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# Early Turkic Contributions on Veterinary Medicine

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The well-being of livestock has long been a concern of the peoples of Central Asia. Conversely, when surrounding civilizations sought to condemn or dehumanize these people, their supposed spread of disease was only one among many charges brought against various tribes. For example, in 376 AD a severe outbreak of epizooty affecting man and animal was attributed to the arrival of the Huns in eastern Europe from the South Russian steppe area. Again in 791 Charlemagne encountered a great plague among horses during his campaigns against the Avars. Similarly, during 1223–41 major epizootic outbreaks in Russia, Silesia and Hungary were attributed to the arrival of the Mongol armies. Severe outbreaks in 1223, 1233, and 1238 were considered to be cattle plague or rinderpest; the 1240 outbreak spread over most of Europe. <sup>1)</sup>

It did not take long for information on veterinary medicine among the nomadic tribes to appear in foreign sources. Vegetius (fl. late 4th–early 5th C.) noted in his Artis veterinariæ sive mulomedicinæ that the horse of the Huns did not require medical attention (nec potionem medicinalem requirant) primarily because of their ability to withstand the harsh climate; he also noted that Hun horses bore wounds well (vulnerum patiens). <sup>2)</sup>

On the other side of Inner Asia, the powerful Hsien-pi (a Mongol or Turkic-Mongol confederation) siezed control over the northwestern and eventually all of northern China, ruling as the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). A Chinese civil servant, in the employ of these Inner

Asian rulers, wrote the Ch'i min yao shu, an official agricultural treatise (nung shu) which included, for the first time, a section on veterinary medicine for horses, asses, cattle, sheep and goats according to Chinese methods, most probably as a attempt to exclude any outside (nomadic) influence. <sup>3</sup>

Only a few centuries later, al-Jahiz(767/8-868/9) wrote on Turks and veterinary care in a much more positive light when compared to Chinese attitudes, remarking that: "The Turk is most skilled in veterinary science...."<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately al-Jahiz did not elaborate on precise methods or remedies. There was a similar lack of detail regarding the c.12th C. experimental breeding program between Turkic mares and Persian stallions carried out by Abu Ya'qub al-Huttali.

What such outside sources lacked in specific detail, however, were offset by indigenous Inner Asian texts during the early history of Central Asia. Of particular note are Middle Turkic sources, especially Kashghari's Divan Lughat at-Turk (1073/74) and Mamluk-Kipchak hippological texts (13th-14th C.). Although the examples in Kasghari are not abundant they do reveal a concern for disease and man's responsibilities in animal husbandry. The Mamluk-Kipchak texts, it must be remembered, are translations from the Arabic and Persian. <sup>5</sup> Examples have only been included from the Arabic text Kitab Bajtarati'l-Wadih when the translator adds his own remarks indicating that the Arabic ailment under discussion is called such and such in Mamluk-Kipchak and is then followed by the Turkic method of curing the disease.

The following selected terminology is intended to show the breadth of veterinary medical knowledge among the early Turkic peoples (and others) ranging from general or generic terms for disease to very serious ailments, their cause, the medicinals used including amulets to treat

animals. Some of the most interesting are those which have extended meanings in proverbs. Not all examples of given terms have been listed as the concern is more for the contribution to an understanding of veterinary medicine among the Turkic peoples during this period than a pure linguistic study of the terminology. The spread of this veterinary terminology, especially into other Altaic languages, has also been noted.

1. **ANGDUZ** (E.Mid.Turkic): the medicinal plant known as elecampane. The root was used to treat stomach-ache in horses. Kashghari gives the following proverb: ANGDUZ BOLSA AT ÖLMÄS – “if there is elecampane the horse will not die (of stomach – ache)” – since he can be made to drink it and then will recover. This is coined [as advice] for travellers to be prepared. [Kashghari / Dankoff translation, hereafter cited as KashD., I, p.142; Clauson 178; Drevnetyurkskii slovar (hereafter DT) 47]. Clauson writes that ANGDUZ survives in Nogay, swOttoman, and Turkman. It also exists in Uzbek (ANDIZ), see: Khamidov, p.283. Clauson also notes that according to the much later Sanglax (Chaghatai-Persian dictionary, c.1759), elecampane could be used externally as an ointment to treat animal bites.

2. **AQSA-** (E.Mid.Turkic): “to limp, be lame” as in: AT AQSADĭ “the horse was lame” [KashD. I., p.233; Clauson 95; AXSA in DT 71].

3. **ARUK, AROK, ARIK > AR-** (OT, Mid.Turkic): “‘tired out, exhausted, hence emaciated, weak for the lack of food’; in the latter sense normally of animals” [Clauson 214].

4. **CHALIN-** (E.Mid.Turkic): as in AT CHALĭNDĭ “the horse was emaciated(because of bad fodder)” [KashD., II., p.38]; Clauson says “because of bad grazing” [Clauson 421]; this differing

interpretation between bad fodder and poor pasture grazing is of importance and needs to be resolved.

5. **CHILDÄG, CHILÄK, CHILDÄY** (E.Mid.Turkic): “a sore that appears on the upper chest of a horse.’ It flows with pus and afterwards must be cauterized.” [KashD., I, p.356; II, p.275; Clauson 419; DT 146].

6. **IGLÄSH-** (E.Mid.Turkic): as in YILQI ARTI IGLASHDI “the cattle were sick” [KashD., I, p.215]; Clauson considers it to be “gravely” ill [Clauson 107; see also DT 205].

7. **ITILGÄN** (E.Mid.Turkic): “A disease affecting horses. It consists of boils which are lanced so that the horse recovers. It is called xunam in Persian.” Dankoff considers it to be glanders (?); Clauson says farcy. [KashD., I, p.172; Clauson 56; DT has ETILGÄN, 188].

8. **KÄM, KÄMLÄ-, KÄMLÄN-, KÄMLÄT-** (Old Turkic; E.Mid.Turkic): “illness” [von Gabain 341; DT has KEM, 297]; “illness specifically of horses”; a generic term [Clauson 720, 722]; KÄM “sickness”, hence: AT KÄMLÄNDI: “The horse took sick” [KashD., I, p.267]; KÄMLÄT- as in BU OT ATTI KÄMLÄTTI “This fodder sickened the horse.” [KashD., I, p.137]; AT KÄMLÄDI “The horse was sick”; a variant of KÄMLÄNDI [KashD., II, p.304].

This may be compared to Mongol GEM “disease, ailment”; GEMLE- “to be stricken with a disease” [Lessing 375]; GAMSII malady [Mostaert 290b]; “epidemic, plague” [Lessing 347]; or in Oirat compounds such as GAM EBECIN “glanders, strangles” or GAM GEM “glanders, strangles” [Krueger II, p.308].

9. **KĀRSHĀGÜ, KERSHĀGÜ** (E.Mid.Turkic): a horse with sores on its withers [KashD. I, p.365; Clauson 747, 748; DT 301].

10. **KEGEN, KEGĀN** (Old Uighur): “one of several words for 'illness, disease'.” For example, ALKU KEGENINTE YĪLKĪ KARA KEGENINTE IG KEM “in all cases of disease, the diseases of cattle and common people(?), illnesses....” [Clauson 712; see also DT 294].

11. **KÖKEGÜN** (Mid.Turkic): “horse-fly” ≈ GÖGEYİN (Chaghatai): “a large fly which draws blood when it bites cattle” ≈ KÖKEWÜN (Kipchak): “a flying creature like a large fly, which settles on horses, cattle, etc., and bites them; when they feel it they run away from it” [Clauson 710; see also DT 313].

12. **KÖLĀR-** (E.Mid.Turkic): as in: AT KÖLĀRDI “the horse swelled owing to a dilation of the stomach” [Clauson 720]; “the horse lay down flat from swelling of the belly” [KashD., II, p.7].

13. **MANCHUQ** (E.Mid.Turkic): “anything that is hung to a horse's neck, such as gems, lions' paws, or amulets” [KashD., I, p.354]; Clauson makes no mention of amulets, saying “anything suspended from the saddle like a saddle-bag or nose-bag” [Clauson 767]. The various kinds of amulets used by Central Asian herdsman to ward off disease(or evil) among their livestock need further study.

14. **MANKQAV** (W.Mid.Turkic): A Mamluk-Kipchak term for fluid in the body of the horse. The seriousness of ailment was determined by the location of fluid: joints, flank, heart; the latter

was considered the most serious, causing the animal to die. There was no remedy. [Nissman 126] ≈ MANGQA (Kazakh): glanders [Bazylxan 800].

This may be compared to MANGGIYAN, MANGGIYANAHABI (Manchu): running of the nose of horses and cattle [Norman 193; see also Meserve, “Some Remarks...”]. There is no correspondance with the Mongol form which, according to the Pentaglot, is the same as QABAR EBEDCIN [Wu t'i ch'ing wen chien, hereafter PentaC. for the Chinese edition, see 4420; and PentaJ. for the Japanese edition, see #16603, 16604]. There are a number of related forms in the Mongol languages: QABAR-UN EBEDCIN (Mongol): nasal ailments, glanders [Lessing 895] ≈ QABAR-TAI MORI (Mongol): horse with glanders [Haltod 160] ≈ QABAR EBEDCIN (Chakhar Mongol): nasal ailments, glanders (of horses), which can be contracted by improper seasonal care [MORI TEMEGE-Ü SOYILΓ-A..., hereafter MONG 90, see folio 2v] ≈ QABAR EBCIN (Chakhar Mongol): nasal ailment, glanders (of camels). [MORI TEMEGE-Ü EBEDCIN-I..., hereafter MONG 62, see folios 16v-17r] ≈ QAMAR EBECIN (Mongol): nasal ailment [Humphrey 30, 41] ≈ QAMTAI (Oirat): “having glanders” [Krueger II, p.252].

15. **ÖLÄT** (Turkic): “epidemic” (especially of cattle/animals) [Doerfer, #618]; originally “killing, murder” but it takes on the meaning of “epidemic, sudden death” in the medieval period [Clauson 130].

16. **QAL IT** (Old Uighur): a mad dog [Rachmati, lines 63, 55, 79; Clauson 614]; for a comparison to Mongol material on rabid animals see Meserve, 1986-87].

17. **QOTUR** (Turkic): mange [Doerfer #1549; Clauson 604] ≈ QOTYR (Kazakh): mange [Bazylxan 564].

There is no correspondance with Manchu HASAN, HASANAHABI: mange, itch, scabies [Norman 126]; nor is there any correspondance with the Mongol QAMAᠮᠤ (Mongol) “mange, itch, scabies” [PentaC., 4424; PentaJ., #16618, 16619; Haltod 171; Lessing 923; Humphrey 31, 41] ≈ QAMA-, QAMAᠮᠤRA- (Mongol): to be mange; to develop scabies or mange [Lessing 923] ≈ QAMUTU (Mongol): scabies (of horses; also sheep, goats, and cattle) [Humphrey 31, 41] ≈ QAMAᠮᠤRA-, QAMUU, QAMᠮᠤ(Oirat): to get scabs, mange; itch, scabies, mange [Krueger III, pp.251-252] ≈ QAMU (Ordos Mongol): mange [Mostaert 332] ≈ QAMUTU (Ordos Mongol): mange; an ailment of sheep and of wolves [Mostaert 332] ≈ HOMUN (Mongol): mange (of camels), as reported by Prejevalsky (I., p.130), in which the animal is covered with festering sores, loses its coat and dies. Treatment was by making the animal drink goat soup and then rubbing burnt vitriol, snuff or gunpowder on the sores. In Mongol mange is often further distinguished either by the kind of animal affected or by the location of the disease on the animal (especially for sheep and goats).

**18. QURTLA-** (E.Mid.Turkic): “to be worm eaten, full of worms” as in TEWEY QURTLADĭ “he rid the camel of worms” [KashD. III, p.447; Clauson 650]. Also QURTAN- “originally it meant 'looked for worms on sheep'” [Clauson 650]; survives in QURTTAᠮAN (Kazakh): “a wormy sheep” [Shnitnikov 282].

**19. QUTUZ, QUTUZ IT** (E.Mid.Turkic): a mad dog, rabid dog [KashD. I. p.282; Clauson 608] ≈ QUTUR-, QUTURMAK (Kipchak): rabies, hydrophobia [Clauson 605] ≈ QUTYRU (Kazakh): “rabies” [Shnitnikov 283].



**20. SAĠAV** (W.Mid.Turkic): a Mamluk-Kipchak term for a disease of horses, usually of colts; area between cheeks swells; pimple forms of gums; yellow fluid comes from nose [Nissman 172].

This may be compared with Mongol SAQAĠU, SAQAĠUTA-, SAQUU: “glanders, farcy; to have a swelling in the throat” [Lessing 677-8] ≈ SAQAĠU EBEDCIN (Mongol): “glanders” [Haltod 318] ≈ SAQAĠU, SAQAĠUDA- (Oirat): “glanders, farcy” [Krueger II, p.386].

**21. SÄNGRÄGÜ AT** (E.Middle Turkic): “a horse that has glanders.” There is a flow of mucus from its nose like pus. This word may be used to curse out a boy whose nose is always running. [KashD., II., p.346; Clauson, p.841]

**22. TUR-, TURUQLA-, TURUN-, TURĠUR-, TURLAQ** (E.Mid.Turkic): “to become weak or emaciated; emaciated (of an animal)” as in: AT TURDĠ “the horse was weak or emaciated”; AT TURUNDĠ “the horse was emaciated”; OL ATĠĠ TURĠURDĠ “he emaciated the horse”; OL BU ATĠĠ TURUQLANDĠ “he considered this horse emaciated”. [KashD. I., p.350, II. pp.36, 51, 94, 321, 244; Clauson 530]

**23. YAĠĠR, YAĠĠRĠ, YAĠĠRĠ** – (E.Mid.Turkic): “a saddle gall” [Clauson 905; Doerfer #1877]; YAĠĠRLAN- “to have galls” as in TEVEY YAĠĠRLANDĠ “the camel had many saddle galls” [Clauson 907]; YAĠĠRLA – “to treat a gall” as in OL ATĠĠ YAĠĠRLADĠ “he treated the gall on his horse” [Clauson 907]; YAĠĠRLĠĠ AT “a galled horse” [KashD., II., p.150] or YAĠĠRLĠĠ TEWE “a galled camel” [KashD., II., p.173]; YAĠĠRLĠĠ AT CIZDI “‘the galled horse sank down’ when someone wished to mount it, in order to protect its back. Any galled animal will do this when someone wishes to place a load on it” [KashD., I., p.392]; OL MÄNIG ATĠĠ YAĠĠRTTĠ “he galled my horse” [KashD. II., p.139]. It is also used in proverbs. For example: ULUQ YAĠĠRĠ OFULQA

QALIR “the sore of its withers remains (an inheritance) for the son.’ This means that it will not heal quickly since it is the place where the joints and sinews are gathered.” [KashD. I., p.46]

According to the Pentaglot [PentaC., 4425; PentaJ., #16624], it is the same as DAΓARI (Mongol): abrasion, saddle sore [Lessing 218] and DARIN, DARIMBI (Manchu): “a sore caused by rubbing; to rub a sore (of horses)” [Norman 55].

**24. YUT** (Old Turkic; E.Mid.Turkic): epizootic [Doerfer, #1911; Clauson 883; Meserve, “Natural Calamities”] as in YILQI YUTIQDI “the cattle were burnt (i.e. frostbitten) by a calamity that overtook them.” [KashD., I., p.14]; “...by the snow, which means that they died from the cold” [KashD., II, p.186].

\* \* \* \*

From this simple list of 24 items related to veterinary medicine from early Turkic sources, a number of points may be made. There were a number of generic or very general terms used to indicate illness in an animal. Symptoms such as tiredness or emaciation were considered important, especially in horses. These conditions could be caused by man as could saddle galls and therefore could be easily remedied by proper care. Lameness, external sores, and swellings could all be easily noticed by herdsmen and were common in the vocabulary of the early Turkic peoples. Problems could be caused by other animals, especially insects such as flies and worms. More serious ailments such as glanders/farcy, rabies, and mange were certainly worrisome enough to herdsmen to have a well-established notion of the ailments, their symptoms and specific names for the disease. The severity of other ailments often lead to the use of generic

terms, especially for those which were epidemic in nature. Solutions ranged from the religious belief in the protective power of amulets to practical application of medicinal substances, most often derived from plants and animals, establishing not only the beginnings of a materia medica, but also a developing science of veterinary medicine in Central Asia.

## NOTES

1. Fleming, p.29, 44, 73. [Courtesy of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London). I would like to thank The Wellcome Trust for a grant which helped to support this research.]
2. Vegetius, IV, 6, p.276.
3. Chia Ssu-hsieh, Chapter 6.
4. Walker, p.667.
5. For a more complete discussion of these texts see Eckmann and the full-length study of one text by Nissman.

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## John Bell's (1691-1780) Notes from his Journeys in Siberia and Mongolia.

Pentti Aalto:

The Scottish explorer John Bell was born on the families manor, Antermoney. Since his elder brother was to inherit the manor, John had to look for a career of his own. He choose to become a physician. After having completed his studies he, however, wanted to see the world, and travelled in 1714 to St. Petersburg. At that time there lived a compatriot, a Scottish Dr. Areskine, who recommended Bell to the Imperial Envoyé Artemi Petrowitz Valensky, who was looking for a gentleman "who had some knowledge in physic and surgery", to join the legation he was to

lead to Ispahan. Bell tells in his travelogue (p.271), that he was ready to accept the offer “as I had employed some part of my time in these studies”. At the same time Areskine recommended Bell to the Imperial College of the Foreign Affairs, and he was consequently employed by his Majesty, Peter the First.

Bell first participated in a journey to Ispahan in 1715; this journey he describes in the first part of his notes (p.VII, p.272–317). Here, p.281 he relates, that in the previous century “a Kalmuck prince, named Torgott-Chorluke, came from Alack-Ulla (which signifies the spotted mountains) country situated between Siberia on the north and India on the south, to the borders of Russia... In his march westward he defeated Eyball-utzik, a Tartar prince, who lived in tents beyond the river Embo. Advancing forward he then met three other Tartar chiefs named Kitta haptzay, Malebash, and Etzan, whom he also defeated... Chorluke had six sons, Dangtzing, the eldest, succeeded him in the government or chanship. The present Chan, named Ayuka, is the fourth from Chorluke... I am informed, that the reason why Chorluke left his own country, was a dispute about the succession to the chanship. He... at last took the resolution of abandoning his own country altogether. These people are generally called the Black Kalmucks, though they are not black but only swarthy”.

Alag Agula seems to have been a somewhat mythical mountain range: it is mentioned by Mostaert in his Ordos dictionary p.12b as “chaîne de montagnes que les Ordos disent être leur contrée d'origine”. An Alag Agula also occurs in the Erdeni-yin tobči p.516a. According to Baddeley, Alak ūla is met with on the map of Renat (I p.cci) as Nr. 156 between ĵirgalang Nr. 97 and Kuze (=Kuča) Nr. 157, to the south from the Ili, Baddeley himself calls this range Khalik tau (cf. Räsänen 226b Radloff II I, 240 khalik 'Himmel'). In Turkic there is ala 'variegated' (Räsänen 15b) of the same origin as Mong.L alag. With the name Ala tag ~ tau ~ tū are named three ranges:

1. the cis-Ilian A. to the south of Lake Balkhas; 2. the trans-Ilian A. around Lake Issik-Köl, SW of the Ili; 3. the kuznezskian A. on the border between the previous “governments” of Tomsk and Yenisseisk. All these three may be fitted in the rather liberal geography of Bell: they all can be regarded as standing between Siberia and India.

According to the German scholar P.S. Pallas (1741–1811, between 1768 and 1810 in the service of Russia), Sammlung p.58, the names given by Bell as those of princes defeated by Xō-Örlüg, in fact were names of Nogaic tribes, i.e. Kitai-Kiptshak, Malebas and Edissan, but I am unable to find any proposals concerning the name Aibal-utzick. Pallas also says that the ancestors of Xō-Örlüg had lived in the surroundings of the Kōke-Nagur lake, i.e. in Tibet. Howorth, too, who must have used Pallas, mentions the names of the Kitai-Kiptshak, Malebas, and Etissan ~ Yadissan.<sup>2)</sup>

The name Chorluke is a combination of Xō+Örlüg, corresponding to Kalmuck örölög in Ramstedt's copy of the genealogy of the Kalmuck princes (Nr. 55 in Junko Miyawaki's edition in JSFOu 83). Stevenson, the editor of the most recent edition of Bell, points out (p.117 fn.) that the author reveals his Scottish origin i.a. when using ch in spelling the phoneme X, in addition to its use as Tš. Ch has been similarly used in the numerals choir '2', arbanchoir '12', and choiry '20' (p.188) as well as in kutuchtu, Brachma etc. Sinor (Acta Orientalia XXXII, 1970, p.235 f.) wanted also to have found examples of ch = š in some of Bell's names like (p.115) “the springs called Chabertu”, which according to the opinion of Haltod must reflect šibartu 'muddy', and (p.110) “the well called Gachun”, where again Haltod had suggested = gašūn 'bitter'. Bell's journey went through the habitats of the Buriat, Khalkhas, Ordoss (Monguors?) in addition to the Kalmucks, and he had to write down the names of localities on the basis of what he thought he heard. All



the names in his Notes are therefore subject to doubt. And why he did write Tzagan-Teggeric (p.112), which hardly can be other than čagan 'white?', as already Sinor said (p.237).<sup>3)</sup>

The name of the prince in question seems to occur as Qoyi Örlüg in Erd eni-yin erike 10v (Copenhagen 1961, p.135), while Örlüg is met with in many historical works since the Secret History § 201. According to Mostaert it corresponds to Chin. hao k□iang mei 'les valeureux, les violents', but in his Introduction to Erdeni-yin tobči, I p.75 f., he explained its meaning as being “le mari de la nourrice d'un prince”, according to Saun Iun th□eou tsous k□ao 2, 24a; other meanings might be derived from this.

According to Bell Xō had six sons, but Ramstedt's copy of the genealogy mentions only four: Lausang and ( ? ) are missing. On the other hand Bell names the successor of Xo, Dangzing pro Dayicing and his successor Ayuka quite correctly (cf. Miyawaki p.18). It remains unclear whether Suke (Miyawaki Nr. 57) is to be identical with Cunkey ~ Sunkey (Zap. 2 p.49). Keresan (Zap. 2 p.50) might be identified with Kirisa (Nr. 58).

Bell seems to have been a man of very sane judgement. He wanted not believe in any fantastic stories, though he sometimes relates what he had been told. Therefore his note about the “Black Kalmucks” looks quite comical. What would he have had to say about the “Black Hungarians” and the “Black Vikings”? Zap. 2 p.49 fn. 97 reports that the name of the Black Kalmucks was used to stress that they were not the White Kalmucks (Teleuts). What is meant in this work by the Teleuts, remains enigmatic, since in other works the Teleuts are reckoned among the Altai-Turks.

On p.89 Bell tells of Ayuka Khan, a descendant in the fourth generation of Xō Örlüg, as one of the three rulers between the Volga and the Wall of China: “Few languages can carry a

traveller over a grater extent than that of the Kalmucks". In his Diary from the journey to the Persian Shah, Bell also told of Ayuka as being generally respected for his "sagacity and justice" (p.28 and 487). According to Howorth (I p.567) Ayuka had eight sons and five daughters from three wives. Miyawaki (p.220) Nr. 61 reckons only six sons.

While in Tobolsk, Bell (p.49 fn.) also became acquainted with the later very well-known explorer Strahlenberg, but knows him only by his bourgeois name Tabbert: "Captain Tabar, a Swedish officer was at this time writing a history of Siberia. He was a gentleman capable for such a performance, and if it shall ever be published, it cannot fail of giving great satisfaction to the curious". The editor says in a footnote: "I know of no History of Siberia by Captain Tabar", and refers to the anonymous Relation de la Grande Tartarie..., Amsterdam 1737. According to an explanation by Amanuensis Liisa Koski of the Helsinki University Library, this travelogue was published in the tenth volume of the Recueil de voyages au Nord, edited by Jean Frédérique Bernard in 1738 (?). Tabbert-Strahlenberg (1676-1747) had been taken prisoner after Pultava and sent to Siberia, from where he was liberated 1722. In 1726 he published a Vorbericht eines Werkes von der grossen Tartarey und Sibirien, mit Anhang von Gross-Russland, and in 1739 a map of Siberia and the important work on Das Nord-und Ostliche Teil von Europa und Asien. It seems, that he had indiscriminately used his fellow prisoners to collect materials for his books, without ever mentioning the names of his informants.

While speaking of Tobolsk (p.49) Bell wanted to give a description of the river Irtysh, that passes the town:" The Irtysh takes its rise from a great lake, named Korzan, in a mountainous country, about fifteen hundred verst to the southward of Tobolsky". Here the name Korzan seems to be a mistake. On the maps there is a river Kurtsum running to the Irtysh some miles to the north of Lake Zaisan. According to Baddeley (II p.125) the Kalmucks had found their only

possibility of surviving in fishing in the lake Kisalpu, through which the Irtysh runs. As a token of their gratitude they had then given the lake the name Zaisan 'noble'. Ramstedt KWb. 471b interprets zās̄n 'Stammältester, Haupt irgendeines Geschlechts, Richter bei dem Volksgerichte, der Zaisang'. According to Lessing 1027b it is an honorific title of the chief of a clan, used mostly by the Kalmucks. G.Fr. Müller (Samml. VIII p.409) tells that the Kalmucks had originally crossed the frontier during a famine and were thus compelled to eat even fish from Lake Kisalpu-nor, though fish “sonst bey ihnen keine gewöhnliche Speise sind”. As a sign of appreciation they had given the lake the name Saissan “das Wort Saissan bedeutet einen Befehlshaber”. Spathary, quoted by Baddeley II 248, calls the lake Kizil-baš 'red-Head'.

According to HJ 497b Kuzzibash / Kesselbaches/ Coxelbaxas / Kuzzilbash was a title, given since the Safavi-Dynasty to the Turks in Persia, who wore red caps and were a governing class. Cf. Uzbek Dict. 611a, Radloff II I, 827. Spathary's name of the lake might be the result of some misunderstanding (= Kizil taš 'red rock'? ). For the name Kisalpu I have not seen any explanation: if the addition nōr ~ nūr (<Mong. L nagur) is original, the whole name would perhaps be explained from Mongolian?

The tale of the immigration of the Oirats – Kalmucks seems also to be reflected by certain MSS. Thus the old MS Q 561 of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in the Library of the St. Petersburg University according to Ligeti S. XII must have entered the Russian Empire in connection with the immigration of the Kalmucks. The MS was identified by Vladimircov in his Mongolskij sbornik p.44 fn. ; in his Sravn. gramm. p.37, Nr. 24, he dated it 'obviously to the 17th century'. Bell, however, did not know anything about this MS, but of certain others: “After the Irtysh hath run for many miles through a hilly country covered with wood, it passes through a fine fruitful plain, inhabited by the Kalmucks, till it comes to a house called Sedmy-Palaty, or the Seven Rooms, situated to the right in coming down the river. It is surprising to find such a regular

edifice in the middle of a desert. Some of the Tartars say it was built by Tamerlane, called by the Tartars Temyr-Ack-Sack<sup>4)</sup> or Lame-Temyr; others by Gingeez-Chan. The building according to the best information I could obtain, is of brick or stone, well finished, and continues still entire. It consists of seven apartments under one roof, from whence it has the name of seven Palaces. Several of these rooms are filled with scrolls of glazed paper, fairly wrote, and many of them in gilt character. Some of the scrolls are black, but the greatest part white. The language in which they are written is that of the Tongusts, or the Kalmucks. While I was at Tobolsky, I met with a soldier in the street with a bundle of these papers in his hand. He asked me to buy them, which I did for a small sum. I kept them till my arrival in England, where I distributed them among my friends, particularly to that learned antiquarian Sir Hans Sloane who valued them at a high rate, and gave them a place in his celebrated museum.”<sup>5)</sup>

Bell also describes the history of the leaves sent to the West: “Two of these scrolls were sent, by order of the Emperor, Peter the First, to the Royal Academy at Paris. The Academy returned a translation, which I saw in the rarity-chamber at St. Petersburg. One of them contained a commission to a lama or priest, and the other a form of prayer to the Deity. Whether this interpretation may be depended on, I shall no determine.”

The above number 2836 seems to contain a leaf from a handwritten Mongol Kanjur: Ka eldeb gorin gurban (= mdo sna chogs), in the middle of the page:... /yabudali ogugata ayilgaqui neretü bölüg bolai/tendeče ilaĵu tegüs nögčigsen degedü bayasqulang tu qagan bodistw a dur ĵarlig bolurun/ (= Ligeti Nr. 908, Otani Nr. 819?). My notes, made at the time read:

Under the same pressmark also six leaves in Tibetan, silver and gold letters on black paper. Also BM Sloane 4096 consists of two leaves:

1. coarsely written leaf, in the left margin Cha Vinay qorin naiman(=Ligeti 1130 =Otani 1031 ?);

2. a leaf like 2835: 3 A (or YA?) eldeb ĵiren (?) naiman (=Ligeti 1101 = Otani 1007 ?).

The number of the leaves seems not to agree with that mentioned on the slips. Sloane 2835 consists of six leaves:

1. (..?..)-yin eldeb sudur dalan gurban, in the right, margin qorin ĵirgugan. In the middle of the leaves a chapter ends badir a bali yin üĵegsen samadi yin qorin gutagar bölüg bolai (= Ligeti 875 = Otani 786 ?).

2. I olangki (?) sudur ĵagun gučin yisün.

3. Ya eldeb ĵiran tabun, in the right margin qorin dörben (=Ligeti 1019-1020 = Otani 928-929).

4. Ca dandir a qorin gurban, in the middle of the leaf a sentence ends minu tarni yin kiĵaglal ügei üĵegülel ügei gaiqam bölüg (= Ligeti 379 = Otani 374 ?).

5. Kha yum döčün dolugan (= Ligeti 747 = Otani 730 ?).

6. Ba eldeb sudur sakiria (?) ĵagun yeren (?) dolugan (= Ligeti 909 = Otani 822?), with a slip with the text: Six rolls of those taken by the Muscovites to the south East of Siberia in Tartary, wrote in the language of that country upon white paper, given to Sir Hans Sloane by Mr. Grainger (= James Grainger, who in 1688 had written a letter to Sloane?).

In the Stowe Collection, too, we can find similar leaves: (Stowe Or. 32):

Pa. vinaya (?) gurban ĵagun tabin qoyar (=Ligeti 1139 = Otani 1035 ?).

Ga olangki sudur qoyar ĵagun gučin yisün (Ligeti 844 = Otani 842 ?).

Ma dandir a qoyar ĵagun yiren ĵirgugan (= Ligeti 370 = Otani 365 ?).

The attached slip says: “These 3 Tartar Rolls were found in the temple at Dalamcotta when that place was taken by capt. Jones about the year 1771. – Dalamcotta is in the mountains which separate India from Boutan, to the norward of Bengal.” There are two additional leaves of a Mongol manuscript in gold on black paper: Ka dandir a jagun dōčīn (= Ligeti 3 = Otani 4 ?).

Ka erdini (?) tabin yisūn (= Ligeti 792 = Otani 760 ?).

Bell's explanation that these fragments had been found at Semipalatinsk, which was founded 1718 by colonel Stupin, does not hold true.<sup>6)</sup> Already contemporaries Bell knew that the place where they were found was the monastery Ablai-yin Kyit, founded in the 17th c. by Ablai, a prince of the Khosud tribe of the Dörbön Oirad, according to G.F. Müller (only BSE I p.22c calls him a Sultan of the Kazakstan Middle Horde). He had in 1640 asked for the protection of Russia. According to Baikoff (Baddeley II 161) Ablai asked the Tsar to send him the cuirass of Yermak as a gift in 1650. Having got it, however, he was drowned in 1681 because of its weight. Müller, again, tells that in 1671 Ablai was taken prisoner by the Torguts, who gave him to the Russians. The latter brought him to Astrachan “ubi senectute confectus diem obiit”. According to Müller, in the ruins of his home more than 1500 fragments of scripts in Tibetan and Mongolian, and six pieces of boards engraved with Mongolian characters had been found. These scripts were then used by the nomads as windowpanes or for wrapping wares. Müller wrote, surely exaggerating, that there were so much of the scripts that “vix decem equi iis avehendis suffecturissint.”

The French colletion Histoire des decouvertes 3, Bern 1787, p.35 ff., tells that in Semipalatnaya there were “à 12 verstes au dessus de cette forteresse... diferentes ruines d'anciennes habitations... baties par les Buchares”. Since Pallas himself was sick, he sent Sokoloff to Ablai-yin Kyit, which at that time still was outside the Russian frontiers. Sokoloff found only tiny scraps of script on paper. “Mais on y trouve, en revanche, des petits morceaux

de la première écorce du bouleau sur lesquels sont tracés caractères mongoles, dont il y en a bien par-ci par là quelques-uns d'effacés, mais la substance de l'écorce n'a souffert aucune altération"... "lorsque M. Gmelin l'oncle visita ce temple, on y trouvait encore quantités des manuscrits entiers: "Nos soldats", dit-il, "nous en rapportèrent beaucoup, tant Kalmouques que Tangouts, de toute forme, de toute espece, et en differens caracteres. Les Tangoutes estoient sur du papier fort uni, bleu ou blanc, ou de couleur d'or; tous les Kalmouques, sur du papier blanc et en encre noir ou rouge. Nous trouvames aussi quelques papiers imprimes, et on nous apporta les caracteres en bois: ils estoient longs, quadrangulaires et portoient les lettres mongales. A la couleur noire, dont il estoient teints, on voyoit clairement qu'ils avoient servis, mais nous ne trouvames rien d'imprime avec ces caracteres".

According to Baddeley I lxxix, Zaya Pandita had visited Ablai in 1647 and 1652–53, and in 1675 consecrated the monastery. It seems, however, that no scripts with the national alphabet of the Kalmucks had been preserved. Only Müller tells (p.449) that he had seen three books on birch bark (?) "idiomate Calmuccio perscriptos", got from the Ablai–yin Kyit. In his opinion these were by no means "vulgares, tamen nec inter rariora ponendi".

We know that the Mongols borrowed their script from the Uigurs. Abbé Jean Paul Bignon, the librarian of the French king Louis XV, in his letter to Peter the Great (published by Müller p.425) denied the existence of any people called "Uigur", explaining that the Mongols used to call all unknown foreigners "Uigur". Already Rubruquis (ca. 1210–1270) had defined Uigurian as the original tongue and root of Turkic and Coman.

On the other hand, Bell had the habit of classifying all unknown peoples and languages as "Tartars" (cf. Sinor p.239), and in addition to the Kalmucks, the Turkic Kara-Kalpacks, the

Cheremiss and Czuvasch (p.35) were so classified. On p.40 he says about the people “called Vogullitz”, that their language, dressing and manners differs from those of all the other peoples he had seen. They only show some resemblance with the Czuvasches around Kasan. The Voguls inhabit woods, subsisting on hunting and fishing. He admits that the Voguls “are an honest inoffensive people, but not very numerous”. In spite of this statement he calls (pp.43-44) the Voguls “Tartars”. On p.201 Bell tells that the Ostyaks “differ from all the other tribes of natives in Siberia, both in complexion and language. Many of them are fair, resembling the people of Finland, and they have many Finnish words in their language”. Since Bell obviously did not know a word of Finnish, this statement must have some of the Finnish prisoners of war as its source. It also is very inaccurately formulated. On the other hand, Bell seems not at all to have understood the resemblances between Vogul and Ostyak, which should be clearer than those between Ostyak and Finnish.

When Bell (p.54) says “Baraba, which signifies, in the Tartar language, a marshy plain”, (cf. Sinor p.239), he seems to have also made Russian a “Tartar” language, cf. RED I 122 bara, Gr. *βόεβοεος* 'mud', etc.

The ur or uhrox mentioned on p.59 seems to correspond to Engl. urus ~ aurochs 'Bos primigenius' while the “another species of oxen called bubul by the Tartars” seems to be very close to Latin bubulus, bubalus 'rindartiges Tier' 'afrikanische Gazelle'; cf. Turk. bugu 'Hirsch', buqu 'Bulle' etc. p.99 zuber 'stag' seems to be Russ. 'Wisent, Auerox' (?).

When speaking of the Chinese and their way of living, Bell also gave (p.187) some examples of their language, i.a. numerals and nine words. Then he quoted the numerals 1-10 in Manchu. He had obviously heard these only orally spoken, and his notes were therefore



somewhat inexact: '1' emu=emu, '2' dio=juve, '3' ilan=ilan, '4' tuin=duin, '5' suinja=sunja, '6' nyngu=ninggun, '7' naadan=nadan, '8' jaachun=jakun, '9' une=uyun, '10' ioan=juwan.

After the Manchu numerals Bell (p.188) gives those of the “Mongal”. In my eyes these seem to be constructed on the basis of the Kalmuck and the Ordos pronunciation:

	Kalmuck	Ordos	Kalmuck	
			according to	Paulinus-Lindheim
1: <u>neggea</u>	R 274a	negŋ	nege	negen
2: <u>choir</u>	R 181b	xojɾ	xojor	chour
3: <u>gurba</u>	R 156a	gurwŋ	gurwa	gurban
4: <u>dirbbin</u>	R 100a	dörwŋ	dörwö	dörben
5: <u>tabú</u>	R 385b	tawŋ	tawu	tabun
6: <u>zurga</u>	R 481a	zurgān	džurgā	surgan
7: <u>dolo</u>	R 94a	dolān	dolō	dolon
8: <u>nauma</u>	R 273b	nāmŋ	nāma	naiman
9: <u>jussu</u>	R 218b	ö jüsŋ	jsʷ	gesin
(g- acc.to Swedish orthography pro j-)				
10: <u>arba</u>	R 15b	arwŋ	arwa	arban
20: <u>choiry</u>	R 188b	xörŋ	xori	
30: <u>gutshy</u>	R 156b	gutšŋ	gutši	
40: <u>dutshy</u>	R 190b	dötšŋ	dötši	
50: <u>taby</u>	R 388a	tāwŋ	tawi	
60: <u>dira</u>	R 113a	džirŋ	džira	
70: <u>dala</u>	R 74b	dalŋ	dala	
80: <u>naya</u>	R 270a	najŋ	naja	

90: <u>ireä</u>	R 218b	jirŋ	jire
100: <u>dzo</u>	R 482a	zün	džü
1000: <u>minga</u>	R 263a	miŋgan	minga
10000: <u>tumea</u>	R 415a	tümŋ	t□ᠤmen

Bell then quotes on p.188 some words in Mongolian:

			Kalmuck	Ordos
<u>burchan</u>	<u>God</u>	R 62a	burxan	burxan
<u>tengery</u>	<u>The heavens</u>	R 392a	teŋŋɾ	t□eŋger
<u>gadzar</u>	<u>The earth</u>	R 148a	gazɾ	gadžar
<u>narra</u>	<u>The sun</u>	R 272a	narŋ	nara
<u>shara</u>	<u>The moon</u>	R 313a	sara	sara
<u>odu</u>	<u>The stars</u>	R 283b	odŋ	udu
<u>ulea</u>	<u>The clouds</u>	R 461a	ülŋ	ᠤle

Bell also quotes the Tibetan (“Tangutan”) numerals:

	Tib. L.	Tib. coll.
<u>dgi</u>	gčig	chi
<u>neé</u>	gñis	nyi
<u>sum</u>	gsum	sum
<u>che</u>	bži	shi
<u>gno</u>	lña	nga
<u>duk</u>	druk	t'truk'

<u>dunn</u>	bdun	dün
<u>dja</u>	brgjad	gye
<u>gu</u>	dgu	gu
<u>dju-tamba</u>	bču	chu

Tib. L. tham-pa 'complete, full', according to the Dictionary of Das(p.572a) is almost exclusively used as a pleonastic addition to the tens.

In his thirst for knowledge Bell also asked questions of an Indian “Fakir” he had met (cf. p.95), and quotes the numerals:

	Hindi
<u>eck</u>	ek
<u>duy</u>	do
<u>tin</u>	tīn
<u>tzar</u>	cīr
<u>penge</u>	pañc
<u>tzo</u>	chak
<u>taste</u>	sat
<u>aatza</u>	āṭha
<u>nouy</u>	nau
<u>dass</u>	das

Turner's Comparative Dict. of the Indo-Aryan Languages does not know anything like tatse and aatza under the words sapta 13139 and aṣṭa 941. However, Bell's statement that the Indians “call China by the name of Kitat, and the Emperor Amola-Chan” seems not entirely to be relied

on: still today China is called in Hindi Cīna, but according to Hindi dictionaries there is a word amola ~ amūlya 'inestimably valuable, worthy'.<sup>7)</sup>

Certain other Indian explanations of Bell look enigmatic: (p.188) “The Indians call Russia Olt.<sup>8)</sup> The first great Lama or high priest, near the borders of India is called Beyngin-Bogdu<sup>9)</sup>, and hath his residence at a place called Digerda.<sup>10)</sup> The second is the Delay-Lama, residing in Lahassar<sup>11)</sup>; the Indians call him Tantzy-Kenna.<sup>12)</sup> From Digerda to Lahassar is a month's journey on foot. The third is the Kutuchtu, called by the Indians Tarranat<sup>13)</sup>, who resides at the Urga, not far from Selinginsky. The present Great Mogul is called Sheyhalin Patisha.<sup>14)</sup> The Indian married Priests are the Brachmans<sup>15)</sup>; their monks are called Atheits<sup>16)</sup> and their military men Resput.”<sup>17)</sup>

The Foreign words used by Bell are often difficult to etymologize, e.g. shivers (p.196) is in RED explained: šiverá “a shallow rapid in a mountain river”. The word occurs in Russian dialects of Siberia, and its origin is said to be “a dialectal form of síver 'a northern slope' (?), cf. Sinor p.238. Bell's etymologies even may be erroneous, e.g. p.103 “a place called Saratzyn, or the New Moon”, while others seem to be quite trustworthy. When his Indian friend e.g. (p.95) “told me he was a native of Indostan, and had often been in Madrass, which he called Chinpatan”, this name corresponds closely enough to the Tamil name Chenna-Pattanam of Madras. Bell's use of the verb 'to name' may cause some confusion, e.g. on the same page he says “a chief named Taysha”: he very well knew this was a title. He also tells (p.172) “This gentleman, named Aloy, was by birth a Mongall Tartar”, and Stevenson in his footnote states “Aloy was an official title (Master of Ceremonies), not a personal name”. Sinor, however, says (p.234) that this does not remind him of any Mongol or Manchu title and suggest that it must be a name. Another member of the embassy, Lange, has published his diaries from the time after the main part of the Embassy had left Peking, and he tells (p.29) of “Ahloya ou maitre de Ceremonies”: this is

obviously the same word as Bell's Aloy, and Lange's translation (with its ou) obviously supports the view of Stevenson. Sinor also wanted (p.238) to explain Bell's Asschinoma as a proper name. This word, too, occurs in the work of Lange (p.97) "Aschinamme ou Vice President". This title is found in the work of Ivanovski (Cf. 6 B), who says that Asxan i amban is pronounced like Aschanamba, and gives it the meaning "a Vice Minister". N.F.Katanov, who has written the explanations to Spathary's travelogue, says that Asxanyama or Asxani amban means "a member of the Council of Ministers".

As a surgeon Bell also showed interest in medical plants, especially in rhubarb, which still at that time kept an important place in the medical practice. Bell came to speak of the rhubarb (p.107) when describing the marmot, since in Mongolia, where one sees some rhubarb plants growing, he can also suspect a colony of marmots. Bell then states that he will describe the plant more in detail, since he had "never met with an author, or person who could give a satisfactory account where, or how it grows".<sup>18)</sup> Bell's description of the collecting and treatment of the plant seems to have been well noted, since it is still quoted in the Encyclopaedia Britannica 11 ed. 1911, Vol. 23 p.273.

The medical use of the rhubarb seems to have started in china, where it is described already ca. 2700 B.C. in the medical work Pen-king, while in the west it seems to be first mentioned by Dioskorides in the first century A.D. In France rhubarb was in 1542 sold at a price ten times as high as cinnamom and four times as high as that of saffron. In the seventeenth century *Reum rhaponticum* was already cultivated in Europe, but still in England in 1657 a pound of it cost 16 shillings, while opium only cost 12, and in 1777 Sir Alexander Dick got a Guinea for it. After 1704 commerce with rhubarb was in Russia a monopoly of the state, and Urga was the

depot of the ware. In 1728, however, the depot was moved to Kiachta, but after 1860 rhubarb from Russia no longer reached the European market.

Ramstedt seems not to mention the rhubarb in his memoirs from Mongolia. However, Halén has been able to detect a notice in the Finnish Gardening Magazine Puutarha, 1914 p.110 f., according to which from his journey in 1912 Ramstedt had brought seeds of rhubarb collected on the Orkhon, in a place where the plants were growing in soil broken up by marmots. In Finland the seeds germinated well, and the plants proved to be more durable and hardy than those of native seeds, but they were more fibrous and had a thicker rind than the latter.

In his Kalmuck Dictionary Ramstedt quotes two words for the rhubarb:

1. P.14a argui (=Golstunski I 65b *Perilla Ocymoides*), but this seems to go back to Kowalewsky I 155c arqui '*Oxalis acetosella* (sorrel)'(a subspecies of which is mentioned in reference works as *Oxalis Alpina* or *Radix Rhei Monachorum*): it seems difficult to mix these two plants.

2. P.27a badzuna = Ölöt algu, while p.7a algu has been rendered as the Sarsaparilla. The only species of *Smilax*- Sarsaparilla growing in Asia seems, according to the reference works, to be the *Smilax China*: does Kalm. algu mean that?

The M-M, which may be regarded as normative, has 145b gišüne and bazuna (=Hangin 197a), and 67a the explanation bazuna: urgamal gišüne, gišüni ündüs. Since there should be no alternation g- ~ k -, the forms Lessing 473b kisigüne, and Troxel xišün look problematic. According to Golstunski II 208b badzuna ~ baĵiuna 'rhubarb', III 431c gišüne 'wild rhubarb', but Golstunski seems to have taken his words and their translations from Kowalevski III 2525b.

Gunzel quotes three words: 240 gaxai-yin čikin ('pig's ear'), 251 gešigün ündüsün, and 380 šira modu ('yellow wood?'). Lessing knows baḡiguna, in addition to those taken from Gunzel. According to Räsänen 388b Koman rauand, Özb. revand, Tar. rāy□an, Osm. rāvent come all from Persian rāvand, like Russian (since 1489) reven. Would it not be possible to connect the Iranian forms with Greek ῥῆνον ~ reFont-? Nyberg in his Pahlavi Manual II 169b: rēpās 'a plant'; NP ribās, rīvās, rīvāj or rīvanj 'sour herb, sorrel', generally taken as 'rhubarb' ; NP rīvand; Pashto rawāš; Khovar riwis 'rhubarb', quoted by Morgenstierne in BSOS VIII p.659. (I owe this Khovar occurrence to my friend Dr. Bertil Tikkanen).

In Middle-Iranic mythology the rhubarb had an important place (Bundahišn XIV 6): When Gayomart, the original First Man, was killed by Ahriman, two parts of his semen fell on the ground, and after 30 years repas karp ī ēwag stūn-i panj dah warg, Mahrīya u Mahrīyanīg az zamī abar rust hend, "Mašya and Mašyani grew up out of the earth in the shape of a rhubarb, one stalk with fifteen blades". They then changed their shape of plant to that of Man, and the xwarenah, i.e. the soul, went in them.

It is interesting that Bell so early quotes (p.89) the name Amur, without, however, giving it any etymology or explanation: (p.90) "Since I have mentioned the Amoor I presume this will be no improper place to give some account of that river. It is called by the Tartars Shaggalynoulla, or the Black Dragon, I suppose from the colour of its waters, and the windings of its course". It seems that here the Tartars mean the Manchu, and in their language Amur is Sahaliyan-ula 'Black River', in Dagur it is Xara mur. In Chinese it is either Hei-ho 'Black River' or Hei-lung-kiang 'Black Dragon River'. Ramstedt obviously did not know any satisfactory explanation to the name 'Amur', since in his lectures he only mentioned that the Count N.N Murawiew-Amurski

(1809–1881) happened to be in love when he (ca. 1850?) named the river. This seems thus to be a rather unsuccessful joke.

When Bell p.92 says “What they call Urga is the court or the place where the prince and the high priests reside”, he in fact explains the word Örgö pronounced by the Russians as Urga, meaning just“(the prince's) court”. On p.93 Bell continues “I shall now subjoin a few observations on the Delay-Lama, or priests of the desert, who is reckoned still superior to the Kutuchtu. He lives about a month's journey to the south-east of this place, among a people called the Tonguts, who use a different language from the Kalmucks”. In my opinion the geographic location is rather wrong, nor can I agree with Stevenson's opinion expressed in his footnote(p.93) “that(Bell) notes correctly, that the Dalai Lama owes his title to the Mongolians”. What Bell says, is “I am informed that the religion of the Tanguts is the same with that of the Mongalls: that they hold the same opinions with respect to the transmigration of the Delay-Lama, as the Mongalls do about the Kutuchtu, and that he is elected in the same manner.. The word daley signifies either the sea, or a great plain such as the priest inhabits”: one would hardly call the Potala mountain 'a great plain'. Bell does not even say that the word daley is a Mongol word.

That the Tibetans were called Tanguts etc. seems to be an often recurring inexactness of occidental writers. They do not seem to have had any knowledge of the Tanguts-Si Hia, the realm of which was conquered by the Mongols in the time of Čingiz Khan.

Bell's treatment of the historical happenings is characterized by Stevenson (fn. on p.94) as “rather garbled”: “The Tanguts are a separated people, governed by a Prince whom they called Lazin-Chan”. As R. Stein(p.61) explains, this Lha-bzañ Khan was the ruler of the Khosut – Mongols of the lake Kōke-Nur region. He attacked Lhasa, killed the Regent Sañs rgyas rgya



mcho, and kidnapped the sixth Dalai-Lama, who died, and then tried to impose the seventh. The candidate selected by him did not, however, please the Tibetans, who invited the Dzungarian Kalmucks to help: the latter invaded Tibet and killed Lha-bzañ in 1717. The Chinese reacted very quickly, occupying Lhasa in 1720, destroying its walls, and leaving a garrison there to secure the seventh Dalai-Lama set on the throne by the Chinese: Tibet was now regarded as a Chinese protectorate, and this status lasted up to 1912 and in the eyes of the Chinese lasts still today.

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