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# KOREAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD XAN ~ ХАГАН

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## Abbreviations

<i>Anc. Ch.</i>	Ancient Chinese	<i>Mn</i>	Mongour
<i>Arch. Ch.</i>	Archaic Chinese	<i>Mo</i>	(written) Mongol
<i>Bu</i>	Buriat	<i>Nan</i>	Nanai (Goldi)
<i>Kh</i>	Khalkha	<i>OT</i>	Old Turkish
<i>Kor</i>	Korean	<i>Sol</i>	Solon
<i>Lam</i>	Lamut (Even)	<i>Tu</i>	Turkic
<i>Ma</i>	Manchu	<i>Tg</i>	Tungus (Evenki)
<i>MMo</i>	Middle Mongol		

The word *xan* ~ *xayan* «emperor, king» exists in various forms in all the major branches of the Altaic language group.

## – Turkic

OT <i>gayan</i>	«verxovnyj pravitel, glavnyj xan» <sup>1</sup>
OT <i>xaqan</i>	«kagan» <sup>2</sup>
OT <i>xağan</i>	«independent ruler of a tribe or people» <sup>3</sup>
OT <i>gan</i>	«xan, pravitel, povelitel, predvoditel» <sup>4</sup>
OT <i>xan</i>	«xan, pravitel» <sup>5</sup>
OT <i>xa:n</i> (~ <i>ka:n</i> )	«a title at first practically synonymous with <i>xağan</i> , but later used only for a subordinate ruler» <sup>6</sup>

1 Nadeljaev *et. al.*, *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969), p. 405.

2 Nadeljaev, *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, p. 636.

3 G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 611.

4 Nadeljaev, *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, p. 417.

5 Nadeljaev, *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, p. 636.

6 Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 630.

## – Mongolian

Mo <i>xayan</i>	«khan, roi, prince, monarque» <sup>7</sup> ; «König, Monarch» <sup>8</sup>
MMo <i>ha'an</i> ~ <i>hahan</i>	«Kaiser; Herrscher (dem chinesischen Kaisertitel gleichgesetzt)» <sup>9</sup>
Mo <i>xan</i>	«prince, roi, khan, monarque» <sup>10</sup> ; «Fürst, fürstlich» <sup>11</sup>
Kh <i>xaan</i>	«xan, tsar', monarx» <sup>12</sup>
Bu <i>xaan</i>	«xan, tsar', monarx» <sup>13</sup>
Mn <i>xān</i>	«imperator, tsar'» <sup>14</sup>
Bu <i>xan</i>	«xan, tsar', monarx» <sup>15</sup>

## – Tungus

Tg <i>kayankān</i>	[< Mo] with the dialectal variants <i>kan</i> and <i>kān</i> «tsar'» <sup>16</sup>
Sol <i>xā</i>	«imperator»
Lam <i>kayān</i> ~ <i>kayāna</i>	I. 1. «starejšij v rode» 2. «providets, kudesnik» 3. «starik» (Ox) II. «zdrorovyj, živučij» (o čeloveke, medvede)
Nan <i>ka</i> [< Ma]	«xan» (dial.)
Ma <i>xan</i>	1. «vladyka», 2. «xan, gosudar', tsar'».

According to Pulleyblank, the earliest identifiable form of this word is found in the Chinese historical records, and it refers to the royal title of the Juan-juan and T'u-yü Huns. (ca. A.D. 400). The title, however, seems to have been taken over from the Hsien-pi. Doerfer has given the Hsien-pi form as \**xa'an*, and its way of transmission as Hsien-pi → Juan-

7 J.E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, 3 vols. (Kazan, 1844/49), p. 732.

8 I.J. Schmidt, *Mongolisch-deutsch-russisches Wörterbuch* (Petersburg and Leipzig, 1835), p. 130.

9 E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 54, 56.

10 Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire*, p. 718.

11 Schmidt, *Wörterbuch*, p. 126.

12 A. Luvsandendev, *Mongol'sko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1957), p. 492.

13 Čeremisov, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1973), p. 523.

14 B.X. Todaeva, *Mongorskij jazyk* (Moscow, 1973), p. 373.

15 Čeremisov, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'*, p. 544.

16 V.I. Tsintsius, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskix jazykov*, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1975/77), I, 358.

juan → Turks → Mongols.<sup>17</sup> Pulleyblank also connects the Hsiung-nu title *hu-yü* (Anc. Ch. *hwax-hwāh*) with the Turkic-Mongolian variant *xayan*.<sup>18</sup> This last suggestion, however, is rather uncertain, and the earliest clearly recognizable form of the word seems to be that of the Juan-juan.<sup>19</sup>

In this connection it is interesting to note that the earliest Korean historical records available, i.e. *Samguk sagi* (Records of the Three Kingdoms) (1145) and *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) (ca. 1281), indicate that variants of the title *xan* and, possibly, *xayan* existed as loanwords also in Korea since very early times.

It is important to note that among the Mongolian languages the form *xan* exists in two variants, one with a long vowel *xān* (*xaan*), and one with a short vowel *xan*. The origin of *xān* presents no problem. It is the result of the well-known development  $V\gamma V > V'V > \bar{V}$ ,<sup>20</sup> i.e. *xayan* > *xa'an* > *xān*. The variant with the originally short vowel *xan* seems to have coexisted with *xayan* already in the dialect in which the *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (Secret History of the Mongols) was written.<sup>21</sup> Within the Mongolian group of languages it is difficult to establish the semantic differences between the *early* occurrences of the forms *xayan* ~ *xān* ~ *xan*. Bertagaev quotes several instances from the *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* which clearly indicate that the three forms at that time were not differentiated in meaning. It was only from the times of Ögedei and Kubilai that the title *xayan* became reserved for the designation of the «supreme ruler», ranking above the title *xan*.<sup>22</sup> This later development is

17 G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), III, 167.

18 E.G. Pulleyblank, «The Consonantal System of Old Chinese,» *Asia Major*, New Series, IX, 2: 216 (1962).

19 Pulleyblank's suggestion that *hu-yü* reconstructed as *\*hwax-hwāh*, is the origin of Tu-Mo *qayan/xayan* certainly encounters many problems. The most important objection is perhaps that the reconstructed form *\*hwax-hwāh* phonetically is difficult to accept as the origin of *qayan/xayan*. A possible solution of this problem would be to treat the second character in the title above, *yü*, as a «misprint» for *kan*, a graphic mistake quite easy to explain. The title in question would then be *hu-kan* and the reconstructed form something like *\*hwax-kān*, which would suit better as the origin of Tu. *qayan/xayan*.

20 N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne (Helsinki, 1955), CX, 60 and B.Ja. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazyka i xalxaskogo narečija: Vvedenie i fonetika* (Leningrad, 1929), paragraph 112.

21 T.A. Bertagaev, «Ob etimologii xan ~ xayan, xatun i ob ix otnošenii k xăt,» *Tjurko-ilogičeskie issledovaniya* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 45ff.

22 Bertagaev, «Ob etimologii,» p. 46.

still reflected in e.g. modern Khalkha, where *xaan* designates emperor, monarch, while *xan* designates ruler of a region (*ayimay, muji*).<sup>23</sup>

In Turkic the semantic development is similar to the one found among the Mongol languages. *Xayan* and *xan* (*xān?*) coexisted in the language of the *Tonyukuk* inscription, where, according to Clauson<sup>24</sup> «*xan* occurs six times in contexts where *xağan*, which also occurs in T, might have been expected.» Later a differentiation of the two titles developed, and *xān* (~ *xan*) became the designation of a subordinate ruler, in contrast to *xayan*, which was used for the Türkü ruler, the emperor of China (*tavğac xağan*), the king of Tibet (*tüpüt xağan*) etc.<sup>25</sup> Doerfer has pointed out the possibility that both *xayan* and *xan* were individual titles of rulers, while *xan*, in contrast to *xayan*, also had the general (non individual) meaning of «ruler».<sup>26</sup>

In Tungus the different forms appear to be loanwords from the Mongolian, reflecting all the three developments of the word found in Mongolian, e.g. Tg *kayankān*, showing both the uncontracted and the contracted forms, and *kan* in Barguzin, Southern Verxolen, Nerčin, and Eastern Tungir, and *kān* giving both the short and long vowel variants.<sup>27</sup>

Also in Korean sources this very old title seems to exist as a loanword. In *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa* a long row of titles can be found, containing the Korean developments of the title *gan* ~ *xan* (*kan*) and in some cases possibly also of the title *gayan*/*xayan*.

The titles in question belong to the Silla and Karak states, and some of them are indicated as being very early (ca. 1st century A.D.). Although the royal chronologies found in these two Korean documents may not be accepted in all details concerning the oldest period, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of these titles. It is reasonable to assume that at least the title *kan* existed in Korean already during the first two centuries A.D.

The element *kan* is the one most often found. It is included as last element in a number of bi- or trisyllabic composita. However, the meaning of the syllable(s) preceding -*kan* remains obscure. The following material is found in *Samguk yusa*:

23 Ja. Tsevel, *Mongol xelnij tovč tajlbar tol'* (Ulaanbaatar, 1966), p. 656.

24 Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 630.

25 Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 611.

26 Doerfer, *Elemente*, III, 163ff.

27 A. Castrén, *Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre* (St. Petersburg, 1856), pp. 79, 105, and Tsintsius, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar'*, I, 358.

- 1 Examples of royal titles from Silla (trad. dates: 57B.C.-935) *Kösōgan*,<sup>28</sup> the title of the first Silla monarch (trad. dates: 57–54 B.C.);<sup>29</sup> *maripkan*, the title of the 19th Silla monarch (A.D. 417–458).<sup>30</sup>
- 2 Examples of titles of various officials from Karak (trad. dates: 42–562) and Silla
  - a) The nine terms below are the original titles of the nine *kan* of Karak:<sup>31</sup>  
*ado-kan*; *yōdo-kan*; *p'ido-kan*; *odo-kan*; *yusu-kan*; *yuch'ōn-kan*; *sinch'ōn-kan*; *sin'gwi-kan*; *och'ōn-kan*.
  - b) Titles of nobles and royal relatives
    - *a-kan*  
*Tonyōng tae agan*, father of Queen Poksu of King Chwaji (?d. 420) of Karak;<sup>32</sup>  
*Yōnggyu agan*, a subordinate of the general-magistrate of the Kūmgwan fortress in Silla;<sup>33</sup>  
*Agung agan*, grandmother of Queen Aji of King Kōjilmi (?r.291–346) and mother of Crown Prince I(si)p'um (?r.345–406) of Karak.<sup>34</sup>
    - *küp-kan*  
*küpkan*, one of the titles for officials, introduced by King Suro (?42–199) of Karak;<sup>35</sup>  
*Kaengse küpkan*, name and title of a 17th generation descendant of King Suro of Karak;<sup>36</sup>  
*Tugo küpkan*, name and title of a follower of Hwarang Chukchirang in Silla.<sup>37</sup>

28 For practical purposes the titles are here transcribed according to their modern Sino-Korean pronunciation. We do not possess exact information about the pronunciation of the Chinese loan-words in any of the languages of the Three Kingdoms' period (1st century–middle of 7th century). However, the reconstructed forms of Ancient Chinese (or «Middle Chinese») and the forms of Modern and Middle Sino-Korean provide us with an approximate idea of the phonetic shape of these Chinese loan-words in early Korean.

29 Iryōn, *Samguk yusa*, ed. Ch'oe Namsōn (Seoul, 1956) p. 3; hereafter referred to as SY.

30 SY, p. 13.

31 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 108.

32 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 119.

33 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 114.

34 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 118.

35 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 112.

36 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 114.

37 SY, «Hyojo wangdae Chukchirang,» p. 76.

- *chap-kan*

Chungdo *chapkan*, name and title of a local official of the Silla period, who was general-magistrate of the Kürnberg fortress;<sup>38</sup>

Wihong *chapkan*, name and title of the husband of Queen Chinsöng's (r.887–897) nurse Lady Puho in Silla;<sup>39</sup>

Söun *chapkan*, name and title of the great-grandson of the last king of Karak.<sup>40</sup>

- *kak-kan*

Sejong *kakkan*, Mudo *kakkan*, Mudök *kakkan*, names and titles of the three sons of King Kuhyöng (r.521–562);<sup>41</sup> Hyojong *kakkan*, name and title of King Kyöngsun's (927–935) father;<sup>42</sup>

Söhyön *kakkan*, title of Kim Yusin's (595–673) father (a royal relative from Silla);<sup>43</sup>

Yongsu *kakkan*, title of King T'aejong's (r.654–661) father;<sup>44</sup>

Chinsa *kakkan*, title of Queen Indök's father;<sup>45</sup>

*kakkan*, title of the prime minister of Silla.

### 3 Examples of designations of nature spirits.

In the chapter «Ch'öyongnang Manghaesa» (The Courtier Ch'öyong and Manghae Temple) of *Samguk yusa*<sup>46</sup> is a passage telling that the spirit of the earth appeared and performed a dance. The name of the spirit was Chibaek küpkan. In the immediately preceding paragraph we also find a mentioning of the spirit of the Northern Mountain performing a dance. The name of the spirit was Oktogüm. The relation between *küm* and *kan* is unclear. It is possible that they were variants of the same word, or were different words with related meaning. The following examples with analogous meanings seem to indicate some kind of connection between the two terms: *nisagüm* in relation to *kösögan* and *maripkan*, all of which are titles indicating the office of king.

38 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 114.

39 SY, «Chinsöng yödaewang,» p. 89.

40 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 113.

41 SY, «Karak kukki,» p. 119.

42 SY, «Silla,» p. 93.

43 SY, «Silla,» p. 60.

44 SY, «Silla,» p. 61.

45 SY, «Silla,» p. 82.

46 SY, p. 89.

In view of the material presented above it seems permissible to treat the element *-kan* (Arch. Ch. \**kan*, Anc. Ch. *kan*)<sup>47</sup> as the Korean variant of the borrowed (Hsien-pi?) element corresponding to Tu-Mo *xan*.<sup>48</sup> The correspondence between form and meaning in this case makes such a comparison quite permissible. Further it might be possible to treat Kor. *kakkan* (Arch. Ch. \**kük-kân*, Anc. Ch. *kák-kân*) as the Korean development of the Hsien-pi (?) form that gave Tu-Mo *gayan/xayan* etc. Also in this case the correspondence between form and meaning in the Korean and Tu-Mo forms is strong enough to deserve attention.

As far as the other Korean titles, *küpkan*, *chapkan*, *agan*, or *ach'il-kan*,<sup>49</sup> are concerned it seems at present to be impossible to connect them with any known forms of the Hsien-pi, Juan-juan, Turkic, or Mongolian languages. If, however, these titles have been borrowed by the Koreans from the same source and at roughly the same time as the forms treated above *kan* (<*gan/xan*?) and *kakkan* (<*gayan/xayan*?), it is possible that the Korean sources have preserved a much more complete set of official titles (of Hsien-pi or Juan-juan origin?) than we can find in any other extant sources. The «unkoreanness» of these titles certainly speaks in favour of the suggestion that they have been borrowed from another language, as does also the fact that they were soon abandoned and have left no traces in the language of Middle or Modern Korean. Contrary to what has been said above, it might be argued that all the forms *küpkan*, *chapkan*, and *ach'ilkan* do contain an «in between-sound» (*sai sori*) of the type found in early *han'gül* documents, and in the case of *ach'ilkan* already in the *hyangga* texts, i.e. -*p*- and *ch'il*. If the «in between-sound» in these cases are supposed to have the usual «compounding» function, their position would indicate that they function between the final element *-kan* on the

47 B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*. (Stockholm, 1957), Nr. 139a.

48 It is interesting to note that in Chinese sources the element *kan* is rendered = Arch. Ch. \**g'an*, Anc. Ch. *yân*, Mand. *han*. The term occurs in *Ch'in shu* (History of Ch'in) from which the following quotation is given in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (Encyclopedia of the T'ai-p'ing Period): «Their [Silla's] King Nuhan sent the ambassador Widu and presented a beautiful girl.» Nuhan has here been interpreted (i.a. in Kim Pusik, *Samguk sagi*, transl. Michail Pak, Moscow, 1959, p. 307) as a Chinese rendering of *maripkan*, where *nu* (Chin. *lou*) «loft, tower» translates *mari(p)*, and *han* is a phonetic «spelling» of *kan* (~ *xan*).

49 *Ach'ilkan* is a title comparatively rarely found in *Samguk yusa*, where it denotes an official title, used in contrast to *kakkan* and *küpkan*. The character *ch'il* is often found in *hyangga* texts, having the function of «in between-sound» (*sai sori*). Cf. Yang Chudong, (*Chüngjöng*) *Koga yön'gu* (Seoul, 1975), pp. 84ff. The relation between *ach'il-kan* and *agan* – if any – is at present difficult to determine.

one hand and the initial elements *\*ku-*, *\*cha-* and *\*a-* on the other. This analysis would be analogous to the often heard explanation of the title *maripkan* as consisting of *mari* (= Mod. Kor. *mōri* «head») + *sai sori* -p- + *kan* «ruler».<sup>50</sup> The traditional, and perhaps more correct etymology of *maripkan* is given in *Samguk sagi*, where *mari-* is given the meaning «pillar».<sup>51</sup> The weak point in such an explanation in the case of *küpkan*, *chap-kan* and *a/ch'il/kan* is that the elements *\*kū*, *\*cha* and *\*a* are virtually impossible to refer to a reasonable semantic value. Until further evidence can be presented, it therefore seems preferable to treat the abovementioned three forms as foreign elements in the early Korean language.

In this connection we also want to say a few words about the etymological explanations of some Turkic and Mongolian titles discussed by Ramstedt.<sup>52</sup> In that article Ramstedt claims that the Tu-Mo title *xan* originates from Chinese *kuan* (Arch. and Anc. Ch. *\*kwân/kuân*). «Of or belonging to the administration of government; official; an official; a mandarin; to appoint to a post. Used as a term of respect, and also of excellence. Public, civic.»<sup>53</sup> The title *xayan* (*gayan*) originated, according to Ramstedt, from Chinese *chü-kuan* Sino-Kor. pronunciation *kōgwan*, Arch. and Anc. Ch. *\*g'io kwân / g'iwo: kuân* or *\*kiwo kwân / kiu: kuân*. The Ch. *chü* in *chü-kuan* has the meaning «great». These etymologies can hardly be accepted. Doerfer<sup>54</sup> has already given a small catalogue of reasons why the above suggestion is unacceptable, the most important being the difficulties of sound developments (why *\*g'io* > *xa*? Tu initial *x* < ?), and the fact that the suggested form *chü-kuan* is a constructed form, which has obviously never existed in the Chinese language. Ramstedt does not take the Hsien-pi material into account in his discussion, and both Ramstedt and Doerfer seem to be unaware of the existence of the titles *xan* and *xayan* elsewhere in early Korean sources.

In the same article mentioned above, Ramstedt also discusses the Turkic title *gapgan*, Pseudo-Avar. *kaukan* ~ *kapkan*. The word is found in the Tonyukuk inscription, where Radloff, however, reads it *gapagan* (*gapayan*). According to Ramstedt's article this title is also found among the Pseudo-Avars as *capcanus* and in [Proto-]Bulgarian as *χαυχανος*,

50 Kim, *Samguk sagi*, p. 308, note no. 17.

51 Kim, *Samguk sagi*, p. 308, note no. 17, and K.M. Lee, *Geschichte der koreanischen Sprache*, dt. Übersetzung herausgegeben von B. Lewin (Wiesbaden, 1977), p. 89.

52 G.J. Ramstedt, «Alte türkische und mongolische Titel (1939),» *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, vol. 55 (Helsinki, 1951).

53 H. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (Shanghai and London, 1912), nr. 6341.

54 Doerfer, *Elemente*, III, 178.

καπχανος.<sup>55</sup> There seems to be some disagreement as to whether this is a title or personal name. Ramstedt says: «Jedenfalls ist es klar, dass es kein Personename sein kann, sondern nur eine Ehrenbezeichnung», but gives no reason for his statement. A rather recent handbook like *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* which was published in 1969, however, identifies *gapayan gayan* as a «personal name and title...». Again, the etymological explanation for this word, given by Ramstedt, is unacceptable. The origin of *gapgan* is said to be Chinese *chia kuan* (Arch. and Anc, Ch. \*kap kwân / kap kuân; Sino-Kor. *kapkwan*) where the element *chia* has the meaning «first, best». The binome *chia-kuan* does not exist in the Chinese language, and consequently this explanation must be refuted.

It would, however, be very tempting to compare the Protobulgarian καυκανος ~ καυχανος ~ καπχανης, Avar. *capcanus* and OT *gapyan* with the above mentioned Old Korean title *küpkan* (Arch. as well as Anc. Ch. \*kiap kân) used in Korea for officials and royal relatives. The existence of an early «Korean» counterpart to OT *gapyan* might speak against the idea of a pure Turkish origin for this word. In an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* which appeared in 1954 and is referred to by Altheim,<sup>56</sup> Denis Sinor suggested that OT *gapyan* was derived from *gap* «to attack». This title which may have been used in Korea as early as the 3rd century A.D., and certainly was used in the 7th century A.D., must be taken into account for any further discussions about the possible sources of this title. However, if the comparison between *küpkan* and the various forms above is to be maintained, the change of the vocalism *a* > *ia* [> *ü*] must first be satisfactorily explained. This comparison requires a special study before any serious conclusions may be drawn from the present material.

What may be said with a fair degree of certainty, though, is that the supposed Korean correspondences to *xan* and *xayan*, i.e. *kan* and *kakkan*, coexisted in Korea already during the first centuries A.D. Although the earliest designation for «king» is sometimes *-kan* and never (-) *kakkan*, the two words occur in contexts where they are difficult to distinguish semantically from each other. We may therefore state that the two titles existed with very similar (if not identical) meanings in early Silla time. The condition reflected in Korean sources gives an interesting parallel to the use of *xan* and *xayan* in Mongolian, where *xan*, not *xayan* (!), was orig-

55 For more details on these titles, see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1958), II, 140f. and F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen* (Berlin, 1959), I, 207ff. Altheim gives the Protobulgarian forms as καυκανος, καυχανος, καπχανης.

56 Altheim, *Geschichte*, p. 208.

inally the title of the tribal ruler. As already pointed out above, it was only later that *xayan* came to be reserved for the title of the supreme ruler. Thus Čingis, the founder of the Mongolian empire, wore the title *xan*, and only from the time of his successors the title of the emperor became *xayan* exclusively, a change probably caused by heavy Chinese influence.<sup>57</sup>

The fact that the forms *xayan*, *xān* and *xan* are used in the *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* without any obvious differentiation of meaning, may be explained as the result of a «posthumous upgrading» of the title of Čingis, an upgrading, however, which was not consequently carried through when the history was completed. The chaotic state as to the use of these titles in the *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* may thus be the result of a beginning Chinese influence on the Mongolian official titles. Bertagaev, though, has pointed out that even in the *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* the title of «tribal rulers», as Bertagaev rendered it, is only met with in the form *xan* (*kan*).<sup>58</sup> In his etymological treatment of the word *xan* (*xān*~*xayan*) Bertagaev suggests that it is of the same «root» as *xăd/xăt* (= pl. of *xan*) «being the designation of a character in the shamanistic pantheon of the Mongolian tribes». In the Buriat mythology these *xăd/xăt* are heavenly beings sent down to earth as rulers of mountains, hills, rivers, lakes etc.<sup>59</sup> Also in this case the Korean material shows an interesting parallel. As shown above in the examples from *Samguk yusa*<sup>60</sup> the word *kan* is used in reference to the spirit of the earth, Chibaek kǔpkan, who appeared and performed a dance. This single example clearly shows that also on Korean soil the word *kan* could be used for a supernatural, shamanistic being, just as the case was with the Mongolians.

The few examples given above suffice to show that the two old Korean documents *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa* contain material worthy of much more interest from the side of comparative Altaists than has been the case up to now. A comparative linguistic investigation of titles, names, and other items in these texts promises to become a rewarding field of research for any scholar interested in comparative Altaic linguistics. Such early Korean materials has till now – with some very few exceptions – been completely neglected in Altaic linguistic research. Even a serious scholar like Ramstedt had little or no information about Middle Korean, let alone old Silla material. It is therefore important that also this material is carefully investigated and presented, and thus allowed to take its proper place in the discussion on the Altaic linguistic problem.

57 Doerfer, *Elemente*, III, 164ff.

58 Bertagaev, «Ob etimologii,» p. 46.

59 Bertagaev, «Ob etimologii,» p. 47.

60 See p. 152 of this article.

## GLOSSARY

ach'ilkan	阿叱干
ado-kan	我刀干
agan	阿干
Agung agan	阿躬阿干
Aji	阿志
chia-kuan	甲官
chibaek kŭpkan	地伯級干
Chinsa kakkan	進思角干
Chinsöng	珍城
ch'il	叱
<i>Ch'in shu</i>	秦書
Ch'oe Nam-sŏn	崔南善
Ch'oyongnang	處容郎
Chukchirang	竹旨郎
Chungdo chapkan	忠至匝干
chü-kuan	巨官
Chwaji	坐知
han	寒
Hsien-pi	鮮卑
Hsiung-nu	匈奴
hu-kan	護干
hu-yü	護于
Hwarang	花郎
hyangga	鄉歌
Hyojo	孝照
Hyojong kakkan	孝宗角干
Indök	仁德
Iryön	一然
I(si)p'um	伊(尸)品
Juan-juan	蠟蠟
Kaengse kŭpkan	慶世級干
kakkan	角干
kan	干
kapkwan	甲官
Karak	駕洛
<i>Karak kukki</i>	駕洛國記
Kim Yu-sin	金庾信

kōgwan	巨官
Kōjilmi	居叱彌
kōsōgan	居西干
kuan	官
Kuhyōng	仇衡
kǔm	鈴
Kǔmgwan	金冠
kǔpkan	級干
Kyōngsun	敬順
Manghaesa	望海寺
maripkan	麻立干
Mudo kakkan	茂刀角干
Mudōk kakkan	茂德角干
nisagǔm	尼鈴
nu	樓
Nuhan	樓寒
och'ōn-kan	五天刀干
odo-kan	五刀刀干
oktogǔm	玉刀刀干
p'ido-kan	彼刀干
Poksu	福壽記
pon'gi	本記
Puho	鳥好史記
<i>Samguk sagi</i>	國國遺事
<i>Samguk yusa</i>	三宗角干
Sejong kakkan	世羅
Silla	新神天干
sinch'ōn-kan	神鬼干
sin'gwi-kan	舒云角干
Sōhyōn kakkan	庶云匣干
Sōun chapkan	首露宗
Suro	太宗
T'aejong	御覽
<i>T'ai-p'ing yü-lan</i> ( <i>I-pu: Tung-i hsin-lo t'iao</i> )	(夷部東夷新羅條)
Tonyōng tae agan	道寧大阿干
T'u-yü	吐谷
Tügo kǔpkan	得烏級干
wangdae	王代
Widu	衛頭

Wihōng chapkan	魏弘匝干
Yongsu kakkan	龍樹角干
yōdaewang	女大王
yōdo-kan	汝刀干
Yōnggyu agan	英規阿干
yuch'ön-kan	留天干
yusu-kan	留水干
yü	于