

Nomen Romanum

By PENTTI AALTO (Helsinki)

»Et audivit Judas nomen Romanorum, quia sunt potentes viribus, et acquiescunt ad omnia quae postulatur ab eis, et quicumque accesserunt ad eos, statuerunt cum eis amicitias, et quia sunt potentes viribus ... quia quicumque audiebant nomen eorum timebant eos ...«: the whole eighth chapter of the first book of the Maccabees is a eulogy to the might and virtues of the Romans comparable to the poems of Horace praising the greatness and glory of Rome.

In a locality called Khöshöö Tsaidam on the Orkhon in Mongolia stands the grave stone of the Turkic Prince Kül-Tegin, who died in 731 A.D. The inscription on the stone summarizes the history of the dynasty which had expanded the realm of the Türk people from the Shantung plains to the Iron Gate. We are told that when the founders of the dynasty, Bumin Qayan and Istämi Qayan died, their might and fame made many peoples send representatives to the funerals of these rulers: *yoyçi siyütçi öñrä kün toysiqda bökli çölüg il tabyaç töpiit apar purum qirgiz üç-qurıqan otuz tatar qıtay tatabi bunça budun kälipän sıqtamış yoylamış*. It seems that the list is intended to begin from the east, and go through the south to the west and then through the north to the east again. The names of the western peoples *apar* and *purum* seem to refer to the Iranian Aparshahr and to the East Roman Empire.

Byzantine sources tell us that Istämi (died in 575/6 A.D.), the ruler of the western Turks, changed envoys with the Emperor and was even his ally against the Persians. When the envoy Valentinus, sent by Tiberios II, in 576 arrived at the Turkic court, Istämi had died a short time earlier. It seems probable that just this delegation is mentioned in the Kül-Tegin inscription as having represented East Rome at the funeral. The Old Turkic word in question was at first vocalized by THOMSEN *pu-rim* but later *pu-rum*. The previous reading seems to correspond to Chin. *Fu-lin* and to have a parallel in the Chinese form *Ho-lin* of the name of the Mongol capital (*Qara-qorum*). Today this latter name is pronounced (*Har*)*horin* in Mongolian. If the place name *Khrim* met with in Tibetan sources is to be connected with *Khrom* (= Rome) we have a further case of a similar alternance (cf. below).

Both the above names, *Apar* and *Purum*, seem to have come into Turkic from Middle Iranian. E.g. in the Parthian version of the great Shahpur inscription we meet l. 2 *aprxštr* (= *Apar-xšatr*) and l. 3 ff. *PRwm* (= *Pröm*)¹. In Sogdian this latter name occurs as *frwm* (= *Fröm*), and we know that in the sixth century many Sogdians were in the service of the Turkic rulers, i.a. Maniakh visited both the Sassanian and the Byzantine court on behalf

¹ SPRENGLING, M.: *Third Century Iran*. Sapor and Kartir. Chicago 1953.

of the Qayan (cf. SHIRATORI, p. 217)². SCHAEDEER (p. 88)³ quotes Uigur *vrom* ~ *vrum* translating Chin. *Fu-lin*: it too might go back to **Frōm* ~ **Frūm*. The Oğuz Qayan epic tells (v. 124 ff.) that *Urum Qayan* was defeated by Oğuz on the river Itil. Here the initial *U-* might reflect the *F-*, but it can also be an auxiliary vowel, since initial *r-* is impossible in Turkic. The form *Urum* is also met with in other sources including the newly detected *Hystoria Tartarorum* by C. DE BRIDIA, where *Urumsoldan* is mentioned among the peoples conquered by the Mongols. The name of the Franks is given by Kashgari as *Wäräng* or *Uräng*, in Tibetan sources the daughter of Ge-sar is '*U-roñ-ga* (?)'. It seems possible that in Chinese Turkestan or in its vicinity there was a place the name of which was more or less homophonous with that of Rome in the Iranian languages. Tibetan *Phrom* may thus refer, according to STEIN p. 293, to the town called *Ysabādā Parrūm* in Khotanese.

Since ab. 550 A.D. and especially under the T'ang *P'ou-lan* and (later) *Fu-lin* (KARLGRÉN: **p'iuat-liēm*) occurs in Chinese sources as the name of the (East) Roman Empire. Many explanations for this name were proposed by western scholars until PELLIOU in 1911 presented the solution to the problem by deriving it from the Sogdian name of Rome⁴. His explanation was the more ingenious since the Sogdian form of the word had not yet been identified but had to be reconstructed. According to Yule (I, p. 45, fn. 6)⁵ E. BLOCHET had already suggested the derivation of *Fu-lin* from *Rūm*.

In Christian Sogdian we meet e.g. *šm'x frwmčyqt yr'qt xwt'wty* 'your judicious Roman sirs' (an ethnonymicon in *-čyq*, Pl. *-čyqt*; MÜLLER-LENTZ, *SBAW* 1934, p. 531). In the protocol of the council in 485 the Nestorian bishop of Merv bears the epithet *Frōmī*. In the Parthian Manichaean fragment M 132 (SCHAEDEER, p. 29) it is told *byd hry y'wr frwm'y 'gd 'wł hry y'wr qft 'hynd ngws'r* 'But three times came the Romans and three times fell they on their face'. In another fragment treated by W. SUNDERMANN (MIO XIV, 1968, p. 400 ff.) we again meet a paraphrase of the gospel by St. John 19, 19-20 *hm 'dy'n pyltys mwhrgnbyšt 'bdhygg 'w ywn'w 'wd frwm'w* *ἐγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος ... 'Ρωμαῖσι, Ἑλληνιστί*.

In Middle Persian sources the same name occurs as *Hrōm* or *Arūm*, e.g. the Paikuli inscription (ab. 294 A.D.) tells that the following rulers came to congratulate Narse: Kušān šāh, *Kēsare*, *Hrōme*, Xwarazman šāh. Stein has pointed out that the Caesar of Rome must have been meant though the expression has been treated as names of two separate rulers (STEIN, p. 279)⁶. In the Greek Alexander Romance (Pseudo-Callisthenes 1,26,5)

² SHIRATORI, K.: «A New Attempt of the Solution of the Fu-lin Problem». *Reports of Toyo Bunko*. Tokyo 1956.

³ SCHAEDEER, H. H.: «Iranica». AGWG Ph.-H. Kl. III, Nr. 10. Berlin 1934.

⁴ HIRTH, FR.: *China and the Roman Orient*. Leipzig-München and Shanghai-Hongkong 1885. The Mystery of Fu-lin». *JAOS* XXX, 1909-10, pp. 1-31, and XXXIII, 1913, pp. 193-208.

CHAVANNES, ED.: «Notes additionnelles sur les T'ou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux». *T'P* 1904, p. 37.

PELLIOU, P.: «Sur l'origine du nom de Fou-lin». *JA* 1914, pp. 498-500. — «Notes sur les anciens itinéraires chinois dans l'Orient romain». *JA* 1921, p. 139. — «Note supplémentaire sur Fou-lin», *JA* 1923, p. 83 ff.

GABAIN, A. V.: «Ein Beitrag zur Fu-lin-Frage». *Sinica* VIII, 1933, p. 195 ff.

⁵ YULE, H.: *Cathay and the Way Thither* I-IV. London 1915.

⁶ STEIN, R.-A.: *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*. *BIHÉCh* XIII, Paris 1959.

the Romans send a wreath to the funeral of Alexander. Iranian sources go much farther: they make him a Roman. Likewise, in Arabic literature e.g. in the commentaries to Koran 18,82, Alexander the Great is called Roman: *al-Iskender ben Dārāb ar-Rūmī*, and according to Tabari his mother was the daughter of the king of Rome (TH. NÖLDEKE, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*. Wien 1890, p. 44).

In the Pahlavi Škand-Gumānik Vičār XVI E (MENASCE, p. 239) *Hrōm* is said to be the starting point of Christian doctrine, but we also find there the reading *Arūm*. The latter occurs in the Greater Bundahišn (publ. and trans. by Anklesaria), e.g. XXXIII 14: »Then, during the reign of Dārāē son-of-Dārāē, Iskandar Kēsar hying from Arūm came to Airānšatr ... seized the commentary of the Revelation of Mazda-worship and sent it to Arūm«. The Bahman Yašt II 49 (BAILEY, BSOS VI, p. 945) again says: »Kingdom and sovereignty will pass to slaves who are not Iranians, such as the Khyōn, Turk, Heftal and Tibetans, who are among the mountain dwellers, and the Chinese and Kābulis and Sogdians and Hrōmāyik and Karmīr Khyōn and Spēt Khyōn. They will become kings in my countries of Eran. Their commandments and desires will prevail in the world«; cf. Ayātkār-i Žāmāspik XVI 36 and 46. The Dīnā-i Mainōg-i Khirad XXI 25 tells that the Arūmans and the Turanians were estranged from the Iranians when they killed Airīk, the eponymic hero of the latter. In the Epistles of Mānūški-har II, ch. VIII 15, it is said: »In my occupation, moreover, my fortune may be to wander forth by water even to China or by land even to Arūm«. Even the gate of hell is said to be situated in the land of Arūm. Interesting is the Pahlavi rendering of the Videvdāt 1,19 *upa aodaēšu raṇhayā yō asāro aiwyāzšayeinti* 'the country on the sources of the Raṇha where those without any lord live' (according to Bartholomae and Wolff), in the Pahlavi Vendidad *aβar pa odā ī arvāštān ī hrōm*. While the Avestan passage seems to contain the old name of the Volga, Ptolemy's 'Pa, in the Mordvin of today Rav, according to CHRISTIANSEN (p. 58) ⁷, the Pahlavi wording refers to the province of Arāštān between Nisibis and the Tigris. This river is also referred to as the Rahā in Middle Iranian. One ms. reads *ārām* 'peace' instead of *Hrōm* ~ *Arūm*. Anklesaria reads and translates *awar pa odhā ī-Arangistān ī-Ārūm* 'up on the Odhā of-Arangistān (of-Arūm) who are arrogant without chief'. Perhaps the name of Rome in this connection might be understood on the basis of the institutions of republican Rome described with astonishment by foreigners, e.g. in the above passage of the Book of the Maccabees 14: 2 »et in omnibus istis nemo portabat diadema, nec induebatur purpura«. The Wei-liao (SHIRATORI, p. 141) also tells about Ta-ts'in: »The country has no permanent ruler. When extraordinary calamities visit the country, they elect another man of wisdom and make him king. The former king is discharged though he is still alive but he does not dare to resent«: this description can obviously be interpreted as referring to the Roman dictatorship.

The aspiration of the Greek initial *ρ* occurring as *p*-, *f*-, *h*- or *a*- in the above forms is also reflected variously in Georgian where we meet *p'rom(ini)*, *Hromi*, *Hromey*, *Hromaeli*: according to BLAKE (JA 202, p. 88) the name

⁷ CHRISTIANSEN, A.: *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iranniennes*. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. H.-F. Medd. XXIX:4, Kobenhavn 1943.

Frōm was brought into Georgia by Chosroes I. From Armenian *Hrōm* ~ *Hrōvm*, *Hořomk'* ~ *Hořovmk'* are quoted (SCHAEDEER, p. 30 ff. and e.g. Grigor of Akanc', History of the Nation of the Archers 3, 22; 6, 15, 20, 54; 8, 1).

Ibn Khordadbeh mentions that Frētōn made his second son Salm king of the Romans, Slavs and Bulgars (J. MARKWART, Wehrot und Arang. Leiden 1938, p. 130). The Ayātkār-i Žāmāspik IV 41 again states that the country of *Hrōm* is situated on the sea-shore stretching towards Salm. On the basis of the Bundahišn XIV 37 *salm dah hast ī arūm* (Anklesaria: »the country of Salm that is Arūm«) where *salm* obviously is the Avestan *Sairima*, LAUFER (Sino-Iranica, p. 437)⁸ proposes to reconstruct a Middle Persian **Rima* besides *Hrōm* and suggests that this may also explain the Slavic form of the name. LAUFER's suggestion looks, however, improbable (cf. the Russian etymological dictionary by VASMER s.v.). According to WITTEK⁹, MENINSKI quotes in his dictionary *Rim halqi*, but this might have been taken from the Slavic languages. BARTHOLOMAE (c. 1566) connected Salm with Sahman, i.e. the country around the sources of the Tigris, that is Arastan mentioned above. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN¹⁰ supposes that the legend *PIAH* on a Kushan coin is nothing but a graphical error for *PIOM* or *POM*: it would thus refer to the goddess Roma (cf. Liv. 43, 6, 5, Tac. ann. 4, 37) which seems also to be mentioned in the Buddhist Mahāsamāja-sūtra 15 *ariṣṭikā ca romā ca umā puṣpanivāsinī*: the Pali parallel text has *rojā*.

Tibetan seems to have borrowed Phrom directly from Iranian (< ~ *Frōm*). According to popular traditions the name should designate a country to the north of Tibet. In the Padma-thaṅ-yig¹¹ the newly born Padmasambhava radiated »fire of the Land of Phrom«. The name *Khrom* (< Mir. *Hrōm*?) has been connected with *Phrom*: by SARAT CHANDRA DAS it is explained as a province of Tibet. According to STEIN (p. 297) a physician *Ga-le-nos* of *Khrim* (?) was appointed royal physician under the reign of the Chinese queen of late Sroṅ-bcan-sgam-po. It seems further probable that the legendary realm of Śambhala of the late Buddhists was somehow connected with Stambhola ~ Istanbul. According to CHANDRA DAS it was even identified with the capital of Spain (see further STEIN, p. 309, n. 83-85). Ge-sar of Phrom was in any case in possession of the same attributes as a king of Śambhala. The derivatives of Iranian *Frōm* ~ *Hrōm* sometimes occur in secondary meanings like the Christian Sogdian *frwmčyq* ~ Parth. *frwm'y* for which a gloss in the Syriac original gives the meaning »soldier«. Another secondary meaning which also is easy to understand seems to be that of 'Christian', e.g. in the Bahman Yašt II 19 Alaksandar the Christian (*kili-syākīh*) is used instead of the normal *Alaksandar-i Hrōmāyīk*. The Pahlavi Dēnkart (summarized by MENASCE, p. 239) tells that the doctrine of Yēšu has come from Hrōm, and the doctrine of Mani has been annihilated »by the

⁸ LAUFER, B.: *Sino-Iranica*. Chicago 1919.

⁹ WITTEK, P.: »Le Sultan de Rūm«. *Mélanges Emile Boisacq* (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves VI). Bruxelles 1938.

¹⁰ DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, J.: *La Religion de l'Iran ancien*. Paris 1962, p. 240; see his article Rom oder ... was? in the *Pratidānam Kuiper* (Janua Linguarum Ser. Maior 34). The Hague 1968, p. 216.

¹¹ *Padma Thang Yig*, transl. by GUSTAVE-CHARLES TOUSSAINT, BIHÉCH III, Paris 1937.

philosophy» of *Hrōm* (*u hān i Mānī hac Hrōm filosofāyih ānāft*) with which according to MENASCE the Christian theologians of Syria and Byzantium are meant. In Ibn Battuta III 318 (quoted by YULE-BURNELL, Hobson-Jobson, p. 754 s.v. *rājā*) »the people of Rūm« means »Europeans«: the author identifies New-Indian *rai* with Spanish *rey*, Old French *rei*. When in 1240 Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian troops invaded the Novgorodian territories on the Neva this invasion was in Russian chronicles described as being carried out by »the Romans«: this might refer to the Roman Church¹². ABEL-RÉMUSAT (Nouv. mél. asiat., I, p. 186 and 256) quotes a Chinese source telling that the Yang-pao-theu or Laponians (!) paid tribute to Rome. In the fantastic tale of an Englishman reported by Matthew of Paris (Chronica Maiora a. 1243) the Mongols »... propter avaritiam et superbiam Romanorum, qui eos antiquitus oppresserunt ... egressos se patriam mentiuntur«.

A very poetic use of the epithet »Roman« is met with in the Qutadγu Bilig: *rumī qizi örtti yüz* 'the Roman girl (= Sun) covered her face', and *yüzin kizlädi yerkä rumī qizi* 'the Roman girl concealed her face for the earth'.

YULE (I, p. 44, fn. 3) supposed that the name *Fu-lin* had been brought to China during the Sui period (ab. 629-636, LAUFER, Diamond, p. 8)¹³ by the western Turks who had been in contact with the Byzantines. The king of Fu-lin Po-to-li sent ambassadors to China in 643 A.D. via the country of the *Tu-ho-lo* (Tokharians) (CHAVANNES, JA, 1897, p. 46 ff.). In T'ang sources we are told that Fu-lin is the country earlier called *Ta-ts'in* (cf. YULE, I, p. 235). The latter name meets us in the literature since the Han dynasty side by side with *Li-kan* (see PELLIOU, T'P 16, 1915, p. 690 f.). The very positive description of the Ta-ts'in people and country in the Wei-liao is summarized by SHIRATORI (p. 28 and p. 69). Ta-ts'in has been identified with the Middle Iranian form *Tasfün* of the name Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian dynasty, while *Li-kan* seems to be Ctesiphon's neighbour Seleucia founded by the Greeks (FRANKE, I, p. 400, III, p. 212¹⁴, SHIRATORI, 2, p. 28). After Chosroes I Anoshirvan had in 538 A.D. destroyed Antioch on the Orontes he moved its inhabitants to Ctesiphon, to a new suburb called *Rūmīya* ~ *Rūmakān* (TH. NÖLDEKE, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, Leyden 1879, p. 165, fn. 4). FRANKE compares l.c. just this name with Fu-lin. Geographically Ta-ts'in seems to designate Syria and the adjoining parts of Mesopotamia. Fu-lin designated above all the Asia Minor known to the Chinese since the Sung. But even Jerusalem is mentioned as being situated in *Fu-lin-kuo* (SHIRATORI, p. 259). Under the T'ang also the European part of the Byzantine Empire became known to the Chinese, and SHIRATORI (p. 76 and 266) connects the designation *Ta-fu-lin* just with that part. Even the home of the diamonds was in Chinese sources located in Fu-lin, on the shore of the »Western Sea«, rendered by LAUFER (Diamond, p. 78) by Mediterranean. See further the Fu-lin description in the Fu-lin-chuan quoted by SHIRATORI p. 299.

Early, direct contacts between Rome and India are proven materially

¹² JAAKKOLA, J.: *Suomen varhais-keskiaika*. Helsinki 1958, p. 247.

¹³ LAUFER, B.: *Diamond*. Chicago 1915.

¹⁴ FRANKE, O.: *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches I-V*. Berlin-Leipzig 1930-52.

by coins of the Roman republic found in the Manikyala Stupa. In the Mahābhārata II 51, 1850, the Romans bring valuable presents as tribute to Mahārāja Yuddhiṣṭhira together with the Śakas and Tokharians (most manuscripts read *romaśāḥ* instead of *D romakāḥ*). In III 491 we are told how Kṛṣṇa defeated and killed the Yavana *Kaseruman*. In VI 9, 363 *romāṇaḥ* are mentioned in a list of foreign peoples, most of which are unidentified. In II 28, 47 Edgerton reads

*antākhīm ca romaṃca yavanānām puram tathā
dūtair eva vaśe cakre karaṃcainām adāpayet*

'By means of envoys he made to pay tribute and brought under control Antioch and Rome and the city of the Greeks' ¹⁵.

The astronomical calculations presented in the Romakasiddhānta dated into the second century A.D. are based on the meridian of *Yavanapura*, which seems to refer to Alexandria, as perhaps does the Mahābhāratan *Yavanānām pura* mentioned above. FILLIOZAT ¹⁶, however, thinks that it may refer to Constantinople. On the other hand, VIDYABHUSANA ¹⁷ is of the opinion that since there is said to be a distance corresponding to 90 degrees between Ceylon and that city, the latter must be situated somewhere in the westernmost part of the Roman empire (cf. ALBERUNI'S India I 308). The Vaśiṣṭha- and Sūryasiddhāntas also mention *Romaka* or Mahāpurī. The sixteenth chapter of the astronomy of Varāhamihira (ab. 505 A.D.) deals with the protective stars of the various peoples: *Romaka* is protected by the Moon, *Cīna* by the Sun. The remarkably younger work Jyotirvidābharana (16th c.) mentions *Rūma* which Vidyabhusana wants to identify with Constantinople.

The name *Romaka* also occurs in the word lists attached to Pāṇini IV 2, 110: the other names are regrettably unclear.

According to Vidyabhusana the Pali *Romaka-Jātaka* (Fausbøll No. 277) was composed in Ceylon in the first century A.D. since according to Pliny the Romans established contact with Ceylon under Claudius some time around 41 A.D. As to the contents of this Jātaka, the eventual connection with Rome looks rather enigmatic. It tells of pigeons and with reference to Pali *roma* ~ *loma* 'hair' the translators render *romaka* by 'feathered'. The homophony of the name of Rome and of words meaning 'hair' in Sanskrit seems to be reflected in the Tibetan Blue Annals (ROERICH, p. 281) ¹⁸: »In his (= Nāgadatta's) lineage there were 5000 kings at Takṣa-śilā. The last king was *Romaputrin* (Bal-bu-čan)«. Here Tib. *bal* 'wool' may be a translation of *Roma(n)*. *Bal-po* and *Bal-yul* mean in general Nepalese and Nepal.

PW V 118 quotes *Bṛhadroma* and *Bṛhadromapaṭṭana* from the Oxford catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts. According to PW V 446 *Romakapaṭṭana* would mean the city of Rome itself; *romaka* as a designation for a kind of

¹⁵ JAOS 58, 1938, p. 262; see further GURNER: JRAS 1956, p. 201.

¹⁶ RENO, L.-FILLIOZAT, J.: *L'Inde classique II*, Paris 1953, § 1718.

¹⁷ VIDYABHUSANA, S. CH.: »Romaka or the City of Rome, as Mentioned in the Ancient Pali and Sanskrit Works«. JRASB 1906, p. 1 ff.

¹⁸ ROERICH, G. N.: *Izbrannyye Trudy*, Moscow 1967.

salt (ibid.) refers to the lake *Rumā* according to REICHELT¹⁹. EDGERTON BHSD, p. 457, proposes an identification with Rome of the *romavivaras* mentioned in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*.

The geographical texts published by KIRFEL²⁰ mention *Kaśeruman* as one of the nine parts of the known world, each of which is separated from the others by oceans. It has been noticed that the most common Latin word used by the Greeks was *καῖσαρ*. As some of the Middle Iranian and Sanskrit quotations above show, the title was known early enough in those languages too. The Iranians had immediate contact with some Caesars. The Shapur inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam tells l. 3-4 *Gurtynwus Kysr QTLt PRwmyz z'wr HWBDWt* 'the Caesar Gordianus was killed and the Roman army annihilated' (WIDENGREN, *Or. Suec.*, I, p. 88). Pahlavi sources (e.g. *Bundahišn XXXIII 14*, see BAILEY, BSOS, VI, p. 778) call even Alexander the Great *Kēsar*; in Tibetan Alexander is *gyal-po k̄yshar* (STEIN, p. 312, n. 113). The *δηνάριον* is in Sogdian gospels called *kesarakān* (according to SCHAEFER, p. 35 -*akān* is a Parthian suffix). Even the Chinese translations of the *Avatamsaka* (ab. 700 A.D.) use *kesara* in the meaning 'gold coin'. Some scholars have wanted to read the titles of Kanishka in the Ara inscription as *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra (ka)ī(sa)ra*. ERIK GREN (*Indien*, Stockholm 1959, p. 106) supposed that there have been two rulers with the same name and that just Kanishka II in the second century A.D. used the title *kaisara*. In Khotanese we meet *Kheysara* as a personal name (BAILEY, BSOS XIV, p. 426 f.). In Burushaski we find *Kiser*, borrowed probably from Tibetan *Gesar*, and in the epic of the Özbek-Turks *Xisar*. In the late Middle Turkic *Qutad̄u Bilig* we meet *qaisar* side by side with *kisra* (< *husrav* »King of Persia«) and *ray-i hindi*. According to the monthly *Mongolia Today* III 8, April 1961, p. 24 the name of the Nepalese envoy at Ulan Bator was *Kaiser Bahadur*.

The Romans derived the name Caesar either from the verb *caedo* 'to cut' or from the word *caesaries* 'hair of the head'. In Sanskrit *keśa* ~ *kesara* means 'hair, mane' while *roma* ~ *roman* is 'hair of the body'. In Buddhist Sanskrit (EDGERTON, BHSD, p. 193) we meet a Bodhisattva *Kesaranandin*, *Keśarin* or *Kesarirāja* as a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni (in the *Lalitavistara*), a previous Buddha *Keśarin*, and a battle-array *kesarin*, all of which can mean 'having a mane' = 'lion' but might also be connected with the name Caesar, as even some names containing *kaśeru* ~ *kaseru* might be. In Tibetan we have *Ge-sar* < *Caesar* and *ge-sar* 'hair' from Sanskr. *kesara*.

Kaseruman, in the *Mahābhārata* defeated and slain by Kṛṣṇa, resurrects and wins in the Tibetan epic as *Gesar* of *Phrom*. The name *Phrom* was interpreted as meaning 'white'. The tribal chiefs of *Glin dkar* 'Glin the White' in north-eastern Tibet, began towards 1400 A.D. to identify themselves with the epic hero *Gesar of Phrom*, and since then the epic cycle describing the exploits of *Gesar of Glin* has been growing, according to STEIN. It might be a mere coincidence that the Moslems have called the Romans »Descendants of the Blond« on the basis of the genealogy common

¹⁹ REICHELT, H.: »Die indoiranischen Benennungen des Salzes«. *Streitberg Festgabe*. Leipzig 1924, p. 295.

²⁰ KIRFEL, W.: *Bhāratavarṣa* (= *Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte* 6). Stuttgart 1931, p. 21, p. 35.

with the Rabbinical tradition, which claimed the Romans descended either from Esau or from *Edom* said to mean »the Blond«. According to Mahmud al-Kashgari (I 351) all the 20 Turkic tribes descend from *Turk*, son of Japhet (cf. *Avitoxolū* in the list of the Bulgar rulers!) while the descendants of *Rūm* regard Esau, son of Isaac, as their ancestor.

According to HAUSSIG (*Historia Mundi* V, p. 245) the Qayan of the western Turks was an ally of the East Roman Empire and used the title *Gesar* of *Phrom* which perhaps Emperor Heraclius had granted to him. There seems to be little direct evidence to support this hypothesis.

On the other hand, in Tibet too the name *Gesar* was misunderstood as being the name of a country. The Padma epic¹¹ mentions (p. 164) the *king of Gesar* presenting armours and weapons as well as (p. 176) sending yogis. Padmasambhava himself guided the peoples of *Gesar* and *Tukhāra* towards the Good Law (p. 216). In the *Bcun-mo-bka'i than-yig* how the light radiating from the body of Padma disappeared in the earth of the country *Ge-sar-mchon* is explained. The *Rgyal-po bka'-than* mentions in the second chapter *Gesar of Khrom*, the king of the armies, in the eighth the *king of Gesar* (STEIN, p. 251). In younger Tibetan sources *Gesar* also occurs as the king of the Hor or the Grugu. The *Boydo Geser Xan* has also been a very popular epic among the Mongols. The hero was even identified with the (Chinese) war god Kuan-ti, and in this capacity he was the divine protector of the Manchu dynasty (ROERICH, p. 64).

Several scholars have pointed out that there are obvious traces of the Alexander Romance in the *Gesar* epic (cf. STEIN, p. 277).

In the eighth and ninth centuries the name *Rūm* was used especially by the Moslems to designate the Anatolian districts on the Taurus and Euphrates frontiers. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071 A.D. the region of Sebasteia (Sivas) became the Emirate of *Rūm*, and its ruler Mohammed Ghazi called himself *ὁ μέγας μελήκις πάσης Ῥωμανίας καὶ Ἀνατολῆς* (WITTEK, p. 366). The Seljuk sultanate was also named *Rūm* and its ruler Mas'ūd II adopted the title *Qaysar-i Rūm*, while the Byzantine Emperor was called *melik-er-Rūm* or *fasilyevs of Istenbol* (WITTEK, p. 370), later even *Istanbol tekfuru* 'commandant of I.' (ibid., p. 379). In order to draw a distinction between the two »Roman emperors«, the Habsburgs of the Holy Roman Empire were called *Časar of Rome* in Turkish. *Rūm* then designated the old Seljuk territories in Asia Minor while the Balkan countries where the Orthodox Church prevailed were called *Rūm-eli* 'Roman Country' (WITTEK, p. 377). *Zebān-i Rūm* and *lisān ar-Rūm* designate the Osman Turkish language. But *Rūm mesrep* means 'untrustworthy, unreliable'.

In the modern Indo-Aryan languages *Rūmī* also means primarily an Anatolian Turk; in earlier times it could also designate a European in general. Turkish soldiers gave their name to the town *Bandar-i Rūmī* on the coast opposite the island Diu, mentioned in 1508 by Maffei (see further Hobson-Jobson, p. 767). It is interesting that in Tibetan *Rum-sam* means 'Syria', while *Rum* is 'Turkey' and *Rum-pa* 'a Turk'.

According to the *Yüan-shi* ch. CXXXIV quoted by BRETSCHNEIDER²¹ (I, p. 143, fn. 391) Ai-sie (Joseph?) from *Fu-lin* served the Mongol emperors

²¹ BRETSCHNEIDER, E.: *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources I-II*. London 1910.

Güyük and Qubilai and was granted the title *Fu-lin-wang*. He is said to have been well versed in the western languages as well as in astronomy and medicine. The Tibetan history of Mongolia Hor čhos 'byuñ explains (p. 29) that a grandson of Čingis-Khan, Kod-khar by name (seems to mean Yisü-Mönke, third son of Jaghatai), was established as king of Rome and resided in the city of Stambhola. In the Dpag-bsam ljon-bšan the name of the prince is Koñ-kar, the city is Sa-mbho-la, in the Rgya-nag čhos 'byuñ again Koñ-khar and Stambhola, respectively (STEIN, p. 274): in Tibetan Koñ-khar is the name of Trigarta, a country in north-western India. A Kirghiz epic published by RADLOFF (III, p. 82-89) tells that the three sons of Singis (= Čingis) became kings of Rūm, Krim and Khalife. In these tales there seems to be much more misunderstandings than historical facts.

A peculiar detail among the numerous western derivatives from the name of Rome is that the steelyard called in French *romane* ~ *romaine*, in Italian *romana*, actually derives its name from Arab. *rummān* 'pomegranate': all that looks Roman is not Roman!

The Romans destroyed Jerusalem and persecuted Christians. An obvious hatred for Rome appears in several later Jewish and Christian works, e.g. in the Sibyllines. But even the authors of these latter works were so deeply influenced by the might and spirit of Rome that the whole of the eschatology was described as depending on the fate of Rome, cf. e.g. Elias Apocr., E.S. 213: »Tunc venit consummatio cum coeperit consummari Romanorum regnum«²². In veiled words this had already been stated in the seventeenth chapter of the Apocalypse of St. John: »... Et mulier quam vidisti est civitas magna quae habet regnum super reges terrae«.

The Moslem tradition openly admired the »Roman« Alexander but the attitude towards the »Romans«, i.e. Byzantines, in general looks more ambivalent. The main Koranic passage concerning the Romans, the Sūratu-r-Rūmī (XXX), is thus preserved in two textual traditions, one of which says that the Romans have been defeated but will later be victorious, the other that they have been victorious but will be defeated. And on that day, when the Romans are victorious (or defeated), the believers will rejoice.

According to the Sophist Libanios (314-395 A.D.), himself born in Syria, the world was ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆ while for the historian Prokopios of Caesarea in the sixth century the Roman Empire was but one state among the others in the world. The apogee of the Roman imperial might and glory was already past when the Kül-Tegin inscription was carved in the stone on the Orkhon. But there too the prophetic word concerning Rome came true:

»Horrenda late nomen ad ultimas
extendat oras«²³

²² KAMPERS, H.: *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage*. Freiburg i. Br. 1901.

²³ HORACE: Odes III 3,45.