They were typically

single-syllable vernacular words followed by a diminutive suffix or affectionate term of abuse (Er 兒, Ge 哥, Gou 狗, Lang 郎, Ya 亞, Yazi 伢子 [for boys]; Niang 娘 Nu 奴, [for girls]). There were many regional fashions: Zai 仔 for boys, for example, was popular in Guangdong; Er 兒 was typical of the North; Chou 丑 became a favorite in Shanxi in the later empire.
single-syllable vernacular words preceded by an affectionate prefix (A 阿, Xiao 小, Lao 老).
reduplicates serving the same purpose as diminutives. They were popular not only for girls but also for boys. For example, Zhuzhu 竹竹 (Little Bamboo) or Yanyan 炎炎 (Little Ball of Fire), Niuniu 牛牛 (Little Ox), or Dongdong 冬冬 (Little Winter).

Table 40 Childhood Names (Xiaoming 小名)

阿瞞	A-man	Little Deceiver	Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220)
阿奴	A-nu	Little Slave	Tang Suzong 唐肅宗 (711–62)
阿Q	A-Q	A-Q	Fictional character by Lu Xun 魯迅
阿珍	A-zhen	Little Treasure	Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841)
寄奴	Jinu	Foster Slave	Liu Yu 劉裕 (363–422)
齊奴	Qinu	Qi Slave	Shi Chong 石崇 (249–300)
犬奴	Quannu	Dog Slave	Ban Gu 班固 (32–92)
犬子	Quanzi	Puppy	Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (685–762)
沈郎	Youlang	Youxi 沈溪 Boy	Zhu Xi 朱熹
石三伢子	Shisan yazi	Rock Kid No. 3	*Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1896–1976)
嗣縻 [嗣縻]	Simen	Red Sorghum Stalk	Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962)
五兒	Wu'er	Child Five	Tian Texiu 田特秀 (*jinshi* 1179)
小六子	Xiao liuzi	Little No. 6	Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (1901–2001)
稚奴	Zhinu	Young Slave	Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (628–83)
磚	Zhuan	Tile	Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445)

*Mao Zedong's two older brothers both died in infancy, so his mother prayed to a rock resembling Guanyin 觀音 that she protect him as his godmother (*shi ganniang* 石干娘). Hence the name Rock Kid No. 3.

The name itself was chosen on the same basis as given names in general (§8.5), but with a particular emphasis on the time, place, and circumstances of birth (including birth order). Apotropaic childhood names, such as Pile of Fox Shit (Hu fendui 狐糞堆) were intended to ward off evil spirits. They have been such an important characteristic of Chinese names that they deserve a special section (§8.6.1), as do pseudo-foster names (also intended to protect the child [§8.6.2]).

Perhaps the most common indicator of time of birth was the year animal, as in Xiaolong 小龍, Niu'er 牛兒, Hu'er 虎兒, or (less often) Quannu 犬奴, Ma'er 馬兒, or Xiaoyang 小羊. The other six of the 12 animals were used rarely. From the Jin 晉, the naming of siblings by birth-order number (A-Da 阿大, A-San 阿三, A-Wu 阿五) became more common. The practice can be traced back to the Han. It became more widespread in the Tang and even more so in the Song (§8.7.1).

One amusing example of the importance of time (and place) in choosing a childhood name is that of Tian Texiu 田特秀 (*jinshi* 1179), who rose in office to become the fiscal commissioner for Taiyuan 太原. In his story that is recounted in numerous *biji*, he is said not only to have been the fifth child in his family (*hang di-wu* 行第五), but was born on the fifth day of the fifth month in a locality named Banshi 半十 (Half-ten). His parents gave him the childhood name Wu'er 五兒 (Child Five). He fulfilled the promise of his

name by ranking number five in all the exams up to and including the palace exam and dying at the age of 55 on the fifth of the fifth month (*Wu zazu* 五雜組 2; *Qixiu leigao* 七修類稿 49).

Qinu 齊奴, the childhood name of Shi Chong 石崇 (249–300), provides a more typical example of incorporating the place of birth. Qi was chosen because he was born in Qingzhou 青州 (then a city in Qi 齊), while his mother was en route to his father's new post.

Numbers were frequently combined with the appropriate animal (for the year) or *bagua* (for the astrological portent) or even the weather conditions at the time of birth, resulting in combinations such as Ganyi 幹一 (Gan 1), Kuner 坤二 (Kun 2), Shousan 獸三 (Animal 3), Zhensi 震四 (Earthquake 4). Sometimes the date of birth provided the name, as in Ershisan 二十三 (Twenty-Three), the childhood name of the last ruler of the Later Tang, the famous *ci* poet, Li Yu 李煜 (b. 937; r. 961–75; d. 978).

Sometimes, childhood names were chosen to commemorate more down-to-earth circumstances of birth, as when the mother of Fan Ye 范曄 (the compiler of the *History of the Later Han*) gave birth to him in the toilet, causing her to slip and bruise her forehead on a tile (*zhuan* 磚); so she called him Zhuan 磚. Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–86) owes his childhood name Huanlang 貛郎 (Master Badger) to the fact that a badger ran into the room as his mother gave birth to him.

For many people the only given name they ever had was their relationship term combined with birth-order number. In a similar manner, during the Song and later, names such as Dazi 大仔 (Dazai in Cantonese and several other dialects) were common among ordinary people as an informal name for the eldest son (compare Dazi 大姊, eldest older sister and Damei 大妹, eldest younger daughter). Other sons and daughters would be named by number in sequence and by gender: Erzi 二仔, Sanzi 仔, Ermei 二妹, Sanmei 妹, and so on. In some of the southern dialects Zi 仔 and Mei 妹 were used as given names. When parents wanted a child to be their last one, whether it was a boy or a girl, they sometimes named it Manzi 滿子[仔]. The best known is the Tang singer whose name was adopted as a famous tune, He Manzi 何[河]滿子.

Names expressing richness or happiness, such as A-fu 阿福 (Little Treasure) or Dabao 大寶 (Big Treasure) were perennial favorites as were *wuxing* names—Xiaohuo 小火, Mutou 木頭, and so forth. Bodily characteristics such as birth marks have been perennial favorites since the Zhou dynasty (§8.3.2.2). The childhood name of Wang Xin 王欣 was Qi Jin 七斤 (Seven Catties) and his infant courtesy name (小字) was Jinjin 斤斤 (Catty Catty).

Many childhood names have survived from the period between the Han and the Song. After that fewer were recorded, no doubt because they were felt to diminish the dignity of the rather formal accounts of conduct, obituaries, or biographical notices that had became the norm. Moreover, of all names that a person received, besides nicknames, childhood names were the only ones in the vernacular. Their unpretentiousness was in sharp contrast with the moral high ground so often expressed by regular given names culled from the classical canon.

Childhood names are used today, but there have been some changes. For a start, modern words replace older ones (for example, Gouzi 狗仔 [Gouzai in Cantonese] is more often used than Quanzi 犬子 for puppy) and A 阿 is typically used in childhood names in Shanghai and also in Jiangsu and Zhejiang (sometimes written Ya 亞 in Guangzhou). Thus, Xiaobao 小寶 or Bao'er 寶兒 (Little Treasure) in Mandarin and A-bou 阿寶 in Cantonese; Xiaosanzi 小三子 (Little No. 3) in the North and A-sam 阿三 in Canton; Ding'er 定兒 in Beijing and A-ding 阿定 in Canton. Note, however, that an A 阿 or Ya 亞 prefix does not always indicate a childhood name. Sometimes, it is a sign of affection or when used of oneself, of modesty. A 阿 or Lao 老 prefixed to a family name was (and is) a friendly way of greeting someone.

It has always been a common practice to derive the childhood name from its given name. Today this is often simply done by making the second character of the *xiaoming* the same as the second character of the *ming*; thus Wang Hailin 王海林 is called Xiaolin 小林 (or A-lem 阿林 in Cantonese) or Linlin 林林. It resembles the European and American practice of using a special diminutive form (usually ending in y) of the given name as the childhood name: thus, Billy for the little boy and Bill for the adolescent (as distinct from William for the adult) or Jenny for the little girl, Jen for grade school, and Jennifer for the adult.

Siblings, too, often shared an element, not only in their given names but also in their childhood and courtesy names. Thus, for example, Hu Shi 胡適 and his three brothers all had Hong 洪 as the first character in their given names (as laid down in the family genealogy) and their father gave them all *Si* 嗣 as the first character of their childhood names (plus the *he* 禾 signific in the second character). Their courtesy names also all had *zhi* 之 as the second character.

Box 21 Xiaoming & Xiaozi in the Song

In the Song there appears to have begun the practice of distinguishing between the childhood name (*xiaoming* 小名) and the *xiaozi* 小字 (which becomes more literary and functions more like a minor courtesy name). The first evidence comes from a Northern Song tomb epitaph recording the death of a boy (1059–63), whose *xiaoming* was Qingqing 慶慶 and whose *xiaozi* was Shanyuan 善源 (Wang Gui 王珪 [1019–85]. *Huayangji* 華陽集, *juan* 60).

The first person to draw attention to the two types of childhood names was Ma Yongqing 馬永卿 (*jinshi* 1109) in his *Lan zhenzi* 嬾真子 (Master idle disposition), ca. 1136. He raises the question whether there was a precedent for recording a *xiaoming* and a separate *xiaozi* for each graduate in the *jinshi* lists (*tongnian xiaolu* 同年小錄). He does not offer an explanation, so much as cite the supposed precedent of Qu Yuan 屈原, whom he thought had a *xiaoming*, Zhengze 正則 distinct from his *xiaozi*, Lingjun 靈均 (see the opening lines of the *Lisao* 離騷). The Qu Yuan "precedent" was repeated with no new insights by several literati in the Ming and the Qing.

The first two extant lists of *jinshi* graduates date from the Song. A fragment of a 1271 list giving the names of the top three graduates (§22.6.2.3). These sources on Song graduation names record not only the graduates' family, given, and courtesy names but also their *xiaoming* and (slightly more formal) *xiaozi*. The total number of names of graduates so recorded comes to about 400, including Zhu Xi 朱熹, Wang Zuo 王佐 (the *zhuangyuan* 狀元 or optimus of that year), Xie Bei 謝苝, and Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (the optimus of 1256), and Zhang Zhensun 張鎮孫 (the optimus of 1271). With the exception of Cao Cao, all the examples in Table 41 are taken from the three lists.

After the fragment of the 1271 list, the next extant list (that from 1333) and subsequent ones from the Ming and Qing only record the names and courtesy names of the graduates, not their childhood names. Further research on the Song lists is clearly required. Bauer (1959, note 2, 12–13), citing the case of Cao Cao 曹操, suggests that there was possibly a difference between *xiaoming* and *xiaozi*, but early on they were merged. The three Song lists do not support this conclusion, unless they reflect a revival of a previously abandoned practice.

Table 41 Xiaoming 小名 & Xiaozi 小字

Xing-Ming 名	Zi 字	Xiaoming 小名	Xiaozi 小字
Cao Cao 曹操	Mengde 孟德	Ji Li 吉利	Aman 阿瞞
Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1)	Yuanhui 元晦	Youlang 沈郎	Jiyan 季延
Wang Zuo 王佐 (1)	Xuanzi 宣子	Qianli 千里	Ji'er 驥兒
Xie Bei 謝范 (12th c.) (1)	Jixian 幾先	Ji'er 驥兒	Qianli 千里
Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (2)	Lushan 履善, Songrui 宋瑞	Yunsun 雲孫	Conglong 從龍
Zhang Zhensun 張鎮孫 (3)	Dingyu 鼎卿	Ding 鼎	Jin 金
Du Wenfu 杜文甫 (3)	Shiweng 實翁	Wenju 文舉	Yongen 用人
Chen Yue 陳鉞 (3)	Yizhi 宜之	Fangzhong 方中	Zhongzhen 鐘真

8.6.1 Apotropaic Childhood Names

Just as in ancient Greece and Rome, or in parts of Africa, the practice was followed in ancient China (and it is still common in rural areas today) of giving children apotropaic or disparaging childhood names to ward off the evil eye and to keep demons at bay. Names such as Crazy Cunning (Kuangjiao 狂狡), Black Shoulder (Heijian 黑肩), Ox Pest (Niuchong 牛蟲), or Baldheaded Perversity (Kunwan 髡頑) date back to the pre-Qin. The Dunhuang manuscripts have many more examples, including Chouchou 醜醜 (Little Stink; the secular name of no fewer than six nuns), Gouzi 苟[狗]子 (Puppy), Goufen 狗糞 (Dog Shit), Gougou 苟苟 (Little Dog), Fendui 糞堆 (Pile of Shit), Hu fendui 狐糞堆 (Pile of Fox Shit).

The first to comment on apotropaic names was Yan Zhitui 顏之推 in the late sixth century. He starts with examples—the Duke of Zhou gave his son, the Duke of Lu (Lu gong 魯公), the name Elder Beast (Bo Qin 伯禽); Confucius named his son Carp (li 鯉), and at least two nobles were called Louse-Nit (jishi 蟣虱). He then comments, "This ancient practice is considered a joke today" (古之所行, 今之所笑也) and adds, "In the North, many are called Little Donkey (lujun 驢駒) or Piglet (tunzi 豚子). How could they bear to use these names or be addressed by their brothers by them?.... With names like this, happiness is banished." 北土多有名兒為驢駒, 豚子者, 使其自稱及兄弟所名, 亦何忍哉?.... 如此名字, 幸當避之 (Yanshi jiaxun 顏氏家訓 2.6: 76, Fengcao 風操 [Conduct and character]).

The short passage is interesting, not so much for the examples, which Yan draws from standard sources, but for the complete reluctance to analyze why people should wish to use such names for their children. Perhaps, this reflects his respect for Confucius's view that certain things, including ghosts and demons (and the means for fooling them), should not be mentioned. The passage is also interesting in that it suggests the widespread belief that if you call a child by a happy name, it stands a better chance of being happy.

In the Song, apotropaic names are sometimes referred to as jianming 賤名 as in the following story told of Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修. On being asked how come there was a child in his family, whose childhood name was Brother Monk (Sengge 僧哥), when Ouyang himself attached no importance to Buddhism, he is said to have replied, "People who wish to make it easy to rear their kids invariably give them a humble childhood name, such as Dog, Goat, Puppy, or Horse" 要易長育往往以賤名為小名如狗羊犬馬之類也 (Wang Wei 王暐, 1645–1717, Daoshan qinghua 道山清話 [Daoshan's pure talk], juan 1).

This remark was fairly well known and gave rise to the orthodox view that the purpose of giving the child an animal or humble name was to make it easier to raise them. The thought is expressed in the modern sayings jianming yiyang 賤名易養 (a lowly name makes for trouble-free rearing), jianming changshou 賤名長壽 (humble names beget long lives), or mingjian cai haodai 命賤才好帶 (it is only when you give them a lowly name that they are easy to bring up).

In the later-empire, jianming 賤名 was used typically by someone in reference to their own name: "My humble name is...." (§7.6.

2). Sometimes the general word for shameful reputation, chouming 醜名, was used in the special sense of apotropaic name.

Apotropaic names were more often given to boys than to girls, and the boys who most needed them were those who were sickly. Names such as A-chou 阿臭 (Little Stink), A-jian 阿賤 (Little Worthless), Goufen 狗糞 (Dog Shit), or Zhushi wu 豬屎五 (Hog Dung 5) were given the children. In the same spirit, even if they had not had smallpox they might well be called Mazi 麻子 (Pockmark).

One commentator gives an unexpected twist to the predilection in Guangdong for earthy apotropaic childhood names, "They also often use dung in their children's childhood names. It is humble, so they value it. Boys are called Brother Manure (Fen'ge 糞哥) and girls, Sister Dung (Fenmei 糞妹). 又多以屎為兒女乳名. 賤之所以貴之. 男曰屎哥. 女曰屎妹 (Guangdong xinyu 廣東新語 11: 337, Wenyu 文語 [Language]). The practice continues to this day. The predilection for giving matching characters to siblings was extended to apotropaic names: witness three Fuzhou boys, whose names were Snowflea, Louse, and Bedbug (Tiaochong 跳蟲, Shimu 虱母, and Chouchong 臭蟲 [Doolittle, 1872, vol. 2, 661]).

Another approach was to appeal to a powerful god. Thus Sun Yatsen's milk name was Dixiang 帝象 (Imperial Features) but also short for "Great martial lord of the dark heavens of the North" (Beifang zhenwu xuantian dadi 北方真武玄天大帝).

Not infrequently, boys were given girl's names to fool malignant spirits; thus, Lu Shuang's 魯爽 (?–454) childhood name was Nüsheng 女生 (daughter) and Sui Yangdi 隋煬帝 was called Amo 阿㜷 (Sanskrit: Amba, mother). Girls too received childhood names, but rarely apotropaic and seldom scatological. Instead, they were frequently given names like Laidi 來弟 (Come Little Brother), a reflection of their parent's longing for the birth of a boy.

Doolittle, Justus. 1872. A vocabulary and handbook of the Chinese language, Romanized in the Mandarin dialect. 2 vols. In 3 parts, Foochow (Fuzhou): Rozario, Marcal, and Company.

Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅 (1795–1849). 1846–49. Yi wuxing mingming 以五行命名 (Using the five phases to select names). In Chouming 醜名 (Apotropaic names) in his Langji congtan 浪跡叢談 (Trifles collected while wandering), juan 6; punctuated edition including two continuations. Zhonghua, 1981 (in HDW).

8.6.2 Pseudo Foster Names

Parents who wanted to ward off bad luck or ill health and to secure long life for a child would sometimes arrange for it to receive a pseudo foster name or religious name (jiming 寄名, literally sent name, because it was as if its bearer was being sent to another family or to the temple). The practice became widespread starting in the Six Dynasties. Sometimes the family name of a wet nurse was used, or more often, arrangements would be made at a Daoist or Buddhist temple to receive a name from the priest. After the child reached maturity, it would revoke to its own name (and return the jiming if it had been physically deposited at the temple).

Chapter 39 of Jin Ping Mei 金瓶梅 contains a detailed account of Ximen Qing 西門慶 arranging for a jiming (translated by David

Roy as "religious name") for his sickly infant boy, Guange 官哥 (Official Elder Brother) at the local Daoist temple. The name chosen was Wu Yingyuan 吳應元 (Wu was the name of the abbot).

8.7 RANKING NAMES

One of the characteristics of the Chinese naming system was its use to indicate ranking and seniority within families and between generations. During the Victorian era in Great Britain, people were not unmindful of hierarchy within the family. On occasion, they also named boys and girls of the same generation with names beginning with the same letter or indicated birth order with Latin-number names, but by comparison with the minute and constant attention of the Chinese elite to ranking and seniority in names (and in titles), the Victorians appear as outright egalitarians.

By the later empire, ranking within the family or larger kin group was of two different kinds. First was the ranking by birth order of the siblings within a generation (*paihang* 排行 [§8.7.1]). Second was the practice of distinguishing the offspring of each generation from the previous one (*beifen* 輩分, generation ranking [§8.7.2]). In both systems of ranking it was the naming system that was used to indicate seniority. Ranking households by wealth for tax purposes is a very old practice and it was sometimes reflected in the personal names of the individuals concerned (§8.7.3).

8.7.1 Birth-Order Ranking

Before the Tang, ranking of siblings according to birth order was indicated in personal names by using characters from a ranking series (point 1 below). During the Tang the ranking of siblings was also indicated by number (point 2) and these numbers were used as appellations (*hangdi* 行第). The term for placing in order (*paihang* 排行) came into general use in the later empire for all forms of birth-order ranking among siblings (*hangci* 行次 was also used).

1. The oldest method of indicating seniority among siblings was to use a ranking character (usually, one of the *bozhong* 伯仲 birth-order series) in the given name [*ming* 名] or courtesy name [*zi* 字]. It was common practice from the pre-Qin to the end of the empire and it has continued on and off since then. In this form of *paihang*, boys and girls were usually placed in different series.

2. During the Tang birth-order numbers were used as appellations or as names (*hangdi* 行第), frequently in combination with the family name, a form of appellation known as *xingdi* 姓第 (family name plus birth-order number). *Hangdi* was used as a form of address in the Tang and Song and it appears in genealogies and on lists of examination graduates as (for example), *hang shiwu* 行十五 or *di-shiwu* 第十五 (seniority [in kin group], fifteenth), which in Mandarin would be *paihang di-shiwu* 排行 第十五 (ranked [in kin group] as number 15). In addition, many members of the elite continued to rank their children by the insertion of birth-order characters in their given or courtesy names (see 1 above).

Starting from the Zhou period, *bo* 伯 (*meng* 孟), *zhong* 仲, *shu* 叔, and *ji* 季 were used in the courtesy (or sometimes in the given name) to indicate the eldest, second, third, and youngest (not necessarily the fourth). The courtesy name (*zi* 字) of Kong Qiu 孔丘 (Confucius) is usually the first example cited in this context. It was Zhongni 仲尼 and it indicates that he was the second son. The courtesy name of Confucius's son was Boyu 伯魚. It indicates that he was the eldest son.

Meng 孟 was frequently used for the eldest child of a secondary wife; thus, the half (elder) brother of Confucius is said to have been named Mengpi 孟皮. As the examples of Zhongni 仲尼 and Boyu 伯魚 suggest, the ranking characters were usually placed as the first of the two characters in the courtesy name. But they could also stand alone as a one-character given or courtesy name. Thus, the courtesy name of Guan Yiwu 管夷吾 was Guan Zhong 管仲 (by which he is better known) and that of Liu Bang 劉邦 was Ji 季 (indicating that he was the youngest son). If there were more than four brothers or four sisters, the series could be enlarged by adding Shao 少 for the

fifth. But if there were 10 sons, the series could hardly be started over again at the fifth or sixth son, because Ji 季 (or Shao 少) was always for the last.

From the Han, the eldest was not necessarily indicated with *bo* 伯 or *meng* 孟. Yuan 元 and *zhang* 長 were also used. This series usually continues with *ci* 次, *shao* 少 (*you* 幼 or *zhi* 稚) or *zhang* 長, *zhong* 中, *shao* 少, and *you* 幼.

There are many other such series (§38.4) and some were also used for ranking in names (§8.7.3). The *bozhong* 伯仲 series continues to be used from time to time in given names to indicate birth order to this day, but in a one-child society the scope is limited.

One common usage was to link one of the birth-order ranking characters with a polite form of address, such as *qing* 卿 (minister) or *zi* 子 (master) to form a courtesy name, for example, Zhangqing 長卿 (§8.8).

In the centuries between the Han and the Tang, a more precise way of referring to people within the family or lineage began to emerge. It consisted of assigning numbers (based on birth order) to relationship terms. Thus, you addressed your father's third brother not simply as *shufu* (father's younger brother), but as *san shufu* 三 叔父 or *sanshu* 三叔 (father's third younger brother [i.e., "third uncle"]). The system was sufficiently new in the early sixth century for Yan Zhitui 顏之推 to have to include an explicit instruction for his sons, "the elder and younger uncles of parents should be distinguished from each other by adding a number to indicate their birth order" 父母之世叔父皆當加其次第以別之 (*Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 2.6: 93 [Teng 1968, 31–32]). It is probably not a coincidence that as this practice began to emerge, the courtesy name was less and less used to indicate birth order. Instead, typically, the elite now used it simply as an elegant social name.

Not only did numbers begin to appear in relationship terms in the Nanbeichao, but people's birth order began to be ranked by number. Perhaps this custom began among commoners, who found numbers easier to grasp than the *bozhong* and other ranking series. Perhaps it began in aristocratic lineages, which adopted the practice of ranking all male members of the same generation.

Starting in the third century CE, *hangdi* were often extended to include first or second cousins. If second cousins were included (i.e., siblings and cousins of each generation in the male line descended from the same great grandfather), the resultant birth-order ranking was sometimes called *da paihang* 大排行 to distinguish it from birth-order ranking of siblings and first cousins (i.e., descended from the same grandfather) and sometimes referred to as *xiao paihang* 小排行 or *benhang* 本行). Females were also sometimes ranked by birth order, occasionally in the same series as their brothers, but usually separately.

The number of siblings and cousins in any one generation would have far surpassed the four or five ranking characters in the *bozhong* and other series, even though males and females were usually ranked in separate series. Hence the need for numbers. All that we know is that starting from the Jin (third century) more and more people were in the habit of referring to each other by name and number, Zhang Three, Li Four; Wang Five, Zhao Six (Zhang San Li Si 張三李四, Wang Wu Zhao Liu 王五趙六), and so forth.

Informally, greetings such as A-san 阿三 are recorded in the literature. Often these were used as childhood names. Emperors from the Sui showed their special regard for favorites by greeting them with such informal names. Lu You 陸遊 devotes a short essay to the subject in his *Laoxue'an biji* 老學庵筆記 (Notes from the hut for studying in one's old age).

The full name (family name plus *hangdi*) came to be known during the Tang as *xingdi* 姓第 (Family name and birth-order number). For example, Li Shi'er 李十二 (Li 12). The Tang emperor Dezong 德宗 (b. 742; r. 779–805) is said to have so favored Lu Zhi 陸贄 (754–805) that he both clothed him in his own robes and "addressed him by his family name and generation number, Lu 9"

或以姓第呼為陸九 [Cefu yuangui 冊府元龜, juan 99]). During these centuries, a widespread form of address was "What is your family name and generation rank number?" 何姓第幾 (何氏行幾)?

By the Tang, it was a common practice among members of the elite to use birth-order numbers (*hangdi* 行第) as a greeting or as a name in society at large (coupled with the family name, official title, or honorific). In the later Tang, this practice spread beyond the court and officialdom to examination candidates (facilitated by the fact that birth-order numbers were published along with the candidate's names and other details in the lists of successful graduates in the civil service exams) and to the general populace. As a result, all members of the elite could easily learn the ranking numbers of their contemporaries and they began to use these in writing about them in their poems and occasional writings: Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) is sometimes referred to as Bai ershi'er lang 白二十二郎 (Mr. Bai 22) and Li Bai 李白 as Li Shi'er 李十二 (Li 12). These were their ranking positions according to birth order among the male siblings in their respective kin groups. As in these examples, the usual form was family name plus birth-order number (often with a polite term such as *lang* 良 added). One advantage of using *hangdi* was that you could avoid using a person's given name (Wu Liyu 1996).

Commoners used family birth-order numbers as a greeting and as a way of forming their names as we know from the population registers and lists of monks, and nuns, names discovered at Dunhuang. Generational birth-order numbers continued as a literary way of referring to fellow writers during the Song and their use spread in society at large. Lineages became better organized and more common in society. Because they united all those sharing a common great grandfather—that is to say, not only siblings but also first and second cousins—the birth-order numbers go up in the Song. In addition to Zhang 3 (Zhang San 張三), it is not uncommon to find Zhang 30 (Zhang Sanshi 張三十).

Although the literary fashion for *hangdi* died out after the Song, birth-order numbers continued to be noted on examination lists to the end of the empire. Fortunately, there are two excellent reference works to find out who the names with numbers refer to in Tang and Song literary works, including the seven different Tang people known as Wang Qi 王七 (Wang 7); see *Tangren hangdi lu* 唐人行第录 (§61.2.2) and the more substantial *Songren hangdi kaolu* 宋人行第考录 (§62.2.2 #22).

At about the time that the elite were beginning to abandon the use of birth-order numbers as one of the many alternative names for each other, numbers for names were embraced by the families of commoners (Wu Liyu 1996; 1999). Indeed numbers in all sorts of inventive ways became the core of the naming system for all those who did not receive an education—that is to say, for the majority of the population (§8.4).

Qian Hang 钱杭. 2003. Zhongguo lishi shang de paihangzhi yu shiming jingbi wenti 中国历史上的排行制与实名敬避问题 (The question of the birth-order system in Chinese history and taboos on the personal name). Shanghai: *Shehui kexue* 2: 90–98.

Wu Liyu 吴丽娛. 1996. Cong Tangdai beizhi kan Tangren hangdi wenti 从唐代碑志看唐人行第问题 (Seniority ranking questions in Tang families as seen from Tang epitaphs). *Tang yanjiu* 2: 347–72. The author argues that the expression of seniority with titles spread in the eighth century from official circles to the whole of society, including nobles and ordinary people. The practice, she claimed, was related to *bihui* 避諱 (avoidance of the personal name), and even after the decline of the aristocratic families, the custom of expressing seniority continued.

———. 1999. Dunhuang xieben shuyi zhong de hangdi zhi cheng: Jianlun hangdi puji de shumin yinxiang 敦煌写本书仪中的行第之称兼论行第普及的庶民影响 (Birth-order names in Dunhuang manuscripts and the influence of the spread of birth-order names on commoners). *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 4.

8.7.2 Generation Ranking

In addition to marking seniority by birth order within a generation by choosing given names incorporating ranking characters (§8.7.1),

families and larger kin groups distinguished one generation from the next in several ways, the most common of which was to incorporate the same character into the given names of all male members of the same generation (*beifen* 輩分). Females of the same generation were sometimes distinguished in the same way, but usually not in the same series, because they married out of their families. Also, characters with a feminine connotation tended to be used for their generation ranking characters. Generation ranking was also used by non-kin groups to differentiate ranks of disciples (of a Buddhist or Daoist master or of a school of actors).

The beginnings of the use of generation ranking characters can be found in the practice starting in the Zhou of individuals who gave their children names with a matching character. The earliest example dates back to 616 BCE, under which year the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 records that Changdi 長狄 had four brothers named Qiaoru 僑如, Jinru 焚如, Rongru 榮如, and Jianru 簡如 (Wen 文 11).

In the Han and immediately following centuries the practice became more widespread.

Emperor Wudi (b. 440; r. 482–93) of the Southern Qi (Nan-Qi Wudi 南齊武帝) gave each of his 17 surviving sons (born between 460 and 492) the same first character in their given names (*zi* 子) and the same first character in their courtesy names (*yun* 雲), from the first born, Zilang 子良 (*zi* 字: Yunying 雲英) to the last born, Zixia 子夏 (*zi* 字: Yunguang 雲廣; *Nan-Qi shu* 南齊書 40: 691–715, Wu shiqi wang 武十七王 [The seventeen princes of Wu]).

Ren Fang 任昉 (459–508), a leading prose writer at the Liang court, in a characteristically original way, achieved the same purpose by naming each of his four children by putting one of the four cardinal points in each of their given names, Dongli 東里, Xihua 西華, Nanrong 南容, and Beisou 北叟 (this is the first known instance of using east, west, south, and north, both as a generation indicator and as a ranking series, equivalent to first, second, third, and fourth). The terms are eclectic allusions taken from the *Analects* and Daoist mythology. They had been used as names before but never as a set of four (*Nanshi* 南史 59: 1455).

Between the Han and the Tang, identifying siblings of the same generation by such means was not uncommon, but it was not systematically applied until the Tang. For example, all of the 30 sons of Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 were given Si 嗣 as the first character in their two-character given names. Then, apparently as part of the reassertion of the emperor's control over the imperial household, in 725 their given names were all changed (*gengming* 更名 or *gaiming* 改名) to single-character ones with the water signific. Ten years later in 735 their names were changed again, this time to single character names with the jade signific (*yu* 玉). They are usually referred to by their last acquired names.

In the Song, emperors set regulations for the naming of their children so that each generation was clearly identified by either the same first character in a two-character given name or a shared signific (*pianpang* 偏旁) in a single-character given name (often implying characters with a similar meaning).[6] The latter practice became widespread among elite families in the Song as Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 points out in his note on *paihang* 排行 (*Rizhi lu* 日知錄 23). The Hong brothers of the Southern Song, Hong Gua 洪适 (1117–84), Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120–74), and Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202) are a well-known example. Their father gave them all the same signific (in this case, *chuo* 辶).

The two Su brothers of the Northern Song, Su Shi 蘇軾 and Su Che 蘇轍, provide an even better known example of a shared sig-

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[6] The first clear explanation of generation ranking is given in the *Taizu huangdi yudie daxun* 太祖皇帝玉牒大訓 (The Emperor Taizu's great instructions for the Jade Register), a collection of documents purporting to date from 964 and preserved in Zhao Xinian 趙新年, comp. 1902. *Zhao shi zupu* 趙氏族譜 (Zhao genealogy), Guangdong, but not in any Song source. However, the historian of the Song imperial clan, John Chaffee, believes it to be genuine and he also translates the poem whose characters were to be used as the source for the generation names of the clan and tabulates the generational names and numbers (Chaffee 1999 [§7.1.1], 22–25, 31).

nific. In 1049, their father wrote a little note on why he had selected the two characters 軾 and 轍 for his two surviving sons. But in it, he did not think to explain why he had chosen the same significs and characters for the boys, presumably because by the Song the practice of generational characters was taken for granted (Su Xun 蘇洵, Ming erzi shuo 名二子說 [On naming my two sons]. In *Jiayou ji* 嘉祐集, *juan* 15, *shou* 首 21). The tradition of identifying the brothers of each generation in the Su family by giving them the same signific in their given names was still going strong 10 generations later (Ma Doucheng 馬斗成, *Songdai Meishan Sushi jiazu yanjiu* 宋代眉山蘇氏家族研究 [Research on the Su family of Meishan in the Song dynasty]. Shehui kexue, 2005, 304).

From the Tang, and increasingly from the Song, one of the five-phase significs was used in turn in successive generations of those families that preferred single-syllable names: the father of Zhu Xi (Zhu Song 朱松) had the wood signific in his *ming*. Since wood begets fire, he gave his son a name with the fire signific (Xi 熹). Fire begets earth, so Zhu Xi gave his three sons names containing that signific, Shu 塾, Ye 埜, and Zai 在. By the same logic, his seven grandsons all had metal in their given names, starting with the first three, Jian 鑑, Ju 鉅, and Quan 銓, and his five great-grandsons, water, starting with the first three, Jun 浚, Yuan 淵, and Zhi 治.

The founder of the Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, willed the same for his descendants. Each of his 23 sons had the wood signific in their single-syllable personal names, including his fourth son, the future Yongle emperor (Zhu Di 朱棣), all of whose sons had the fire signific in their personal names, as did all their first cousins on their father's side. Thereafter, members of the imperial family switched to two-character personal names, at which point siblings of the same generation shared the same character in the first part of their given name as well as the same five-phase signific in its second character, generation after generation until the end of the dynasty.

The Qing rulers, starting in the 1670s, continued the practice, but did not limit themselves to five-phase significs for the second character. The way such naming systems were applied to limit or expand the definition of close imperial relatives is clearly explained (for the Qing) in Rawski (1998 [§66.2.9], 110–17).

In society at large, from the Southern Song, as kin groups became better organized, generational characters were arranged in advance and recorded along with the rules for their use in the family genealogy. The characters were often in the form of poems, each character of which would be used in sequence as the first character in the two-character given names of successive generations. Other cycles were used, including the five phases or the five Confucian virtues. The same character would be employed as the first character of the given names of all members of a particular generation. Not all kin groups followed the practice. The Kong family of Qufu only introduced it in the Yuan. By the end of the empire, not only well-to-do lineages employed one or other such generational naming system but also prosperous farmers, witness the Ze 澤 in the names of the Mao brothers, Mao Zedong 毛澤東, Mao Zeming 毛澤銘[民], and Mao Zetan 毛澤覃 (the Dong in Mao Zedong's 毛澤東 name indicates that he was the senior surviving brother).

Not uncommonly, because of the close connection between the *ming* and the *zi*, siblings often also shared the same initial character in their courtesy names (*zi* 字). Both Su Shi and Su Che did this (Zizhan 子瞻 and Ziyou 子由), and (unusually) their parents gave them shared characters in their childhood names as well (Tongwen 同文 and Tongshu 同叔). Hong Mai, Hong Gua, and Hong Zun also chose for themselves the same first character in their *zi* (Jingbo 景伯, Jingyan 景嚴, and Jinglu 景盧).

Among people in all walks of society from the Song to the present, various number series have been commonly used for generation characters, notably, (1) the round numbers 100, 1,000, 10,000, 100,000 (*bai* 百, *qian* 千, *wan* 萬, *yi* 億) or (2) 10, 100, 1,000 (*shi*

十, *bai* 百, *qian* 千). Such numbers (*yingshu* 盈數) were considered especially lucky.

Some or all of these round numbers can frequently be found marking successive generations in genealogies—for example, Shen Wansan 沈萬三. Wan 萬 represents the third generation. It could also be the seventh generation if the series was being used a second time around. San 三 indicates birth order in the generation. In this case his brother was Shen Wansi 沈萬四 (§8.7.3). Round numbers were no doubt used not only because they were considered lucky, but because they also suggest longevity (*bainian* 百年, *qianqiu* 千秋, *wansui* 萬歲; or *bailing* 百齡, *qianling* 千齡, *wanling* 萬齡).

Note that Daqian 大千 was quite popular in given or ordination names (as in Zhang Daqian 張大千), but has nothing to do with these large number series, it being an abbreviation of the Buddhist concept of the vast cosmos.

Several other generation characters, often expressing continuation or increase, can be found in late imperial sources, such as Zai 再, Zeng 曾 (§8.4.4, Table 38), or Chong 重 (§8.4.5, Box 20). Generation names such as these were sometimes called *duming* 渡名. Their literal meanings need not be translated.

In the Qing, the expression "such-and-such character generation," was fairly widespread ("everyone from the Wen-character generation to the Cao-character generation" 凡文字輩至草字輩; *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 83). This was abbreviated in the twentieth century to *zibei* 字輩 (generation character) to describe the practice.

Generation names fell out of use in the 1950s and even more so during the Cultural Revolution, but they made a come back starting in the 1980s. This time progressive words were introduced into the generation naming poems, such as democracy, progress, and peace (*minzhu* 民主, *jinbu* 進步, *heping* 和平), each of whose characters (in this case) will be used successively in the names of future generations.

Terminology

Apart from *beifen* 輩分[份] or *beihang* 輩行 (also, *hangbei* 行輩) for generational seniority within a kin group, there are many alternative or connected terms, including *hangbeizi* 行輩字 or *beixuzi* 輩序字 (birth-order character), *beiming* 輩名 (generation name), *hangpai* 行派, or *zipai* 字派, *banbei* 班輩, or *liubei* 流輩 (people of the same generation) are some of them.

Modern scholars have taken to calling the original generation name of people who changed their name in the twentieth century by the neologisms *puming* 譜名 or *zuming* 祖名 to distinguish it from a person's newly selected given name. Also, because generation names fell out of use during the first 30 years of the PRC, some writers feel constrained to explain to their readers that the Zedong 澤東 in Mao Zedong 毛澤東, for example, is a generation name (because the Ze 澤 was shared by his siblings and cousins in their names as laid down in the Mao family genealogy). So they call Zedong 澤東 a *puming* 譜名, even though Mao had never changed it (*puming* is also used in the sense of "title of a genealogy"). Before the twentieth century, there was no need to make a distinction between the *ming* 名 and the *puming* 譜名, because they were usually one and the same thing. For examples of people who changed their original given name, especially in the early Republic, see §8.3.8.

8.7.3 Wealth Ranking

The two greatest fortunes in the later empire were owned by men, the extent of whose wealth and the form of whose names excited comment during the dynasties in which they lived and has continued to intrigue ever since.

The first, Shen Fu 沈富 (1307–138?; courtesy name, Zhongrong 仲容), was born in Changzhou county 長洲縣 (Suzhou). He is better known by his alternative name, Shen Wansan 沈萬三 (Shen Wan the third), or as Shen Wansan xiu 沈萬三秀 (The Honorable Shen Wan the third). He had become an exceedingly rich man by the time he had the misfortune in his old age to come to the attention of the founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋. Shen's was a legendary rags to riches story and his name became another way of saying a very rich person (for a detailed examination of the legends surrounding him and an extensive bibliography of

secondary works, see Chan [2008, 207–47] and Shen Defu [1989, 403–536]).

The second, Wu Bingjian 伍秉鑑, was an important member of the Canton Cohong at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Foreign merchants, who believed him to be the richest man in the world, called him Howqua (Haoguan 浩官). He is discussed at §44. 5.2.

Intrigued by the origin of *xiu* 秀 attached to the name of Shen Wansan 沈萬三, Dong Gu 董穀 (*juren* 1516) offered the explanation that, at the beginning of the Ming, extremely wealthy people were known as Myriarch third grade (*Wanhu sanxiu* 萬戶三秀) and that people of every county were divided into five ranks according to their household wealth. Each household received a copy of their registration and of the category and grade that they had been assessed in. The categories, according to him (starting from the bottom) were *ge* 哥, *ji* 畸 [季], *lang* 郎, *guan* 官, and *xiu* 秀. Therefore, Shen's name means that he had been assessed into the wealthiest category in the third grade (*Bili zacun* 碧里雜存, 1565).

A near contemporary of Dong, Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅 (fl. 1570), offered a slightly different explanation. According to him in the Yuan and early Ming, households were divided into three categories for tax and labor service assessment. People were therefore sometimes addressed by one of the three ranks attached to the three categories, *lang* 郎, *guan* 官, *xiu* 秀. Thus, in addition to being known as Shen Xiu and Shen Wansan xiu, Shen was also known as Wansan xiu 萬三秀 (Shen's younger brother, he says, was called Wansi 萬四). From this we may conclude that the Wan in his name was a generation ranking marker as explained at §8.7.2. Even in his day, Tian added, "people say of themselves in a modest way, 'Neither *lang*, nor *xiu*,'" meaning "neither senior nor junior," or "neither rich nor poor." *Bulang buxiu* 不郎不秀 (*Liuqing rizha* 留青日劄 [Fresh-cut daily notes]. 1573. Shanghai guji, 1985, *juan* 35; in *HDW*). Many others repeated one or other of these explanations from that day to this.

While it is quite possible that the terms *lang* 郎, *guan* 官, and *xiu* 秀 were unofficially attached to the names of those assessed in one of the three wealth categories in the Yuan and early Ming, it is unlikely that there were five categories (as had been introduced in the Song Five rank household system [*Wudeng huzhi* 五等戶制]). Official Ming sources specify three categories (upper, middle, and lower), not five. Households that were old, poor, or sick were listed in a special category (*jiling* 畸零), which could therefore be considered a fourth category (since *ji* 畸 is an alternative for *ji* 季, this may explain the origin of Zhong Du's second lowest category).

Grading of families by size, landholding, or wealth goes back at least to the fourth century BCE. It was used either for the allocation of land or for the assessment of tax and labor and military services. See §65.3.1, specifically on the Ming registration household system.

Whatever the origins of Shan Wansan's being called *xiu*, by the later empire, *lang* 郎, *guan* 官, and *xiu* 秀 had all long since been divorced from any wealth assessment origins they may once have had. They served as special terms of address, or rank indicators, similar to *ge* 哥 and *ji* 季, albeit showing greater respect. In the case of the hong merchants at Canton, before 1795 they tended to use the honorific *xiu* 秀 (shaw in English) in their trade names. After that, as the Cohong became more powerful, they switched to using *guan* 官 (qua in English [Liang Jiabin 1999, 45, 62–63]). They may have considered this more appropriate, because after 1795 they paid large sums for official degrees and/or appointments and chose to have their portraits painted wearing official robes.

xiu 秀 (respected sir); *xiu* was also used in its own series, such as *daxiu* 大秀, *erxiu* 二秀, *sanxiu* 三秀 (elder brother, second brother, third brother, etc.; cf. *dashao* 大少, *ershao* 二少, *sanshao* 三少. Most writers point out that these series were common in Southern Fujian.

guan 官 (sir, as-in the normal address to a respected other, including an official, as in Wang *daguan* 王大官 or in the ironic names of the sing-

song girls on the flower boats of Yangzhou, Elder respected sister Jiang *daguan* 蔣大官 and Second sister Jiang 蔣二官, *Yangzhou huafang lu* 揚州畫舫錄, *juan* 9); note also that Wang Jinlong 王金龍 is addressed as Wang Sanguan 王三官 in *Sanyan* 三言 and in *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅.

lang 郎 (young master, as in Li Sanlang 李三郎); *lang* was also used in genealogies in the later empire after the "number names" of those too poor to have names (§8.4.4).

ji 季 (indicating last born or last in a series).

ge 哥 (elder brother; as in 鄭十哥; male, as in Xiangge 祥哥). The prebaptismal name of the great-great grandfather of the national hero of the Philippines, Dr. Jose Rizal, provides an interesting example of the use of *ge* 哥. He was from Shangkuo 上廓 near Quanzhou 泉州 and his name is recorded on his baptismal documents in 1697 as Cua Lam-co (Ke Nan-ge 柯南哥, 1665–?). Lam-co's father and mother signed their names on this occasion as Siong-co (Xiang-ge 祥哥) and Jun-nio (Yunniang 芸娘), respectively. This indicates that they were not high in the social scale (contra to the claims made by many of Rizal's biographers).

Chan, Hok-lam. 2008. *Legends of the building of old Peking*. UWP.

Liang Jiabin 梁嘉彬 (1910–95). rev. 1999. *Guangdong shisanhang kao* 广东十三行考 (Research into the Canton Cohong). 1937; enl. ed. 1960; Guangdong renmin.

Shen Defu 沈德輔. 1989. *Cong Shen Wansan zhuanji ziliao lun xiupu yu xungen* 从沈万三的传记资料论修谱与寻根 (On compiling genealogies and the search for roots from the point of view Shen Wansan's biographical data). *Di-sijie Yazhou zupu xueshu yantaohui huiyi jilu* 第四届亚洲学术研讨会会议记录. Guoxue wenxianguan 国学文献馆.

8.8 COURTESY NAMES

Because there was a taboo on using the given name outside of the family, those destined to play a role in society selected a courtesy name (*zi* 字) in consultation with their elders on coming of age (*chengding* 成丁). Because it was for use outside the family it was sometimes called a *biaozi* 表字. Girls of some social standing also received a courtesy name when they got married. If they were still single, they could receive one on coming of age (usually at 15 *sui*). The *zi* 字 was an integral part of the elite naming system from the Zhou until the mid twentieth century.

Zi 字 has been translated into English in many ways. I prefer "courtesy name," because one of the earliest descriptions of it says, "at the capping (coming of age) ceremony, he receives a *zi* 字, this is the respectful form of his given name." 冠而字之, 敬其名也 (*Yili* 儀禮 [*Observances and rituals*]. Shi guanli 士冠禮).

"Polite name" would also fit, because it implies (correctly) that it was impolite to use somebody's given name (*ming* 名) outside of the family.

Six of the alternative translations for *zi* that appear in the literature include

capping name (after *guanming* 冠名 [*nom social* in French]): obviously does not work, because elite women also received a *zi* and their hair was bound with a clasp, not capped.

coming of age name (*Grossjährigkeitsname* or *Mannesname* in German): clumsy.

cognomen: too easily confused with an existing concept.

marriage name (often found in early European and American writing on China because young men often married on coming of age): too limiting.

initiation name: connotes entrance into some form of secret society, whereas the courtesy name was the opposite, it being acquired on entering society for use in public.

style: not only easily confused with other concepts, but is also misleading, because it could imply an official or legal title, but, like a courtesy title in English, the *zi* in Chinese had no legal validity (contracts, for example, were never signed with a person's courtesy name [§66.2.17.1, Box 112]).

By the Spring and Autumn period the courtesy name (*zi* 字) was clearly being chosen to match the meaning of the given name (*ming* 名). The example most often cited over the centuries was the eldest son of Confucius (#1 in Table 42):

Table 42 Some Typical Courtesy Names

Boyu 伯魚 (Eldest fish), courtesy name of the eldest son of Confucius, Kong Li 孔鯉, to match the meaning of his given name, Li 鯉 (Carp).

Ping 平 (Level), courtesy name of Qu Yuan 屈原 to match the meaning of his given name, Yuan 原 (Plain).

Pingzi 平子 (Level one), courtesy name of Zhang Heng 張衡. Chosen in order to combine with his given name to form the word *pingheng* 平衡 (level).

Mojie 摩詰 (Malakirti), courtesy name of the poet Wang Wei 王維 (701–61), a devout Buddhist (Weimojie 維摩詰 [Vimalakirti] was a hermit and contemporary of the Buddha).

Zishou 子壽 (Master old age), courtesy name of the Tang grand councilor, Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (90-Years-old Zhang).

Tuizhi 退之 (withdrawing), courtesy name of Han Yu 韓愈 (*tui* 退 is the opposite of *yu* 愈; hence the two names stand for the balance achieved by advancing and withdrawing).

Kedao 可道 (Can be spoken), courtesy name of Feng Dao 馮道. Presumably taken from the opening words of the *Laozi* 老子, *Dao kedao* 道可道, an interesting choice for this devout Confucian. Feng was grand councilor at each of the five courts of the Five Dynasties, a unique achievement for a senior official that earned Sima Guang's scornful comment, "like an inn to many travelers" 若逆旅之視過客 (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 291: 9512).

Wuhuo 無惑 (Without illusions), courtesy name of the Northern Song writer, Zhu Yu 朱彧. No doubt in part chosen for the graphic similarity to his given name.

Qianli 千里 (10,000 Li), courtesy name of Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠 (Going-far Ma), of the Southern Song.

Liuxian 留仙 (Wandering immortal), courtesy name of the Qing writer Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (literally, Pine-Age Pu), because a pine lives 1,000 years like immortals.

Shengbai 生白 (Produce light; literally, Born white), courtesy name of the eighteenth-century aromatherapist Xue Xue 薛雪 (literally, Snow Xue).

Liren 立人 (Standing man), courtesy name of the poet Shu Wei 舒位 (1765–1816), chosen from the graphic components of his given name, Wei 位.

Gangmu 剛木 (Post [for supporting a wall]), courtesy name of the nineteenth century calendrical scholar Wang Yuezhen 汪曰楨 (*Shuowen*: Zhen 楨: "Gangmu ye" 剛木也 [a *zhen* is a wooden post]).

Runzhi 潤之 (Well-groomed), courtesy name of Mao Zedong 毛澤東. The Run 潤 was chosen to match the 澤 in his given name (*runze* 潤澤 was an everyday word meaning well groomed or favorable).

One common way of forming a courtesy name that appears during the Zhou and continued to the end of the empire was to link an age ranking character with a polite form of address for men. *Zi* 子 (master), *gong* 公 (mister), and *jun* 君 (sir) were among the most common. Others included *fu* 甫, *fu* 夫, *qing* 卿 (minister), *ru* 儒 (teacher), *weng* 翁 (old man), or *sun* 孫 (grandson). Table 43 shows some examples of courtesy names formed in this way:

Table 43 Ranking Courtesy Names

Courtesy Name		Family & Given Name	
Shaoqing	少卿	Li Ling	李陵
Zhangqing	長卿	Sima Xiangru	司馬相如
Yougong	幼公	Chen Wannian	陳萬年
Shaoweng	少翁	Gong Yu	貢禹

The most commonly used address terms in courtesy names were *zi* 子 (originally a noble or a term to express great respect, later simply equivalent to master) as in Zhang Jiuling's 張九齡 courtesy name Zishou 子壽. *Gong* 公 was another term of address frequently used in courtesy names (Box 22).

Such names probably began as polite greetings, whose convenience was that they immediately established the seniority of the person addressed in terms of the birth order in their family. Moreover, they enabled speakers to avoid the taboo personal name of their interlocutors.

In a sample of 62,000 members of the elite who lived during the last five centuries of the empire, nearly a quarter (15,000 peo-ple) had courtesy names incorporating a character from the *bo-zhong* or *changyuan-cishao youzhi* 長元次少幼稚 birth-order series and/or polite terms of address (*zi* 子, *gong* 公, *jun* 君). Another much used way of forming courtesy names was to combine a character indicating birth order with a word extending or matching the meaning of the given name, as in Jiyu 季玉 in Table 42.

The most popular qualifiers in the courtesy names were *shi* 石 (rock), found in the courtesy names of over 1,600 out of the total of 62,000 people; *wen* 文 (1,500 people); and *yu* 玉 (jade), 1,350 people. The four cardinal points were also extremely popular, together appearing in the courtesy names of 4,600 people (calculated from Yuan and Yuan 1998 and 2001).

Selecting the suitable word or phrase to match a person's given name was often done by consulting definitions in classical dictionaries such as the *Erya* 爾雅 or *Shuowen* 說文, by borrowing from allusions in the Confucian or Daoist classics, or simply by emulation, as in the case of Lu Jiuling 陸九齡, who took the same courtesy name as Zhang Jiuling 張九齡.

Another common way to form courtesy names was to take a single-character *ming* 名 or one of the main characters of a two-character *ming* or a word related to the *ming* and add an empty-word suffix such as *zhi* 之, for example, Tuizhi 退之 (Han Yu's 韓愈 courtesy name), Shizhi 適之 (Hu Shi's 適 courtesy name), or Runzhi 潤之 (Mao Zedong's 毛澤東 courtesy name). To a lesser extent the suffix *ran* 然 (-ly) was used in the same way.

Some even chose their courtesy name on the basis of a graphic pun, such as the Yuan poet Xu Fang 徐舫 (1299–1366; *zi* 字, Fang-zhou 方舟), the prolific poet and historian, You Tong 尤侗 (1618–1704; *zi* 字, Tongren 同人), or the sericulturalist, Yang Shen 楊岫 (1699–1794; *zi* 字, Shuangshan 雙山).

Box 22 Gong 公 *& Zi* 子

Gong 公 is familiar today as the indicator for male animals and birds, as in *gongji* 公雞 (cock) or *gongyang* 公羊 (ram) as distinct from *muji* 母雞 (hen) or *muyang* 母羊 (ewe). Karlgren notes that some of the forms of the early graphs for *gong* "seem to suggest a phallic interpretation, others do not" (*Grammata serica rcensa* #1173). During the Zhou dynasty *gong* was also used as a male indicator and as a term of respect for elderly males (a story about Confucius told in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 relates how he enquired after his disciple's family starting with his *gong* 公 [grandfather]). *Gong* often appears as *laogong* 老公 and in this sense is synonymous with *weng* 翁 (father; old man). *Gong* was also the top title of nobility, customarily translated into English as Duke, as in Zhou gong 周公 (the Duke of Zhou). When a ruler died he was normally referred to by his posthumous name plus the honorific title *gong* (which can be translated lord rather than duke).

By the Han, over use had removed some of the luster from this old title, but in later centuries it came to serve as a term of respect, perhaps equivalent to "sir" in English. However, on many occasions it simply carries the sense of "mister." A literal translation of the title of Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 collected works, *Ouyang Wenzhong gong ji* 歐陽文忠公集, would therefore be something like *Collected works of Mr. Ouyang, the Literary and Loyal*, not *Collection of Ouyang Xiu, the Literary and Loyal Duke*.

To help raise the tone of *gong* as a title, in the later empire it was often qualified, as in expressions such as *minggong* 明公 (sir, gentlemen), *taigong* 太公 (greatly respected elder; grandfather), or *xianggong* 相公 (young sir). Meanwhile, from the Song dynasty to the Qing, it appears in the titles of princes of the blood, such as Kaiguo gong 開國公 (Dynastic founding lord) or Zhenguo gong 鎮國公 (literally, guarding the dynasty lord), etc. (§18.12).

From the Warring States, the daughters of rulers were called Gongzhu 公主 (princess [§18.2]).

Zi 子 was the lowest of the five orders of nobility in the Zhou, but it, too, like *gong*, became a term of respect, as in Kongzi 孔子, Mengzi 孟子, or Xunzi 荀子. In the later empire it was the single most common word used in courtesy names.

The connections between the courtesy and given names (the *ming* 名 and the *zi* 字) are usually fairly obvious (as in those listed in Table 42). But the pre-Qin ones often present difficulties. Over the years many special studies of them were made. These are sum-

marized in Zhou Fagao 周法高 (§58.9.1) and more recently by Ji and Ji (§8.15.4), who have worked out plausible connections between the given and courtesy names of over 2,000 prominent people who lived at all periods of Chinese history from the pre-Qin to the end of the Qing.

As a general rule, the *zi* 字 in the pre-Qin, like the *ming* 名 was more often one syllable than two. Thereafter, the norm was two syllables (Hong Mai 洪邁. *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆, bi 5, juan 1, 古人字, 只一言 [Ancient people only had one-syllable courtesy names]). In the Zhou and early empire, most people who had a courtesy name (that is members of the elite), had only one courtesy name. But by the later empire it was not uncommon for literati to give themselves several.

After 1949, courtesy names were seen as part of the old society and dropped in favor of a simpler system of names and styles of address.

For the use of the *ming* 名 (given name) and *zi* 字 (courtesy name) in addressing others, see §7.6.

8.9 ALTERNATIVE NAMES

In addition to their regular names (*xing* 姓, *ming* 名, *zi* 字), members of the elite in imperial China used many different kinds of alternative, additional, or special names. In general these are called *hao* 號, which in this broad sense is often qualified, as in *chuohao* 綽號, *guohao* 國號, *hanghao* 行號, *huihao* 徽號, and so on. In its narrower sense, *hao* is short for alternative name (*biehao* 別號). Sometimes the terms *hao* 號 and *zi* 字 were used interchangeably and sometimes it is not easy to distinguish a person's *hao* from his or her *zi*. Nevertheless, there was a distinction between the two, which is normally easy enough to spot, as will become apparent in the course of the following discussion.

For ease of presentation, *hao* can be divided between those that people chose for themselves (*zihao* 自號) and those that were chosen for them by others (*zenghao* 贈號). This distinction was not always a clear one. For example, a friend might suggest an additional name for someone, who then made it his or her own. But the distinction works fairly well for most categories of *hao*.

Hao has been translated into English in various ways, including alternative, fancy, or assumed name; even nickname, sobriquet, or byname (*surnom* in French and *Beiname* in German). Of these, alternative name is preferable, because it suggests the function without being specific. Nickname does not work very well because it is a special type of alternative name and besides, both in China and in the West, nicknames are normally given by others and not chosen by oneself. Therefore, nickname is best reserved as the translation of *chuohao*, one of the *zenghao* (*hao* chosen by others). The translation of the other types of *hao* is best done on a case-by-case basis according to the purpose for which each was used. Thus, the self-chosen *hao* of a writer (called *biehao* 別號) might be translated "literary name," but the self-chosen *hao* of a painter (also called *biehao*) would better be translated as "artistic name" rather than "literary name." This section concentrates on self-chosen alternative names. Sections §8.10–11 cover various types of alternative names (chosen by others) and forms of address, including nicknames, office names, and posthumous names and titles.

8.9.1 Self-Chosen Alternative Names (1)

Alternative names chosen by oneself do not come from a single source. Some come from new ideas. Others come from proclaiming one's will. 別號濫觴非一. 有出新意者. 有自鳴其志者 (Shen Defu 沈德符. Biehao you suoben 別號有所本 [There is some basis for alternative names]. In *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬曆野獲編 23: 584).

Many people who played multiple roles in their lives chose alternative names for themselves, usually at turning points, such as retirement from office, a change of location, or adoption of a new artistic

style. Such names were called *hao* 號, *zihao* 自號, or *biehao* 別號 (literally, alternative name [alternative to their regular names]). The biggest inventers of such names were those who adopted fictive persona, such as writers, painters, or calligraphers. The widespread use of alternative names is one of the signatures of Song and post-Song literati culture.

Modern Chinese retains *biehao* 別號 in the sense of "other personal names," including courtesy names, alternative names, nicknames, etc. It should not to be confused with *bieming* 別名 (also *yiming* 異名), which can mean alternative names in the broadest sense, but is also used for alternative names of things in general, for example, of mountains.

Regular names were chosen by a person's parents or elders and therefore reflected kin and family expectations and values. Other types of alternative names, including nicknames (§8.10) were usually chosen by others. *Biehao* 別號, on the other hand, were matters of individual choice (as *zihao* 自號, a common term for them, suggests). This probably goes a long way to explaining the significance that literati attached to them. Many contain an element of posing.

Some of the atmosphere surrounding the choice of an alternative name is conveyed in the opening lines of his *Life of Mr. Five Willows* (*Wuliu xiansheng zhuan* 五柳先生傳), in which Tao Qian 陶潛 (Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 [365–427]) presents a summation of his own life (and thereby qualifies as one of China's first autobiographers). He writes that the family and given names of the subject are not known, only his *biehao* (Mr. Five Willows). In saying this, he was expressing his attachment to a life in retirement away from the cares and compromises of office, which he confessed to loath. He was also making the point that his new name did not depend on book learning or special knowledge (he explains that its origin lay in the five willows growing beside the house in which he had retired).

There are scattered examples of *biehao* in ancient China and their origin is often traced back to legendary recluses as far back as the Warring States. But famous actual examples become more plentiful in the Jin and Nanbeichao. Mr. Five Willows is one. The Master Who Embraces Simplicity (*Baopu zi* 抱樸子) and the Master of the Golden Pavilion (*Jinlou zi* 金樓子) are two more (the alternative names of Ge Hong 葛洪 and Liang Yuandi 梁元帝, respectively).

In these centuries, if people chose a *biehao* at all, they were usually content with choosing just one. Starting from the Song, however, it was not uncommon for one person to choose several alternative names in the course of a lifetime, in some cases dozens (something that could not be achieved with regular names). Su Shi 蘇軾 had a large number. Zhou Mi 周密 had at least 20. By the Ming and Qing, at the extreme, there are a few people, mainly painters, who had between 50 and 100, although most only had one or two. Clearly, alternative names were used differently in different periods and by different types of people. What led to the surge of alternative names in the Song?

The historian Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 pointed out that in the late Tang and Five Dynasties, a fashion developed of using choronyms (*junwang* 郡望) in place of family names (Longxi 隴西 for Li 李 or Langya 琅邪 for Wang 王) and also for using fine sounding phrases for family names (Tailao 太牢 [Grand sacrifices] for Niu 牛 or Qiyuan 漆園 [place linked with Zhuang 莊] for Zhuang 莊). These were recorded in informal literature, from whence "ignorant literati" (*wushi wenren* 無識文人) began the habit of using such circumlocutions in more formal writing (Fancheng 繁稱 [Confused naming]. In *Wenshi tongyi* 文史通義 4, Neipian 內篇 4). Zhang's theory is an interesting one because the most common source of alternative names in the centuries from the Song were toponyms (mountains, rivers, springs, gardens, orchards, villages). Later, a fashion developed for using the names of dwellings (studies, libraries, country retreats, halls, pagodas, and so on). However, Zhang's theory needs modification in at least one respect. It was not igno-

rant literati who were responsible for the boom in alternative names in the Song, but the new merit-based literati (*wenren* 文人) seeking to add a touch of style to what might otherwise have been rather undistinguished pedigrees.[7]

Alternative names could be a single character or more (usually, from two to four). Sometimes they embody recondite allusions or rare characters, but usually they are fairly straightforward. No effort was made to link them to a person's given or courtesy names (*ming* 名 or *zi* 字). Quite the contrary. Typically, *biehao* simply consisted of the name of the place where a person was living or a feature connected with it, often followed by a generic such as Shanren 山人 (hermit), Jushi 居士 or Chushi 處士 (reclusive scholar), Daoren 道人 (immortal, Daoist, man of virtue), Laoren 老人 (old man), Taishou 太守 (Prefect), Xiucai 秀才 (Recommended talent), Shangshu 尚書 (Minister), and so on.

The popularity of words meaning hermit or old fellow in a person's *biehao* indicates that it was often intended to provide the individual with a persona that suggested that he (or she) was retired from the confines of public life and social obligations and was living a modest existence somewhere far from the capital or other administrative centers (Tao Yuanming was an enduring model). There was even some degree of sanction from Confucius, "at 70, I followed my heart's desire without overstepping the line." 七十而從心所欲不踰矩 (*Lunyu* 論語 2.4, Weizheng 為政). But not all *biehao* were intended to suggest a rustic retirement.

The term *wanhao* 晚號 is a modern one for a person's alternative name chosen late in life.

8.9.2 Sources for Self-Chosen Alternative Names (1)

Some of the main sources for self-chosen alternative names include the following (the examples are mainly people mentioned elsewhere in the manual).

Place names: the Northern Song poet, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅: Shangu daoren 山谷道人 (Mountain-valley hermit); Zhou Mi 周密: Guixin jushi 癸辛居士 (the Hermit of the Guixin ward); the Yuan man of letters, Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀: Nancun jushi 南村居士 (Recluse of Nancun).

Library, study, or studio names: (*zhaiming* 齋名, *zhaihao* 齋號) and residence names (*shiming* 室名) were already popular in the Tang. Special buildings for housing the books of private collectors only became a necessity after the widespread use of paper led to the growth in the size of collections. The first named private collection dates to the Eastern Jin, but the widespread use of ong. Examples: the late Ming Confucian teacher, Yan Yuanming 顏元命 collection names as an owner's alternative name only became common in the S named his library, Xizhai 習齋 (Study library) and also called himself Xizhai 習齋. Many added hermit or recluse to the name of the study or place of retirement, as did Bai Juyi 白居易, who lived in Xiangshan temple 香山寺 in Luoyang and called himself the Recluse of Xiangshan (Xiangshan jushi 香山居士). Library, study, or studio names frequently feature in the titles of their owner's collected works and *biji*. The wealthy Qing bibliophile, Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814), named the collection he published *Zhi buzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Collection of the Know your deficiencies studio) after his library name, Zhi buzu zhai 知不足齋 (the reference is to the tag, "After studying, one knows one's deficiencies." 學然後知不足, *Liji* 禮記 16.3).

Hobbies/interests and material goods: Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 famously adopted the alternative name in his old age of Liuyi jushi 六一居士 (Six-unique things hermit) and explained it to a friend as follows, "My home has one collection of 10,000 chapters of books, one thousand chapters of rubbings of epigraphy from the Three Dynasties and later, one zither, one set of chess men, and one wine pitcher." His friend said, "That makes five unique things. How come?" The retired scholar said, "With my old self among these things, is that not six unique things?" 吾家藏書一萬卷, 集

錄三代以來金石遺文一千卷, 有琴一張, 有棋一局, 而常置酒一壺, 以吾一老翁, 老於此五物之間, 是豈不為六一乎 (Ouyang Xiu. 1070. Liuyi jushi zhuan 六一居士傳). Ouyang's list of treasured things can be considered not only a characteristic riposte to his friend, Mei Yaochen's 王堯臣 formulation, "the four treasures of the scholar's studio" (paper, brush, ink, and inkstone; *wenfang sibao* 文房四寶, the *bi* 筆, *mo* 墨, *zhi* 紙, *yan* 硯) but also the ancestor of all those later lists of desirable goods, such as *chaimi youyan* 柴米油鹽 (firewood, rice, oil, and salt): *sanzhuan yixiang* 三傳一響 (three things that go around and one that makes a sound: a bicycle, sewing machine, wristwatch, and radio of the 1960s and 1970s); or the TV, air-con, car, and house of the 1990s.

Commemorations: One of the many alternative names of the great Yuan calligrapher and painter Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) was Jiayin ren 甲寅人 because he was born in that year; the Qianlong emperor gave himself many *biehao*, including Shiquan laoren 十全老人 (Old ten perfections) and Guxi xiansheng 古稀先生 (The seventy-years old gentleman).

Aspirations: Zou Rong 鄒容: Gemingjun zhong maqian zu 革命軍中馬前卒 (Pawn of the Revolutionary Army).

Puns, both verbal and graphic: the Southern Song poet Zheng Suonan 鄭所南 (1239–1316), after the collapse of the Song, not only changed his name to Sixiao 思肖 (remembering Zhao royalty, i.e., the Song royal house) but also picked Suonan as his courtesy name (he sat and slept facing south, away from the Mongols in the North) and chose as his *biehao*, Muxue guoren 木穴國人 (with the first two characters combined, it reads 宋國人 [A man of the Song dynasty], which might equally well be classified under aspirations). The Ming painter Xu Wei 徐渭 chose as his *biehao* Tianyue daoren 天月道人 (from the right-hand element of 渭). The Qing aromatherapist, Xue Xue 薛雪 (already encountered in the previous section) adopted as his *biehao* Saoye shanren 掃葉山人 (The hermit who sweeps away the leaves) after the name of his study, Saoye zhuang 掃葉莊 (Sweeping away the leaves study). He reportedly chose the name out of dislike for his fellow townsman (also an aromatherapist), Ye Gui 葉桂 (1666–1745). Thus, his study name and his alternative name could be read as "Getting rid of Ye...."(*ECCP*, 902–3). The late Qing novelist Wu Woyao 吳沃堯 (1867–1910) chose to sign himself Wo Fo shanren 我佛山人 (I am a Buddhist hermit), which has the alternative reading Wo Foshan ren 我佛山人 (I am a man of Fatshan; his birthplace outside of Canton).

8.9.3 Self-Chosen Alternative Names (2)

During the Ming and Qing, several people noted the inconvenience and inefficiency of the practice of one person using many alternative names (*yiren duohao* 一人多號). The outspoken Suzhou eccentric, Zhu Yunming 祝允明 (1460–1526), called it "laughable" (Biehao 別號). In his *Weitan* 猥談). A more interesting criticism was made by Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠:

Robbers and rebels, such as the Red eyebrows, the Yellow turbans, and many more of their ilk gave themselves alternative names to fool the masses. Prostitutes give themselves alternative names to charm their customers, such as Swallow, Oriole, Brocade, or Pure, and many more ["orioles and swallows" was a euphemism for singing girls]. And now the literati are not content with their given names and courtesy names, but give themselves all sorts of alternative names. Who would have believed it! Released prisoners change their names frequently for fear that people will learn about their past. A girl sold into service has to change her name when she goes to a new master. Thus, discharged prisoners and resold servant girls have to have many names. There is no other way for it. But what sense does it make for the literati to add an alternative name when they already have a courtesy name? Surely one is already enough. But for some people one alternative name is not enough. They have three or even five. Ugh! This is what is called not being afraid of trouble. 夫盜賊自為號者, 將以惑眾也. (赤眉, 黃巾, 其類甚多). 娼優自為號者, 將以媚客也. (燕鶯娟素之類甚多.) 而士大夫乃反不安其名字, 而紛紛稱號焉, 其亦不思而已矣. 逸囚多改名, 懼人知也. 出婢必更名, 易新主也. 故屢逸之囚, 轉賣之婢, 其名必多, 所謂無如何也. 文人既已架字而立號, 苟有寓意, 不得不然, 一已足矣. 顧一號不足, 而至於三且五焉. 噫! 可謂不憚煩矣 (Fancheng 繁稱 [Confused naming]. *Wenshi tongyi* 文史通義 4, Neipian 內篇 4).

Needless to say, nobody paid the slightest attention to his strictures. Alternative names often appear in the titles of a writer's posthumously published note books or collected works. This does not

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[7] The English word literati was first used to describe the classically literate elite in China by Robert Burton (1577–1640), author of *The anatomy of melancholy* (1624). He took it from the Latin word *litterati*, which he had come across in the letters of Matteo Ricci (1606–7). The word entered French as *littré* at about the same time.

normally pose a problem, because biographies usually list a person's *biehao*.

Biehao were used as pen names in two slightly different ways: (1) Writers might use one of their well-known *biehao* when circulating or printing something that they had written. In such cases, it should be easy enough to identify them. But not always. *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 circulated for about 300 years under one of its author's *biehao* (Sishui qianfu 四水潛夫) before the connection was made with Zhou Mi 周密 (§62.2.4 #7); (2) an author might chose an alternative name as a pseudonym (*jiaming* 假名, *xuming* 虛名) under which to publish a particular book. In this case it is often impossible to find the writer's identity because the aim was concealment. The author of *Jin Ping Mei*, Lanling xiaoxiao sheng 蘭陵笑笑生 (Scoffing scholar of Lanling), is a case in point. He (or she) has never been identified.

Some people later became as well known by their family name combined with an abbreviation of their *biehao* as by their regular names. Su Shi 蘇軾 is a good example. Today, he is better known as Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (Dongpo 東坡 is an abbreviation of Dongpo jushi 東坡居士, the Recluse of the Eastern Slope, the name of the farm at which he stayed in his first exile at Huangzhou 黃州 [1080–86]). This was not the case during his own day and it was not usually the case for other well-known personalities, although there are several, who later became best known by their family name combined with their *biehao*. This was particularly the case for painters and writers, for example, Xu Hongzu 徐弘祖 (1586–1641), Zhu Da 朱耷 (ca. 1626–1705), Zheng Luan 鄭燮, and Qi Jin 齊璜, who are now far better known by their *biehao* (or the best known of their many *biehao*): Xu Xiake 徐霞客, Bada Shanren 八大山人, Zheng Banqiao 鄭板橋, and Qi Baishi 齊白石.

Cao Zhan 曹沾 is today one of the favorite authors in all of Chinese history. In his own times, he was known by this and by many other names, including his courtesy name Cao Mengyuan 曹夢阮. But today he is universally remembered as Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (family name plus *biehao*). Incidentally, he included a playful account in *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 of Baoyu 寶玉 and the other members of Crabflower Poetry Club (Haitangshe 海棠社) choosing literary names for themselves (*Honglou meng* 37, 537–38; *The story of the stone*, vol. 2, 216–19).

Because they were carefully chosen by their owners the reasons behind the choice of an alternative name can often be revealing to biographers.

By the mid twentieth century, *biehao* had been almost entirely abandoned, their place in part being taken by pen names.

Many of the biographical dictionaries list people both under their family and given names and family and courtesy names. Some contain lists of *biehao*, but if the person lived during the past 500 years, it usually saves time to turn directly to one of the comprehensive separate indexes of alternative names that exist for the Ming (§65.2.2.1), for the Qing (§66.4.2.1), and for the Republic (§67.5.2).

Box 23 Biehao Paintings

During the Ming, the popularity of *biehao* among literati is attested by the emergence of a genre of painting dubbed in the early seventeenth century, *Biehao tu* 別號圖 (Studio-name paintings). The genre had its beginnings in the Yuan and reached its maturity in the Ming with painters like Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1524) or Wen Zhengming 文征明 (1470–1559). The paintings feature the retirement studio of a friend (or a patron commissioning such a work). The studio is depicted as a simple structure in deliberate contrast to the large and elaborately furnished buildings of public life. It is usually situated in a garden, bamboo grove, or other secluded spot, often in a rural setting, far from the bustling cities of the time. The titles of the paintings are the owner's studio name (*shihao*, *zhaihao*), and thus, it would be more accurate to call the genre *Shihao tu* 室號圖 or *Zhaihao tu* 齋號圖. Liu Jiu'an (1993, 35–46) includes a list of 30 *Ming biehao tu* (see also Clunas 2004, p. 107, and Roberts 2008).

Clunas, Craig. 2004. *Elegant debts: The social art of Wen Zhengming, 1470–1559*. UHP.

Liu Jiu'an 劉九庵. 1990. Wumen huajia zhi biehao tu jianding juli 吳門畫家之別號圖鑒定舉例 (Examples of authenticated alternative name paintings of the Wu School). In Gugong bowuyuan, ed. 1993. *Wumen huapai yanjiu* 吳門畫派研究 (Studies on the painters of the Wu School, 35–46). Orig. pub. in *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 3.

Roberts, Claire. 2007. Artist sobriquets and studio names. *China Heritage Quarterly* 13. A discussion of the studio and artist names adopted by Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865–1955) and Li Keran 李可染 (1907–1989).

8.10 NICKNAMES

A common type of alternative name chosen for people by others is the nickname, sobriquet, or byname (*hao* 號, *chuohao* 綽號, *hunhao* 渾[混]號, *hunming* 渾名, *waihao* 外號, *waiming* 外名, or *xueming* 謔名). Unlike other alternative names, nicknames included not only well-turned compliments but also a person's idiosyncrasies or physical oddities and many skewer negative qualities, as several of the following examples show. For obvious reasons, they were usually used to refer to a person rather than to address him or her.

Flying general (Fei jiangjun 飛將軍); nickname said to have been given to the Han commander Li Guang 李廣 (?–119 BCE) by the Xiongnu, because of his ability to maneuver rapidly. In addition to his many other accomplishments, Li Guang is credited with having been at the origin of the name *huzi* 虎子 for pisspot. One day out hunting he killed a tiger and cut off its head as a trophy to use as a pisspot and had a bronze cast of it made (*Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 [§59.5.8]). Incidentally, it was Li Guang's grandson, General Li Ling 李陵 (?–74 BCE), on whose behalf Sima Qian 司馬遷 spoke at the imperial court with such fatal consequences for himself (§59.1.2).

Crouching dragon (Wolong 臥龍); nickname of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, courtesy name, Kongming 孔明 (181–234) before he became Liu Bei's 劉備 grand councilor. Later, the hills near his place of refuge to the south of Hanyang 漢陽 in Henan were named Wolong gang 臥龍岡 after him.

Brush tiger (Bihu 筆虎); nickname of Li Yangbing 李陽冰 (ca. 721–85), Tang small seal script master.

Dagger clothed in a smile (Xiaozhong dao 笑中刀); nickname given to the Tang grand councilor, Li Yifu 李義府 (614–66), an early supporter of Wu Zetian's 武則天 rise; also known as Cat Li (Li Mao 李貓), according to *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 82: 2767, or the Human cat (Renmao 人貓), according to *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 223: 6340.

Barefoot immortal (Chijiao daxian 赤腳大仙); nickname of Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (b. 1010; r. 1022–63), because he did not like wearing socks.

Bury-the-broth prefect (Maigeng taishou 埋羹太守); Wang Jin 王璡 was so extremely thrifty that one day while serving as the prefect of Ningbo, on finding a fish gruel on the dining table, he scolded his wife for having forgotten the years in which he had survived on grass roots, and had the gruel buried (*Mingshi* 明史 143: 4061).

Big-pipe-bowl Ji (Ji daguo 紀大鍋) or Big-pipe Ji (Ji da yandai 紀大煙袋); nickname of Ji Yun 紀昀, the editor of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, a heavy tobacco smoker.

Six do-nothings governor-general (Liubu zongdu 六不總督); nickname of Ye Mingchen 葉名琛 (1807–59), the indecisive governor-general of Liang-Guang 兩廣 (Guangdong and Guangxi) at the time of the Anglo-French bombardment in December 1857. After Ye's capture, the local people said of him, "He would not fight, make peace, nor take steps for defense. He would not die, surrender, nor flee" 不戰不和不守不死不降不走.

Crooked-nose general (Waibi jiangjun 歪鼻將軍); nickname of Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 (1865–1936), from the fact that his nose was said to skew to the left when he became really angry.

Dog-meat general (Gourou jiangjun 狗肉將軍); nickname of Shandong warlord Zhang Zongchang 張宗昌 (1881–1932). He acquired this name because he liked to play dominoes (*tui paijiu* 推牌九), the slang for which was *chi gourou* 吃狗肉. The general was also known as Sanbuzhi 三不知 because, it was said, he did not know how many troops, how much money, or how many concubines he had.

For a mine of fascinating, often offbeat, nicknames, which includes some, but not all, of the above, see

Xie Canglin 谢苍霖, ed. 1990. *Chuohao yicheng cidian* 绰号异称辞典 (Dictionary of nicknames). Jiangxi gaoxiao, 1999. A collection of 9,000 nicknames of prominent people from the Zhou to the early Republic grouped by category (e.g., appearance; gifted talkers; doctors; great travelers). There is a stroke-count index.

8.11 OFFICE NAMES & OTHER FORMS OF ADDRESS

In addition to alternative names and nicknames, as a matter of politeness, distinguished people were addressed or referred to indirectly by various means, the most common of which was by their family name plus official title or place of work, thus the Former Han physician, Chunyu Yi 淳于於意 is also known as Taicang gong 太倉公 (the Honorable Granary Keeper), after the office he held in Shandong; Ban Gu 班固 is sometimes called Ban Lantai 班蘭台, because of his many years as Lantai ling 蘭台令 (compiler in the Lantai library); the calligrapher Wang Xianzhi 王憲之 was referred to as Wang Youjun 王右軍 because he had held the post of Commandant of the army of the right; Du Fu 杜甫 was called Du Gongbu 杜工部, because he had once served as acting deputy director in the ministry of civil works (Jianjiao Gongbu yuanwai lang 檢校工部員外郎), and Wang Mingsheng quotes Jin Bang 金榜 as Jin Xiuzhuan 金修撰 (because Jin served as a Hanlin Compiler firstclass).

Another method was to refer to people by family name plus place of origin or place of work. For example, Han Yu 韓愈 was known as Han Changli 韓昌黎 (his adopted place of residence), Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 as Tinglin 亭林 or Tinglin xiansheng 亭林先生 (after Tinglin zhen 亭林鎮, the market town that he made his home), and Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 as Li Hefei 李合肥 or simply Hefei 合肥 (his adopted hometown). In a similar way, Wang Shouren 王守仁 was (and is) wellknown as Wang Yangming 王陽明, the name he took during a period of recuperation from illness near the Yangming gorge 陽明洞 outside Shaoxing. During the periods that Su Shi 蘇軾 served as prefect, he was variously known as Su Mizhou 蘇密州, Su Xuzhou 蘇徐州, Su Huangzhou 蘇黃州, and Su Huizhou 蘇惠州.

In the Tang and Song, poets and writers referred to each other by their birth-order rank number (*paihang* 排行 [§8.7.2]). Another way was to refer to someone by his or her posthumous title. Thus, Sima Guang 司馬光 on occasion was referred to as Sima Wenzheng gong 司馬文正公 (family name, Sima plus posthumous title, *wenzheng*, Cultivated and Correct). He was made Duke of Wenguo (Wen guogong 溫國公). Thus, he was often referred to at the time as Sima Wen gong 司馬溫公 (or just Wen gong 溫公). The same applied to all the many other writers, poets, officials, and statesmen who received posthumous titles or titles of the nobility of merit (Ch. 18).

8.12 ILLEGITIMATE OR ADOPTED CHILDREN

Illegitimate children normally received the family name of their mother rather than the father.

The law codes and family rules laid down that adopted sons (*yizi* 義子) should be from the same lineage (and therefore have the same family name) and belong to the generation younger than the adopting father. When a suitable boy of a relative bearing the same family name could not be found or when for one reason or another the family preferred to go outside the lineage, the adopted son was supposed to retain his original family name.

The law regarding foster children (*Yangzi* 養子) also stipulated that they should keep their original family name (i.e., had no rights of inheritance in the foster family). Despite the prohibitions against adopting from outside the lineage and despite the rules regarding change of family name, actual practices by the later empire appear to have followed different courses, including uxorilocal marriage in which the young man would move to his wife's family and often adopt its family name (especially if it was a rich family); see

Waltner, Ann. 1990. *Getting an heir: Adoption and the construction of kinship in late imperial China*. UHP.

8.13 NAME TABOOS

There were four main types of name taboos in China before the twentieth century. The first was a taboo on using certain categories of words for personal names (§8.5 and §8.13.2). The second was a taboo on using the given name of a reigning emperor and a recently deceased emperor and those of his immediate family and direct ancestors (*gonghui* 公諱, *guohui* 國諱 [§18.7]). The third was a taboo in the families of ordinary people against using the personal name of their father and grandfather during their lifetimes and for one generation after their deaths (*sihui* 私諱, *jiahui* 家諱 [§8.13.2]). The fourth was a taboo on the personal name of sages (*shengrenhui* 聖人諱), of which the avoidance of the personal name of Confucius is the prime example. To a considerable extent, the first three types of name taboos exert an influence to this day.

The use of a woman's given names in public was frowned upon, as also was the use of personal names of seniors in general, but strictly speaking, these were not taboos.

8.13.1 Taboo on Using Certain Words in Names

Although in theory any word in the Chinese language can be used for a given name, in practice there are many reasons why large parts of the lexicon are seldom, if ever, used. The first most obvious reason is that, to function at all, a name has to be easily recognizable and reasonably easy to write. Quite apart from efforts to limit the number of characters in everyday use in modern times, even in pre-1912 China, the overwhelming majority of the elite chose characters that were immediately recognizable. It was only a tiny minority that insisted on displaying their learning by choosing rare characters for their children's names. If mainly easily recognizable characters are chosen, in practice, that cuts out tens of thousands of obscure or difficult to write ones. On the other hand, there are all sorts of categories of words that are so common in everyday language that it would be inconvenient to use them for a name. Given the ease with which puns can be made in Modern Chinese, even words that sound the same are usually avoided. Thus Lu Xun 鲁迅 asked his grandfather to change his alternative name Yushan 豫山, because he was being teased at grade school (Yushan 豫山 sounds like *yushan* 雨扇, umbrella). It was duly changed to Yuting 豫亭 and then to Yucai 豫才.

Although in theory any word in the language could be used for a given name, there were exceptions, lists of which were drawn up or promulgated from time to time.

The earliest is in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 under the date 706 BCE: "the name must not be taken from the name of the state, or of an office, or of a mountain or river, or of a malady, or of an animal, or of a utensil, or of a ceremonial offering" (see §8.5 for the context). Lists such as this were to encourage rulers not to use common words that would be difficult for their subjects to avoid. As time went by, the lists grew longer. The founder of the Ming had the ministry of rites issue a regulation stating that those who violated the taboo on using *tian* 天, *guo* 國, *jun* 君, *chen* 臣, *sheng* 聖, *shen* 神, Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, Wen 文, Wu 武, Han 漢, Jin 晉, Tang 唐, and other dynastic names in their personal names or courtesy names should change them (*Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄 52: 1370). Not everybody respected these prohibitions, but even today there are very few people who name their children with country or place names or with official titles (how many people have you met named Zhongguo, Taishan, Sichuan, First Party Secretary, or President?).

Not only were few family names used and not only was there a heavy concentration on a handful of those few, but only a small number of given names tended to be chosen. In Europe, too, few given names were traditionally used, but for different reasons. The ancient Romans, for example, selected from only 18 given names on the logical assumption that the function of a given name was to distinguish the siblings in any one generation and that no family

would have more than that number. In medieval times, the Europeans, just like the Chinese, preferred a small number of "good fortune" names such as Fortunatus, Bonifacio, Benedicta, and other saints' names. In modern Catholic countries, too, there is the obligation to chose Saint's day names. In early America, the preferred given names of the Protestants were selected from the Old Testament; in present-day America, taste has shifted to names found in the New Testament.

Given the huge possibilities of punning, modern naming manuals advise parents to pay particular attention to choosing names that could have unfortunate punning associations, such as with notorious historical figures—Meng 孟 would therefore not be suitable for someone whose family name was Wang 汪, because it would result in a name too close to the usurper Wang Mang 王莽; names that sound like household utensils should also be avoided. In addition, parents are warned not to use parts of the body for names. Domestic animals are particularly suitable for childhood names but not for given names; rare characters, such as those given by Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (Taiyan 太炎) to his four daughters (Li 㸚, Zhuo 叕, Zhan 㠭, and Ji 㸚), should be avoided.

Topical names have been popular throughout Chinese history, but given the speed of change in modern times, they can be treacherous: children whose parents named them Fanyou 反右 (literally, Anti-rightist) or Wenge 文革 (Cultural Revolution) soon found themselves out of date.

8.13.2 Taboo on Certain Names

It was considered impolite to use in conversation or in writing one's father's given name or to use the words in the name of the father of one's interlocutor. In such circumstances *hui* 諱 (taboo name) was another term for given name (*minghui* 名諱 referred to the tabooed name of an elder or respected person and *huiming* 諱名 meant to taboo a name).

One of the earliest examples in literature of a writer respectting this taboo is Sima Qian's 司馬遷 avoidance of his father's name Tan 談 in writing personal names in the *Shiji* 史記 (Zhang Mengtan 張孟談 is written Zhang Mengtong 張孟同 and Li Tan 李談 is written as Li Tong 李同). When relating his family history in *Shiji* 130, he gives his father's name once; otherwise he refers to him by his title (Taishi gong 太史公) and calls himself Tongzi 同子 (son of Tong, i.e., son of Tan). Likewise, Ban Gu 班固 gives his father's name (Ban Biao 班彪) once for the record in the Ban family history in the *Hanshu* 漢書 but thereafter refers to him only by his courtesy name, Shupi 叔皮 (*Hanshu* 100A: 4207).

Because Tan 談 appears in a few places in the *Shiji* as a personal name, some scholars have taken this as an indication that the chapters where this occurs must have been written by a later hand, but the argument is not convincing. Over the course of the centuries, editors and copyists often "corrected" an author's avoidance characters by writing the original ones. A good example is the *History of the Later Han*.

The name of the author's father was Fan Tai 范泰. So, Fan Ye 范曄 appears to have consistently written Taishan 太山 rather than Taishan 泰山. But later editions reverted to Taishan 泰山. This may also explain why in the editions we have today *tan* 談 appears more than a dozen times in the *Shiji* when it is used in the sense of chatter or talk.

To help understand the taboo on using personal names, perhaps it is worth recalling that many societies also regarded the use of the personal names of immediate forebears, including parents, as sacrilegious and until comparatively recently in Europe and America young people called their family elders by kin title (mother, mum, ma, and so forth) rather than by given name. Strangers, too, were addressed by family name and title rather than by first name. Appellations become increasingly informal as extended kin groups and large families broke down. Thus, in English in the Victorian era, it was not uncommon to refer to one's parents in Latin (pater/mater). In the early twentieth century, father/mother had become the norm and by the end of the century, it was taken as a sign of informality, even intimacy, that abbreviations such as mama/papa, ma/pa, and mummy/daddy had moved from the nursery into general discourse. Yet, even today, in most parts of the world it would still be considered disrespectful to address one's parents (or one's spouse) by their first names.

Inevitably, in China before the May Fourth Movement there were those who took the taboo on using one's father's name to extreme lengths. They were usually satirized. Several examples are given in *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 2. Another well-known example is the Tang poet Li He 李賀 (790–816), who was put under pressure not to present himself for the *jinshi* 進士 degree because of the similarity in sound of *jin* 進 with the Jin 晉 in his father's name Jinsu 晉肅 (thus applying the *xianming* 嫌名 rule, often invoked by emperors, that even characters with a similar sound to the ones in their name should be tabooed [§18.7]). In an effort to persuade Li He to change his mind and take the examination, Han Yu 韓愈 wrote a short essay, Huibian 諱辯 (The rights and wrongs of name taboos), in which he wittily argues, "If the father's name was Ren [humane], should the son not behave in a humane way?" 若父名仁子不得為人呼.

To end this section with a more typical example, Sima Guang 司馬光 refers to Han Wei 韓維 (1017–98) not as Han Chiguo 韓持國 (Chiguo 持國 was Han's courtesy name) but as Han Bingguo 韓秉國, because Chi 持 has the identical pronunciation to his own father's personal name, Chi 池 (Sima Guang, *Rilu* 日錄 [Diary], entries 37 and 146) and *bing* is a synonym of *chi* (to grasp).

8.13.3 Relaxation of Name Taboos

Both in ancient and modern books, writers often refer to previous authors by their personal names—for example, Qian instead of Sima Qian 司馬遷. How does this square with the taboo on using the personal names of those senior to oneself? The answer is that there were certain relaxations of the taboo. These are summed up in the *Liji* 禮記, "The given name [of deceased parents and grandparents] need not be avoided in literary composition, in the ancestral temple, or in conversing with the sovereign." 詩書不諱臨文不諱廟中不諱君所無不諱 (Quli 曲禮, *shang* 上); *Erming bu pianhui* 二名不偏諱, i.e., when a character from a two-character given name is used on its own, it need not be avoided (Tan Gong, *xia* 檀弓下).

Later commentators tried to reduce the impact of this ruling by arguing, for example, that the first relaxation applied only to students at school. However, apart from the personal names of emperors, it has been and remains a common practice in Chinese writing to refer to past authors by their personal names. This practice is usually referred to using the phrase from the first passage above, *linwen buhui* 臨文不諱 (in writing there is no need to observe a taboo on names). The relaxation did not override obvious senior/junior situations. Thus if a person's father was a writer and he referred to him in his own work, he would still normally avoid using the father's personal name (as in the cases of Sima Qian 司馬遷 and Ban Gu 班固 mentioned in the previous section). Another example would be the students of a teacher, who would never refer to him in their own writings by his personal name. The disciples of Kongzi 孔子 almost always refer to him by his courtesy name, Zhongni 仲尼, or by his honorific, Kongzi 孔子 (Master Kong, Kong being his *shi* 氏), not by his personal name, Qiu 丘 (which is the name that he uses in referring to himself throughout the *Lunyu* 論語).

In writing of a past figure, his or her name was often abbreviated, especially if the family name was a double-barreled one. Thus, Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 sometimes refers to Sima Qian 司馬遷 as Maqian 馬遷. Also, in referring to two historic persons, later writers often referred to them together (*bingcheng* 並稱) in collocations based on euphony even if it went against the logical order. Thus, the founders

of the Xia and Shang dynasties, Yǔ 禹 and Tāng 湯, were jointly called Tāng-Yǔ 湯禹. Liu Zhiji (and others) refer to Sima Qian 司馬遷 and Ban Gu 班固 by their family names together as Bān-Mǎ 班馬 and not Mǎ-Bān 馬班 (even though Sima Qian was born a century before Ban Gu). However, if they are referred to jointly by their given names, he calls them Qiān-Gù 遷固. What accounts for these inconsistencies?

The answer is that the order does not reflect seniority but euphony. In compounds formed of juxtaposed syllables, the tone pattern is normally *pingze* 平仄 (§1.2.2). As a result there are far more disyllables in Chinese starting with a level tone (*pingsheng* 平聲) and followed by one of the other three tones, the oblique tones (*zesheng* 仄聲), than vice versa. The same applies to the order in disyllabic collocations and to four-character phrases, which typically start with a level tone. Combinations such as *biangai* 變改 and *huanxi* 歡喜 therefore ended up as *gaibian* 改變 and *xihuan* 喜歡. Thus, the norm for two names run together in a juxtaposed disyllabic compound, such as *Bān-Mǎ* 班馬, is "level tone first, oblique tone last" (*xiānpíng hòuzè* 先平後仄), itself a neat illustration of its own rule (平仄仄仄).

The difficulties of translating between languages that have different preferred meters is mentioned in passing at §30.2.4, as are the classical rhythms in Modern Chinese slogans at §20.2.2.

The question of which of two family names takes precedence was no minor matter in the centuries between the Han and the Tang as this anecdote from the Jin illustrates, "Governor Zhuge 諸葛 [Hui 恢] (284–345) and Chief Counselor Wang 王 [Dao 導] (276–339) were debating which of their names should be placed first. Wang said, 'Why do we not say Gè Wáng instead of Wáng Gè?' Ling replied, 'It is just like we have to say *lü mǎ* (donkey horse) and not *mǎ lü* (horse donkey), so does the donkey win over the horse?" (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, Paidiao 排調). "諸葛令與王丞相共爭姓族先後, 王曰: '何不言葛王而言王葛?' 令曰, '譬言驢馬不言馬驢,' 驢寧勝馬邪?" In his note on this passage, Yu Jiaxi 餘嘉錫 (1883–1955) states the *pingze* 平仄 principle and adds that even before tones became explicit, the rule was applied (*Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏 [§60.2], 793).

Already in the Ming, Xu Xueyi 許學夷 (1563–1633) pointed out that, in referring jointly to two writers or poets, the order in which their names was placed implied no value judgment but fitted the sounds, *shunsheng er hu* 順聲而呼 (*Shiyuan bianti* 詩源辯體, *juan* 3). Wang Anshi 王安石 is reported to have said much the same. But before Yu Jiaxi's remark in 1938, nobody so far as I know had analzed why some sounds preceded others.

Wang Yunlu 王云路. 2007. Lun sishengdiao xu yu fuyinci de yusu pailie 论四声调序与复音词的语素排列 (On the order of the four tones and the arrangement of morphemes in disyllables). *Hanyushi yanjiu jikan* 10, Ba-Shu, 497–519.

Zhou Zumo 周祖谟. 1985. Hanyu binglie de ciyu he sisheng 汉语并列的词语和四声 (Juxtaposed words in Chinese and the four tones). *Beijing daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue)* 3.

8.14 MANY PEOPLE, FEW NAMES

Because only a handful of lineage names were held by a large percentage of the population already 2,000 years ago, most of the population today shares the same few Chinese family names. To be more precise, 5 percent of Chinese family names (*xing* 姓) today account for 85 percent of the population (over 1 billion people). Conversely, 85 percent of the family names still in use account for less than 15 percent of the population (§8.2.2).

The United States also has its own long-lasting favorite family names. Smith has been the most popular family name since 1790, but it accounted for only 0.15 percent of the population. Over the next two centuries the percentage rose considerably; nevertheless, it was only 1.1 percent of the population in 1990 (about 3 million people). China's most common family name, Wang, has been a top family name for 2,000 years and now accounts for 6.7 percent of the total (about 90 million people).

The problem has been compounded in China for centuries by the predilection of parents to chose the same familiar given names. Take, for example, the girl's name Shuzhen 淑珍. In 1992, in Shenyang there were 4,800 people named Liu Shuzhen 刘淑珍. In 1998, in Beijing, 13,000 people had the name Zhang Shuzhen 张淑珍, 11,000 were called Wang Shuzhen 王淑珍, and 10,100 were named Li Shuzhen 李淑珍. Even with less common names, the number of duplicates is large. In 1999, the newspapers reported four little boys named Chen Long 陈龙 at a grade school in Wuhan. On further checking it was found that the city contained no fewer than 622 people named Chen Long.

One survey of personal names based on the 1982 census found that only 3,345 characters appear in the given names of the 175,000 names included and only 1,141 characters accounted for 99 percent of the total names. As with family names, a small number of personal names accounted for a large percentage of the total (the top 28 given names were used by 30 percent of the people in the sample); see *Xingshi renming yongzi fenxi tongji* 姓氏人名用字分析统计 (§8.15.2). The choice of given name is mainly influenced by fashion but no doubt also narrowed by the practical constraint of the limitation of the number of characters in common use.

One of the basic factors influencing the number of different names that can be created in a population is the number of syllables that can be used in each name. Obviously, the number of different names you can create with ten syllables (many countries, but not China) is greater by far than the number you can create with three (China).

In both China and America it is common practice to have three names (one family name and two given names). In China, the norm is one family name plus one given name (of one or two syllables). But in America (or Europe) the names do not have to have a fixed number of syllables. The total can range from three to 12 or more. In China, on the other hand, you are limited to three syllables, and until recently there was a trend to have only two (a single character family name plus a single character given name). It follows that the possibilities of duplicate names in China are enormously larger than in America or Europe.

The possibility of confusion arising from many thousands of people using the same name (*tong xingming* 同姓名) was early on recognized in Chinese history. Even in the days when the population was not more than 40–60 million, Sima Qian 司馬遷 provided a good example by confusing two people with the identical name, Gongsun Long 公孫龍.

One solution that gradually emerged was for more and more people to use two-character given names (but this increase in identifying syllables was matched by the trend to use one-syllable family names in place of two-character ones). The literati found their own solution by using personalized alternative names and, during the Tang and Song, birth-order numbers. Ordinary folk also adopted number names. Nevertheless, as the population rose, the majority was still identified by three-syllable names, more and more of which were inevitably duplicates.

Some of the solutions have included adding junior and senior to distinguish two people with the same name but that hardly helped with the four little Chen Longs. Numbers, too, have been used in China, but they were linked to an extended family system that has all but been destroyed.

Another traditional solution was to distinguish family names with choronyms (places of origin; a method still used in the Korean *bongwan* 本貫 system [§8.18.2]). But here, too, it seems unlikely that Chinese people will adopt a system that they discarded more than 1,000 years ago.

Some have favored an intermediate solution similar to the Spanish system of incorporating both the father's and mother's

family names into the names of children, thus raising the number of syllables from three to four, but four-syllable names are discouraged by the authorities and private sector alike, whose computerized forms are designed to input three-character ones.

The pragmatic solution (introduced in 1985) is to distinguish people by their ID residence cards (*jumin shenfenzheng* 居民身份证), which bear not only the personal name but also indicate the gender, ethnicity, date of birth, residence (as defined in the *hukou* 户口), a unique number, and a photo.

A more individualized solution might be to link the name of an individual to his or her haplogroup (one of 28 shared by all human beings) plus haplotype (the numerical pattern of each person's DNA).

In the meantime, historians have the problem of distinguishing between (for example) the 71 people called Zhang Zuo 張佐 and all the other duplicate names that appear in the sources.

Many lists of duplicate names were made over the centuries, for example:

Gujin tong xingming dacidian 古今同姓名大辞典 (Large dictionary of ancient and modern same names). Peng Zuozhen 彭作桢, ed. Beijing haowang shudian, 1936. Rpnt. Shanghai shudian, 1983. Contains 16,000 identical names held by 56,700 people from antiquity to 1936. Arrangement is by stroke count. Sources are given.

8.15 BIBLIOGRAPHY

8.15.1 Early Onomastic Research

As outlined in this chapter, in addition to family and given names, members of the Chinese elite used a large number of alternative names until well into the twentieth century. They were also referred to by various other names during their lifetimes and, after death, by one or the other of these (including, in some cases, posthumously bestowed names or titles). Fortunatel,y there is a long tradition of compiling indexes to these various names.

The most detailed studies arose out of the desire to know the reasoning behind the choice of the names of the great figures of classical antiquity (§58.9.1). Other scholars (starting in the Tang) studied the names of the great of subsequent ages (Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙, Chen Si 陳思, Xu Guangpu 徐光溥).

With the proliferation of alternative names from the Song, and even more so in the Ming and Qing, when they blossomed as never before, reference aids were needed simply to identify people (Chen Shiyuan 陳士元, Ge Wanli 葛萬里). The following is a chronological listing of these and other high points of Chinese onomastics before the twentieth century:

Ban Gu 班固. Xingming 姓名. *juan* 9 of *Baihu tong* 白虎通 (§65.4.10). The first surviving work to contain a chapter on names.

Chen Shiyuan 陳士元 (*jinshi* 1544). In his *Mingyi[ji]* 名疑[集] ([Collected] Doubts on names),

Chen Si 陳思. *Xiaozi lu* 小字錄 (Record of childhood names). In *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書.

Du Mu 都穆 (1459–1525). Xiaoming 小名 (Childhood names). In the opening entry of his miscellany *Tingyu jitan* 聽雨紀談 (Recorded conversations listening to the rain), 1487.

Ge Wanli 葛萬里. *Biehao lu* 別號錄. Alternative names of 3,000 people who lived in the Song, Yuan, and Ming.

Gu Yanwu. *Rizhi lu* 日知錄 (§66.4.10) 23 contains 41 notes on various features of the Chinese naming system.

Hong Mai 洪邁. *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (§62.2.12).

Liji 禮記.

Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (?–881). *Xiaoming lu* 小名錄 (Record of childhood names). At least one *juan* lost. Childhood names from the Qin to the Nanbeichao. Many mistakes.

Qian Daxin 錢大昕. Menggu yu 蒙古語. *Shijia zhai Yangxin lu* 十駕齋養新錄 (§66.4.10), *juan* 9.

Wang Yinzhi 王引之. *Chunqiu mingzi jiegu* 春秋名字解詁 (§58.9.1).

———. *Zhou-Qin mingzi jiegu* 周秦名字解詁 (§58.9.1).

Xu Guangpu 徐光溥. *Zihao lu* 自號錄.

Yu Yue 俞樾. *Chunzai tang suibi* 春在堂隨筆 (§66.4.10), *juan* 5.

Zhao Yi 趙翼. Mingming qigui 命名奇詭 (Oddities in naming). *Gaiyu congkao* 陔余叢考 (§66.4.10), *juan* 42.

Zheng Qiao 鄭樵. Shizu 氏族 (Lineage [family] names). *Tongzhi lüe* 通志略 [§51.2.2], *ce* 1–2.

8.15.2 Modern Surveys

The largest study of Chinese personal names ever made was done by the Shekeyuan Institute of Linguistics.

Xingshi renming yongzi fenxi tongji 姓氏人名用字分析统计 (Statistical analysis of the characters used in family and personal names). 1991. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan wenzi yingyong yanjiusuo Hanzi zhengli yanjiushi 中国社会科学院语言文字应用研究所汉字理研究室, ed. Yuwen. The survey was based on a sample of 174,900 names of some 25,000 people in each of seven cities and regions (Beijing, Shanghai, Liaoning, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Guangdong, and Fujian) as recorded in the 1982 census. The bulk of the tables concentrate on the analysis of given names.

The main findings include the following. The 174,900 people used only 1,133 family names, of which 729 were single character ones (64 percent), 396 were two family names combined to form the names of women (35 percent), and 8 were two-character family names (accounting for less than 1 percent of the total). Ten family names (Wang 王, Chen 陈, Li 李, Zhang 张, Liu 刘, Yang 杨, Huang 黄, Wu 吴, Lin 林, and Zhou 周) accounted for over 50 percent of the sample, and the top 365 names accounted for 99 percent.

There was a marked difference between the seven regions or cities. For example, Wang 王 and Zhang 张 were the top two names in Beijing, but Chen 陈 and Lin 林 were the top ones in Fujian (in Beijing these two did not even feature in the top ten).

Different parts of the country have different fashions in personal names. For example, Shu 淑 (of a woman: kind, beautiful, virtuous, and pure) is the most popular name in Beijing, but it is only number 158 in Shanghai, where the top personal name is Ying 英 (brave). Qiong 琼 (as fine as a beautiful jade) is the seventh most frequently used personal name in Sichuan, but only number 1,001 in Liaoning (where the most popular name is Yu 玉 (jade). Dialect characters account for some of the regional differences. For example, there were 88 people in the sample in Fujian named Zuan 石+夎 (diamond) but none elsewhere in the country.

Of the 174,900 people in the sample, 37 percent were born before 1949; 35 percent between 1949 and 1966; 19 percent between 1966 and 1976; and 8 percent between 1976 and 1982. The authors are therefore able to track changes in the use of characters used in personal names in the seven regions during these four periods; different characters used in male and female personal names (based on frequency tables of characters used in men's and women's personal names); and trends in the use of single-character or two-character names. The authors note that those with single-character personal names are three times as likely as those with two-character ones to encounter people with the same name.

There are pinyin indexes of family and personal names. Despite the fact that the survey covers the names of 174,900 people, it was faulted by some as being too small a sample of the total population (at that time numbering just over one billion).

8.15.3 Bibliography

There are many overviews of the history of Chinese naming practices, covering both family and given names—for example, Xiao Yaotian (2007) and Wang Quan'gen (2000a; 2000b).

New approaches began to appear at the turn of the twenty-first century—for example, Na-ri-bi-li-ge (2002), one of the more complete surveys of Chinese naming practices from an anthropological perspective, and Yuan and Zhang (2002), an examination of the distribution of Chinese family names combined with the findings of the genetic structure of the population using Y chromosome sampling (§8.2.2). Hou Xudong (2005) provides an insightful sociological analysis.

Other studies of specific types of names are listed in the appropriate sections of this chapter. Reference works on particular aspects of the naming system in different periods (for example, indexes of alternative names or pen names) are cited in the relevant section throughout the manual.

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Hou Xudong 侯旭东. 2005. Zhongguo gudai ren "ming" de shiyong jiqi yiyi 中国古代人名的使用及其意义 (The uses and meanings of personal names in ancient China). *Lishi yanjiu* 5: 3–21. On the functions of *ming* (name) to indicate social status, dominant/subordinate relationships, and responsibilities in the course of ancient Chinese history.

Na-ri-bi-li-ge 纳日碧力戈. 2002. *Xingming lun* 姓名论 (On personal names), Shehui kexue wenxian. Puts Chinese naming practices, both of the Han and of the ethnic minorities, in an anthropological and comparative perspective. Weak on historical analysis. Based on the author's PhD thesis.

Ng, Janet. 2003. Names and destiny: Hu Shi's and Lu Xun's self-nomination through autobiography. In Ng, *The experience of modernity: Chinese autobiography in the early twentieth century*. UMP, 91–118.

Wang Quan'gen 王泉根. 2000a. *Zhongguo renming wenhua* 中国人名文化 (The culture of Chinese given names). Tuanjie.

———. 2000b. *Zhongguo xingshi de wenhua jiexi* 中国姓氏的文化解析 (Analysis of the culture of Chinese family names). Tuanjie.

Xiao Yaotian 萧遥天 (1913–90). 2007 (1970). *Zhongguo renming de yanjiu* 中国人名的研究 (Research on Chinese names). Xin shijie. Orig pub. Penang, Malaysia.

Zhang Huiying 张惠英. 2002. *Yuyan yu xingming wenhua: Dongya renming diming zuming tanyuan* 语言与姓名文化东亚人名地名族名探源 (Language and the culture of names: An investigation into the origins of East Asian personal names, toponyms, and kin names). Shekeyuan.

Zhang Shuyan 张书岩. 2004. Cong renming kan 50 nian de bianqian 从人名看 50 年的变迁 (Fifty years of change as seen in personal names). In id., *Xingming, Hanzi, guifan* 姓名汉字规范 (Names, characters, and standardization). Beijing guangbo xueyuan, 58–64.

8.15.4 Indexes of Alternative Names

Modern alternative name indexes normally include all kinds of alternative names—courtesy names, alternative names, nicknames, and so on. By far the most detailed ones are those for the Ming, Qing, and Republic, because these are the ages when alternative names proliferated as never before and they are also the time from which the largest quantities of biographical data survive: see Ming (§65.2.2.1), Qing (§66.4.2.1), and Republic (§67.5.2). In this section only those indexes that cover all of Chinese history from earliest times to 1911 or to 1949 are discussed.

The largest comprehensive index of alternative names is

Zhongguo renming yicheng dacidian 中国人名异称大辞典 (Dictionary of alternative appellations and special Chinese names). 2002. Sheng Hengyuan 尚恒元 and Sun Anbang 孙安邦, chief eds. 2 vols. Shanxi renmin.

In it are indexed some 87,000 alternative names of 53,000 people who lived from earliest times to 1949. The chief advantage of this compilation is that the list of alternative names (vol. 2) is exceptionally clearly arranged by stroke count. Also the different types of alternative names are identified. These include not only courtesy names (*zi* 字), alternative names (*hao* 号), and posthumous titles (*shi* 谥) but also the different given names of those who bore them. The biographical notes in the first volume are shorter than those in *Zhongguo lidai renming dacidian* 中国历代人名大辞典 and can best be used to get a quick indication of the alternative names of those included.

In a comprehensive reference such as this, the compilers can hardly be expected to go into the details of the names for each person listed. Thus, of the many alternative names of prominent people from Su Xun 蘇洵 (Song) to Lu Xun 鲁迅 (Republic), they list only one name, and even for an important personality like the founder of the Ming, they provide only one of his three given names. In other words, they list only the most common names by which people were known long after their deaths. The result is a tool for entry into the received tradition but not into historical research into that tradition. The same applies to smaller indexes of alternative names of which there are many. The editors of *Zhongguo renming yicheng dacidian* were not only able to build on the work of predecessors stretching back to the Tang dynasty but also on two more recent works (which they have now put out of business):

Shiming biehao suoyin (zengdingben) 室名别号索引 (增订本) (Index of residence names and other alternative names, revised and enlarged edition). 1982. Chen Naiqian 陈乃乾 (1896–1971), comp. Ding Ning 丁宁 et al. corrected and enl. Zhonghua.

Gujin renwu bieming suoyin 古今人物别名索引 (An index to alternative names, ancient and modern). Chan, Takwan (Chen Deyun 陈德芸), comp. 1984 (1937). Shanghai shudian.

One of the fields of traditional Chinese onomastics was research into the connections between the given name and the courtesy name of historical personalities. This field has been greatly extended by the following useful reference.

Ji Changhong 吉常宏 and Ji Fahan 吉发涵. 2003. *Guren mingzi jiegu* 古人名字解诂 (Explanations of and glosses on the names and courtesy names of ancient people). Yuwen. Contains explanations of the connections between the given and courtesy names of just over 2,000 people from the Spring and Autumn period to the end of the Qing. Citations are given for the sources from which the names were chosen.

8.16 FOREIGN NAMES IN CHINESE

There are some indispensable references for coping with the frequently encountered problem of knowing a foreign person's (or company's) name when the reference is in Chinese characters that convey only an approximation of the original sounds.

Jindai lai-Hua waiguo renming cidian 近代来华外国人名词典 (Dictionary of the names of foreigners who came to China in modern times). 1981. Jindaishisuo fanyishi 近代史所翻译室, comp. Shehui kexue. The brief biographies indicate the subject's main works. The transcriptions are indexed.

Jindai Huayang jigou yiming daquan 近代华洋机构译名大全 (Dictionary of the translated names of Sino-foreign organizations in modern times). 2003. Sun Xiufu 孙修福, ed. Haiguan. Chinese and English names of 35,000 organizations and companies active in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (to 1949).

There are also more specialized references covering particular categories of foreign visitors—for example, Christian missionaries (§29.8) or diplomats between 1843 and 1911 (whether stationed in China or sent abroad by the Qing [§66.2.20.2]).

8.17 MANCHU, MONGOL, TIBETAN & TÜRKIC NAMES

Note: For the transcription conventions followed in the manual for Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan names, see §SS.12.

Indigenous peoples in China and on its periphery for most of Chinese history had no permanent patronyms or family names. In imperial times it is one of the chief distinguishing features between them and the Chinese. For an introduction to the current naming systems of each of the peoples of China, see Zhang Lianfang (§26.5.2).

8.17.1 Manchu Names

Nurhači (Nurgaci) (Nu'er-ha-chi 努爾哈赤), Dorgon (To-er-kun; Duo'ergun 多爾袞, 1612–50), and Ihsin (Yi-xin 奕欣), are all Manchu given names. The kin name, *hala mukūn* (ha-la mu-kun 哈拉莫昆 in Chinese) of these famous figures was Aisin Gioro (Ai-xin Jiao-luo 愛新覺羅). Aisin was the *mukūn* (*shizu* 氏族 or lineage branch name) and Gioro was the *hala* (*zuming* 族名 or clan name; equivalent to the pre-Qin use of *xing* 姓 [§8.2.1]).

Not infrequently, the Manchus (like the Jurchens) took their place of residence as clan branch name. Thus, the given name of Qianlong's influential favorite was Hešen (He-shen 和珅, 1746–99). His clan branch name, Niuhuru (Niu-hu-lu 纽祜禄), was by origin the place name from which his branch of the clan came. As with the practice of the pre-Qin Chinese nobility, Manchu men tended not to use their clan branch names; Manchu women tended to use theirs. So the Empress Dowager, Cixi 慈禧 was known by her father's clan branch name, Yehenara (Ye-he-na-la shi 葉赫那拉氏).

Two characteristics of Manchu given names (shared by the Jurchens, the Mongols, and to a certain extent, the Chinese) were (1) the use of animal or animal-related names (Nurhaci means wild boar skin and Dorgon means badger) and (2) the use of numbers, usually Manchu numbers (e.g., General Na-dan-zhu 那丹朱 [General 70]) or Chinese numbers (e.g., Qi-shi-yi 七十一 [jinshi 1754]). Often the numbers were taken from the father's age or the combined ages of both parents.

The Manchus were forbidden to write the syllables of their Manchu names separately (because it might look Chinese). But as the dynasty wore on many did and at its end there was wholesale adoption of Chinese names as a means of escaping persecution.

Manchu officials normally adopted courtesy names (that of Qi-shi-yi was Chunyuan 椿园).

Note that Manchu names in English are written as one word (as they are in the original), but a common scholarly convention is to hyphenate the English transcriptions of their Chinese transcriptions.

Aisin Gioro Yigeng 愛新覚羅·奕賡. 1985 (1935). *Qingyu renming yi-Han* 清语人名译汉 (The translation of Manchu names into Chinese). Mingwen.

A dictionary of Manchu names: A name index to the Manchu version of the "Complete genealogy of the Manchu clans and families of the Eight Banners," Jakūn gai Manjusai mukūn hala be uheri ejche bitte (Baqi Manzhou minzu tongpu), 1744. Giovanni Stary, comp. Harrassowitz, 2000. The compiler's aim was to provide a tool to help write Manchu names correctly, rather than in Chinese transcription.

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8.17.2 Mongol Names

The Mongols used both lineage and personal names but not family names. As personal names they used colors, numbers, jewels, lucky words, animals, clans, Uighur, and Chinese childhood names from everyday language.

It was not uncommon by the middle of the dynasty for Mongol officials to use their Mongol names with a Chinese-style courtesy name. Thus, Tuotuo used Dayong 大用 as his courtesy name. However, many more Chinese took Mongol names than vice versa (Chen Gaohua 2000).

During the Yuan dynasty, Mongolian names were transcribed into Chinese characters in Chinese sources.

Patronyms (*ovog*) were introduced during the Soviet period. They were mostly clan names and placed before the given name, often just as an initial.

"Taishi" (Taiji 台吉 in Chinese) was the Mongolian title of a minor prince; compare Siri (Shili 實禮, 失里, 室利 in Chinese; venerable or happy). Taiji was also used by the Manchus.

Western historians write the names of historical figures, such as Chinggis Khan, either following Russian transcription or in various transcriptions intended to show how the name sounded in Mongolian today or may have sounded when the person was alive.

Chen Gaohua 陈高华 (1938–). 2000. Lun Yuandai de chengwei xisu 论元代的称谓习俗 (On the practices relating to personal appellations during the Yuan dynasty). *Zhejiang xuekan* 5: 123–30.

Mongolian-English dictionary. 1960. Lessing, Ferdinand D. comp. Bloomington, Indiana: The Mongolia Society. Gives both the Mongolian and romanizations and is indexed (Mongol names were taken from ordinary words so they should be in Lessing's dictionary).

8.17.3 Tibetan Names

Tibetans used lineage and personal names but not family names (unless they belonged to a leading family). After the 1950s, Tibetans began to adopt family names. Personal names consisted of everyday words and were given by parents or bestowed by a Lama.

Wang Gui 王贵. 1991. *Zangzu renming yanjiu* 藏族人名研究 (Research on the personal names of the Tibetan people). Minzu.

8.17.4 Türkic Names

The Türkic peoples of the Western Regions normally used personal names plus Beg (Boke 伯克, i.e., Bey [Mr.]), as in Ali Beg or Yusuf Beg. Place names or trades were used to distinguish those bearing the same few popular given names. Family names were introduced and made compulsory in Turkey by Ataturk in 1934.

Problems in the sources include the use of different Chinese characters to transcribe the same name and merging of the name with the title. For example, Ali Beg Hakim might appear as Hali baike 哈力拜克 (Benson 1990).

Benson, Linda. 1990. Chinese transliteration of Turkic names. Appendix C of her *The Ili Rebellion: The Moslem challenge to Chinese authority in Xinjiang, 1944–1949*. Sharpe, 193–98.

8.18 Vietnamese, Korean & Japanese Names

Note: On transcription conventions followed in the manual for these names, see §SS.12.

Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese names are all alike in the sense that the family name is placed first and the given name second. Thereafter, the main difference is that the Japanese have enormous numbers of family names and many have variant pronunciations. Korean and Vietnamese family names, on the other hand, are more like Chinese names in that there are only a limited number of them and of these only a small number are used. Moreover, most are from the Chinese and have standard pronunciations in Vietnamese or Korean. There are, however, far fewer Korean and Vietnamese family names in use than is the case in China. I start with the easiest first.

8.18.1 Vietnamese Names

Vietnamese names in historical sources are usually written in characters and have Han Viet 漢越 (Sino-Vietnamese pronunciations), e.g., Nguyen 阮, Le 李, and Tran 陳. Over 50 percent of Vietnamese have the family name Nguyen 阮. There are only about 200 family names altogether.

The *Han-Yue cidian* 汉越词典 (Chinese-Vietnamese dictionary. Shangwu, 1994) contains a list of Chinese family names arranged by pinyin showing Vietnamese readings.

8.18.2 Korean Names

Family names were introduced to Korea during the Three Kingdoms period (first century BCE to seventh century CE). Only a few family names were used and only by the leading families. These few family names were extended to his followers by the founder of the Goryeo dynasty in the early tenth century. To differentiate people holding the same family name, he also introduced the Chinese system of choronyms (accepted regional base of a kin group; *bongwan* 本貫, literally, original place of registration). By the end of the Joseon dynasty all those who did not have a family name acquired

one under the Japanese colonial administration, which between 1910 and 1945 also obliged all Koreans to change their names to polysyllabic Japanese names (for example, from Kim 金 to Kanemoto 金本).

Today, Korean names are usually written in characters and have Sino-Korean pronunciations (*Hanja-eo* 漢字語). For example, Kim 金 (Kim), 李 (Yi or Lee), 樸 (Pak or Park), 崔 (Ch' oe or Choi), and 鄭 (Chong, Jung, or Chung). The different spellings simply reflect different transcriptions. More than half the population carry one of these five family names. Kim and Yi alone account for 22 and 14 percent of the population in South Korea, respectively. The situation in North Korea is similar. The confusion that might be created by so many people using so few names is mitigated by differentiating the place of origin—for example, the Kims are divided in South Korea into 285 *bongwan* 本貫 (regional bases). These serve as a place-name exogamy system by which two Kims may marry provided they belong to separate *bongwan*. Thus a Seoul Kim could not marry another Seoul Kim but could marry a Kim from any of the 284 other Kim *bongwan*, such as a Kyongju Kim (Kyongju Kim-ssi 公州金氏).

The reason that so few family names exist in Korea is that when family names were extended to the population at large they coveted the handful of well-established existing names, most of which had been imported from China. As a result, unlike most other countries, few if any Korean family names were directly derived from trades, professions, places, or official titles.

8.18.3 Japanese Names

Unlike the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Koreans, but similar to the Manchus, Mongols, and Tibetans, the Japanese acquired family names rather late in their history. Uniquely, in the Sinitic cultural region, they chose tens of thousands of them. However, it is not the large number of Japanese family names that poses the main difficulty, but their pronunciation, which is often unpredictable, because almost all Chinese characters used in Japanese names have a multiplicity of readings. No less than 130 characters have 10 or more possible readings (both *on* [Chinese] and *kun* [Japanese]). In general, *kun* readings are more frequent than *on* ones

Another difficulty is that the same name element can be written in dozens of different ways. For example, *taka* and *nori* are written

with 168 and 225 different characters, respectively. From 1948, the government limited the number of characters that could be used in names. Although the number was further reduced in 1990 to 2,229 (the 1,945 *jōyō kanji* 常用漢字 and an additional 284 characters for use only in names), no restriction was placed on the readings that may be given these characters.

For most of Japanese history only the most distinguished carried clan or family names. Up to the eighth century, *uji* (clan names) and *kabane* (hereditary titles of nobility) were combined with an individual's personal name, e.g., Nakatomi no Muraji Kamako 中臣鎌子連 was Kamako 鎌子 of the Nakatomi 中臣 *uji* (clan), whose title, or *kabane* (姓), was *muraji* 連.

During the Heian period, clans grew so large in size that they needed to find names to distinguish the branches (usually by location); one character gave the location and one the clan name; thus, Itō 伊藤 was from a branch of the Fujiwara clan 藤原氏 resident in Izu 伊豆 (tō 藤 being the *on* reading of Fuji 藤). From the thirteenth century, military families began doing the same. By the seventeenth century, most of the leading families had acquired names. In 1870, everybody was allowed to take a family name, and in 1875, family names were made compulsory. Local Buddhist priests were active in giving people their names, many of which continued the old tradition of using place names or topographic features—for example, In the paddy field (Tanaka 田中); Beside the ford (Watanabe 渡邊); Mountain paddy field (Yamada 山田); Foot of the mountain (Yamamoto 山本); Mountain peak (Yamaoka 山崗); Below the mountain (Yamashita 山下); Mountain pass (Yamazaki 山崎).

There are a total of some 125,000 Japanese family names today. The two most common ones (Satō 佐藤 and Suzuki 鈴木) each only accounts for 1.5 percent of the population.

Japanese, Chinese, and Korean surnames and how to read them. 1998. Wolfgang Hadamitzky, ed. 3 vols. In 2, K. G. Saur. Includes 125,947 Japanese, 594 Chinese, and 259 Korean surnames as they are pronounced in Japanese. Vol. 1 (parts 1 and 2) is from characters to readings and vol. 2 is from readings to characters.

Japanese names: A comprehensive index by characters and readings. 1972. P. G. O'Neill, comp. Weatherhill. A small but still useful reference.

Jinmei yomikata jiten 人名読み方辞典 (Dictionary of readings of Japanese names). 2004. 2 vols. Nichigai Asoshiētsu 日外アソシエーツ, ed. 3rd revised ed. Kinokuniya. Vol. 1: Family names; vol. 2, given names.

CHINESE HISTORY

A NEW MANUAL

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