

A note on the Syriac and Persian sources of the pharmacological section of the Yōuyáng zázǔ

[Una nota sobre las fuentes siríacas y persas de la sección farmacológica del Yōuyáng zázǔ]

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Resumen: Este artículo trata acerca de las palabras siríacas y persas registradas en transcripción china en la sección botánica del Yōuyáng zázǔ y las fuentes de los informantes de su autor, Duàn Chéngshì. Duàn cita a un monje de Fúlín (= sogdiano Frōm < Pōm̄). Este podría ser el informante, o uno de los informantes, en los nombres de plantas persas y siríacos (Duàn lo considera la lengua de Fúlín). Sus fuentes probablemente fueron vocabularios griego-siríaco-árabe-persa como los descritos por Al-Bīrūnī en su *Libro de Farmacia*. Por primera vez se presenta una lista completa de todas las palabras siríacas registradas en la sección botánica con transcripción en chino medio y notas bibliográficas.

Abstract: This article deals with the Syriac and Persian words recorded in Chinese transcription in the botanical section of the Yōuyáng zázǔ and the sources of Duàn Chéngshì's informants. A Fúlín (= Sogdian Frōm < Pōm̄) monk cited by Duàn could be the informant or one of the informants on Persian and Syriac ("Fúlín name") plant names. His sources probably were Greek-Syriac-Arabic-Persian vocabularies used in Central Asia such as those described by Al-Bīrūnī in his *Book on Pharmacy*. For the first time is presented a complete list of all the Syriac words recorded in the botanical section with Middle Chinese transcription and bibliographical notes.

Palabras clave: Fulin. Cristianismo en Asia Central. Cristianismo en la China Tang. Siríaco. Embajadas de Fulin. Youyang zazu.

Key words: Fulin. Central Asian Christianity. Christianity in Tang China. Syriac. Fulin envoys. Youyang zazu.



Introduction¹

We know about six embassies from Fúlín 拂菻 var. 拂林 to the Táng 唐 court (A.D. 643, 667, 701, 708, 719, 742)², all of them previous to the Ān Shǐ Rebellion 安史之乱 (A.D. 755-763)³. In 2007, Lín Yīng 林英 suggested the Fúlín envoys came from a Central Asian Melkite community⁴. Perhaps one of the most interesting points she makes deals with the botanical section of the Yōuyáng zázǔ 酉阳杂俎, written by Duàn Chéngshì 段成式 in the second part of the 9th century⁵. It brings about the discussion on the Syriac and Persian glosses noted by F. Hirth in 1909⁶ and B. Laufer in 1919⁷. This brief article deals with the sources of Duàn Chéngshì's Fúlín informant.

Duàn 段 collected data on 22 plants of five different geographical regions (No. 783-804)⁸. The first two entries (No. 783-784) contain descriptions of two trees

¹ I am much obliged to Lín Yīng 林英, professor at the Department of History of the Zhōngshān University 中山大学 at Guāngzhōu 广州, for her invaluable help in preparing this article. She kindly gave me illuminating data and discussed with me the major points of this work. I extend my gratitude to Pablo Ubierna and Alfonso Hernández Rodríguez who provided me relevant bibliographical references. I am also obliged to Damián Salgado for his help in proofreading the English version of this article.

² Yīng LÍN, *Tángdài Fúlín Cóngshuō* 唐代拂菻丛说 (Běijīng 北京: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中华书局, 2006), p. 37.

³ E. DE LA VAISSIÈRE, *Sogdian Traders: A History* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 215-220.

⁴ Yīng LÍN, *Tángdài Fúlín Cóngshuō* 唐代拂菻丛说 (Běijīng 北京: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中华书局, 2006), pp. 37-57; Yīng LÍN, “Did some Christians other than Nestorians enter China during the Tang Period?”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 57 (2007), pp. 24-42.

⁵ The edition of the Yōuyáng zázǔ 酉阳杂俎 we used is that of Fāng Nánshēng 方南生, (Běijīng 北京: Zhōnghuá shūjú 中华书局, 1981), pp. 177-182. Cf. C. E. REED, *A Tang Miscellany: an Introduction to Youyang Zazu*, Asian Thought and Culture 57 (New York: Peter Lang, 2003) cf. C. E. REED, *Youyang Zazu: Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*, Ph.D. diss., 1995; C. E. REED, “The Meaning of a “Hodge-Podge”: Duan Chengshi’s Youyang zazu”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123 (2003), pp. 121-145.

⁶ F. HIRTH, “The Mystery of Fulín”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30, 1 (1909), pp. 1-31.

⁷ B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* (Chicago: The Field Museum of Natural History, 1919).

⁸ For an introduction to Táng dynasty exotics, cf. E. H. SCHAFFER, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of Tang Exotics* (California: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 117-194.

from Magadha (摩伽陀 Mā-qié-tuó EMC *Ma-gja-da, *Ma-gja-da)⁹, showing certain knowledge of Sanskrit and of the Chinese sources on the region. The entries No. 786-787 and No. 791-792 describe plants with a Persian (波斯 Bōsī MC *Pa-si, *Pa-sje) origin, excepting No. 785, which comes from Póli¹⁰ 婆利, No. 788, from the Kingdom of Zhēnlà 真腊 (present day Cambodia), No. 789, from Ghazna “near Northern Tiānzǔ 北天竺 (India)”, No. 795, from Magadha and No. 796, finally, which comes from Gāgǔluō 伽古羅, but Duàn adds a subsidiary Persian origin in each of the first three entries. The “Persia” mentioned in the entries No. 785, 788, 790, 799 and probably No. 793 is Bōsī, a state placed somewhere in the frontier with the Pyu city-states¹¹.

⁹ For the reconstruction of Early Middle Chinese sounds, we used E. G. PULLEYBLANK’s *Lexicon (Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin)*, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 1991; our first transcription) and W. BAXTER’s *Dictionary (An Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Characters)*, ed. 2001, web site: www-personal.umich.edu/~wbaxter; our second transcription). E. G. PULLEYBLANK’s *Lexicon* was used for reconstructions of Late Middle Chinese sounds. We reconstructed those words not recorded in the afore mentioned dictionaries on the base of the Guāngyùn 廣韻, when it allows it, using Pulleyblank’s IPA transcription. For an exposition of both systems, cf. E. G. PULLEYBLANK, *Middle Chinese: a Study in Historical Phonology* (Vancouver: University of Columbia Press, 1984) and W. BAXTER, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992). The modern Mandarin readings are based on Pulleyblank’s and Baxter’s readings contrasted with *Hànyǔ dà cídiǎn* 漢語大詞典 (Luō Zhǔfēng 羅竹風, ed., 13 vols., Shànghǎi 上海: Císhū Chū Bǎnshè 辭書出版社, 1986-1993). For the Classical Chinese vocabulary, we consulted Shuāngdì ZHĀNG 张双棣 *Gǔdài Hànyǔ Zìdiǎn* 古代汉语字典 (Běijīng 北京: Běijīng Dàxué Chūbǎnshè 北京大学出版社, 1998).

¹⁰ An unknown state probably situated in the Malay Peninsula or in Bali, cf. H. BIELENSTEIN, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World, 589-1276* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 12.

¹¹ B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 468-487; O. W. WOLTERS, “The Po-ssū Pine Trees”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23:2 (1960), pp. 323-350; Wolters placed Bōsī in Sumatra; Buddha Prakash identifies it with “the Island of Pārasīka” (Pārasīkadvīpa) in an inscription of the Cālukya king Vināyaditya (681-696 AD); Prakash places Pārasīka in Northern Sumatra, cf. B. PRAKASH, “Pārasīkadvīpa”, *Artibus Asiae* 24:3-4 (1961), pp. 399-402. This discussion is absent from H. BIELENSTEIN, *Diplomacy and Trade*. Cf. J. G. DE CASPARIS, “New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times”, *Artibus Asiae* 24, 3/4 (1961), p. 248; S. J. O’CONNOR, *Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam*, «Artibus Asiae Supplementum» 28 (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1972), p. 37. *Aliter* E. H. SCHAFER, “(review) O. W. WOLTERS, Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1967”, *Artibus Asiae* 31:2-3 (1969), pp. 224-226.

At last, the entries No. 790, No. 793-794 and No. 796-804 describe plants whose origins are Persia and Fúlín or just Fúlín. The uniform structure of the entries No. 785-790 is different from that of the two entries dealing with trees from Magadha, placed in first place; Lín Yīng noted an evident divergence with the Chinese pharmacological tradition which could suggest a non-Chinese origin. On the other hand, Laufer noted certain Persian influence at the end of the entry No. 787¹².

The identified languages used in the entries (*vide* Appendix) are Sanskrit (No. 790, 797 and probably 799), Persian (No. 794, 798, 800, 804) and Syriac (No. 794, 798, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804). Those entries with unidentified words are No. 790, 793, 797 and 799.

Duàn mentioned his informants or at least some of them in two entries because the divergence in their opinions. In No. 788, two Persian envoys and a Zhēnlà envoy are quoted. In the next entry, he records the data provided by a monk from Fúlín named Wān 灣 (灣) and a monk from Magadha.

It is probable that for most entries Duàn had used one or various Persian speaking informants. We could exclude the Persian envoys of entry No. 788, cited in a discussion on a Zhēnlà/Bōsī plant name, as probably South Asian 'Persian' envoys. The point of this article is that Wān could have been the informant or one of the informants on such matters related to plants and plant names of Fúlín and Persian origin.

Which was the origin of Wān? As Lín Yīng points, since Hirth onwards the envoys of Fúlín were identified with Nestorian monks. The toponym Fúlín, which we found for the first time in the Liáng 梁 Dynasty (A.D. 502-555)¹³, is a transcription of Sogdian Frōm or Persian Hrōm¹⁴.

¹² B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 368.

¹³ The first known appearance of Fúlín is found in the Zhí gòngtú 职贡图 ('Portrait of Periodical Offerings'), written by Xiāo Yì 萧绎 around 541 AD, and included in the 梁四公记 *Liáng sì gōng jì*. Cf. B. LAUFER, *The Diamond: A Study in Chinese and Hellenistic Folklore*, «Anthropological Series» 15, no.1 (Chicago: The Field Museum of Natural History, 1915), p. 7; B. LAUFER, "Optical Lenses: I – Burning Lenses in China and India", *T'oung Pao* 16, nro. 2 (1915), p. 204.

¹⁴ Cf. P. PELLLOT, (communication à la Société Asiatique), *Journal Asiatique* Onzième Série, Tome III (1914, 1), pp. 498-500; K. SHIRATORI, "A New Attempt to the Solution of the Fu-lin Problem", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* 15 (1956), pp. 156-329; F. Hirth proposed to identify Fúlín (Middle Chinese *Phjutlam) with the toponim Bethlehem, applied, by assimilation, to all the Byzantine Empire and his capital, but this seems improbable to us, cf. the

Lín Yīng suggests that the change in the name of the Nestorian community, from a Persian to a Dàqín 大秦 religion in 745, should be viewed as the entry to China of a new form of Christianity coming from Fúlín, namely the Melkite Christianity. These Christians come from the State where Jesus born, so the change to Dàqín (the oldest name of the same kingdom) probably confers more prestige to the Nestorian christians on Chinese eyes.

On the base of gifts brought by these Fúlín envoys and the presence of certain Tokharian assistants, Lín Yīng finds their origin in a Central Asian location. A king (王 wáng) of Fúlín whose name is Bō-duō-lǐ 波多力 (MC *pa-ta-lik, *pa-ta-lik; LMC *pua-ta-liə̌k) is recorded as sending the first embassy (A.D. 643), and an unnamed king is mentioned in the last one (A.D. 742). The sender of the Fúlín envoys is styled 主 zhǔ “lord” in the record of the embassy of A.D. 719. The word 王 wáng is polysemic and should be translated in this case as “lord”¹⁵. As respects to Bō-duō-lǐ, it can be either a name or a title¹⁶.

The Central Asian Melkite Christians¹⁷ are known mainly through Bīrūnī’s description of their liturgical calendar¹⁸. The Khwarezmian sage knows Melkite communities in Merv¹⁹ and Nishapur²⁰, and records their use of the Semitic Syriac

reconstruction following E. G. PULLEYBLANK’s Lexicon (*Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin* [Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 1991], pp. 95, 194), as follows: Early Middle Chinese: *Fūlim’, Late Middle Chinese: *Fjytlim var. *Futlim, Early Mandarin: *P^hutlim. The mention of this toponym in entries No. 790, 799 and probably 793 is unclear. The language does not seem to be Syriac. This could be a mistake by Duàn or less probably a mention to a South Asian Fúlín. The Fúlín name recorded in entry No. 799 could be a Sanskrit word (*vide* Appendix).

¹⁵ Shuāngdì ZHĀNG 张双棣 *Gǔdài Hànyǔ Zìdiǎn* 古代汉语字典, p. 816.

¹⁶ Cf. F. HIRTH, “The Mystery of Fulin”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30, 1 (1909), pp. 9-15.

¹⁷ Cf. J. DUVAILLIER, “Byzantins d’Asie Centrale et d’Extrême-Orient au Moyen Age”, *Revue d’Études Byzantines* XI (1953), pp. 62-87; J. NASRALLAH, “L’Église melchite en Iraq, en Perse et dans l’Asie centrale”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 26 (1976), pp. 16-33; Ch. JULLIEN, “La minorité chrétienne “grecque” en terre d’Iran à l’époque sassanide”, in R. GYSELEN (ed.), *Chrétiens en terre d’Iran: Implantation et Acculturation* (Paris: Association pour l’avancement des études iraniennes, 2006), pp. 105-142.

¹⁸ Abū Rayhān AL-BĪRŪNĪ, “Les fêtes des melchites”, in R. GRIVEAU, *Martyrologues et Menologies Orientaux XVI-XVIII*, *Patrologia Orientalis* X, fasc. 4, nro. 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1914 reimp. 1988), pp. 291-312.

¹⁹ AL-BĪRŪNĪ, “Les fêtes des melchites”, in R. GRIVEAU, *Martyrologues*, p. 309.

²⁰ AL-BĪRŪNĪ, “Les fêtes des melchites”, in R. GRIVEAU, *Martyrologues*, p. 312.

calendar²¹, suggesting us a Syriac *milieu* of these probably Sogdian or Persian speaking people.

On the other hand, we have an account on the Melkite catholicos of Central Asia recorded in the *Life of the Melkite Patriarch of Antiochia Christophoros*, composed by Ibrahīm ibn Yuḥannā²². In this hagiography, Ibrahīm recounts the transfer of the Melkite christians of Vēh Andiyōk Khusraw²³ (near Ctesiphon) to رومگرد Rūmagird²⁴ (‘Ρωμαγοργίς in a letter of Peter III of Antiochia)²⁵ in A.D. 762.

Thanks to this text, N. Edelby was able to locate Rūmagird as a quarter of Shash (present day Tashkent, in Uzbekistan).²⁶ The Melkite community of Rūmagird remains active almost until the 14th century²⁷, but the Catholicos’ seat was moved to Merv, probably in or before the 10th century²⁸.

The name Fúlín, as a phonetic transcription of Sogdian Frōm (Rome), could make reference to both the Byzantine Empire and Rūmagird, while the 𐰆 wáng of Fúlín could be the Melkite catholicos of Vēh Andiyōk Khusraw or of a Central Asian location. J. M. Fiey suggested, on the base of a Sassanian seal bearing the titles of the Great Catholicos of Hulwan and Balasagan, that a Melkite community

²¹ AL-BIRŪNĪ, “Les fêtes des melchites”, in R. GRIVEAU, *Martyrologues*, p. 294.

²² H. ZAYAT, “Vie du patriarche melkite d’Antioche Christophore (†967) par le protospathaire Ibrahīm b. Yuhanna: Document inédit du Xe siècle”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 2 (1952), pp. 11-38. For Ch. Jullien, this hagiography is a literary construction which reproduces the exile of Demetrianus, the Patriarch of Antiochia in A.D. 260, cf. Ch. JULLIEN, “La minorité chrétienne ‘grecque’ en terre d’Iran à l’époque sassanide”, in R. GYSELEN (ed.), *Chrétiens en terre d’Iran*, p. 118.

²³ This city was known as Rūmagān (Persian) or Rūmiyya (Arabic), cf. Ch. JULLIEN, “La minorité chrétienne ‘grecque’ en terre d’Iran à l’époque sassanide”, in R. GYSELEN (ed.), *Chrétiens en terre d’Iran*, p. 115.

²⁴ H. ZAYAT, “Vie du patriarche melkite d’Antioche Christophore (†967) par le protospathaire Ibrahīm b. Yuhanna: Document inédit du Xe siècle”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 2 (1952), p. 22. For the name Rūmagird, cf. N. EDELBY, “Note sur le catholicos de Romagyris”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 2 (1952), p. 40; *pace* Ch. JULLIEN, “La minorité chrétienne ‘grecque’ en terre d’Iran à l’époque sassanide”, in R. GYSELEN (ed.), *Chrétiens en terre d’Iran*, pp. 118-119.

²⁵ N. EDELBY, “Note sur le catholicos de Romagyris”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 2 (1952), p. 39.

²⁶ N. EDELBY, “Note sur le catholicos de Romagyris”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 2 (1952), pp. 39-46.

²⁷ J. DUVAILLIER, “Byzantins...”, *Revue d’Études Byzantines* XI (1953), pp. 69-70.

²⁸ J. NASRALLAH, “L’Église melchite...”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 26 (1976), pp. 21-22.

could be found in Central Asia prior the transfer of the Melkite Christians to Shash by al-Manṣūr in A.D. 762²⁹.

This is the probable origin of Wān, a Central Asian Melkite Christian. What could we know, then, about the intellectual *milieu* where he obtained his pharmacological knowledge? Another of Bīrūnī's works can help us here.

1. Al-Bīrūnī and the origin of Wān

Greek pharmacology was brought to the Sassanian Empire by Christians both in its Greek original and in Syriac translation³⁰. In the IX cent. A.D., with the new Caliphal capital in Baghdad, begins the translation of these *pharmacopoeia* from Greek and Syriac into the Arabic language³¹.

In the *Kitāb as-Ṣaydana*, Bīrūnī³² writes about the difficulties related to the reading of these Arabic translation of Dioscorides³³, Galen³⁴, Paulus³⁵ or

²⁹ Cf. J.-M. FIEY, "Le sceau sassanide d'un catholicos melkite d'Asie centrale", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 45 (1995), pp. 6-9; for the publication of the seal, cf. IDEM, "Le sceau sassanide...", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 45 (1995), p. 6, n. 2 (add R. GYSELEN, "Les témoignages sigillographiques sur la présence chrétienne dans l'empire sassanide", in IDEM (ed.), *Chrétiens en terre d'Iran*, pp. 44-45). *Aliter* S. KASUMOVA, "Le sceau du Catholicos d'Albanie et du Balasagan", *Studia Iranica* 20, 1 (1991), pp. 23-32. For Melkite Christianity in Merv, cf. Ch. JULLIEN, "La minorité chrétienne 'grecque' en terre d'Iran à l'époque sassanide", in R. GYSELEN (ed.), *Chrétiens en terre d'Iran*, p. 123.

³⁰ Ph. GIGNOUX, "L'apport scientifique des chrétiens syriaques à l'Iran sassanide", *Journal Asiatique* 289 (2001), pp. 229-232. Along with the Syriac pharmacological works, no Sassanian *pharmacopoeia* has been conserved to the present time.

³¹ F. SEZGIN, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, Band III (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 58-60 (s.v. *Dioskurides*), pp. 68-140 (s.v. *Galen*), pp. 152-154 (s.v. *Oreibasios*), pp. 168-170 (s.v. *Paulus von Aegina*); A. DIETRICH, "Islamic Sciences and Medieval West: Pharmacology", in Kh. SEMAAN *et al.* (eds.), *Islam and the Medieval West* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980), pp. 50-63; W. BAUM – D. W. WINCKLER, *The Church of the East: A Concise History* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 64-73. For the historical and the intellectual background of these translations, cf. D. GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Wisdom: the Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsīd Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th Centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998).

³² H. M. SAID, *Al-Biruni's Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica* (Karachi: Hamdard National Foundation, 1973). S. HAMARNEH, *Al-Biruni's Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica: Introduction, Commentary and Evaluation* (Karachi: Hamdard National Foundation, 1973).

³³ ديسقوريدس.

³⁴ جالينوس.

³⁵ بولس.

Oribasius³⁶, whose consonantal writing fails in transcribing the original sounds³⁷. In order to solve these spelling problems, his Muslim contemporaries used a vocabulary called *Dahnām*³⁸ with the equivalences in ten languages of the Arabic plant names contained in the afore mentioned translations³⁹. Bīrūnī warns the reader about the low quality of this work. On the base of its name, we can suppose this vocabulary was composed in a Persian speaking *milieu*.

Bīrūnī continues his description with two vocabularies which were used by Central Asian Christians. The first one, whose name was *Poshāq samāhī*⁴⁰ was written in Syriac, but is known by his Persian name *Chahār nām*⁴¹. As its name indicates, this vocabulary contained the name of the same plants in four languages, namely: Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Persian. Bīrūnī treats with consideration this vocabulary and even seem to have had in his possession a partial copy of it⁴².

The second vocabulary described by Bīrūnī was an extensive Syriac *Liksīqūnat*⁴³ with Arabic running side by side. It contained encyclopedic entries on various difficult words. The structure of the chapters allowed them to be copied individually or as a whole. Bīrūnī also had a copy of the correspondent chapter on Ptolemy's *Astronomical Tables*. He knows about other two books with equivalences between Arabic and Greek names, but he only had partial copies, and hoped to find the manuscripts again in order to obtain the rest of the text⁴⁴.

The word used by Bīrūnī for Christians (نصاری) does not reflect any kind of particular Christian identity⁴⁵. Bīrūnī could refer there to both Melkites or Nestorians. If the association between the Fúlín envoys and a Central Asian christian community proposed by Lín Yīng is right, we could place Wān's origin among the Melkite Christians recorded in Bīrūnī's works.

Then we have a probable community, a probable place and a probable intellectual *milieu* for the man or men who brought Central Asian pharmacologic

³⁶ اوریباسیوس

³⁷ Book 1, chapter 5 (without number), cf. H. M. SAID, *Al-Biruni's Book on Pharmacy*, pp. 8-9 and p. 14 of the Arabic text.

³⁸ دهنام is a transcription from Persian *dah nām* "ten names".

³⁹ H. M. SAID, *Al-Biruni's Book on Pharmacy*, p. 9 and p. 14-15 of the Arabic text.

⁴⁰ شرح أسماء النبات is a transcription from Syriac ܫܪܚܐܣܡܐܝܬܐܢܒܬܐܝܬܐ "Explanation of the names".

⁴¹ چهار نام is a transcription from Persian *chahār nām* "four names".

⁴² H. M. SAID, *Al-Biruni's Book on Pharmacy*, p. 9 and p. 15 of the Arabic text.

⁴³ لکسیقوننت is a transcription from Syriac ܠܟܣܝܩܘܢܢܬܐ, a borrowing from Greek λεξικόν.

⁴⁴ H. M. SAID, *Al-Biruni's Book on Pharmacy*, p. 9 and p. 15 of the Arabic text.

⁴⁵ For the use of نصاری by Bīrūnī cf., ex. gr., R. GRIVEAU, *Martyrologues*, p. 293.

knowledge to China. A Vocabulary like the *Chahar nām* could be the source of Wān.

2. Apendix: Syriac Glosses in the Yōuyáng zázǔ⁴⁶

NB. Those entries marked with an asterisk have Fulin words of easely confirmable Syriac origin. Entries marked with a double asterisk have words of unknown origin (entry No. 790 has a problable Sanskrit word). Entry No. 840 has a word attested only in modern Aramaic”.

790** [*Artocarpus integrifolia*]

— Entry name: 婆那娑 *pó-nà-suō*

(EMC **ba-na^h-sa*, LMC *phua-na`-sa*).

— Persian name: 婆那娑 *pó-nà-suō*

(EMC **ba-na^h-sa*, LMC *phua-na`-sa*).

— Persian:—

— Fulin name: *ē-bù-chán*

(EMC **ʔa-baw'-dæ:n*, LMC **ʔa-phəw`-ʂhia:n*) <cf. fig. 1>.

— Syriac:—

* Notes: *pó-nà-suō* probably comes from Sanskrit *panasa* (Monier-Williams, p. 585b: “the bread-fruit or Jaka-tree, *Artocarpus Integrifolia*”). Hirth (1909), p. 24.

793** [unidentified]

⁴⁶ Chinese: *vide supra*; Persian: D. N. MACKENZIE, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London: Curzon, 1971); Syriac: R. PAYNE-SMITH (ed.), *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2 vols. (Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1879-1901); I. LÖW, *Aramäische Pflanzennämen* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1881); P. de LAGARDE, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1866); Greek: H. G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, 9th ed.); G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968-1980); Sanskrit: M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). F. HIRTH, “The Mystery of Fulin”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30:1 (1909), pp. 1-31; B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* (Chicago: The Field Museum of Natural History, 1919).

- Entry name: 槃柝穢 *pán-nǚ-sè*
(EMC **ban-nɔʹ-ʂik*, LMC *pʰuan-nuəʹ-ʂaaʹk*).
 — Persian name: 槃柝穢 *pán-nǚ-sè*
(EMC **ban-nɔʹ-ʂik*, LMC *pʰuan-nuəʹ-ʂaaʹk*).
 — Persian: —
 — Fulin name: 羣漢 (var. 群漢) *qún-hàn*
(MC **gun-xanʰ*, **gjun-xanH*, LMC **khyn-xanʹ*).
 — Syriac: —
 * Notes: It remains unidentified; cf. Laufer (1919), p. 435.

794* [*Olea europaea* L.]

- Entry name: 齊燉 *zī-tún*
(EMC **tsi-twan*, LMC **tsz-tun*)
 — Persian name: 齊燉 *zī-tún*
(EMC **tsi-twan*, LMC **tsz-tun*)
 — Persian: *zayt* (the Chinese transcription seems to be more related to Farsi *zaytūn*)
 — Fulin name: 齊虛 *zī-tī*
(EMC **tsi-tej* LMC **tsz-tjiaj*)⁴⁷.
 — Syriac: ܙܝܬܐ (*zaytā*), Payne-Smith, p. 1119; Löw, p. 136-138.
 * Notes: Greek ἐλαία; cf. Hirth (1909), p. 19; Laufer (1919), p. 415.

797 [*Peper longum* L.]

- Entry name: 華撥 *bì-bō*
(EMC **pjit-pat*, LMC **pjit-puat*)
 — Magadha name: 華撥梨 *bì-bō-lí*
(EMC **pjit-pat-li*, LMC **pjit-puat-li*)
 — Fulin name: 阿梨訶他 *ē-lí-hē-tā*
(EMC **ʔa-li-xa-ta*, **ʔa-lij-xa-tha*, LMC **ʔa-li-xa-ta*)⁴⁸
 — Syriac: —

⁴⁷ The character 虛 should be read *xū*, but a gloss in the *Yōuyáng zázū* (ed. Fāng Nánshēng 方南生, p. 179; B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 415) suggests the 反切 *fānqiè* 湯兮.

⁴⁸ In entries No. 797 and 798 we used, for typographical reasons, the character 他 instead of the original <cf. fig. 3>.

* Notes: Sanskrit *pippali* “long pepper” (Monier-Williams, p. 628a); Syriac ܩܠܥܠܐ *pelplā* (Löw, pp. 317-319); cf. Laufer (1919), p. 435-436.

798* [*Ferula gummosa*]

- Entry name: 𣎵-zī
(EMC **pjit-tsi*, LMC **pjit-tsz*) <cf. fig. 2>⁴⁹
- Persian name: 𣎵-zī
(EMC **pjit-tsi*, LMC **pjit-tsz*)
- Persian: *bīrzai* (Laufer, p. 363)
- Fulin name: 預勃梨他 *hán-bó-lí-tā*
(EMC **xan-bat-li-ta*, LMC **xan-phua-li-ta*)
- Syriac: ܗܠܒܢܝܬܐ (*halbanītā*), Payne-Smith, p. 1275, Löw, p. 163.
- * Notes: cf. Hirth (1909), p. 21-22; Laufer (1919), p. 363; Hushang, *A'lām*, “galbanum”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v.

799** [*Cassia fistula* L.]

- Entry name: 波斯皂筴 *bō-sī-zào-jiā*
(EMC **pa-si-dzaw'-tʰaijk*, LMC **pua-sz-tshaw'-tʰa:jk*)
- Persian names: 忽野簪默 *hū-yě-yán-mò*
(MC **xwat-jia'-jiam-mək* **xwot-yaex-yem-mok*, LMC **xut-jia'-jiam-muəʔk*)
- Persian: — (cf. Laufer, p. 423)
- Fulin name: 阿梨去伐 *ē-lí-qù-fá*
(EMC **ʔa-li-kʰiəʰ-buat* **ʔa-lij-khjoH-bjot*, LMC **ʔa-li-kʰəʰ-fha:t*)
- Syriac: as Laufé notes, this seems to be a transcription from Sanskrit *ārgvadha* (*cathartocarpus* and its fruit, cf. Monier-Williams).
- * Notes: cf. Laufer (1919) p. 420-423; Monier-Williams, p. 149, 3.

800* [*Myrtus* L.]

- Entry name: 沒 *mò*
(EMC **mət* **mwot*, LMC **mut*)

⁴⁹ For the *varia lectio* of the character for 𣎵 cf. B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 363, n. 2 and Fāng Nánshēng 方南生, pp. 179, 182 (n. 22). Laufer cites the reading of Kāngxī's *Dictionary*, 康熙字典, p. 429, but does not introduce it in his text.

- Persian name: 沒 *mò*
(EMC **mət* **mwot*, LMC **mut*)
- Persian: *mōrd*
- Fulin name: 阿緄 *ē-cī*
(EMC **ʔa-tʂ^hi*, LMC **ʔa-tʂ^hr*)
- Syriac: ܐܫܪܐ (*āsā*), Payne-Smith, p. 291, Löw, pp. 50-51.
- * Notes: Greek: μύρτον; cf. Hirth (1909), p. 20-21; Laufer (1919), p. 460-461.

801* [*resinous gum of Commiphera opobalsamum*]

- Entry name: 阿勃參 *ē-bó-shēn*
(EMC **ʔa-bət-sam* **ʔa-bwot-srim*, LMC **ʔa-phut-sam*)
- Fulin name: 阿勃參 *ē-bó-shēn*
(EMC **ʔa-bwot-srim*, LMC **ʔa-phut-sam*)
- Syriac: ܐܦܫܘܪܐܘܢ (*āpūrsamā*), Payne-Smith, p. 338, word borrowed from Sanskrit, cf. Lagarde, p. 17.
- * Notes: Greek: βόλλσαμον; cf. Laufer (1919), p. 429-430.

802* [*Narcissus L.*]

- Entry name: 捺祗 *nà-zhī*
(EMC **nat-tei* **nat-tsyij*, LMC **nat-tʂi*)
- Fulin name: 捺祗 *nà-zhī*
(EMC **nat-tei* **nat-tsyij*, LMC **nat-tʂi*)
- Syriac: ܢܪܩܝܨ (*narqīs*), Payne-Smith, p. 2470-2471, Löw, p. 265.
- * Notes: Greek: νάρκισσος; cf. Hirth (1909), p. 22; Laufer (1919), pp. 427-428; Schoff, W. H., 'Nard', *JAOS* 43 (1923), p. 216-228.

803* [*Jasminum L.*]

- Entry name: 野悉蜜 *yě-xī-mì*
(EMC **ʔia'-sit-mjit* **yaeX-sit-mit*, LMC **ʔia'-sit-mjit*)
- Fulin name: 野悉蜜 *yě-xī-mì*
(EMC **ʔia'-sit-mjit* **yaeX-sit-mit*, LMC **ʔia'-sit-mjit*)
- Syriac: ܝܫܡܝܢ (*yasmīn* (Persian: *yāsaman*), Payne-Smith, p. 1609
- * Notes: cf. Hirth (1909), p. 22-23; Laufer (1919), p. 331, Löw, p. 189.

804* [*Ficus carica L.*]

- Entry name: 阿驛 *ē-yì*
(EMC *ʔa-jiajk *ʔa-yek, LMC *ʔa-jiajk); var. 底稱 *dǐ-chēn* (EMC *teǵ'-tē^{hi}ǵ'
*teǵX-trin, LMC *tiaǵ'-tē^{hi}iǵ^η)
- Persian name: 阿驛 *ē-yì*
(EMC *ʔa-jiajk *ʔa-yek, LMC *ʔa-jiajk)
- Persian: *ānjīr*
- Fulin name: 底稱 *dǐ-chēn*
(EMC *teǵ'-tē^{hi}ǵ' *teǵX-trin, LMC *tiaǵ'-tē^{hi}iǵ^η) var. 底珍 *dǐ-zhēn* (EMC *teǵ'-
trin, LMC tiaǵ'-trin). 底欄 *dǐ-nǎn* (EMC *teǵ'-nej' *teǵX-nejX, LMC *tiaǵ'-niaǵ').
- Syriac: ܐܢܝܪ (*tēnā*; modern Aramaic!), Payne-Smith, p. 4374, Löw, pp. 390-393.
- * Notes: Greek: συκῆ. Cf. Hirth (1909), p. 20; Laufer (1919), p. 411. The word *tēnā* is attested in modern Aramaic, but this could be the transcription of the Classical Syriac plural form *ti'nē* “fig trees”. The reading of Fāng Nánshēng's edition is 底稱, with the *varia lectio* 底珍. Hirth and Laufer knew the second reading, but they took 底欄 as a much more probable *lectio* (cf. Hirth, p. 20).

Figures

Fig. 1

阿
驛
輶

Fig. 2

翻
齊

Fig. 3

啞

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