TURKİSH PROPER NAMES İN KHOTANESE.

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I am happy to send these few pages to greet Professor Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan, as an expression of my admiration for his work in Turkish studies. My own connexion with Turkish problems is secondary arising out of certain texts from Chinese Turkestan in the language called by the writers *hvatanai*, that is, of Khotan, an Iranian language likely to have been one of the languages spoken by Saka tribal groups in Asia, of whom a remnant survives in the Ossetes of Ossetia in the Caucasus.

In th 9th century A. D., the Khotanese envoys sent by the King of Khotan Viśa' Saṃbhava found their Chinese friend Tte-pū (in Tibetan The-po and in Chinese T'ai-pau 'Great Warden'), the ruler in Ṣa-ṭṣou, highly concerned about the confused masses of Turks and Tatars who were endangering the region of Kan-ṭṣou in seeking to establish settlements for themselves in the territory. It was a time when the Tibetans had been driven back from Ṣa-ṭṣou, and the Chinese once again ruled as far as Karashahr. But the Turks were pressing in upon the land.

In reporting to the King of Khotan the envoys naturally mentioned many names and titles of the invaders, names of Türk Bayarku, Tatar, Tarduş, Çimul and others. Some of these names and titles I made known in 1939 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society. Further details can be seen in Asia Major, new series, I 28 ff. Some concept of the troubles as they appeared to the Chinese and the Khotanese can be obtained from the two documents already published (Bull. School Or. and Afr. Stud. 12.116 ff, and Asia Major I 28 ff.). Other documents are in the hand of the printer, and will, it is hoped, be printed shortly when the full context will be available. References are given so that they may later be easily verified when all the texts are in print.

The orthography of Khotanese is unhappily complex. They had to adapt the old Indian script, a variety of the Brāhmī, to a language with several sounds for which that alphabet did not provide. It is the custom to use a conventional transliteration which

shows the signs of the original, but which is not a phonetic interpretation. Thus *y s* was written for *z*, and usually *tt* for *t*, and *s'* for *z'*. Khotanese was a highly inflected language in the oldest form of it known to us. These inflexions were simplified, But all our manuscripts show some inflexion. They adapted foreign words to their inflexional system. Hence a foreign word ending in a consonant was connected with the *a-* stems, from which we then get, for example, the genitive plural in *-āṃ* as in *ttattarāṃ* «of the Tatars». In the nominative singular they usually put a sign which is transliterated *-ä* over the foreign final consonant: it is possible that in Khotanese itself, before the language was extinguished, this final sound was little, if at all pronounced. For foreign *a* they wrote *a* but for foreign *o* and *u* they wrote frequently *ā*, as well as *u*. In final position *-ṃ* was probably pronounced *-n*, but before *kg*, *td*, and *pb* it was the corresponding nasal.

In this brief paper I have put together some of the proper names of Turks and other invaders which occur in these Khotanese texts. The titles of *han*, *hağan*, *bäg*, *bägräk*, *tutuk*, *tarkan*, *tegin*, *çigşi*, *sagun*. and *ügä* have appeared in the articles already cited. We hear too of *baśa-sīysa* men, that is, baş sız, men without chiefs, and also of yahi: malīha: men, that is, yağmalıg, robbers (P 2790.64; P 2031.8) The *buḍämacīya* (P 2741.122) of the Tarduş. Tölis and Türk Bayarku may have been* *bulğamaçı* «disturbers, rebels» (from *bulğa-* «mix, disturb»).

The names selected are the following:-

1. *aḍpä* «bold, Alp» (P 2741.81), as part of the name *ayavīrä aḍpä be'kä* 'Äbir Alp bäg'.

2. *aḍapahūttä* «warrior, hero, champion, Alpağut» (Staël-Holstein roll 27). In the Codex Cumanicus *alpaut* renders *miles* «soldier», and Kaşğari in his Divan luğat at-Türk explained *alpağut* as «*mubāriz*, hero, warrior».

3. *alattuna hana* «Golden Lord, Altun han» (P 2958.149 ff.) ruling in Kan-ṭṣou. A different spelling in the name of a private person occurs in the form *altāṃ* and *alttāṃ* «Altun», with common *-āṃ* for foreign *-un* (Or 11344, 2. 5,8 a 2; Or 11352, 2. 18) kānūrä.

4. *apa*, an honorific epithet, as part of names *kāṅūr'ä apa ūgä* Kongur Apa ügä (P 2741. 61); *sūka apa* and *ttūka apa* (P 2789. 11; 12).

5 *arsali*, *arsäli*, possibly a modification of Turkish *arslan* (Mazar Tağ 1.17.4, Or 11244, 3 a 10, and elsewhere). In the Jour-

nal Asiat. Soc. Bengal 1901 extra No. 1, p. 40 the reading *arsalaṃ* occurs for *arsali*, see the facsimile ibid. 1897, plate V.

6. *barsa* «tiger, Bars» (P 2741, 32, P 2024.42, 58).

7. *biḍagā*, *biḍigā* «wise, Bilgä» (P 2741.102, Ch 00269.72).

8. *buha'ra* «camel stallion, Boğra«, in *Buha'ra barsa* (P 2024. 58).

9. *buka* in *buka ha:nä* «Buka han» (P 2741.50).

10. *kāṅūrä* «reddish, Kongur» (P 2741. 61, Ch 00269.60).

11. *maṃgalī* «happy, Mänglig» (P 2741. 21). The name occurs in the Uigur inscription quoted by F. W. K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlinschriften*, p. 18 in the form *Mänglig*.

12. *saikara*, probably for «Sıkır» (P 2741.82). This name may be traced also in the *syqyr* (F. W. K. Müller, *Zwei Pfahlinschriften*, p. 23, line 17) which can represent either *Sıkır* or *Sığır*. A similar Turkish name has been read on the Kara-balgasun inscription in Chinese by Ed. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, *Journal Asiat.* 1913, 185.

13. *sīḍīka* «pure, Silig» (P 2789.22) occurring in a register of *bhikṣuñīs*, that is Buddhist nuns, in Khotanese *āśī'ka*. The same name Silig, Silik occurs among the names of princesses in the Middle Persian Mahrnāmağ from Turfan (lines 35, 128).

14. *ṭīāṃga* «hero, Tonga» (Ch 00239.61).

15. *ttāṃguysi* «pig, Tonguz» (Or 11344, 13.4 and elsewhere), as name of a private person.

16. *ttattämīśä* «Tatmiş», in the name *dūṃ ttattämīśä cīhä:śī* (so read with *tta-*, not *ttā-* as in *JRAS* 1939, 88). In other Turkish sources names in *-miş* are frequent.

17. *ttiṃgaḍī* «Tänglig» (P 2790.52). The name occurs in Old Turkish script in the document published by V. Thomsen, JRAS 1912, 186, line 9 as *tnglig*. As an adjective in an unclear context we find *tänglig* «in the manner of» (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* III 30, line 6).

18. *yaṃgai* «new, Yanğı» (P 2786. 138) in the name *yaṃgai chārä* «Yanğı çor». In Uigur Turkish the word *yangı* «new» has velar vowels.

To these personal names I should like to add a place name: *Beḍädarūkå* (Ch 00269.76). This may represent a Turkish *bäl* «hill» moutain ridge». This word occurs in Uigur in Türkische Turfan-Texte 7. 79 (edited by G. R. Rachmati) in the passage

tağ ta uz yok, sai yaşita bal yok «there is no pass in the mountains, there is no hill in the level plains». The second word may be a derivative of *taru* «be narrow» with the common suffix *-k* (on which see W. Bang, «Ungarische Jahrbücher,» 5. 234). The name *Beḍädarūkä* occurs in a context with *Yipkin Tağ* «Brown Mountain» and *Karattaha*, Kara-tağ «Black Mountain», as a place where Turks were settling near Kan-ṭşou.

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