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MADU

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF WINE

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I

The Iranian *madu*, originally meaning 'honey', thence used for 'mead', later for 'intoxicant drink',—"wines"—, especially wine from grapes, has within recent years been found in the language of the Sogdians in manuscripts from Tunhuang and Turfan, and in the languages of the Saka people from Khotan and Tumshuq. The word (as it is hoped to show here) was adopted by the people of Kucha, who in turn gave it to the Turks. Earlier from another form of the same Iranian word in Ferghana the Chinese in 128 B.C. took the name. The present state of this problem is the subject of the following notes.

II

Old Iranian¹⁾ **madu* is attested by Avestan *mādu* 'wine', and *madumant-* 'containing wine', epithet of the Zoroastrian *myazda-* 'offering'. This word is the well-known Iranian cognate of Old Indian *madhu* 'honey, honey-drink', then used of the *soma*, the intoxicant of the sacrifice. In the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra²⁾ *madhu* is explained by *mr̥dvikārasa-* 'juice of grapes'. The Old Indian *madhu* was replaced in Krorain (Lou-lan) north-western Prakrit by the frequent *masu* (written so with *su*, for **mazu*, since *su* was not marked with diacritic for *zu*). Of the related words of other Indo-European languages it will suffice to note Greek

1) "Old Iranian" is here used for the earliest deducible form of the language attested in the Avesta and Old Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenians.

2) Ed. J. Jolly and R. Schmidt, p. 71. Cited in my article *Hārāhūna* in the Festschrift Fr. Weller (in the press).

méthu 'intoxicant', Kuci *mit*, *mit* 'honey', and Germanic, Old Engl. *medu* 'mead'.

Iranian **madu* is widely attested in later Iranian documents. In Sogdian we find nom. sing. *mwdy*, acc. sing. *mđw*, *myw*, that is, *mud* and *madu* (*mayu*) (or perhaps *mudu*).¹⁾ Sogdian gave to Persia *mul*, expressed in Armenian as *mol*,²⁾ and from Persian in Romani *mol* 'wine', *sutlō mol* 'sloe gin'.

In Ossetic, *mud* and *myd* 'honey' has kept the oldest meaning. The drink made from honey however was known and is called in the traditional tales *rong*, which has survived in living use in Mingrel and Svan *rang*.³⁾

Khotanese has *mau* 'intoxicant, wine', once written *mā* in the phrase *mā vā-ṃ bara* 'bring me wine', translating the Chinese *tcyau tta ma le*.⁴⁾ In medical texts *mau* renders Sansk. *madya-* 'intoxicant', Tib. *chan*. In one text⁵⁾ occurs *ysarūṃ gūrāṇai mau* 'yellow grape wine'. The form *mau* has, as regularly, lost intervocalic *-d-*; the *-u* may represent Old Iran. *-u* of *madu*.⁶⁾ The adjectival form is *mauya* and *mauva*.

The Saka language of Tumshuq⁷⁾ has *ahu*, almost certainly meaning 'wine'. If it is rightly so translated, it should probably be considered as another form of *madu*, but the changes have been greater, and the stages of the change can at present only be conjectured: if *madu* was replaced by *βadu* (*βodu*) or *uadu* (*uodu*), the loss of the initial sound may be due to dissimilation from the following *-u*.⁸⁾ The *-h-* replacing

1) W. B. Henning, BSOAS 10:98. Sogdian dialects have either *δ* or *l* from Old Iranian initial and intervocalic *d*. New Sogdian in Yaghnāb has *d*.

2) In *mol-ozmay* 'wine-glass'. In this *ozmay* I would see the same base *mā-* 'measure, contain', from which with other preverbs come NPers. *paimānah* 'bowl', and Zor. Pahl. *patmān* 'bowl' occurring in Greater Bundahišn 62. 6; 136. 7; Zātspram 6. 3, in texts parallel to *yāmak* and *tašt*. Khotanese *hamau*, *hamo* 'cup, bowl' (in E and Khot. Bud. Texts p. 7) will be from the same base **fra-mā-van-* (not with Sten Konow, *Primer of Khotanese Saka*, p. 36, from **hā-madu-*).

3) V. I. Abaev, *Osetinskij Yazik i Fol'klor* I 348 ff. In preference to Abaev's connexion of *rong* with *frāna-* 'breath' (known in Sogd. *βr'n*), hence 'spirit' and 'spirituous' liquor, I should seek a connexion with Osset. *rā-* of *i-rayun*: *irad-* 'to seethe, boil' named from fermented *mud* 'honey'.

4) *Khotanese Texts* II, p. 1, line 5. *tcyau* is Chin. 酒 *tsiu* 'spirit distilled from grain, wine from rice'.

5) Paris Y 29.

6) From *pasu-* comes *pasa-* 'cattle'. Elsewhere we have *-ū* from *-u-ka-* as in *ysānū* 'knee', plur. *ysānve* from *zānu-* with *-ka-*.

7) See my *Languages of the Saka* in B. Spuler, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*; Sten Konow, *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, and Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap 14. 156 ff.

8) As Krorain *arnava*'i may contain *varnava-*, see BSOAS 11. 793. Loss of *-u-* is regular in Ossetic before *-i-* in the preverb *vi-*. In *uidon*, *idon*, Dig. *uidonä*, *idonä* 'bridle' both forms are recorded. Before *-u-* the *β-* has been lost in Oss. *ud* from *būta-*, as in Wajętsi *ūn* 'naked' from *βaṛna-*, and in Pašto *ūzd* 'long' from *bṛz-*.

-*ḍ*- between vowels recalls the -*h*- of Khotan. *byüh*- 'to change', if this is from *vi-vad*-.

Pašto *mēlawā* 'grapes' from **mādayā*-, and Balōči *mavič* 'raisins' from **madvi*-, have been associated with Indianised Sansk. *mṛdvikā*- and Pali *muddikā*-.¹⁾

In addition to *madu* Avestan has also *mada*-, *mada*- 'intoxicant' corresponding to Ind. *mada*-. In Khotanese *māya*-, instr. *meva jsa*, renders Sansk. *mada*- in the Suvarṇabhāsa.²⁾ The related participle is *māsta*-.

Turfan Mid. Pers. and Parth. *my*, Zor. Pahl. *m'd*, *my*, *m'k* **mad*, Krorain *me*³⁾ are ambiguous in origin since either *madu*- or *mada*- would suffice to explain the form *may*.

III

The history of the vine has been much investigated.⁴⁾ For the present purpose it will suffice to point to the evidence assembled by Schrader for the knowledge of wine among Indo-European peoples. The vine was known in pre-historic Italy and in Greece in the Mycenaean period.⁵⁾ It extended from the Balkans to the Caspian sea, in which region the origin of the wild vine has been sought. To this evidence can be added recent information from Anatolia. Here three forms of the word for 'wine' have been cited⁶⁾: Hittite in cuneiform script *uiian*-, in hieroglyphic script *uiānas*, Luwian *uin*-. This is the long-sought oldest cognate of the Greek *oinos*, Lat. *uinum*, Armen. *gini*, Mingrel *γvin-i* and Georgian *γvin-o*.

Early Greek writers knew of the abundant use of wine in Persia. The Avramān documents are concerned with vineyards.⁷⁾ In the Tale of Husrau wine is praised and some wines are named: *kangik* 'Sogdian',

1) The Bud. Sanskrit Vinaya text has *mṛdvikā-pānam*, see Gilgit Manuscripts III 1. ii. J. Charpentier, Acta Orientalia 7.191 dealt with *mēlawā*. The umlaut passing over a syllable is like that in Khotan. *hišana*- 'iron' from **aśyanya*-, and *ysirra*- 'gold' from *zaranya*-. For the secondary -*r*- in *mṛdvikā*, note the *lavna*- 'salt' for the usual *lavana*- in the Brāhmi inscription dated in the time of Huviṣka, Sten Konow, Epigraphia Indica 21 (1931), p. 60, line 7.

2) *Khot. Texts* I 36 r 1; P 3513, 63 r 4; *Khot. Bud. Texts*, p. 63, 79 r 3.

3) Frahang i Pahlavik 5.1. Krorain *me*, recognised by Henning, BSOAS 12. 603, has -*e* which can represent either -*e* or -*ai*-. The diphthong *ai* could be shown in Krorain by the macron stroke below *e*, as was done in *sthaira* from *sthavira*, and *śaila*.

4) O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Realexikon*; B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 220 ff.; R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* 327 ff.

5) The word *wo-ne-we* may mean 'wine-dealer' in a Mycenaean tablet, see M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Journal Hellenic Society 73. 97.

6) H. Th. Bossert, Jahrbuch f. kleinasiat. Forschung 2. 180-1. J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* 336 has registered *uijana*-? and hieroglyphic *wa(i)ana*-.

7) E. H. Minns, J. Hellenic Society 35. 22 ff.

harēvik 'of Herāt', *marv-rōtik* 'of Merw-rod', *bustik* 'of Bust', *hulvānik* 'of Hulwān', *asōrik* 'of Asōrastān', *vāzrangik* 'of Bāzrang'.¹⁾

Wine is attested in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Persia and Ferghana. The Chinese first learnt of wine from grapes in 128 B. C. in Ta-yüan, Parthia, K'ang and Tashkend. In Kucha it was reported in the 4th century A. D., and a Sogdian colony of the 7th century named a town from its vines in the Lob-nor region. The Chinese however did not report this wine among the Turks.²⁾

The Indo-Iranian word for vine and grapes, *drākṣā*, which is widely attested in modern Kāfirī and Indo-Aryan (though not yet pointed out in Iranian): Aškun *drāš*, Khovar *droç*, Romani *drākh*, Hindī *dākh*, but which is not quoted from the Veda, may perhaps contain a vṛddhi derivative of a base **drakṣa-*, in which I should propose to see a word connected with Old Engl. *deorc*, Irish *derg* 'dark, red', assuming that the name came from the dark berries, as occurred in the naming of the 'service berry'.³⁾

IV

I propose now to recognise a loan-word from Iranian in Kuci *mot* 'intoxicant', inst. sing. *motsa*, attested in Prātimokṣa and medical texts, hence the equivalent of Sanskrit *madya-*. The adj. derivative is *motaṣṣe*.⁴⁾ The word is then a Kuci modification, adapted in spelling, of the Iranian **mod(u)-* found, for example, in Sogd. *muδ-*. Two points need to be clarified if this comparison is correct.

1. Kuci *t* (in form the same as Brāhmī *dh*) and *t* representing Iranian *d* or *ḍ*. Whatever value teachers of the Brāhmī script in Central Asia gave to the akṣaras,⁵⁾ the writers of the language of Kuci did not try

1) J. M. Unvala, *The Pahlavi Text "King Husrav and his Boy,"* p. 26 (with changes). On *Asōrastān*, see E. Honigman and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res gestae divi Saporis* 41-63.

2) These and other details are in Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, loc. cit.

3) Earlier a connexion has been sought with words meaning 'berry' or 'thorn'; see Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*, 803, 862, and Pokorny, *Indogerm. Etymolog. Wörterbuch* 258. The word *drākṣā* has the same form as *lākṣā*, 'lac', in which one should see an *-s-* derivative of the base *rang-* 'dark colour, red, brown,' connected with Iran. Khotan. *rrāša-* 'dark', Armen. loan-word *erašx-*, see JRAS 1953, 95. For the 'service berry', Lat. *sorbum*, see Walde-Pokorny, loc. cit. II 499, and in my article *Hārahūna* in the Weller Volume.

4) A. F. R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, p. 258; J. Filliozat, *Fragments de textes koutchéens de médecine et de magie*; A. J. van Windekens, *Lexique étymologique des dialectes tokhariens*, p. 69.

5) It is notable that for the language of Tumshuq documents a new sign was invented for the voiced occlusive *d*, implying that the Brāhmī *d* had another, presumably fricative, value *ḍ*.

to distinguish two (or more) dental phonemes. Hence *t* and *ṭ* could be written for foreign *t* or *d* (and *dh*), beside the use of Brāhmī *d*. Thus we find *camdām*, *cantām* 'candana, sandal', *wiroṭ* 'virodha', *puḍ-ñākte* 'Buddha' with 'deva', *putatatte* 'Buddhadatta', *māgat* 'Magadha', *samudtār* 'samudra'. Similarly occur in the language of Agni *māgat* 'Magadha', *ptā-ñkāt* 'Buddha', *tānaśol* 'dānaśālā'.

2. -o- in Iran. **mod(u)*-, Sogd. *mwd-*, NPers. *mul* from *madu*-. The effect of labial *p*, *b*, *m*, *w* upon an adjacent -a- has produced a sound *o* or *u* in many words.¹⁾ In languages which distinguish *o* from *u* we find *o*, as in Armen. *moṭ* 'wine', *mog*, *mov*, gen. plur. *movan* 'Magian', Romani *mol* 'wine'; Greek *mau-*, Georg. *mog-v-i* 'Magian'.

The change can be seen in the following cases:—

1. *magu-* in Old Pers. *magu-š*, Av. *moyu*,²⁾ Greek *māgos*, Sansk. *maga-*, Syriac *mgwš*. The *o* or *u* occurs in Sogd. *mwy-* in *mwy-ztw* 'massacre of the Magians', *mwy'nch* *dynh* 'Magian religion'.³⁾ Uigur has *mwgwč*, **moyuč* (or **muyuč*), plur. *moyuč-lar* 'Magi' in the Christian legend.⁴⁾ The *-č* recalls the *-č* of *küzäc* 'jar', which belongs with Khotan. *küysa-* 'jar, pot' and NPers. *kūzah*, and of *miškič* 'cat'.⁵⁾ In Chinese the priests of Sulutši (Zoroaster) are called 牧護 (K 675, 120) *mu-xu*, older *miuk-yuo*, in a document of 1269 A. D.⁶⁾ In the west occur Zor. Pahl. *mgwk*, *mgw*, Inscription of Šāhpuhr Sakānšāh *mgw*, Zor. Pahl. *mgwpt* 'high priest', Pāzand *mōβad*, and as loan-word in Sogdian *myδβy*, plur. *myδβt*'; NPers. *muy* 'Magian', *maubid*, *mōbed* 'chief Magian', Armen. *mog*, *mogpet*, *mowpet*; Georg. *mog-v-i*.⁷⁾

2. Greek *margaritēs* 'pearl'. Mid. Parth. *mwrg'r'yd*,⁸⁾ NPers. *murvārid*.

3. Khotan. *būnaa-* 'naked', Osset. *bāynäg*, Wanētši *ūn* from **bagna-*, Sogd. *βyn'k*, Av. *mayna-*, Zor. Pahl. *brahna*.⁹⁾

4. Zor. Pahl., NPers. *palang* 'panther', Sogd. *pwrdnk*.¹⁰⁾

5. Sogd. *mwyšk-* 'fly' from **maxšika-*, Khotan. *māta* 'bee' from **māsa*.¹¹⁾

1) Similar cases are quoted by M. Grammont, *Traité de phonétique*, p. 215-6.

2) As also in *vohu*, *pouru*, *mouru*.

3) Henning, JRAS 1944, 138.

4) F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [I] 5-10, W. Bang, *Le Muséon* 39 (1926) 43 ff.; L. Olschki, *The Crib of Christ and the Bowl of Buddha*, JAOS 70 (1950) 161-4.

5) Analytischer Index *küzäc*; Khotanese in JRAS 1954, 26. For *miškič* see I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, p. 58.

6) Cited in Chavannes and Pelliot, *Traité manichéen*, JA 1913, 146.

7) The reverse change of *-ō* before *v* to *a* is found in Abxaz *ā-māgw* 'shoe' from Georg. *mog-v-i* 'shoe', Zor. Pahl. *mōk*, see JRAS 1954, 34.

8) Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliran. Manichaica* III, p. 58.

9) Asica, *Trans. Philolog. Soc.* 1945, 7; G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* 2, Index 38*.

10) See BSOAS 11, 782.

11) Gershevitch, loc. cit., p. 15; BSOAS 10, 590.

6. Sogd. *pwys̄* 'kettle', *pwyt* 'cooked',¹⁾ Zor. Pahl., NPers. *puxt* 'cooked' beside **paxua-* in Pašto *pōx*, plur. *pāxə*, Parāči *phök*, *pök*, Khotan. *paha-*.

7. Khotan. *būṣṣ-*: *būta-* 'give' from *baxš-*: *baxta-*.

8. Khotan. *muḥu*, *buhu* 'we' from **maxam*.

9. Osset. *mud*, *myd* 'honey' from **madu-*.

10. Sogd. *zwf-* 'mouth', Chr. Sogd. *zwb-*, Av. *zafan-*.²⁾

11. Uigur *šumnu* beside *šymnu* and *š'mnu* from Sogd. *šmnw* 'Ahriman, māra, evil one'.³⁾

12. Uigur *suksumur* 'cardamom', Sansk. *sūkṣmailā*, Tib. *sug-smel*.

13. Uigur *sumur* beside *sumir*, and *samir* from Sumeru.

14. Osset. *burcā*, *byrc* 'pepper' from, Turkish,⁴⁾ attested in various dialects, as Balkar *burc*. The source is ultimately Ind. *marica-*, and the intermediaries are now known. Khotanese has *mirimjsya*, *mirijsya*, Sogd. *mr'ynčk'*, in Arabic script from al-Bairūnī *mrj*, vocalised *marč*, *marič*, Coman *burč*, Uigur *mīrč* and *murč*, Turkish in al-Kāšyārī *murč* Chinese 味履支 (K 1303; 54, 1212) *muâi-li-tsie*, later *mei-li-tsi*.

15. NPers. *gurāz* 'boar', Zor. Pahl. *varāz*, Av. *varāza-*.

16. Chorasmian *wud* 'wife', Sogd. *wḍw* from *vadū*, Av. *vaḍu*.⁵⁾

17. Turk. Kazan *maksim*, *maksima* 'beer from barley without hops', Osset. *maxsumä*, *maxsymä* 'thin beer without hops', Čerkes *maxsəme*, *baxsəme*, Turkish in al-Kāšyārī *buxsum* 'beer from barley'.⁶⁾

18. *Vologeses*, place name *Vologesia*, beside Parthian coin *wlgšy*, Zor. Pahl. *wlxš*, NPers. *valāš*, *balāš*, *gulāš*, Armen. *vatarš*.⁷⁾

For the presence of an Iranian word in Kuci and Agni reference can be made to *amok* 'art'.⁸⁾

1) Gershevitch, loc. cit., p. 87.

2) Gershevitch, loc. cit., p. 248.

3) *Türkische Turfan-Texte* 7.117 and Analytischer Index.

4) For Turkish, see G. Németh, *Bibliotheca orientalis hungarica* 5.90; for Hungarian *bors*, see Gombocz and Melich, *Magyar etymologiai szótár*, p. 491. Later Turkish has Kazan *boroč*, Osmanli *buruj*, Kirghiz *buruš*. Balkar is in *Yaziki severnogo Kavkaza* I 75. Khotanese *mirimjsya*, *mirijsya* is frequent in medical texts. Sogd. *mr'ynčk'* is in *Padmacintāmaṇi* 28. For al-Bairūnī, see Zaki Validi, *Kitāb al-šaidanah* 129.6. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 374, treats of *marica* in Chinese. Uigur is in *Rachmati*, *Heikunde der Uiguren* I and II. Al-Kāšyārī, *Diwān Luḡat al-turk*, ed. Istanbul I 343 (facsimile 173.5) has *murč* explained by *al-filfil*.

5) Henning, *BSOAS* 10.98.

6) Radloff, *Versuch*, 1999; *Ossetic Dictionary*; K. Bouda, *Zeits. f. vgl. Sprachf.* 1938, 180. on Ossetic and Čerkes.

7) H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 79, with other forms.

8) The west Iranian *āmök* was discussed in *Trans. Philolog. Soc.* 1936, 98-101, and an origin in *ham-auk* pointed out. O. Hansen in *Tocharisch-iranische Beziehungen*, *ZDMG* 94 (1940), no. 4, by a lapsus cited Lit. *mōkyti* 'to teach', but Baltic Lit. *o* and Lett. *a* represent Indo-Europ. *ā*, and have no connexion with Iran. *au* (=Indo-Eur. *eu*, *ou* or *au*). The same article has evidence for other connexions between Iranian and the languages of Kuci and Agni.

V

Probably with the spread of the knowledge of wine (the most favourable ground for a loan-word) the Iranian word *madu* reached the Turks, among whom the earlier Chinese reports did not mention wine. In Uigur the word *bor* was used for 'intoxicant' in medical texts translated from Buddhist Sanskrit. The word *bor* has been, it is hoped to make probable, taken from Kuci *mot*. It is necessary therefore to explain the difference in sounds.

1. *bor* renders Sansk. *madya-* 'intoxicant'.¹⁾ Related words are *borluq* 'vineyard', *borluqči är* 'gardener', *borči kiši* 'drinker'.²⁾

2. For the initial variation, *b* varying with *m* in a loan-word, note *buxsum* 'beer', *maksima*, as above; *burč* 'pepper', Uigur *mürč* and *murč*, as above; Armen. loan-word *manoušak* 'violet', Zor. Pahl. *vanafšak*, NPers. *banafšah*, Arab. *manafšaj*, and *banafšaj*.³⁾ Variation occurs also in early Indo-Iranian where the Ind. *brav-* 'speak' has replaced *mraw-* retained in Iranian, as three thousand years later, Khowar *bri* 'die' comes from *mri-*. The words *xormuzda*, *xurmusta* have produced *kurbustan* in the language of the Altai Tatars.⁴⁾ There is also variation with original *b*: thus Uigur has *amari* 'some, others' from Mid. Iran., Pers. *aβāriy* according to the Analytischer Index.

3. Final *-r* in variation with foreign *d* or *δ*.⁵⁾ With *bor* from Kuci I would now compare the *bur* 'Buddha' of Turkish Uigur *burqan*, *burxan*, both to fortify the derivation of *bor* and to support this interpretation of the much-discussed *bur*.⁶⁾

1) Rachmati, *Heilkunde der Uihuren* II 22, line 28, a translation of the Siddhasāra.
2) Radloff, *Versuch*, 1661, 1269, 1271; Radlov-Malov, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* 373; W. Bang, *Georgpassion* 49; P. Pelliot, *T'ch'ng Pao* 1914, 453.

3) Hübschmann, *Armen, Gram.*, p. 191.

4) This name was used to render Buddhist *Indra*. From Manich. Sogd. *xwrmzē* came Uigur *qormuzta* and Mongol *xurmusta*. The Altai forms are quoted from U. Harva, *Folklore Fellows Communications* 52, 141.

5) Variation of *r* and *l* in foreign loan-words is banal in many languages, and these sounds may also vary with *δ* (or the stops *d* and *t*). Some familiar cases were cited in BSOAS 11. 787, as Bud. Sansk. *kāgaṭa-* 'paper', in the Chinese-Sanskrit Lexicons *kakari*, *kākali*, Sogd. *k'γδ'kh*, Uig. *k'gd'*, NPers. *kāγad*. Others can be seen in Khotan. *haltrai* 'myrobalan', Zor. Pahl. *halilak*, NPers. *halilah* from a Prakrit form of Sansk. *haritaki*, for which Uigur shows *ryry* **ariri* (with *-y* taken from Sogd. *-y* from older *-k*), and in Kuci *arirāk*; the Khotanese place name *Cira*, in Tibetan *Jila*; Uigur *suksumur* 'cardamom' with *-r* from Sansk. *sūkṣmāilā*, Khotan. *sukṣmēla*, Tib. *sug-smel*. The *r* from *δ* (also from intervocalic *t*) is particularly familiar in Armenian loan-words from Iranian, and in the Iranian dialects of Tāti and Kumzāri.

6) A. von Satél-Holstein, in Radlov, *Tisastvustik* 141 ff. (*pur* from Chinese); B. Laufer, *JAOS* 36. 390 ff. (*bur* not originally 'Buddha',— largely now antiquated); P. Pelliot, *JA* 1925. I. 254 (doubtful); D. Mironow, *Rocznik Oriental.* 6. 74 (*bur* from Kuci, by graphic error of Uigur *r* for *t*); Analytischer Index (*bur* from Chinese); W. Eberhard, *Bellesten* 35, *Türk tarik kurumu* 1945 (*burqan* not originally 'Buddha').

The name 'Buddha' was received in the Tarim region before reaching China. The most immediate source for a Turkish name of 'Buddha' was therefore the kingdom of Kuci and Agni. Evidence for the popular form of the name of Buddha (beside the learned Sanskrit one) is now abundant. Thus we find *BOAHO* on the Kušan coins. In Krorain *but* occurs in the name *butsenā-*, *butsenḡa-* beside the fuller *budhasena-*, *budhasenḡa-*. Khotan has in compounds *prattika-buda-yauna-* 'pratyeka-buddha-yāna-', *budāksaittra-* 'buddhakṣetra-', and in proper names *namaubudā*, *saṃgabudī*, *vidyabudī*, *śiribudī*, *brabudā*, *budarma-* (for *bud-darma-*).¹⁾ Kuci has *pud* in the compound *pud-nākte* (in prose *pa-*) with the proper name *putatatte* 'Buddhadatta',²⁾ and Agni has *pättā-ñkāt*, *ptā-ñkāt*. Sogdian has Bud. *pwty*, Man. *pwtyy*, *bwty*, abl. *bwt'h* (=but-), Zor. Pahl. *bwt* *but, NPers. *but*. Uigur has *pwt* in the formula *namo buddhāya*, and *pwr-* in *burqan*. Chinese offers 佛 (K 47) *fo* from *b'iuət*, which was about 800 A.D. written in Tibetan script *bur*, *ḥbur*, *ḥwur*, and in Khotanese script *hvarä*, *hwirä*.³⁾

Khotanese used *balysa-* for 'Buddha'.⁴⁾ With it a title is associated *gyasta-* 'worshipped', Av. *yazata-*, giving the phrase *gyasta-balysa-* which is used even in the Triratna formula. This *gyasta-* translates Sansk. *deva*, and like *deva* is used both of 'gods' and 'kings'. In Kuci and Agni also occur the compounds *pud-nākte* and *pättā-ñkāt* where the second component means 'deva'. The Turkish *bur-qan* is best explained as a linguistic calque based upon Kuci or Agni words, with *qan* 'king' to render *ñakte*.⁵⁾ Turkish Uigur has also the full phrase *tängri bur-qan*⁶⁾ with *tängri* 'god', which recalls the pleonasm found in Zor. Pahl. *kai Vištāsp śāh*. The use of *tängri* with *qan* produced the compound *tängrikän*.⁷⁾ On this view the Turkish *bur* 'Buddha' did not come from Chinese 佛 *fo*. Later the name *burqan* became imprecise and could mean 'an idol', as happened to *but* in Persia. The Zoroa-

1) *Khot. Bud. Texts*, p. 145, 3 v 2; P 5537. 35; *Khot. Texts* II, pp. 20, 26, 28.

2) W. Couvreur, *Twintigste Vlaams Philologencongres*, p. 91.

3) ZDMG 91. 35. The final sound of these Chinese syllables ending in a dental (indicated by *-t* in Karlgren, and by *-ḍ* in Maspero, BEFEO 20) was in the north-west dialect some *r*-sound for which G. Haloun used an inverted *r* in explaining for me names in Hedin Khotanese-Chinese bilinguals, as in *namaubudā*, written in Chinese 南牟沒 *nan-mou-mo* (K 650, 640, 637 *nām-mīu-muət*) for which Haloun gave me *ndām-māu-mbo* inverted *r*.

4) Tumshuq Saka has *bārsa-*, see BSOAS 13. 651. The word is a nominal derivative from *braz-*, the verbal base which expresses intellectual activity, possibly, as I hope to show elsewhere, connected with Slavonic *blāz-*.

5) Mironow had already seen this, but had wrongly explained the *-r* of *bur* as a graphic mistake for *t*.

6) Müller, *Uigurica* III 54.

7) W. Bang, *Ungar. Jahrbuch* 5. 249.

striar author of the Bun-dahišn knew *but* still in the sense of an Indian god.¹⁾

To support this comparison of Turkish *bur* and Kuci *pud* it should be noted that other Buddhist technical terms are found in Kuci forms in Turkish. Two good cases are offered by the following.

1. Kuci *anantārsā-* 'immediate (in reference to punishment for evil)', attested in the plural *anantārsā-ntu*.²⁾ This is in Uigur "n'ntšyky **anantaršiki* (the *-ki* represents an Indian form with *-aka*) and "n'ntrys **anantariš* from **anantarši*.³⁾ The Bud. Sanskrit word is *ānantarya-*. The Kuci word shows *-rś-* from Prakrit *-rś-* replacing *-ryy-*.⁴⁾ It contrasts with the Khotanese modification *anantanarya-* of the same Prakrit word.

2. Uigur *kz'ry* 'the red or yellow *kāšāya-* robe of the Buddhist mendicant'. The word with metathesis became Sogd. *kr'z'kh*, whence come Uigur *kr'z'*, *k'r'z'*. Both derive from the equivalent of Krorain *kašara-*, Kuci *kašār*, Agni *kāšār*, *kāšāri*.⁵⁾

The word *burqan* cannot be discussed even thus briefly without consideration also of Uigur *bur-sang*. Here too *bur* has earlier been derived from Chinese 佛 *fo*. But Chinese does not use the compound of this *fo* 'Buddha' with 僧 *səng* to refer to the 'community of mendicants'.⁶⁾ Though widely accepted this derivation from a non-existent Chinese compound cannot be sustained.⁷⁾

The Sogdian has *pwršnk*.⁸⁾ 'community of mendicants', with adj. suffix *-ānak* *pwršnk'n'k*. From Sogdian the Turks received their *pwrš'nk* and *pwršwnk* **bursang*, *bursong*. In the Uigur the hendiadys *bursang quwray* repeats in *quwray* 'group' the meaning of *sang*. The corresponding Bud. Sanskrit word is *bhikṣu-saṅgha-*, for which two Prakrit forms are found in Krorain *bhichu-saṅga-* and *bhichu-saṅgha-*. The form with *-ch-* (retroflex *ch*) is north-western Prakrit, and the one with *-gh-* from Central Indian Prakrit *bhikkhu-*. From this same Prakrit come

1) BSOS 6. 279 ff., for him a demon.

2) So to be divided, not with E. Sieg, *Tocharischk Sprachreste*, B, p. 89 as *anantārs-*.

3) The final syllable of Uigur *pwdystb* was similarly affected by metathesis to *pwdystb* **bodisatβ* 'bodhisattva'. References are Müller, *Uigurica* III 52, 53; *Türkische Turfan-Texte* 4.7; *Analytischer Index* s. v. *anantris*.

4) See *Trans. Philolog. Soc.* 1947. 142 ff.

5) It is not in this word an *-r-* due to the presence of a retroflex sound, as in Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manich. Sogdian*, p. 54. For *kašara-* see BSOAS 13. 130. The Turkish word occurs in Müller, *Uigurica*, III 53, 55, 57 and A. von Gabain, *Briefe der uigurischen Hüen-Tsang-Biographie*, p. 30. Sogdian *kr'z'kh* is in the Viśvantara Jātaka, 1497.

6) This, which I had observed, is confirmed to me by a letter of P. Demiéville.

7) BSOS 6. 280, after F. A. Rosenberg, *Bull. Akad. Nauk SSSR* 1927, 1394; *Analytischer Index*; W. Bang, *Ungar. Jahrbuch* 5. 249.

8) References collected by Rosenberg, *loc. cit.*

also Khotan. *bilsangga-*, later *bisaṅga-* (with adj. *bisaṅginai*, and in hendiadys, with *gāṣā-* 'group', in *bisaṅgije ge*), and Agni *pis-saṅk*.¹⁾

The Sogdian *pwr-*, the Khotan. *bil-* and the Agni *pis-* occur where the Indian original had *bhikṣu* or derived form. Hence most likely these three forms are the same word. We should assume an intermediate **biś-sanga-* or **bik-sanga-*. This can be supported by the two following considerations : —

1. *bu-* replacing *bi-* is a commonplace. Beside Uigur *mīrč* (from Indian *marica-*, as above) we have *murč* and *burč*. Both *bitmul* and *butmul* occur in Uigur medical texts, derived from Indian *pippala-mūla-* 'root of pepper' by way of **pit(pal)-mul*.²⁾ Similarly Orkhon Turkish has *buqaraq* 'Bukhara' (if from *vihāra-*), and Mongol has *buqar* 'vihāra-, monastery' (for which Uigur uses the Sogdian *brx'r*).

2. the first of Prakrit doubled consonants is dissimilated by *l, r, d, t*. Thus once³⁾ in the Bud. Sanskrit of Khotan *pitpali* is used. Such an Indian form lies at the base of Uigur *ptpdy* 'pepper'. The Pers.-Arab. *pilpil, filfil, fulful* 'pepper' indicates the same replacement of *-pp-*. Direct from an Indian *pippali* comes the Turkish *bibli* in al-Kāšyārī.⁴⁾ Chinese also has *-tp-* (*-ḍp-*) in 萹芡, 萹撥 *pi-po* from *piēt-b'uat, piēt-puāt*.⁵⁾ Sansk. *guggulu-*, *gulgulu-* 'bdellium', Tib. *gu-gul*, is in Khotan *gurgula-* and in Kuci *kurkal*.

The *-ls-* of Khotan. *bilsangga-* may represent this same replacement of a Prakrit *-śś-*, but it may be noted that in Iranian words also Khotanese has replaced *ś* and *ž* by *l* in *naltsuta-* 'gone out' and *naljsema-* 'to finish' which come from *niś-čyuta-* and *niž-jāmaya-*.

VI

The Chinese learnt to know grapes and wine in Ferghana in 128 B. C.⁶⁾ This was a region of the Saka tribes, *para Sugdam* of the Achaemenian inscriptions.⁷⁾ The Chinese adopted the local name for the newly discovered vine and its fruit. This word they wrote 蒲桃, 蒲萄, 蒲陶 (K., *Gram. serica* 102, 1145, 1047) *p'u-t'au* from *b'u-d'âu*. It has long been

1) For Kuci I know only *sāṅk* and *sān*.

2) Rachmati, *Heilkunde der Uiguren* II.

3) *Khot. Texts* I 166, 82 v 5 beside the usual *pipali* and Ind. *pippali*.

4) Ed. Istanbul, index, p. 90.

5) B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 375. The Tibetan *pi-spal* is modified according to Tibetan habits.

6) Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 221.

7) E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 4. 10.

proposed to trace in the name an Iranian word.¹⁾ But only recent discoveries of Iranian materials have shown how the borrowed word can be interpreted. The pronunciation of the signs as **b'wo-d'og* about 700 B.C., and as **b'uo-d'au* in 600 A.D. allow the assumption of an intermediate **bodau* or **budau* (or with fricative **βodau*, **βudau*). This will give another example of the stop *b* (or fricative *β*) replacing the nasal *m*, as known in Ossetic *burcä* and as claimed above in Uigur *bor*. The second syllable is to be compared with the *-āu-* attested from *u*-stems in the Avestan *arənāum* 'fight', Old Pers. *dahyāuš* 'district', and in Sogd. (Chr.) *dyx'w *dixāw*, that is, a form arising by ablaut in the inflexion. It should however also be pointed that from *-u*-stems adjectival derivatives were made in *-aua-* and *-āua-*, as found in Khotanese *raysau-* 'empty' from the base *raz-* 'be void', and in various Sogdian suffixes.²⁾ The form of **bodau* thus understood confirms the claim for Iranian origin.

The subsequent development of viticulture in China is sketched in Laufer's book. From China the name came as *budau* to Japan.

1) Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 225; J. Charpentier, *Acta Orient.* 7. 191; Henning, *BSOAS* 10. 98. No prima facie case can be made out for Greek *bōtrus*; it was rejected by Laufer, loc. cit.
2) Gershevitch, *Grammar*, p. 164 ff.