The -*yu* Ending

in Xiongnu, Xianbei, and Gaoju Onomastica

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Hoong Teik Toh

A lack of consensus in Altaic studies is nothing new. This is particularly the case with respect to the arduous task of restoring old Altaic names which are garbed in Chinese transcriptions. In this paper, I intend to pose one question: what is the transcription value of the character *yu* 于 which occurs as the ending of some Xiongnu 匈奴, Xianbei 鮮卑 [1] and Gaoju 高車 names found in Chinese histories?

Before getting to our question, however, it may be useful to review very briefly the endings of some such proper names given in Chinese transcription. For instance, the Xianbei tribal name Yidoujuan 壹斗眷 *it* (cf. Korean *il*) *to kuan*, roughly = *il-tu-kan* / *il-tu-yan* (a foreign -*r* / -*l* was usually transcribed by Chinese -*t*, -*k*, or -*n*), was later changed to Ch. Ming 明 "clear, distinct; bright, brilliant" (WS: 3011: 後改為明氏) and this may be compared to Manchu *iletuken* "quite clear" (Manchu *iletu* "clear", Jurchen *ilə-du*, Mongolian *iledte* "clear"; a Pre-Turkic [*pré-turc*] *yïlturqan* has been suggested in Bazin: 291). Also derived from the Tungusic stem √*il* is the Eastern Xianbei (the Yuwen Xianbei) personal name Yidougui 逸豆歸 *iat* (cf. Korean *il*) *to kui* (JS: 2815, WS: 2065) / Qidougui 俟豆歸 [2] (SS: 1463) = *il-tu-yui*.

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[1] For this name, see Appendix 1.

[2] Ch. *qi* / *si* 俟 (cf. *yi* 矣, *ai* 埃) had been used to transcribe a foreign *ir* (Pelliot 1929: 226ff) although it is difficult to ascertain how it was really pronounced in Chinese. The name of Yuchi Jiong's 尉遲迥 (whose original name was Bojuluo 薄居羅; Yuchi was a Xianbei tribal name) father was 俟兜 = *il-tu* (ZS: 349). There was, in the early 6th century, a Yuchi military man bearing the Buddhist name Pusa "Bodhisattva" (WS: 264, 1674, 1782: 尉遲菩薩). Some Yuchi's moved to Central Asia, mixed with the Sakas and their offspring, and became the Viśa's of the royal family in Hvatana (Khotan). It is most interesting to note that the Chinese found the Khotanese "not so Iranian-looking but quite Chineselike" 貌不甚胡，頗類華夏 (WS: 2263). It should also be noted that, later in the Tang period, Yazdēkirt (Sasanid king) was transcribed by Yisiqi 伊嗣俟 (XTS: 6258), i.e. 俟 = *kir* / *gir*. Taking this into consideration, we may have to compare 俟豆 and 俟兜 to Manchu *gilta* "glowing", *giltahûn*

Sharing the same ending as 壹斗眷 is the personal name Rilujuan 日陸眷 (*$\check{j}il$ liuk/lok kuan) (WS: 2305) / Jilujuan 疾陸眷 (*cit liuk/lok kuan) (JS: 1710) ~ Jiuliujuan 就六眷 (*ciu liuk/lok kuan) (WS: 2305, 2317) = *$\check{j}il[u]\gamma an$ / *$\check{j}ir[u]\gamma an$ ~ *$\check{j}ul[u]\gamma an$ / *$\check{j}ur[u]\gamma an$[3]. Some other examples are given in Table 1 and Appendix 2.

Table 1: Possible Ancient Altaic Endings in Personal Names

于 ?	拔 / 跋 *-βat	桓 *-βan[4]	斤 *-gin / *-kin	干 *-χan	韓 *-χan	瑰 / 壞 *-χui	肱 *-χon	渾 *-χun	頭 / 豆 *-tu	真 / 辰 *-jin / *-čin
								賀六渾 / 高歡 (BQS: 1) 賀鹿渾 (NQS: 996)	賀虜頭 (WS: 170)	
								辟閭渾		醫曆辰 (WS:

"shining", *giltukan* "handsome", Written Mongolian *gilte* "luster", *giltayan-a* "shine, brilliance", *giltagir* "shining" etc .

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[3] For the *jir-* ~ *jur-* variation, compare "two" in Manchu-Tungus: Jurchen *jirhon* 只兒歡 "twelve" (cf. Middle Mongolian *jirin* "two"), Manchu *jorgon* "twelfth month", *juru* "pair", *juruken* "in pairs", Hezhen *juru* "two" etc. For the transcription value of *jiu* 就, compare the Kuṣāṇa king Qiujiuque 丘就卻 = Kujul[a] Kad[phises] (cf. Robert Göbl, "The Rabatak Inscription and the Date of Kanishka," Plate 1, in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter eds., *Coins, Art and Chronology: essays on the pre-Islamic history of the Indo-Iranian borderlands*, Wien: Verlag der Akademie der österreichischen Wissenschaften, 1999).

[4] Cf. the Brāhman Huanwei 桓違 in the *Fo bannihuan* (Skt. *parinirvāṇa*) *jing* 佛般泥洹經 (ZH 703.33: 519a; the 般泥洹經, ZH 704.33: 550a reads Wenwei 溫違) which transcribes Van[a]vāy[sa] (Konow 1932: 192; cf. Sanskrit *vanevāsin* "forest-dweller, Brāhman").

								(JS: 239)		2291)
			弈洛干 (NQS: 1977)	弈洛韓 [5] (S: 2369)	弈洛瓌 (JS: 2803)					
阿伏于 (WS: 3008)		阿伏斤 (S: 2325)	阿薄干 (JS: 266)							阿伏真 (NX: 76)
阿六拔 (ZS: 441)	阿鹿桓 (WS: 3008)					阿辱瑰 (NQS: 990) 阿那瓌 [6] (WS: 231)	阿那肱 (BQS: 690)		阿六頭 (WS: 156) 闕陋頭 (WS: 2054)	
莫護跋 [7] (WS: 2803)									莫各豆 (NX: 76)	
樹洛于 (WS:	受洛拔 (BS:	宿六斤	受洛干 [8]							樹洛真 (S:

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[5] In S: 2369 and WS: 2233, we read that Yiluohan 弈洛韓 (from the Xianbei in Liaodong 遼東) had two sons, the eldest was called Tuguhun 吐谷渾 while the younger Ruoluohui 若洛廆 (cf. the hydronym 如洛瓌 in WS: 2220, a river in the country of Wuji 勿吉, north of Koguryŏ 高句麗). We are informed by ancient Chinese scholars that in Chinese transcription of Xiongnu names, *gu* 谷 **kuk* should be read either as *yu* 欲 **iuk* (SJ: 2657-8) or *lu* 鹿 **luk* (SJ: 2890-1). Pelliot adopted the first reading (Tuyuhun), discarding Tibetan *Thu-lu-hun* as a possible textual corruption—to be sure, *'u* in Tibetan may be easily misread as *lu*—and proposed **Tu'uy-ɣun* (*Tuyuy-yun*) / **Tu'uyun* (*Tuyuyun*) (1921: 323) for Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 ~ Tuihun 退渾. However, if we take Tuluhun as the correct reading and also take into account the transcription variant Tuihun, the foreign sound represented by 吐谷 **t'o luk* ~ 退 **t'oi* would seem to be **töl-*. As for the second son's name, it might represent **jar[a]χui* / **jal[a]χui* or **nar[a]χui* / **nal[a]χui* but this, again, cannot be confirmed without further clues.

[6] Cf. Pelliot 1948: 213: la forme A-na-kouei (ou plus probablement A-na-houei) paraît confirmée par le nom turc du chef Outigour Ἀνάγαιος qu'on connaît par Menandre Protector.

[7] Prof. Jao Tsung-i opines that Mohuba was a Zoroastrian name which represents *magu-van* (Jao: 469, 482).

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3011)	589)		(WS: 3611)	(WS: 1676)						2353)
出六斤 (NX: 81)	出六拔 (NX: 80)		出六斤 (WS: 747)							
勿忸于 / 万忸于 (WS: 3007, ZS: 821)	勿六跋 (WS: 2297)									

The 跋 *b[u]at (frequently used to transcribe *var-* or *bhad-* in Sanskrit names) in the second column of Table 1 is also found in the tribal name of the Taba 拓跋 Xianbei (Western Xianbei)[9]. If Paul Pelliot's suggestion that this name might be the same as what was represented by *Tabyač* in the Orkhon inscription (Pelliot 1912: 732) is

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[8] The name of the Jihu 稽胡 military chief Liu Shouluoqian 劉受邏千 should probably be emended to Shouluogan 受邏干 (ZS: 117, 126).

[9] The character *tuo* 拓 (**t'ak*) is pronounced *ta* (**t'ap*) when it is used as a variant for *ta* 搨, as in *taben* 拓本 ~ 搨本 "stone rubbings". Since we now know that this name was frequently written as *Taba* 搨 (orthographic variant for 揚) 拔, thanks to the epigraphic evidence from Guanzhong (Ma: 57f, 61), it can be decided that the name was pronounced **t'ap buat* rather than **t'ak buat*. Therefore it is unnecessary to explain *tabyač* by metathesis (as in Bazin: 294) because *taybač simply did not exist.

. We also find in Chinese records that Taba—to be distinguished from another Xianbei clan Tufa 禿髮 (who established the Southern Liang 涼 regime in Gansu and whose descendants came to mix with the Qiang 羌 people), of which name the *Tufan* / *Tubo* 吐蕃 was allegedly a later distortion (JTS: 5219)—was also represented by Tuoba 托跋, allegedly derived from the name of the Xiongnu wife of the Han general Li Ling 李陵 (NQS: 993). The Taba Xianbei, however, disliked the idea that they were mixed blood of the Han and Xiongnu. Instead, they traced their ancestry to the Chinese legendary Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝, the symbol of "earth" of the Five Elements) in order to legitimize their founding a new dynasty in China. See also Chen Yinke 1987: 95. One of their earliest semi-legendary leaders bore the name/title Tuiyin 推寅 which, according to WS: 2, was a Xianbei word meaning *zuanyan* 鑽研 "drill; probe" (cf. Manchu *tuyembi* "drill, bore" < *tuyen?).

correct, we will have to assume that the -*yač* was a later form developed from *-*βat*[10]. But what seems more puzzling to me is the *yu* 于 ending in the first column, which is what prompted me to write the present paper.

This 于 is none other than the phonetic element of the character *yu* 宇 which occurs in the tribal name Yuwen 宇文 **u bun*. As is well known, the Yuwen 宇文 Xianbei (Eastern Xianbei) was of Xiongnu origin (Chen Yinke 1987: 301-303, Yao: 166). It was said that this name was related to the Xianbei word 俟汾 *[?] *pun* = **il-pun* / **er-pun*[11] which means *cao* 草 "grass, herb" (XTS: 2403). The tribal name 俟分 *[?] *pun* of the Gaoju (WS: 2310; cf. 俟文 *[?] *bun* in NX: 81) was obviously closer to the Xianbei form (俟汾) than to the Xiongnu (宇文).[12] It seems very likely

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[10] Cf. Ligeti: 278: "Je tiens à faire remarquer que la finale -*t*, dans la transcription chinoise, ne peut nullement rendre un -*č* indigène. **Taybat* (ou **taybar*, **taybal*) est-il un pluriel sien-pi?"

[11] Or, not unlikely, **il-pun* ~ **er-pun*, such as in the case of, e.g., Old Uyɣur *'rt-* and *'ylt-* (cf. S. Tekin, p. 11, line 43: *ertgeli*, line 47: *iltgeli*).

[12] The false etymology that connects 宇文 with *tianjun* 天君 "celestial lord" (宇 "arch [of the sky]", 文 "civil [rulership]") should not be taken too seriously (See Yao: 168-169). The suggestion in Boodberg: 286, followed by Pulleyblank (Roemer: 83), to see in "Yuwen" an earlier form of Mongolian *emün-e* "south" in order to associate it with the Chinese concept of "lordship" (*nanmian* 南面 "facing south") seems out of place. The 宇 ~ 俟 variance can also be observed in the case of the tribal name Wanyu 萬于 (WS: 1645, 2240) ~ Moqi 万俟 (BQS: 375). 万 / 萬 **b[u]an* ~ 勿 / 沒 **but* (cf. Yao: 54, 361-362) could transcribe *bal* / *bol* and 俟 ~ 于 could stand for *il* / *ir* (or *er*) ~ *ul* / *ur* (or *vur*; cf. the instance of *yulan* 盂蘭 = *ullam-*, where *ul-* is represented by *yu* 盂). In this connection, I should point out that the Xianbei word for "interpreter, translator" *qiwanzhen* 乞萬真 (NQS: 985) seems to have nothing to do with Written Mongolian *kelemürči[n]* "interpreter" (see Ligeti: 292, who apparently followed his French master Paul Pelliot), which might have then yet to attain such a meaning, but rather reflects **hurbaljin* / **körbäljin*—this may be rendered by both *traduttore* and *traditore*, and must be linked to Mongolian *ulbari-* "to change", *ulbaril* "change, transformation", *urba-* "to betray", *urbaɣči* "traitor", *urbal* "turning", *urbaɣul-* "to turn over" (an obsolete word for "translate", displaced by *orčiyul-* "turn, translate"), Middle Mongolian هورباوولبه *hurba'ülba* ~ اورباوولبه *urba'ülba* (Поппе: 187, 366), *körbe-* / *körbü-* / *körbi-* "turn over, topple", *körbel* "turning",

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that to this name Manchu *orho* "grass; hay", Tatar (Kazan, Tobolsk) yp- (*ur-*) "to mow", Chuvash выр- (*vir-*) "to mow" etc.[13] are related (Starostin-Dybo-Mudrak: 1063, Федотов: 137). If so, we may give the original word transcribed by 宇文 *u bun* roughly as *[v]ur-βun*[14], assuming that a foreign word then conventionally transcribed by 宇 had an -*r* final.

This may be supported by the following observations.

In the earliest Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures, 于 seems to represent a foreign *vr*. The name for [the realm of] the gods of "great fruition / abundant fruits" (Sanskrit *bṛhatphala*, Pali *vehapphalā*) was given by the Yuezhi /

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körbegül- "turn over, translate", *kölberi-* "turn over, capsize", *kölberigül-* "overthrow", as well as Manchu *ubaliya-* "turn over; revolt", *ubaliyambu-* "translate" (the "Mong. *qobil-* ~ Man. *ubaliya-*" parallel given in Qasbayatur: 25, though phonetically plausible, does not show convincing semantic linkage)—where *hur-* / *kör-* is represented by 乞 *k'it* (Korean *göl*). Cf. 紇伏 ~ 乞伏 (ZS: 335, 345), Huihe 回紇 *huai hut* (> Khotanese *hvaihu:ra*) = Uyγur, and 紇那 ~ 敦那 (Tian: 123; note that *dun* 敦 must have been a scribal error for *guo* 郭). It therefore seems to me that Wanyu might stand for *Ba'ul (cf. also the Qïtań 契丹 personal name in WS: 2223: 賀勿于). If we assume that the Xianbei personal name Piti 匹蹄 *p'it* / *bok te[i]* (JS: 3115), Pidi 匹碑 * *p'it* / *bok tei* (JS: 1710; cf. Ridi 日碑 *ʒit tei* [SJ: 1059, HS: 2959], the Xiongnu man who became a loyalist of the Han emperor Wudi 漢武帝; the phonetic value for 碑 is given as 丁奚反 in HS: 2959), Piyudi 匹丁堤 * *p'it* / *bok u te[i]* (NX: 78) were transcription variants of one and the same name, they most probably stood for *börtei, *birtai, *biltei, or the like. The name of a Xiongnu is preserved in Chinese sources in two different forms, Riti 日蹄 and Boti 白蹄 (S: 2421), and I cannot decide which one is correct.

[13] Oroch *ōkto*, Orok *oroqto*, Evenki *orokto*, Solon *orōkto* < *orχoqto (cf. Ulcha *orχoqta*), probably from *orχo + *oqta (> Manchu *okto* "poison; medicine"). Виталий И. Сергеев has also connected *orokto* with Chuvash *курăк* «трава» in his recent Chuvash-Tungus-Manchu parallel lexica (pp. 25, 132). The Common Manchu-Tungus *okto* has been related to Turkic *ōt* "grass" (Starostin-Dybo-Mudrak: 1069), the latter was probably also borrowed into Tocharian (Иванов: 100). The word for "steppe" in Chuvash, вир (*vir*) (Ашмарин: 236), is unlikely to be related to the name of Yuwen.

[14] I am not sure if the second syllable is related to the archaic *-pūn in Manchu-Tungus (Manchu *-fun*, Evenki *-wūn*) which corresponds to *-pūr > -γur in the Mongolian languages (Poppe 1969).

Rouzhi 月支 translator Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖 (2nd century A.D.) as *weiyupan* 惟 于潘 (*Fo shuo dousha jing* 佛說兜沙經, ZH 100.13: 654a-b) and *biyipanluo* 比伊潘 羅 (*Daoheng bore jing* 道行般若經, ZH 6.7: 919a), and by Wuluocha 無羅叉 (3rd century A.D.) as *weiyupoluo* 惟于頗羅 (*Fangguang bore jing* 放光般若經, ZH 2.7: 82b). 潘 stands for *phal-*, 潘羅 and 頗羅 for *phala*. That Loujiachen transcribed the name inconsistently is noteworthy. Perhaps the second text he translated was not in the Yuezhi language and the first part of his second transcription, 比伊 *pi i*, represents a dialectal variant (*bi[h]ya-*?).[15] On the other hand, Wuluocha, though a Buddhist master from Khotan, seems to have based his transcription on the Yuezhi form. 惟于 probably stands for *vr-*. In the *Fo shuo Amituo Sanyesanfo Saloufotan*[16] *guodu rendao jing* 佛說阿弥陁三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經 (translated by the Yuezhi Buddhist layman Zhi Qian in the 3rd century A.D.), the name of the sixth Buddha is given in transcription as Naweiyucai 那惟于蔡 (ZH 27.9: 582c). Elsewhere, in the *Fo shuo Wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經, a translation done by the Sogdian monk Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧 (3rd century A.D.), the name is given in translation as Shengli 勝力 "victorious strength" (ZH 28.9: 611c). Despite our lamentable ignorance of the Yuezhi language, it is tempting to see the name as containing a word that may be compared to Avestan *vərəθra* "strength of victory": 惟于 *ui u*[17] = *v[ə]r[ə]-*, 蔡 *ts'[u]a* = -*θra*[18]. There is also a Buddha named

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[15] Cf. *bihīya-*, *bihīta-* "übermaßig, groß" (Konow 1941: 120) in the Saka language of Khotan.

[16] We may, by assuming that *salou* reflects the Yuezhi form (*saru*? *sarau*?) for Skt. *sarva*, take *saloufotan* as meaning "all Buddhas".

[17] Cf. *yusuohe* 于娑賀 *u sa ha* (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經, translated in 397-398 A.D. by Gautama Saṃghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆, *Taishō*, No. 26, p. 646b) which probably transcribes *vusatha* (cf. *vūsätaa* in Konow 1932: 196) rather than Skt. *upavasatha*. Also, cf. *weidai* 惟逮 *ui te* (*Daoheng bore jing* 道行般若經, ZH 6.7: 905b), the *pāramitā* of virility (Skt. *vīrya*; cf. Olsen) or 精進波羅蜜, which may be compared with Khotanese *vrta* (Takubo: 143, 154). The original form for Fuyudai 弗于 逮 (ZH 100.13: 654a; Skt. *pūrvavideha*, Pali *pubbavideha*) is still not clear.

Xuyeweiyusha 須耶惟于沙 (ZH 27.9: 553a) which, again, seems to reflect the Yuezhi form for Skt. *sūrya-varcas*[19]. The village of Weiyuling 惟于陵 where Buddha Kāśyapa 迦葉 was present (*Fo shuo qinü jing* 佛說七女經, Zhi Qian's translation, ZH 846.34: 618c) should be compared to Verudinga in the *Mahāvastu*. Interestingly, we also have, in the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (translated around 413 A.D. by Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念), the name of a dragon-king Aboluo 阿波羅 (*Taishō*, No. 1, p. 128a) which, however, is given as Ayulou 阿于樓 in the *Da loutan jing* 大樓炭經 (translation of Fali 法立 and Faju 法炬, late 3rd century A.D., ZH 712.33: 834b). *Ayulou* must reflect a form close to Skt. *avīra* or *avīrya* "weak" rather than to Skt. / Pali *abala* "weak", the latter being transcribed by *Aboluo*. A probably parallel case is that of *bansheyuse* 般闍于瑟 (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, translated by Kumārajīva [d. 409/413], ZH 597.25: 132c)—Skt. *pañcavarṣika-*, Tocharian B *pañcwarṣik* (Adams: 354), Uyɣur *p'nčvrsyk*—in which 于 alone might very well represent *-vr-*. For *yuse*, Pelliot's suggestion—based on Karlgren's reconstruction of 瑟 which has *-t* final (cf. Cantonese *sat*) and on the observation that *-t* was often used to transcribe foreign *-r*—of a Prakrit form **uśar* (1929: 258-259) seems unnecessary (cf. *u sek* 于瑟 in Minnan dialect), even though Bailey had found it convenient to account for Khotanese *paṃjsi-vaṣāri* (Bailey 1949-51: 931).

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[18] Cf. the name of the fourth Buddha, Amicailuosa 阿蜜蔡羅薩 (ZH 27.9: 582c), which seems to reflect *Amitra-rasa (Skt. Amṛta-rasa "nectar") since ZH 28.9: 611c gives the name in translation as *ganlu wei* 甘露味 "nectar taste".

[19] Xuyeweiyusha is listed immediately after Zhantuohusi 旃陀扈斯. This allows us to recognize "the moon" in *Zhantuo* (*Canda) and "the sun" in *Xuye*, and to compare them with Yueming 月明 "moon-brilliant" and Riguang 日光 "sunlight" given in ZH 28.9: 591a. *Xuye* might stand for **suya ~ *suśa* (*ye* 耶 ~ *xie* 邪) while *weiyusha* for **vīrṣa* (Skt. *varcas* "vigor; luster, splendor"), cf. the Khotanese form *vīṣya* in Takubo: 171, 292.

Khotan was known in Chinese as Yutian 于寘 *u tian (SJ: 3160, 3169)[20] / Yutian 于闐 *u t'ian (HS: 3871, 3881) / Yutian 宇闐 *u t'ian (Yao: 56). Pelliot opined that Yutian transcribed *'Odan in the Han period (1959, I: 412). However, by considering what have been proposed above in connection with 于 and 宇, the Chinese name for Khotan might very well reflect *'[v]urdan (the Yuezhi form again?), and this should be compared to the Old Turkic *qurdan* found in the Toñuquq 暾欲谷 inscription (Clauson: 127)[21].

We are therefore compelled to reconsider the original form for the famous Shanyu 單于 *sian u (SJ: 2887, HS: 3751), the title affixed to the name or royal epithet of a Xiongnu ruler, of which a variety of proposals had been offered by modern scholars. Together with this are other Xiongnu names / titles such as Huyu 護于 *hok u (HS: 3827), Dangyu 當于 *taŋ u / toŋ u (HS: 3808), Sheyu 社于 *sia u (WS: 78), as well as the Dingling 丁零 name Xianyu 鮮于 [22] (WS: 39, 74) / Xuanyu 宣于 *sian u (JS: 2654). HS: 2457 also records a Xiongnu toponym Yu 杅. I have no solution to all this but would like to suggest that any attempt to crack the puzzle of the Xiongnu language should take into account the high probability of the presence of a final -r in the ending of such names.

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[20] According to SJ: 2936, *zhi* 寘 *ti was here pronounced *tian* 田.

[21] Talât Tekin, disagreeing with Clauson, prefers reading *qur(ı)dınta* "from the west" on the ground that "the East Turkic state could not have reached as far as Khotan" during the historical period in question (Tekin: 214). For our present purpose, we may disregard this problem and simply cite the *Fanyu zaming* 梵語雜名 (compiled in the Tang period by the Kuchean monk Liyan 禮言) in which the name for Khotan is given as 矯引 ᵖ栗多二介毀 (*Taishō*, No. 2135, p. 1236a), indicating unambiguously a medial -r- in the toponym.

[22] This was said to have been related to the ancient Xianyu 鮮虞 *sian gu (also known as Lunu 盧奴, see SS: 856). Cf. Yao: 312-315. The 于 ending is also found in Jie 羯 personal names, e.g., Xieyiyu 邪弈于, grandfather of the Jie warlord Shi Le 石勒 (WS: 2047).

Appendix 1: The ethnicon Xianbei

A few remarks on the Chinese transcription *xianbei* are in order.

Among the transcription variants for Xianbei 鮮卑 **sian pi* are Xibei 西卑 **se / *sai pi*[1] and Shibi 師比 **se / sai pi*. Paul Pelliot proposed **Särbi / *Serbi* (1921: 331, 1928-29: 142) based on the observation that the Chinese used 師[2] to transcribe Persian *šēr* "lion" (cf. Laufer: 4) and on the assumption that the tribal name Shiwei 室韋 **sek ui ~ 失韋 *sit ui = *Sirvi*[3] might have been a later form of Xianbei. Pritsak (1976, 1989) seems confident in seeing Xianbei as **Säbi-r*, where *-r* being a plural suffix, and connecting it with Sibir (< Σάβιρ- **Säbir*).

It had long been alleged that the name *xianbei* was related to the Xianbei cult of an auspicious creature whose image was embossed on belt clasps, the so-called *Xianbei guoluo dai* 鮮卑郭落帶 (SJ: 2898), where *guoluo* (**kuak lak / *kuok lak / *kok lak*) has such variants as 鉤落 **kau lak ~ 鉤絡 *kau lok* (SGZ: 1441: 鉤落者，校飾革帶，世謂之鉤絡帶), and they should probably be compared to Kalmuck *g.org'* "schnalle" (Ramstedt: 151), Written Mongolian *yorki* (< **yoroki* < **g.oraqï / *g.oraq*) "buckle / hook of a belt" > Udehe *guagi* "buckle", Manchu *gorgi* "clasp on the girth of a horse" etc. (Rozycki: 91). By assuming that the *xianbei*

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[1] *Erya zhushu* 爾雅注疏, *juan* 10. Cf. Hong Liangji 1: 15 for the fact that 卑 was at one point pronounced *ban* 班 (**pan, *pai*).

[2] Also found in the country name Jushi 車師 / Gushi 姑師 (SJ: 3161), the vassal state of the Xiongnu in 1st-century Central Asia.

[3] Cf., e.g., in Mongolian languages, *serbe, serbeger, serbei- / sirbei-, servēn, serwī-* etc. derived from the stem √*ser* / √*sir* "crest; bristle; sticking out, projecting etc." (See Starostin: 1260, Сергеев: 156). Cf., again, Written Mongolian *siber / sibir* "dense shrubbery on a marsh; overgrowth on a river bank; hazel grove; dense forest, thicket", *siyui* "thicket, grove, forest", *sirengi* "grove, coppice of small trees, densely growing bushes" (F. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, pp. 695, 701, 716). Note also that *wei* 韋 (cf. Cantonese *uai*) could stand for **vai* too, see footnote 4 *supra*.

was an S-shaped hook fastened to the *guoluo*, Mänchen-Helfen believed that they are IE loan words, and he connected *serbi with Greek *harpê*, Lettic *sirpe* etc. and *guoluo* with Greek *kyklos*, Sanskrit *cakra* etc.[4]

According to ancient Chinese historians, the Xianbei people branched off from the so-called "Eastern Hu" and came to settle around Mt. Xianbei after which name they were designated (HHS: 2985: 東胡之支也, 別依鮮卑山, 故因號焉). That is to say, the oronym came first, the ethnonym later.

In connection with the transcription value of 鮮, compare the palmyra tree *touxian* 投鮮 (*Da loutan jing* 大樓炭經, ZH 712.33: 815a) / *zunxian* 捘鮮 (*Fo shuo loutan jing* 佛說樓炭經, ZH 713.33: 877c) for *druma-śreṣṭha*, where *xian* most likely reflects an Iranian *šär-* / *šir-* rather than Sanskrit *śre-*. 鮮 is also found in the transcription of a Xiongnu personal name, viz., Xiantangqing 鮮堂輕 (HS: 2952). However, given our extremely meager knowledge of the language of the Xiongnu, this cannot serve as a useful clue.

The second character in question, 卑, occurs also in Chubei 儲卑 *tu pi, a subordinate tribe of the Xiongnu (HHS: 2951), and of this much less is known. The name of Śākyamuni's aunt Mahāprajāpati Gautami was transcribed by the Kuchean translator Bo Fazu 白 (帛) 法祖 as Mohebeiyeheti Jutanmi 摩訶卑耶和題俱曇弥 (*Fo shuo da aidao bannihuan jing* 佛說大愛道般泥洹經, ZH 794.34: *passim*). For 卑耶和題, a "Prakritic *piyavadi" has been suggested in Brough: 582. We also have Beixiani 卑先匿 (See Zhi Qian's 支謙 translation of *Fo shuo bo jing chao* 佛說孛經抄, ZH 401.20: 739b) representing a Yuezhi form for *Prasenajit*[5]. It seems that 卑

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[4] While preparing this appendix, I was not aware of Maenchen-Helfen's article which was later kindly brought to my attention by Prof. Victor Mair. Let me not have these different ideas reconciled and synthesized now but wait for a future solution by more competent scholars.

[5] A foreign -*sena* could be transcribed by a Ch. *xian* disregarding the final vowel, e.g., Pimuzhixian 毗目智仙 *bi mok ti sian = Vimuktisena, an Indian scholar who translated Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī* 迴諍論, Vasubandhu's *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* 業成就論 and three *upadeśa* 憂波提舍 in 540-541 A.D. in Eastern Wei 魏 under the "Xianbei-ized" Chinese warlords from the Gao 高

transcribes a foreign syllable with *p-* initial as in Qubei 瞿卑 = Gopī (Sanskrit "cowherdess"; see 增壹阿含經, ZH 699.32: 18c). Chinese historians recorded that, in Persia, one who was in charge of secretarial and various administrative matters (*zhang wenshu ji zhongwu* 掌文書及眾務) was called *dibeibo* 地卑勃 *te pi pat*[6] (ZS: 919; WS: 2285 has 地卑, cf. Pahlavi *dipīr* "secretary, scribe", New Persian *dabīr* "secretary, minister"), which may be recognized as Pahlavi *dipīvar*.

Based on the above data, we can only say that Chinese "鮮 + 卑" might represent a foreign "*šär* + *pi*". Any restoration of the original form for 鮮卑 must be seen as tentative. Furthermore, it is always difficult to etymologize an ancient ethnonym or toponym, especially when its original form is still debatable. However I think it is useful to review the scanty data we possess from time to time to remind us of how little we know and how far we need to proceed, humbly and open-mindedly. More evidences are to be explored so that we may be able to propose new reconstructions or/and etymologies as well as to reduce the number of acceptable proposals.

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clan. The forms *Vimokṣasena given in Bagchi: 267 and *Vimokṣa-prajñā-ṛṣi that crops up again and again in modern Buddhological writings published in Japan are entirely unacceptable).

[6] Pahlavi *spāh-pat* "army leader" was transcribed by *sabobo* 薩波勃 (ZS: 919) / *xuebobo* 薛波勃 (WS: 2271) and glossed as "commander-in-chief of the troops of the four directions [of the empire]" (*zhang sifang bingma* 掌四方兵馬). In the *Bundahišn*, Mercury is Chieftain of the East, Mars Chieftain of the West, Venus Chieftain of the South, Jupiter Chieftain of the North, and Saturn *spāh-patān spāh-pat* "Chieftain of Chieftains" (cf. Chinese astrology in which Saturn [Zhenxing 鎮星], from among the Five Planets 五星, was made central). See Behramgore T. Anklesaria, *Zand-ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn* (Bombay: Rāhnūmae Mazdayasnān Sabhā, 1956), pp. 60-61.

Appendix 2: Other Possible Ancient Altaic Endings in Proper Names

官 *-kan/ *-γan	茹 *-ǰu[(i)]	根 *-γun	干 / 汗 *-χan	堅 *-γan	稽 *-χai / *-kei / *-ki[(ii)]	弧 / 孤 / 龜 *-χu / *-γu	真 / 辰 *-ǰin / *-čin[(iii)]	頭 *-tu

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[(i)] Cf. Toh, "Introduction". The last syllable of the personal name Duluozhou 杜洛周 *to lok ciu (WS: 241) is probably this ending too. If so, Duluozhou might represent *Tol[o]ǰu, as compared to Duluogu 度洛孤 *to lok ko = *Tol[o]χu (WS: 77; cf. the name of Tanshihuai's 檀石槐 father in HHS: 2989: 投鹿侯) and the Rouran 柔然 personal name Tunukui 吐奴傀 *t'o lo k'ui = *Tol[o]χui (W S: 2289; cf. WS: 83: 禿鹿傀). Perhaps we should also include the Qïtań tribal name Tuliuyu 吐六于 *t'o liok u (WS: 2223) or Tuliugan 吐六干 * t'o liok kan (BS: 3127), one of them being a *falsa lectio*. The ethnonym Rouran *ʒiu ʒian was also transcribed as Ruru 茹茹 *ʒu ʒu , Ruirui 芮芮 *ʒui ʒui, and Ruanruan 蠕蠕 *ʒuan ʒuan. Bailey was tempted to see in ʒuan ʒuan a reduplicated Iranian *var-* (1979: 209). Nevertheless, since ruan 蠕 is also pronounced ru, it seems more likely that 蠕蠕 was pronounced *ʒu ʒu (compared with 茹茹 and 芮芮) or *ʒu ʒuan (compared with 柔然) rather than *ʒuan ʒuan.

[(ii)] Cf. Jihu 稽胡—abbreviated from Buluoji 步落稽 (probably related to the Xiongnu name Fuluzhi 復陸支, HS: 240), a Xiongnu subgroup who had descended from the five Xiongnu tribes under Liu Yuan 劉淵 (Liu Yuanhai 劉元海) (ZS: 896). Liu was a member of the Dugu 獨孤 (= *doyo? Cf. the Xianbei clan name in WS: 3013: 獨孤渾 = *doyoχun?) ~ Tuge 屠各 (= *toχay?)—reflecting respectively the Xianbei and Xiongnu forms—tribesmen who had adopted the Chinese clan name Liu (the royal clan name of the Han 漢 dynasty) in order to justify their political pursuits, see Chen Yinke 1987: 100-102 and Yao Weiyuan: 38-52. Unaware of this trick, Bailey had gone so far as to see in Liu Yao 劉曜, the Chinese name of Liu Yuan's son, a "clearly Iranian" word which he unhesitantly gave as *Ruyduka-* (Bailey 1985: 41). Buluoji was also the name of the Wucheng 武成 emperor of the Northern Qi dynasty. A contemporary pun associated him with rooster (BQS: 183: 兒翁，謂雄雞，蓋指武成小字步落稽也) because 雞 and 稽 are homophonous. Cf. the name of a Xiongnu military chief 日拔也稽 (BS: 3250) / 日拔也雞 (TJ: 3761) and the Xiongnu toponym Jiluo 稽落 (Qiu: 24; cf. the Xiongnu personal names 稽留昆 and 稽留斯 in HS: 3810, HHS: 2950) to which the name of the

Qïtań chief Kailuo 楷落 (XTS: 6172) may be compared. The final syllable of the tribal name 庫莫奚 (also known as 奚, a Qïtań-speaking people that branched off from the Yuwen confederation) stands for the same foreign sound as 雞 (note the phonetic element 奚 in 雞) and 稽, which is further supported by the fact that the clan name 紇奚 (WS: 2312) was changed to 嵇 (WS: 804, 3013).

We are informed that the tribal name Poliuhan 破六韓 (BQS: 378) / Poluohan 破落汗 (WS: 235, 250; also, the Poluohan mountain in XTS: 1148) = *Pal[a]χan was a distorted form (a Xianbei variation?) of the Xiongnu name Panliuxi 潘六奚 (BQS: 378) = *Pal[a]χai / *Päl[ä]kei (cf. 步落堅 and 步落稽 for the -*n* ~ -*i* variation). There is little doubt that Xiongnu elements had infiltrated the Xianbei and Wuhuan 烏桓 / Wuwan 烏丸 peoples as well as their language (*wu* 烏 *o* was sometimes replaced by *wu* 務 *bok*; for such a variation, see, e.g., Mongolian *böbegeljin ~ öbeljin ~ ögeljin* "crest", cf. *gübegen ~ gübügen* "hillock", *gübeger* "protruding, sticking out", *örbeger* "sticking out"; like Xianbei, Wuhuan was an oronym as well as an ethnonym). We read in WS: 2054 that one who had a Hu (i.e., in this case, Xiongnu) father and a Xianbei mother was called *tiefu* 鐵弗 (*tiβur*? / *tiβut*? / *tiβat*? cf. the name of Lake Difu 地弗 in WS: 2295). The Tang scholar Yan Shigu 顏師古 stated that the Lan 蘭 clan of the Xianbei went back to Zhelan 折蘭 of·the Xiongnu (SJ: 2930) while the Huyan 呼延 clan of the Xianbei was related to Huyan 呼衍 of the Xiongnu (SJ: 2890-2891), and that the Xiongnu word *qilian* 祁連 "firmament" was then still current in the Xianbei language (HS: 203). Words (toponym, anthroponym, titles) ending with *qu* 渠 (= *ka* / *ga*; cf. 跋渠 = *varga* in *Apitan ba jiandu lun* 阿毘曇八犍度論, ZH 1028.43: *passim*; 車渠 / 硨磲 in Buddhist scriptures for "conch, κόγχη, κόγχος"), such as 羌渠 / 康居 (cf. the transcription 居和多 for the Sasanid king Kavāt in WS: 2272), 且渠 / 沮渠 (SJ: 2891, 2892, 2903), 章渠 (SJ: 2936, HS: 2486), 權渠 (HS: 3787), 偃渠 (HS: 3779), 顓渠 (HS: 3781) etc., are notably related to the Xiongnu, and yet the name 羌渠 (HHS: 2983) / 羌舉 (BQS: 266) was also found among the Wuhuan and Gaoju peoples.

The Chinese recorded that the customs and official titles of the Murong 慕容 Xianbei were mostly similar to the Xiongnu (JS: 2803: 風俗、官號與匈奴略同) and that the language of the Gaoju and Dingling 丁零 (var.: 丁令, 丁靈) was more or less similar to the Xiongnu with minor variations (WS: 2307: 其語略與匈奴同而時有小異). Murong *bo ioŋ* (transcribed from Chinese into Khotanese as *byāyūm*, for which see Bailey: 13) and Moyun 莫允 *bok un* (WS: 2310; the name of one of the Gaoju tribes) might very well be transcription variants of one and the same Xiongnu word (For *yun ~ rong* [or *ioŋ*] in Chinese, cf. Toh, "Introduction", footnote 44). The final syllable of this name is also found in the name of the pastureland of the militant Jie 羯 / Jiehu 羯胡 / Qihu 契胡 people (羯 *kiat* ~ 契 *k'iat*) viz. the river valley Xiurong 秀容 *s[i]au ioŋ* near the Qilian Chi 祁連池 / Tian Chi 天池 "Heavenly Lake" (WS: 1644; *qilian* was the Xiongnu word for *tian*). There is

preserved in Chinese transcription a couplet in the Jie language (Jieyu 羯語), viz., *xiuzhi tiligang, pugu qutudang* 秀支替戾岡，僕谷劬禿當, wherein *xiuzhi* is a noun meaning "army" (*jun* 軍) while *tiligang* and *qutudang* are two verbs—both ending with -ŋ in Chinese transcription—meaning "to set out" (*chu* 出) and "to capture" (*zhuo* 捉) respectively (JS: 2486). Several attempts had been made to recover these Jie vocables (see, e.g., Bailey 1981, 1985, and Vovin) and, although they remain heretofore unriddled, such efforts should not be slighted. Some preliminary observations are in order: **(1)** The 秀 in 秀容 and 秀支 might very well be the same simplex in the Jie language; **(2)** 容 **ioŋ* seems to transcribe a toponymic suffix (added to a stem morpheme such as 秀 **sau* and 慕 **bo*); **(3)** 支 **ki* / **ke* seems to be a nominal suffix that turns **sau-* into a noun meaning "army"; **(4)** the nasal -ŋ frequently occurs in Jihu personal names such as Bai Yujiutong 白郁久同, Qiao Sanwutong 喬三勿同 and Qiao Suwutong 喬素勿同 (ZS: 898; note that Qiao 喬 as a "clan name" was of Xiongnu origin), and in Xiongnu personal names such as Xubudang 須卜當 (HS: 3826), Wuyidang 烏夷當 (HS: 3809), Boxutang 薄胥堂 (HS: 3790), Tuqitang 屠耆堂 (HS: 240, 3789; according to HS: 3751, *tuqi* means 賢 "good, virtuous"), Tichuqutang 題除渠堂 (HS: 3789), Zhulouqutang 銖婁渠堂 (HS: 3797), etc. For the time being, it cannot be determined whether this -ŋ may be regarded as common consonantal final (probably postfixal) and the most salient phonological trait of the Xiongnu language. In the case of Murong 慕容 / Moyun 莫允 (cf. TJ: 4042: Moyun 莫雲, younger brother of the Wei 魏 general Moti 莫題), it is not improbable that the Xiongnu name ends rather with -*l* (a liquid final again) since Rāhula (Śākyamuni's son) is found to have been transcribed as Luoyun 羅雲 (羅 for *rā-*, 雲 for *hul-*) in early Chinese Buddhist texts. **(5)** The Jie were Caucasoid-looking. Chinese historians inform us that, when some 200, 000 Jie people were massacred in the political and military strife that took place in Ye 鄴 (in present-day Henan province) around 350 A.D., about half of those having a prominent nose and large beard were mistakenly killed (JS: 2792: 高鼻多鬚至有濫死者半). Prof. Victor Mair has drawn my attention to a big-eyed (with the pupils appearing to be bluish in color), huge-nostrilled, and yellow bearded soldier statue dating to the Northern Qi period (see Virginia L. Bower, *From Court to Caravan: Chinese Tomb Sculptures from the Collection of Anthony M. Solomon*, Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, p. 13, Plate 26). Could this soldier be one of Erzhu Rong's 尒朱榮 Jie warriors which were later incorporated into the Xianbei army of Gao Huan (founder of the Northern Qi)? If so, we may quote Su Dongpo's 蘇東坡 *chiran biyan lao Xianbei* 赤髯碧眼老鮮卑 "the red-bearded and bluish-eyed old Xianbei" from his poem *Shu Han Gan er ma* 書韓幹二馬 to refer to this interesting figure?

祿官 (WS: 5)			奴干 (ZS: 499)					奴真 / 羅辰 (Tian: 83-88)	
庫辱官(iv)、庫褥官 (WS: 2305, 3014) 庫六官 (GX)			庫洛干 (TJ: 4042)						
	普六如 (ZS: 317) 普六茹 (BS: 397) 普陋茹 (WS: 3007)	步鹿根 (WS: 3012)	伏洛汗 (N: 76)	步落堅 (WS: 1645)	步落稽 (ZS: 896, BQS: 183)	步六弧 (NX: 75, 76, 80) 步六孤 (WS: 3007) 伏鹿孤 (NQS: 996)	步鹿真 (WS: 2292)	穆六頭 (WS: 2238)	
步斗官 (NX: 80)		步度根 (HHS: 2994, SGZ: 99)							
						乞得龜 (JS: 2815, WS: 2304; cf. JS: 3082: 乞特歸)(v)	乞特真 (JS: 2767)		

(iii) Cf. the hydronyms 吐護真水 (JTS: 2671), 吐屈真川 (NQS: 1025), 託紇臣水 (BS: 3128) and the personal names 吐護真 (JS: 2542), 吐骨真 (WS: 2241), 吐賀真 (WS: 2294), which may be compared to Mongolian *toγol- / taγol-* "to pass, to ford", Manchu *doo-* "to cross [a river, a desert]" etc.

(iv) Kuru 庫辱 (**k'o liok*) / Sheru 庫辱 (**sia liok*) = *Xor[oγ]- / *Xol[oγ]- or Šar[oγ]- / Šal[oγ]-, either one of them being a scribal error in Chinese or both coexisted in the indigenous language. It is also possible that this name shares the same stem with the personal name transcribed as Juluhui 車鹿會 (WS: 2289).

(v) 乞得龜 = *Hurtaγu, 乞特歸 = *Hurtaγu[i].

			阿干[vi] (JS: 2537, WS: 375)	阿堅 (HHS: 2983)				阿頭 (XTS: 2404)

[vi] Cf. Pelliot 1921, p. 329; Liu Pansui: 651-655; Toh, "Introduction".

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GX   Mi Wenping 米文平. Gaxian Dong Beiwei shike zhuwen kaoshi 嘎仙洞北魏石刻祝文考釋. In ZGKG 11: 87-91; cf. Mi Wenping (1994): *Xianbeishi yanjiu* 鮮卑史研究. Zhengzhou, Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe (*Dongbeiya yanjiu* 東北亞研究), pp. 46-53.

HS   *Hanshu* 漢書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1962.

HHS   *Houhan shu* 後漢書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1965.

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JS   *Jin shu* 晉書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1974.

JTS   *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1975.

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NQS   *Nanqi shu* 南齊書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1972.

NX   Matsushita Kenichi 松下憲一 (2000): Hokugi sekkoku shiryō ni mieru naichōkan: Hokugi Bunseitei nanjun hi no bunseki o chūshin ni. 北魏石刻史料に見える內朝官—「北魏文成帝南巡碑」の分析を中心に. In *Hokudai shigaku* 北大史學 40, pp. 68-85.

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S   *Song shu* 宋書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1974.

SGZ   *Sanguo zhi* 三國志. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1962.

SJ   *Shi ji* 史記. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1959.

SS   *Sui shu* 隋書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1973.

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TJ   *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑. Xi'an, Shanxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1998.

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WS   *Wei shu* 魏書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1974.

XTS   *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書. Beijing, Zhongha Shuju, 1975.

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ZGKG   孫進己 et al. eds. (1997): *Zhongguo kaogu jicheng dongbei juan* 中國考古集成・東北卷. Vols. 9-13. Beijing, Beijing Chubanshe.

ZH *x.y: z*

> ZH = *Zhonghua da zangjing (Hanwen bufen)* 中華大藏經 (漢文部分).
> Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1984.
> *x.y: z* = serial number. volume number: page number.

ZS   *Zhou shu* 周書. Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1971.

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Addenda

<u>p. 3 (footnote 5)</u>:

It should be further remarked that another transcription variant for 吐谷渾 was 吐渾 (e. g.,
ZS: 468, JTS: 5245). Considering the transcription of the Xianbei name Heliuhun 賀六渾 ~
Gaohuan 高歡 = *Talχun and even Chinese transcriptions of later times such as the Ming

transcriptions Tulufan 土魯番 ~ Tufan 土番 = Turfan[*], *sulutan* 速魯檀 ~ *sutan* 速檀 = *sultan*,

etc., it is clear that foreign -*r*- / -*l*- was not always represented by Chinese *l*- if the preceding
Chinese syllable in the transcription ends with -*o* or -*u*. The suggestion to take 吐谷 as
representing *töl*- would therefore seem quite plausible. Bazin and Hamilton associated
"Tuyuhun" with what appear to be *tuyγun* and *tuyγut* in the Köl Tegin inscription,
suggesting a "turco-mongol" prototype *Tuy[u]γun "autour blanc (oiseau symbole
d'héroïsme dans le monde turc)" < turc *tuy*- "percevoir" (cf. Written Mongolian *toyiγun* ~
toyiqun "gyrfalcon") and comparing it to the Tang transcription for Uyγur viz. Huihu 回鶻
(which had been interpreted as "a falcon in circling flight").[**] One may equally want to
intepret the names of the two Xianbei brothers (given in what seems to be the epic song of
the 吐谷渾 people which had been partially recorded in Chinese dynastic histories) in an
entirely different way. We may compare the younger brother's name 若洛廆 (= *jilaχui?*) to
Written Mongolian *jilaγu* "young" and the elder brother's 吐谷渾 (= *töl[ü]kün?*) to Written
Mongolian *türügün* ~ *terigün* "head; first", *toloγai* "head", *tulγur* "beginning", Middle
Mongolain *turun* "initially" (*Secret History of the Mongols*), Manchu *turula*- "to be first, to
head" (*turu*- + denominal suffix -*la*). We have to admit that it is always difficult to
etymologize—or should I say: it is always easy to assign a meaning to—an ancient proper
name. We do not have to quote, say, Saka (whether this has anything to do with "dog") or
Massagetae (whether this has anything to do with "fish") as an example. Just consider a
relatively much recent ethnonym like Manchu (whether this has anything to do with—

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[*] This might have been the source for later confusions. See also Victor Mair, "*Tufan* and *Tulufan*: the
Origins of the Old Chinese Names for Tibet and Turfan," *Central and Inner Asian Studies* 4 (1990): 14-70.

[**] Thus they hypothesized that Tibetan highlanders were known as *Töpän* ~ *Töpät* in the "Tuyuhun"
language from which, as they believe, was derived Chinese *Tufan* 吐蕃 and Turkic *Töpüt* (Sogdian *twp'yt*).
See Louis Bazin et James Hamilton, "L'origine du nom tibet," Ernst Steinkellner ed., *Tibetan History and
Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on His Seventieth Birthday* (Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische
und buddhistiche Studien Universität Wien, 1991), pp. 9-28.

Mañjuśrī!), the name for a relatively more "tangible" ethnic group, which has so far remained etymologically obscure despite several enthusiastic attempts to clarify its meaning.

p. 3 (footnote 7):

In an interesting essay written in 2002[+], Professor Jao Tsung-i reasserts his view that the Xianbei personal name Mohuba was of Iranian origin. If this is correct, it may be better — as it seems to me — to see Mohuba 莫護跋 as representing *Māγpat (*magu-pat*) "chief Magian".[++]

p. 4 (footnote 9):

It is worthy of mentioning yet another view put forth by an Indogermanist and Iranist who opined that (i) Turkic Taβγač was "obviously a loanword from Iranian *tāγβar* < Old Iranian *tāga-bara-* 'wearing the crown' > 'king' " and this "harmonizes neatly" with Ch. 拓跋 (allegedly, "Prince of the Earth"); (ii) there was a Sogdian form *tāγβarč* "Chinese" (**tāγβar* + adjectival suffix -č; **tāβγar* < **tāγβar* by metathesis) which, due to the loss of the phoneme *r* in this position in Sogdian, resulted in Taβgač (Greek Ταυγάστ).[+++] However, in all likelihood, the first element of the Chinese transcription 拓 (搨) 跋 rendered a sound like *t'ap* rather than *t'ak*.

p. 8 (apropos of 般闍于瑟):

The form 䏑遮于色[++++] occurs in the *Dasheng bei fentuoli jing* 大乘悲分陀利經 (ZH 133. 16: 36c). The character *se* 色 (**siǝk*) in the transcription could only reflect *-ṣik* and certainly not *-ṣār*.

[+] "塞種與 Soma (須摩): 不死藥的來源探索," *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* 饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 2003), Vol. 10, p. 158.

[++] Du Huan's 杜環 *Jingxing ji* 經行記 mentions a *shenci* 神祠 (a [fire?] temple) in Samarqand (康國) which was called *ba* 拔. The suggestion of Wang Guowei 王國維 to emend *ba* to *xian* 祆 "Ahura Mazdā" seems unnecessary. See *Sichou zhi lu ziliao huichao zengbu* 絲綢之路資料彙鈔增補 (Beijing: Quanguo Tushuguan Wenxian Suowei Fuzhi Zhongxin, 1990s), p. 46.

[+++] See the late Professor János Harmatta's "The Letter Sent by the Turk Qaγan to the Emperor Mauricius" in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 41 (2001), p. 114.

[++++] Cf. Isshi Yamada, *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, II (London: S.O.A.S, 1968), p. 102.

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