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Author(s): Larry V. Clark

Source: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 93, No. 2, (Apr. - Jun., 1973), pp. 181-189

Published by: American Oriental Society

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/598891>

Accessed: 03/06/2008 17:29

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THE TURKIC AND MONGOL WORDS IN WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK'S *JOURNEY* (1253-1255)*

LARRY V. CLARK
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

This article assembles the twenty Turkic and Mongol words, excluding onomastica, appearing in the Latin text of a 13th century travel account. Although all but a few of these words had been identified in older editions of the work, these identifications were either inaccurate or insufficiently documented in the light of modern scholarship. Here, each word is placed in its original context and provided with textual and etymological commentary, as well as with the bibliography relevant to it. The words may be considered for the most part as technical terms randomly noted and referring to the material and spiritual culture of the Inner Asian peoples encountered by Rubruck. The study reveals that Turkic lexica preponderate over Mongol lexica. This nonetheless does not constitute adequate evidence for inferring that Turkic was the "international language" in use during the inception of the Mongol Empire. The rich descriptive detail accompanying the words in Rubruck's account make it an important early source for the historical lexicography of the Turkic and Mongol languages.

AMONG THE ACCOUNTS left by 13th-14th century European travellers in the Mongol Empire, that of William of Rubruck occupies a place of prominence for the amplitude of its descriptive detail. Scholars have turned repeatedly to Rubruck's account in search of historical and ethnographic information, and have rarely gone away empty-handed. Rubruck also includes some twenty Turkic and Mongol words with their definitions, to which as yet no study has been devoted. The notes and commentaries which accompany the several editions of his text have been useful in their way, but they also contain a number of inaccuracies or were drawn up before sufficiently detailed information upon these languages was available.

Recently, the definitive treatments of such lexica in the accounts of Marco Polo by Paul Pelliot¹ and of Plano Carpini by Professor Denis Sinor²

have established the proper critical procedure such investigations must follow. In addition, there are articles treating individual words in the writings of Odoric of Pordenone³ and Andrew of Perugia.⁴ With the present study, I hope to provide a similarly detailed commentary to all the Turkic and Mongol words in Rubruck's text for those interested either in the text itself or in the historical lexicography of these languages.

As the basis of my study, I use the critical edition of Rubruck which was published by Anastasius van den Wyngaert.⁵ I have also consulted the English translations of William Rockhill⁶ and

(1245-1247)," in: Louis Ligeti, editor, *Mongolian Studies* (Budapest 1970, pp. 537-551); hereafter: Sinor, *Carpini*.

³ Paul Pelliot, "Le nom turc du vin dans Odoric de Pordenone," (*T'oung Pao* V. 15, 1914, pp. 448-453); "Le mot *bigni* (ou *begni*?) "vin" en turc," (*T'oung Pao* V. 24, 1926, pp. 61-64).

⁴ Francis Woodman Cleaves, "Alaba = '(A)l(a)f(a)h," (*Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* V. 35, 1964, pp. 181-187).

⁵ Anastasius van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana, I. Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Quaracchi-Firenze 1929), pp. 145-332; hereafter: Wyngaert.

⁶ William Woodville Rockhill, *The Journeys of William of Rubruck and John of Plan de Carpini to Tartary in the 13th Century* (*Hakluyt Society, Series II, V. 4*, London 1900); hereafter: Rockhill.

* I am pleased to acknowledge my gratitude for the kind help and encouragement which Professor Denis Sinor has extended to me throughout the writing of this paper. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that, although several of Professor Sinor's suggested improvements have been incorporated into the paper, any errors which remain are entirely my own.

¹ Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I-II (Paris 1959-1963); hereafter cited as: Pelliot, *Notes*.

² Denis Sinor, "Mongol and Turkic words in the Latin versions of John of Plano Carpini's Journey to the Mongols

C. Raymond Beazley,⁷ and indicate their treatments of each word. I do not so indicate for the Russian translation of N. Šastina,⁸ since in all cases she adopts Rockhill's comments, nor for the older English edition of Manuel Komroff,⁹ who does not provide any notes to these words. It is regrettable that the reputedly good German edition of Rubruck by Friedrich Risch¹⁰ has remained unavailable to me, and so could not be incorporated.

There now exist several important reference works upon the Altaic lexicon,¹¹ so that I have not felt it necessary to make voluminous citations of the forms of each word as they appear in the Turkic and Mongol languages. Only when the exact citation is not contained in one of the works listed in the "Literature" section of each article do I provide a footnote reference. In most cases, I content myself with the identification of the word and the discussion of any problems which are deemed relevant. The words are given in alphabetical order according to the spelling of the original, each heading followed by its location (chapter and paragraph) in Wyngaert, the Latin context in which it occurs, and an English translation. As a final note, I have excluded from this study the numerous placenames, ethnonyms, personal names and titles mentioned by Rubruck.

⁷ C. Raymond Beazley, *The Texts and the Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis* (London 1903); hereafter: Beazley.

⁸ N. P. Šastina, *Džiovanni del' Plano Karpini Istoriya mongolov—Gil'om de Rubruk Putešestvie v vostočnye strany* (Moskva 1957).

⁹ Manuel Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York 1928).

¹⁰ Friedrich Risch, *Wilhelm von Rubruk. Reise zu den Mongolen 1253-1255* (Leipzig 1934).

¹¹ In addition to the abbreviations mentioned in the above footnotes, the following are in the text:

DTS = *Drevnetjurksij slovar'* (Leningrad 1969); I also cite the language of Maḥmud Kāšyārī after the DTS.

EWb = Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkssprachen* (Helsinki 1969)

TME = Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, I-III* (Wiesbaden 1963-1967)

Wb = Wilhelm Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte, I-IV* (St. Petersburg 1893-1911).

AIRAM (Wyngaert 189; IX 3) Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte suo vaccino, a quo extractum erat butirum, acetoso valde, quod ipsi vocant *airam*. "They gave us some of their cows' milk to drink: the butter had been extracted from it and it was very sour, and is what they call *airam*."

This is the Turkic *ayran*, the word for the product of cows' milk similar to, but decidedly stronger than buttermilk.¹² The identification was correctly made by Rockhill, whose text has *aira*. Other variants in Wyngaert's critical edition are *agram* and *apram*, the latter adopted by Beazly. None of these variants is significant. The final *-m* in place of *-n* is not uncommon in medieval manuscripts, and occurs several times in Rubruck (see, e.g., *culam*, *tam*). The Mongols borrowed the term from the Turks at a very early date, modifying it to *airay*. During the Yüan Dunasty, *airay* came to be applied to the milk of mares rather than of cows.¹³

It is tempting to derive *ayran* from the Turkic verb **adır-* (>*ađır-*, *ayır-*, etc.) "to separate, part."¹⁴ Doerfer considers this etymology improbable for the following reason. In the language of Kāšyārī's dictionary, the **d* of Old Turkic has developed into an interdental fricative *ḍ*, so that we find there *ađır-*, and so on. Were *ayran* from **adır-*, Doerfer reasons, we should find **ađran* in Kāšyārī, whereas we actually find only *ayran*.¹⁵

¹² There are a number of articles devoted to the milk culture of Inner Asian peoples where the terms *ayran*, *kumis* and *kurut* are discussed; see: Gustav Rank, "Gegorene Milch und Käse bei den Hirtenvölkern Asiens," (*Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* V. 70, 1970, #3); Ulla Johansen, "Tranken die Alten Türken Milch-Branntwein?," (*Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* V. 33, 1961, pp. 226-234); A. V. Adrianov, "Ajrān v žizni minusinskago inorodtsa," in: *Sbornik v čest 70-letiya G. N. Potanina* (= *Zapiski russkago geografičeskago obščestva po otdeleniyu etnografii* V. 34, 1909, pp. 489-524).

¹³ Herbert Franke, "Additional notes on non-Chinese terms in the Yüan Imperial Dietary Compendium Yin-Shan Cheng-Yao," (*Zentralasiatische Studien* V. 4, Bonn 1970, pp. 7-16), p. 8.

¹⁴ An etymology suggested already, among others, by Sir Gerard Clauson, "The Turkish Elements in 14th Century Mongolian," (*Central Asiatic Journal* V. 5, 1960, pp. 301-316), p. 309.

¹⁵ A search through other Turkic languages where the **d* of **adır-* has developed into a sound other than *y* (namely: **d*> Yakut *l*, Tuva *d*, Khakas group and Yellow Uighur *z*, Chuvash *r*) has not turned up any forms of *ayran* (e.g., **azran*, or the like) which would prove its origin from **adır-*. It will be recognized that the Chuvash *uyran* and *uyăr-* "to separate" are inconclusive, since

While this argument is logically sound, it should be noted that in practice Kāšyārī frequently lists words with both variants; e.g., *aḍyır~ayyır* "stallion" (DTS 14), *kaḍin~kayin* "father-in-law" (DTS 404, 407), etc. It is not entirely unlikely that there was an **aḍran* as counterpart to Kāšyārī's *ayran*, but that it either no longer survived or was omitted from his dictionary. That this was possible is attested to by the case of the verb "to pour." Forms such as Uighur *kud-*, Yakut *kuł-*, Khakas *xus-*, Yellow Uighur *kuz-*, Chagatay *kuy-*,¹⁶ all clearly indicate an original **kud-*, which ought therefore to be registered by Kāšyārī as **kuḍ-*. In fact, Kāšyārī only cites the form *kuy-* (DTS 464).

Literature: Rockhill, p. 85, note 2; EWb 12; TME II, pp. 179-181, No. 639.

BAL (Wyngaert 249; XXVIII 15) *bal*, hoc est medonem de melle. "*Bal*, that is mead made from honey."

BOAL (Wyngaert 276; XXX 2) *boal*, hoc est potum de melle. "*Boal*, that is a drink made from honey."

The form *boal* is listed as such in all the manuscripts, but it nevertheless must be a slip for the well-known Turko-Mongol word *bal* "honey." Rockhill completely mistook this word for "Turkish *buzzah*," an opinion later corrected by Pelliot.¹⁷ The word occurs in a wide variety of Middle Turkic glossaries and literary documents, its earliest occurrence being that in Kāšyārī's dictionary of 1073.¹⁸ Although *bal* is attested in Classical Mongol and in several of the modern languages, its absence, with one exception,¹⁹ in Middle Mongol sources points to its provenance from Turkic. The connection of *bal* to Indo-European and Finno-Ugric words for "honey" has been discussed by Sinor.²⁰

Literature: Rockhill 173, note 2; Wb IV 1489; EWb 59.

Common Turkic **d* becomes Chuvash *y* (~dialect *v*) before a second *r*; cf. Turkic *aḍyır~Chuvash ayar* "stallion," Turkic *kudruk~Chuvash xüre* (dialect *xèvre*) "tail," etc.

¹⁶ See: EWb 296.

¹⁷ P. Pelliot, "A propos des Comans," (*Journal asiatique* 1920, I, pp. 125-185), p. 170, note 1.

¹⁸ For the Turkic forms, see: Edward Tryjarski, "Bee-keeping among the Turks," (*Acta Orientalia* V. 32, 1970, pp. 241-277), pp. 259-261.

¹⁹ The exception speaks for itself. *Bal* occurs, to my knowledge, only in the Mongol sections of the following Arabic-Persian-Turkic-Mongol language manuals: the Anonymous Leiden manuscript, Ibn Muhanna, the Muqaddimat al-Adab, and the Šamil ül-luyat; cf. Louis Ligeti, "Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanbul," (*Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* V. 14, 1962, pp. 3-99), p. 18.

²⁰ Denis Sinor, "Ouralo-Altaïque—Indo-Européen," (*T'oung Pao* V. 37, 1944, pp. 226-244), p. 237.

BOCCA (Wyngaert 182; VI 3) Preterea habent ornamentum capitis quod vocant *bocca*. "They also have a headdress which they call *bocca*."

Rubruck's detailed description of this headdress, too lengthy to reproduce in its entirety here, may be supplemented by the remarks of Plano Carpini and Odoric of Pordenone.²¹ The spelling reflects a peculiarity of medieval manuscripts in which the letters *c* and *t*, similar in shape, are frequently substituted for one another. Numerous examples of this may be found in the Marco Polo manuscripts,²² and even in Rubruck, where *Capchat* is written for Kipchak, and *iascot* for *yastuk*. Thus, Rubruck's *bocca* could be read as *bokta*, *botka*, *bokka* or *botta* (as Beazley has done), but only the first *bokta* has any real counterpart. Both Rockhill and Beazley identified *bokta* with Mongol *boytak*, a particular kind of tall headdress.

This identification is essentially correct, even if it lacks phonetic exactness. The closest Mongol form to Rubruck's *bokta* is that cited in Lessing's dictionary, *boyto* "a cap worn by married women,"²³ with the assimilation of the second vowel to the first. From this stem is derived the verb *boytola* "to put the *boyto* cap on a woman, i.e., to marry her off; to become engaged,"²⁴ Ordos *bogt'olo* (simplified)²⁵ "to place a hat upon a young girl on the day of her marriage; to give one's daughter in marriage,"²⁶ Eastern Mongol *boytolo* "to arrange a woman's headdress during the nuptial ceremony,"²⁷ and

²¹ For Carpini, see: Wyngaert 34; II 5; for Pordenone, Wyngaert 473; XXVI 4; and also: Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II: *Odoric of Pordenone* (HS, Series II, V. 33, London 1913), p. 222, note 5.

²² For example, Pelliot, *Notes* I, p. 114: *Calacuy* = *Calatuy*.

²³ Ferdinand D. Lessing, editor, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960), p. 111; incorrectly transliterated there as *boytu*.

²⁴ Lessing, *op. cit.*, p. 111; also cf. *boytola* "to celebrate an engagement" in: J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* (Kazan 1844-1849), p. 1212.

²⁵ I simplify (phonemicize) the phonetic transcription used in Father Mostaert's Ordos dictionary according to the system proposed by John C. Street, "Urdus Phonology: A Restatement," (*UJ* V. 38, 1966, pp. 92-111).

²⁶ Antoine Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos* (Peking 1941-1944), p. 74.

²⁷ Walter Heissig, "A contribution to the knowledge of East Mongolian folkpoetry," (*Folklore Studies* V. 9, Peking 1950, pp. 153-178), p. 156.

Secret History *boytala*- "to comb the head; to put on the *boytay*, the female crown."²⁸

The form of this word most often alluded to by scholars is *boytak*. As such, it appears in Persian documents concerning the Mongols as *boytag*, in the Middle Mongol glossary of Ibn Muhanna as *boqtaq*, and as a loanword in Chagatay *boktak* and Ottoman *boytak*.²⁹

The difficulties in researching this word are compounded by the fact that the headdress itself seems to have gone out of use among the Mongols,³⁰ and never seems to have been widespread among the Turks. Annemarie von Gabain describes such a headdress as worn by the Kocho Uighur, but the word for it has thus far not turned up in Uighur texts.³¹ The decline of this head garment can be traced to the Yüan period,³² whereas its use may be attested as early as the T'o-pa Wei, in whose language there is a Chinese gloss *P'u-ta-chên* "officer in charge of the ruler's clothes." Boodberg has reconstructed this as *bokta* (plus the agentive suffix *-čîn*),³³ whereas Bazin links it to Kašyari *boxtay* "clothes bundle" (DTS 115),³⁴ and thence to Turkic *boγča* "bundle, sack."³⁵ Our knowledge of the T'o-pa language is still too imperfect to allow us to make a conclusion based upon this gloss.

I would second Doerfer's hesitance in accepting the etymology of Mongol *boytala*~*bokta* from Turkic *boγ-* "to tie, wrap, bind," particularly in view of the near absence

²⁸ Antoine Mostaert, "Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrète des Mongols," (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* V. 13, 1950, pp. 285-361), pp. 331-334.

²⁹ References to these citations may be found in TME I, pp. 210-212.

³⁰ For a description of the headdress which concurs in all important particulars with that of Rubruck's, see: Schuyler Cammann, "Mongol Costume—Historical and Recent," in: Denis Sinor, editor, *Aspects of Altaic Civilization (Uralic and Altaic Series, V. 23, Bloomington 1963, pp. 157-166), p. 161.*

³¹ Annemarie von Gabain, "Notes on Dress and Ornament—the Uiyur Kingdom of Khocho," in: D. Sinor, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-174; a picture of the headdress may be found in: Denis Sinor, "Zur Datierung einiger Bildwerke aus Ost-Turkistan," (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* V. 24, 1938, pp. 83-87), p. 84.

³² Kurakichi Shiratori, "The Queue Among the Peoples of North Asia," (*Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* V. 4, 1929, pp. 1-69), pp. 36-38.

³³ Peter A. Boodberg, "The Language of the T'o-pa Wei," (*HJAS* V. 1, 1936, pp. 167-185), p. 174.

³⁴ Louis Bazin, "Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa (5^e siècle après J. C.)," (*T'oung Pao* V. 39, 1950, pp. 228-329), p. 301.

³⁵ See: EWb 78.

of the word in Turkic, except as a loan. Ultimately, Boodberg's suggestion of a Chinese origin for *bokta* must be considered as the most probable.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 73, note 2; Beazley, p. 196, 312; EWb 78; TME I, pp. 210-212, No. 89; P. Pelliot, "Les mots à H initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles," (*JA* 1925, I, pp. 193-263), p. 222.

CAPTARGAC (Wyngaert 177; III 2) Sin autem recondat in *captargac* suo, hoc est bursa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia. "But on the other hand, he may put it (food) away in his *captargac*, that is a square bag which they carry to put all such things."

Two of the Rubruck manuscripts have the variant *saptargac*, which served as the basis of Beazley's *saptargat*. Rockhill rightly rejects this spelling and adopts the correct *captargac*, further comparing it to Mongol *kaptaya* "pouch." It is quite true that the word exists in Mongol. The classical language has *qabtaγa(n)*~*qab-tarya(n)* "pursue, pouch," Ordos *gab't'arga* (simplified) "purse suspended from left side of belt in which one puts tobacco and pipe," Khalkha *xavtga* "purse," but it occurs only once in Middle Mongol, in the glossary of Ibn Muhanna *qaftaryan* "bag, pouch."³⁶ Both Räsänen and Doerfer consider Mongol the source for Teleut *kaptira*, Altay *kaptirya* "container for holding ammunition," Chagatay *kapturyay* "a large deep sack," and Yellow Uygur *kaptlrka* "bag, sack (cloth, tied to a young woman's belt)."³⁷ In view of the restricted distribution of the word, and the known Mongol influence on these Turkic languages, this may well be the case. However, it is difficult to accept this word as Mongol in origin, since its composite elements are purely Turkic. The root is surely *kap* "to seize, hold" found everywhere in Turkic, but not in Mongol,³⁸ to which a Turkic causative suffix *-tir/*. . . has been added. This causative verb is found in Kašyari *kaptur-* (DTS 421), Kirgiz, Kazakh, Bashkir, Tatar, Altay, Teleut, Turkish (Wb II 427) *kaptir-* "to make or cause to hold," but once more not in Mongol. The deverbal nominal suffix *-γa/*. . . is also well-known in Turkic,³⁹ but neither it nor the causative suffix *-tir/*. . .

³⁶ References to these citations may be found in TME I, pp. 384-385.

³⁷ S. E. Malov, *Yazyk želtjkh uigurov. Slovar' i grammatika* (Alma-Ata 1957), p. 53.

³⁸ Concerning attempts to link the Turkic *kap-* with the Mongol *qabči-* "to squeeze, clamp" in a genetic connection, see: Doerfer, TME III, pp. 373-374, No. 1372.

³⁹ E. V. Sevortyan, *Affiksy imennogo slovoobrazovaniya v azerbajdžanskom yazyke. Opyt sravnitel'nogo issledovaniya* (Moskva 1966), pp. 232-234.

occurs in Mongol. Rubruck's *captargac* ought to be read as **kaptaryak* with the final -k taken as a Turkic diminutive suffix,⁴⁰ even although the word would not seem to require it semantically. In view of its purely Turkic composition, I must consider *kaptaryak* as a Turkic word all but extinct in Turkic languages, but which has survived as a loanword in several Mongol languages.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 166, note 1; Beazley, p. 192; EWb 234; TME I, pp. 384-385, No. 262.

CARACOSMOS: see **COSMOS**

CHAN (Wyngaert 205: XVII 1) Qui vocabatur Coirchan.

Coir est proprium nomen, *chan* nomen dignitatis, quod idem est quod divinator. "One called Coirchan. Coir is a proper name, *chan* the name of the office, which is the same as soothsayer."

In this passage concerning the *Kür xan*,⁴¹ Rubruck has fostered a certain amount of confusion. Essentially, two words which are phonetically and etymologically distinct have been collapsed into a single spelling: (1) *xan* "Khan, king";⁴² and (2) *kam*, the Turkic word for "shaman." The alternation of final -m and -n occurs frequently in Rubruck's text, and in other manuscripts of the period one may, in fact, come across such spellings as *cam*, *cham*, etc., in place of *chan* (= *xan*).⁴³ Rockhill was aware of the error in the text, but Beazley passed it over in silence. There may indeed be something significant from the religious point-of-view in this confusion, but it must be emphasized that the *kam* which is implied by Rubruck's *chan* "divinator" has always been a separate word. It is first attested in Manichaean religious texts which may be dated to the 8th-9th centuries.⁴⁴ It is found in Kāšyārī, the *Kutadyu Bilig*, and in Middle Turkic sources, and still exists in nearly all the modern languages, having assumed the meaning of "fortune-teller, prognosticator" in the languages of those Turkic peoples who are no longer shamanistic. Dubious attempts have also been made, notably by Németh, to relate the Turkic *kam* by a regular sound correspondence to the Tunguz word *šaman*, which is the source of our European forms.⁴⁵

Literature: Rockhill, p. 239, note 2; EWb 228; TME III, pp. 402-406, No. 1409; Jean -Paul Roux, "Le nom

du chaman dans les textes turco-mongols," (*Anthropos* V. 53, 1958, pp. 133-142).

COSMOS (Wyngaert 177; IV 1) Ipsum *cosmos*, hoc est lac iumentinum. "*Cosmos*, that is mare's milk."

CARACOSMOS (Wyngaert 178: IV 4) Faciunt etiam *caracosmos*, hoc est nigrum *cosmos*. "They also make *caracosmos*, that is black *cosmos*."

This is the well-known nomadic alcoholic beverage called in Turkic *kumis* "mare's milk, kumyss." The *caracosmos* mentioned here is of course the more highly regarded *kara kumis* "black kumyss," which was made from the milk of Imperial mares.⁴⁶ Rubruck's several references to the liquor, which he came to enjoy a great deal, are always spelled with the curious *cosmos*. Pelliot has tacitly corrected this spelling to **comos*,⁴⁷ but I wonder if it can even be salvaged in this way, particularly in view of the two o's which are lacking in any known Turkic form. I think it may be more accurate to regard *cosmos* not merely as an incorrect rendering of an intended *kumis*, but rather as a fanciful spelling introduced into the text for the sake of assonance of the two syllables. That is, although it may be accepted that *kumis* is intended, I think it has been deliberately tampered with.

Literature: Rockhill, pp. 66-67; EWb 264; P. Pelliot, "A propos des Comans," (*JA* 1920, I, pp. 169-171); Pelliot, *Notes* I, p. 240; TME III, pp. 512-517, No. 1529.

CULAM (Wyngaert 222; XXII 3) In illa solitudine vidi multos asinos, quos vocant *culam*, qui magis assimilantur mulis. "In that wilderness, I saw many asses, which are called *culam* and are more like mules."

This is the Turkic *kulan* "wild horse, wild ass,"⁴⁸ with the orthographical substitution of -m for -n already

⁴⁵ See: J. Németh, "Über den Ursprung des Wortes *šaman*," (*Keleti Szemle* V. 14, 1913-14, pp. 240-249); P. Pelliot, "Sur quelques mots d'Asie centrale attestés dans les textes chinois," (*JA* 1913, I, pp. 451-469), pp. 466-469; B. Laufer, "Origin of the word shaman," (*American Anthropologist* V. 19, 1917, pp. 361-371); M. D. Mironov-S. M. Shirokogoroff, "Šramaṇa-Shaman. Etymology of the word 'shaman,'" (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* V. 55, 1924, pp. 105-130).

⁴⁶ Pelliot, *Notes* II, p. 744; also see: Pentti Aalto, "Le 'lait noir' chez Plinie l'Ancien," in: *Reşid Rahmeti Arat İçin* (Ankara 1966, pp. 1-4).

⁴⁷ Pelliot, *Notes* I, p. 240; II, p. 744.

⁴⁸ A. M. Ščerbak, "Nazvaniya domašnikh i dikikh životnykh v tyurkskikh yazykakh," in: E. I. Ubryatova, editor, *Istoričeskoe razvitie leksiki tyurkskikh yazykov* (Moskva 1961, pp. 82-172), p. 95.

⁴⁰ Sevortyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-168.

⁴¹ On this title, see: TME III, pp. 633-637, No. 1672; Pelliot, *Notes* I, p. 225.

⁴² On *xan*, see: TME III, pp. 141-179, No. 1161.

⁴³ Sinor, *Carpini*, p. 550.

⁴⁴ See: DTS 413; A. Caferoğlu, *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1968, p. 163; A. von Gabain, *Altürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1950, p. 269, 326.

referred to. Beazley's text has *colan* without comment, but the original for this seems to be the variant *colau* in Wyngaert's edition. Rockhill compares the word to Mongol *kulan*, but it has long been recognized that the Mongol languages have borrowed the term from Turkic.⁴⁹

Literature: Rockhill, p. 69, note 4; p. 134, note 2; Beazley, p. 225; EWb 298; TME III, pp. 556-557, No. 1574.

GRUT (Wyngaert 179; IV 6) Tempore hyemali quando deficit eis lac ponunt illud acrum coagulum quod ipsi vocant *grut* in utre, et superinfundunt aquam calidam et concutunt fortiter donec illud resolvatur in aqua, que ex illo efficitur tota acetosa, et illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. "During the winter months when there is a scarcity of milk, they put this sour curd, which they call *grut*, into a skin and pour hot water on top of it and beat it vigorously until it melts in the water, which as a result, becomes completely sour, and this water they drink instead of milk."

This is the Turkic word *kurut* "cheese," a nominal formation from a verb *kuru-* "to dry," as attested throughout the Turkic languages. Mongol has borrowed it as *qurud* "a kind of cheese," a fact verified by the total absence of the verb *kuru-* in the Mongol languages.⁵⁰ It is disquieting to recall Laufer's etymology of the Mongol word as *kuru* plus the plural *-l*, an idea unfortunately based upon the Manchu *kuru*, itself borrowed from Mongol.⁵¹ The word has passed into a number of Asian languages, and it is even possible, as Professor Sinor has rather cautiously suggested to me, that English *curd*, for which no satisfactory etymology yet exists, is to be traced to a Turkic source.⁵² The syncope of the first unaccented vowel in Rubruck's form is not entirely puzzling, even though we would expect the syncope to affect the second vowel, as it does, for example, in Tatar *kört*,⁵³ or in the language of the Turkic-speaking Xoton *gurt*.⁵⁴ However, the manuscript variants *grice*,

gruit, *gruit* (apparently the basis for Beazley's *gry-vt*) enforce the initial consonant cluster, even if their spellings are aberrant.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 68, note 2; Beazley 311; EWb 304; TME III, pp. 458-460, No. 1472.

IAM (Wyngaert 200; XV 1) *Iam* vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. "*Iam* is what they call the man whose office it is to receive envoys."

Rubruck alludes several times to the efficiently organized and operated post relay service of the Mongol Empire. In this passage, he errs slightly in defining the post station as the station master (*yamči*, with the agentive suffix *-či*). The system is certainly as old as the T'o-pa Wei Dynasty, in whose language one finds the word as **gjam*.⁵⁵ Both the word and the relay service have been adequately treated by others, so that we shall point out only that Rubruck's *iam* is the Turkic *yam*, as opposed to the Mongol form *jam*.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 101; EWb 183; Pelliot, *Notes* II, p. 748; P. Pelliot, "Sur yam ou jam, relais postal," (*T'oung Pao* V. 27, 1930, pp. 192-195); W. Kotwicz, "Contributions aux études altaïques. A. les termes concernant le service des relais postaux," (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny* V. 16, 1950, pp. 327-355).

IASCOT (Wyngaert 237; XXVI 9) *iascot*, est pecia argenti ponderans decem marchas. "A *iascot* is a piece of silver weighing ten marks."

Pelliot has devoted an article to Rubruck's *iascot*, so that here we need only recall the main points. Once more, the letters *c* and *t*, so often confused, disguise the correct reading of *iascot* = **iasloc* = **yastok*, a perfectly good rendering of Turkic *yastuk* "cushion." Semantically, "cushion" would seem to have little to do with Rubruck's definition as "piece of silver" or "silver ingot" (a meaning which does not survive in the Turkic languages), but as Pelliot pointed out, the meaning "silver ingot" probably resulted by imitation of Persian *bališ* "cushion; silver ingot." Apparently, there was some similarity between the shape of a certain type of cushion and the shape of the ingot, but this problem remains to be resolved.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 156, note 2; EWb 191; P. Pelliot, "Le prétendu mot 'iascot' chez Guillaume de Rubrouck," (*T'oung Pao* V. 27, 1930, pp. 190-192).

NASIC (Wyngaert 259; XXIX 21) Coram nobis fecit poni unum *nasic*, hoc est pannum latum sicut cooperatorum lecti et longum valde. "She had placed in front

⁴⁹ N. Poppe, "The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian," (*CAJ* V. 1, 1955, pp. 36-42), p. 41.

⁵⁰ Clauson, "The Turkish Elements in 14th Century Mongolian," p. 309.

⁵¹ B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago 1919), p. 235.

⁵² In the *Oxford-English Dictionary*, II (Oxford 1933), p. 1261, *curd* is cited as first appearing in 14th century Middle English as *crud*, and then in the 15th century as *curd*. There it is stated that "its earlier history and derivation are unknown."

⁵³ *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1966), p. 283.

⁵⁴ B. Vladimirtsov-A. Samojlevič, "Turetskij narodets khotony," (*Zapiski vostočnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago, russkago arkheologičeskago obščestva* V. 23, 1915, pp. 265-290), p. 274.

⁵⁵ Louis Ligeti, "Le tabghatch, un dialecte de la langue sien-pi," in: L. Ligeti, editor, *Mongolian Studies* (Budapest 1970, pp. 265-308), pp. 294-296; also cf. Bazin, "Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa," p. 303.

of us a *nasic*, that is a piece of material as wide as a bedcover and very long."

This word is neither Turkic nor Mongol as such, but an international term which had entered certain of these languages and in so doing created some curious problems in its identification. In the first place, Rubruck's spelling with a final *-c* makes the reading of *nasic* ambiguous. It could represent: (1) **nasik*, a possibility which will be discarded at once since no equivalence can be found in these languages; (2) **nasič*, or even **našič*, which has a single attestation in the Turkic *Codex Cumanicus* as *nasič* (*~našič*) "a kind of gold brocade with pearls," with the Latin gloss *nasicus*;⁵⁶ or (3) **nasit* (*~*našit*). For the latter possibility, there does occur in the "Secret History of the Mongols" a word *načit* "gold brocade," as well as its plural *načidut*.⁵⁷ Pelliot has already pointed out that *načidut* is a double plural formation from a Persian original *nāsič*.⁵⁸ Final *-č* in Mongol is replaced by *-š*, which becomes *-s* in final position: when the plural *-t* is added, this final *-s* is dropped, so that a Mongol form **nasit* (*~*našit*) would be a perfectly regular plural of Persian *nāsič*.⁵⁹ The problem is apparent: instead of Mongol **nasit*, we in fact have the Secret History *načit*, a form which is difficult to reconcile with Rubruck's *nasic*.⁶⁰

Let us turn once more to the second possibility, namely, the *nasič* found in the *Codex Cumanicus*. There, too, it is a borrowing from Persian. The hesitation I have in accepting this equation stems from the fact that I have yet to find in medieval Latin sources on the Mongols and Turks a single case where final *-c* is to be read as *-č*. One way out of this difficulty is to examine the Latin gloss *nasicus* given in the *Codex*. Could it not be the case here that Rubruck's *nasic* simply represents a false word division, and that *nasic* ought actually to be **nasicī*, to which Latin would add the masculine nomina-

tive *-us*, thereby appearing as *nasicus*? Such a form **nasicī* could be read as **nasič* (*~*našič*), conforming rather well to the Coman *nasič* (*našič*).

I wish to introduce one further complication. Marco Polo also mentioned this expensive fabric with the spelling *nascici*, a word which unfortunately never appeared in the posthumous *Notes* of Pelliot.⁶¹ If indeed Polo's *nascici*, which is to be read unambiguously as **našič*, renders a Mongol word, then there is no longer any basis for considering Rubruck's *nasic* to be Turkic rather than Mongol. I do not know any way out of this dilemma.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 185, note 1; EWb 351.

ORDA (Wyngaert 213; XIX 4) Unde dicitur curia *orda* lingua eorum, quod sonat medium, quia semper est in medio hominum suorum. "In their tongue the court is called *orda*, which means middle, because it is always in the middle of his people."

Throughout his account, Rubruck uses the Latin *curia* for the word he identifies at this point as *orda*. Originally Turkic, *orda* and its variants *ordo~ordu* early passed into Mongol as *orda~ordo*, so that Rubruck's *orda* could be either Turkic or Mongol. The semantic spectrum of the term is difficult to define with precision, but essentially it referred to the residential seat, whether mobile or not, of the ruler. In this passage, Rubruck himself falls prey to the frequently espoused false etymology of *orda* = *orta* "middle." The word *orda* is always attested with the voiced *-d-*, whereas *orta* has always the voiceless *-t-*. Moreover, it may well be, as Doerfer supposes, that *orta* is a metathesis of *otra*, both of which forms appear in Kāšyārī (DTS 371, 374). In such a case, *otra~orta* would consist of an otherwise unattested root **ot-* plus the Turkic directive suffix *-(V)ru*.⁶²

Literature: Rockhill, p. 57, note 1; EWb 364; Sinor, *Carpini*, p. 546; TME II, pp. 32-39, No. 452.

SOGUR (Wyngaert 180; V 1) Sunt etiam ibi multes marmotes, quas ibi vocant *sogur*. "There are also many marmots there which they call *sogur*."

Rubruck's *sogur* is a rather accurate rendering of the Turkic word for "marmot." Among the languages in which it is found are Kāšyārī *soğur* (DTS 507), Uighur, Uzbek *suğur*, Kazakh, Tatar *suwur*, Bashkir *huwr*, Kirgiz *suur*, Chuvash *sāvăr*.⁶³ The word also occurs in the Leiden Glossary in the compound *suğur-sausar* "weasel," the second element of which is the Turkic *saysar*

⁵⁶ K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch. Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus* (Kopenhagen 1942), p. 168; cf. sub *naq*, p. 167, for references to European and Semitic forms.

⁵⁷ Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manğol un niuca tobca'an* (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig 1939), p. 112.

⁵⁸ P. Pelliot, "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols," (*JA* 1927, II, pp. 261-279), pp. 269-271, note 1.

⁵⁹ Ligeti, "Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise," p. 183, note 44.

⁶⁰ For a Chinese scription *nashishi* of this word, see: Paul Ratchnevsky, "Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Grosskhane in China," in: L. Ligeti, editor, *Mongolian Studies* (Budapest 1970, pp. 417-443), p. 436.

⁶¹ It may be found in: Louis Hambis, *Marco Polo. La Description du Monde* (Paris 1955), p. 27; p. 358 note.

⁶² On *orta*, see: TME II, pp. 141-142, No. 587.

⁶³ Ščerbak, "Nazvaniya domašnikh i dikikh životnykh v tyurkskikh yazykakh," p. 148.

"marten."⁶⁴ Rockhill was able to compare the Rubruck form to Turki *soğur*~*sour*, whereas Beazley contented himself with listing the variants *sogur*~*soghur*~*sur*.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 69, note 2; Beazley, p. 311; EWb 393, 416.

SU (Wyngaert 269; XXIX 45) Tamen erant populi qui dicuntur Su-Moal, hoc est Moal aquarum, *su* enim idem est quod aqua. "There was, however, a people called Su-Mongol, that is Mongols of the water, for *su* is the same as water."

It is clear enough that this is the Turkic *su* (<**sub*) "water," and not the Mongol word for "water," *usun*. We also find this appellation in Plano Carpini,⁶⁵ where the "Water Mongols" are apposed to the *Yeka-Moal*, or "Great Mongols," a name containing the Mongol word *yeke* "big, great."⁶⁶ The association of a Turkic word *su* and a Mongol word *yeke* with the same ethnonym seems odd to me, but I am unable to offer any explanation of it.⁶⁷

Literature: Rockhill, p. 196; p. 197, note 1; EWb 431; Sinor, *Carpini*, p. 546; TME III, pp. 281-282, No. 1278.

TAM (Wyngaert 267; XXIX 41) Et invenimus eum cum paucis famulis sorbentem liquidam *tam*, hoc est cibum de pasta, pro confortatione capitis. "We found him with a few members of his family drinking liquid *tam*, that is a food made of paste, for comforting the head."

This word had not previously been identified by students of Rubruck's account. Initially, I, too, was baffled until I realized that the final -*m* could well stand for a velar nasal -*ŋ* in addition to -*n*. This was the clue to its correct identification as Mongol *taγ* "broth, decoction; liquid medicine for fever."⁶⁸ It still survives in Khalkha *tan(g)* "broth, or decoction of medicinal herbs,"⁶⁹ and in the Ölöt dialect of Oirat spoken in Čyručak in Northwest

Sinkiang as *taγ* "liquid medicine, decoction of herbs."⁷⁰ It also figures among the numerous Mongol loans in the Turkic language of the Tuva: *taγ* "powder (in Tibetan medicine)."⁷¹ As already noted by Ramstedt, the Mongol word is a borrowing of Tibetan *l'aγ* "potion."⁷²

TERRACIN (Wyngaert 249; XXVIII 15) *terracinam*, hoc est cervisiam de risto. "*Terracin*, that is rice wine."

I am uncertain how to deal with this word. Even if we admit, with Rockhill, that Rubruck's *terracin* (but not *terracina*, as Rockhill and others falsely divide the word!) is the Mongol *darasun* "rice wine," the fact remains that the orthography is so distorted as to make any phonetic equation between the two impossible. It is also possible, but not very likely, that there is some contamination in the manuscript between the Mongol *darasun* and the Persian *dārēn* "cinnamon," from which a drink can be made.⁷³ Admittedly, there is no evidence for this, so that I am inclined to accept Mongol *darasun* as the word which Rubruck intended.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 166, note 1; TME I, pp. 326-327, No. 197.

TUIN (Wyngaert 238; XXVI 14) *tuinorum*, hoc est ydolatrarum. "*Tuins*, that is idolators."

Rubruck's definition of this word lacks precision inasmuch as the "idolators" referred to here are the Buddhist priests called *toyin*. As is well-known, the word is originally Chinese, but was early adopted by the Uighurs as *toyin*, and thence by the Mongols as *toyin*.

Literature: Rockhill, p. 159, note 1; EWb 484; TME II, pp. 648-651, No. 993.

TUMEN (Wyngaert 271; XXIX 49) *Tumen* est numerus continens decem milia. "A *tumen* is a number consisting of ten thousand."

Little comment is necessary upon this well-known word, which Rubruck mentions several times, as do Plano Carpini and Pordenone. It is, of course, the Turko-Mongol *tūmen* "10,000."

Literature: Rockhill, p. 201; Sinor, *Carpini*, p. 548; Pelliot, *Notes* II, pp. 858-859, No. 364; EWb 504; TME II, pp. 632-642, No. 983.

⁷⁰ G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* (Helsinki 1935), p. 378.

⁷¹ E. R. Tenišev, editor, *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1968), p. 406.

⁷² John R. Krueger, "Die tibetischen Lehnworte im Kalmückischen," in: Denis Sinor, editor, *Studies in South, East and Central Asia. Memorial Volume to Professor Raghu Vira* (New Delhi 1968, pp. 53-60), p. 57.

⁷³ Cf., Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 541-543.

⁶⁴ M. Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar* (Leiden 1894), p. 82.

⁶⁵ Wyngaert, p. 5; V. 2.

⁶⁶ On "Yeke Mongol," see: F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," (*HJAS* V. 12, 1949, pp. 1-133), pp. 94-95; F. W. Cleaves-A. Mostaert, "Trois documents mongols des Archives Secrètes Vaticanes," (*HJAS* V. 15, 1952, pp. 419-506), p. 486-491.

⁶⁷ Rockhill did not perceive the problem, since in his Index, p. 301, he lists *su* as "water in Mongol."

⁶⁸ Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, p. 776.

⁶⁹ A. Luvsandendev, *Mongol oros tol'. Mongol'sko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1957), p. 389.

With *tümen*, our survey is completed, and a summary of our identifications can be made. The following words are only Turkic: *ayran*, **kam*, *karakumis*, *kumis*, *soyur*, *su*, *yam*, *yastuk*. One could also add to this list the words *kulan* and *kurut*, but the fact is that these were early borrowed by the Mongols, so that Rubruck need not have recorded them as Turkic. Also to be considered is the ambivalent nature of the words *kaptaryak*, which is Turkic, but restricted largely to Mongol, and *nasič* (*~našič*), which is Persian, but is found in identical forms in Coman and Mongol. The words which are only Mongol are *bokta* and **darasun*, to which *taŋ* may be added, keeping in mind its Tibetan origin. Four words are Turko-Mongol: *bal*, *orda*, *toyin*, *tümen*.

Viewed in one way, all but three of Rubruck's words could potentially have been recorded from Turkic speakers. This brings to mind a statement of Pelliot's to the effect that, since Rubruck's vocabulary is essentially Turkic and not Mongol, the international language current at the be-

ginning of the Mongol Empire was Turkic.⁷⁴ I am not at all certain that such an important conclusion should be based upon such meager evidence. It is well to recall that the vocabulary of Rubruck's predecessor, Plano Carpini, contained 9 Mongol words as opposed to only 2 certainly Turkic words, and 4 Turko-Mongol words.⁷⁵ Clearly, just the opposite conclusion to Pelliot's could be reached on the basis of Carpini alone. This question deserves the attention of researchers, and will surely profit by what these early European travellers themselves have to say.

In conclusion, I feel that the words examined here, or those examined in other studies on the same topic, have a limited value from the linguistic point-of-view. The real significance of these words lies in the precious documentation which the account of Rubruck attaches to them.

⁷⁴ Pelliot, "Le prétendu mot "iascot" chez Guillaume de Rubruck," p. 191.

⁷⁵ Sinor, *Carpini*, p. 551; Professor Sinor here counts *orda* among the "purely Turkic" words, whereas I include it among the Turko-Mongol words.