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## INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1936, Baron Mannerheim suggested to the board of the Finno-Ugrian Society that it should take measures to publish some of the materials and data he had gathered on his journey across Asia in 1906-08 (minutes of the Society 21.11.36). The responsibility for the preparatory work was given to Professor G. J. Ramstedt, then the Vice-Chairman of the Society. The task was far from easy. In a letter, Ramstedt analysed this urgent matter as follows:

“I have a hard job before me: a secretary must be found for Field Marshal Mannerheim. He has repeatedly inquired what will happen to the publication of his travelogue. Indeed, he has a lot of materials (anthropological and linguistic in addition to geographical data), but as he himself has no time for writing, being instead willing to dictate or give advice, it is necessary that the person who begins to work as his secretary must be an able man (or woman), who knows English, French, Russian and Swedish and who is also accustomed to editorial work. The book must be written and printed before the Field Marshal reaches the age of 70 (next summer); there is no time to be wasted, but I haven't yet been able to find a suitable person to edit a work like this.”

Referring to his article about the Yellow Uigurs (publ. in 1911) and his other materials, Mannerheim wrote on June 14, 1937, to his old friend from Eastern Turkestan, the Swedish missionary doctor Gustav Raquette: “I myself intended to publish this and that from my Asiatic journey and I also had taken such measures just before the outbreak of the World War (...) But I have now—having dedicated myself to quite different things—become estranged from that field of action to such an extent, and—if I'm allowed to say—from the whole Asian atmosphere in which my journey of exploration took place, that I no longer see any possibility to personally lead the publishing work of the material I gathered, so tempting as that task also would be.”

Mannerheim stated that he himself would be willing to supervise the editorial work on his materials, if only an able assistant could be found. The main responsibility for editing this extensive material needing the utmost care was then put on Kaarlo Hildén, professor of economic geography, who was appointed to act as an editorial secretary. In 1914 he had made a trip to the Altai mountains and thus had some knowledge of certain Inner Asian matters. For financing this expensive major work, a campaign was started to solicit private donations.

On February 18, 1939, Mannerheim described the latest stage to Raquette: “When I had reached the clear conviction that I could not find time to edit the diary notes from

my journey in the years 1906-1908 myself, I donated them to the Finno-Ugrian Society as well as the maps and other materials. But now, as you perhaps have heard from Professor Hildén, the Finno-Ugrian Society has, to my dismay, decided to publish my diary unedited and in an English translation. In my opinion, this plan appears quite hazardous, but the learned gentlemen represent another opinion, and as I, at any rates, have donated all the material to them, I evidently have nothing more to say about this."

In his report concerning the editorial process of *Across Asia*, Hildén presents the Finno-Ugrian Society as the initiator. However, in the light of the Society's minutes and the annual report of 1937, the matter appears differently although Mannerheim himself also considers that the initiative came from the Society. Mannerheim seems to have had in mind only the publication of his materials whereas the Society added to this the idea of also publishing his journal. Possibly the key event of receiving the whole of Mannerheim's material for the archives of the Society was interpreted as an admonition to initiate an immediate and overall editing process.

It soon turned out that it was impossible to complete this huge task for Mannerheim's 70th birthday celebration on June 4, 1937, but it was planned at least to solemnly announce on that day that the editorial work was now progressing well, that everything would be carried out energetically and that this book would remain a monument of an exceptionally splendid career and magnificent achievements also in the field of research.

Mannerheim made many corrections on the large-sized 900 typewritten pages of the transcript of his journal: he deleted, added, clarified passages and polished his style. In July 1938, an English translation, done by Mr Edward Birse, was ready. The author made corrections to that too, especially the English spellings of geographical names appeared to him as tentative and inconsequent. Hildén relates:

"When we discussed the matter, he expressed the wish that somebody well acquainted with Central Asian languages and topography would revise the whole translation from the point of view of these questions before the setting of the text would be initiated. In June 1938, we succeeded through the mediation of the Finnish Embassy in London to engage for this task Miss Elsbeth Grant, a person recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society. Using the help of several scholars in the field of Asian research, *inter alia*, Chinese and Mongol university students, she transformed the geographical nomenclature into a new shape, supposedly corresponding to linguistic standards. In addition to this main task, Miss Grant revised the whole translation, to which she made stylistic improvements. (...)

One almost got the impression that the publication of the results of [Mannerheim's] expedition was his foremost object of interest. This impression was enhanced by the fact that the Marshal himself often called my home number, sometimes seemingly even concerning petty matters, like about some illustration planned for the book or a geographical name still unclear, or that he kept sending short notes and memoranda about things connected with the work under preparation. Several times he invited me to his home in order to discuss more profoundly questions relevant to the work. There accumulated an unexpectedly great number of such questions. A picture of this is reflected in the fact that it produced a correspond-

ance comprising almost 200 documents—in spite of the fact that the translator and most of the collaborators were resident in Helsinki enabling direct contacts on a personal level.”

Mannerheim even made changes to the galley proofs. A. K. Merisuo copied the Chinese city plans for the journal and the route maps for the scientific part. Experts from different fields were invited to edit specific collections and field notes of scholarly interest.

Despite wartime difficulties, this impressive two-volume work was published in 1940. Mannerheim sent the foreword for it from his headquarters. A delegation from the Finno-Ugrian Society visited the Field Marshal on April 7, 1940, presenting the first copy of Part I (the journal) in his home. Professor Artturi Kannisto gave a speech in his capacity as head of the delegation, to which Mannerheim replied. On his birthday, June 4, the delegation brought him a brand new copy of Part II.

Hildén continues: “The work received unanimous recognition. A new, previously unknown achievement was added to the productive life-work of the Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish army. We learnt to know him even as a meritorious explorer, who had participated in the century-long international race aiming to scientifically conquer the largest continent of the Earth with distinction.”

Regrettably, on the plea of the wartime depression, the board of the Society had reduced the edition to 500 copies only. Therefore the work remained virtually unknown and it immediately became a great rarity — for example, Jack A. Dabbs bypasses it with six lines in his *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan* (Central Asian Studies VIII, 1963). He had not even seen the work, as he complains that the details and dates of the journey are not known. In his review, published in *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* IV, pp. 113-116 (Bern 1950), Robert Fazy emphasized the difficulty of obtaining this work anywhere and related that, with incredible luck, he found one copy in Switzerland in the possession of Professor J.-L. Perret, a great friend of Finland, who had received a personally dedicated copy from the author. When Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, the former president of France, visited Finland in 1987, the only souvenir he wished to have from the visit was a copy of Mannerheim’s work. In 1969 Anthropological Publications produced a typographically not very good reprint in Oosterhout.

G. J. Ramstedt wrote quickly a review of the original publication, which, however, seems to be based on a mere leafing through the book:

“Holding in his hand this large-format publication, which is also a noteworthy specimen of printing skills, the reader examines it with admiration. When he then looks closer at its numerous and well-taken photos and its clear cartographic sketches illustrating the text, he is all the more enchanted and willingly confesses that our country has here received a precious gift, a magnificent addition to its existing literature describing remote countries. In fact, this work deserves special attention and highest praise—although its author in his modesty has for decades been in doubt whether long ago written notes from an Asiatic journey would at all

be worthy of appearing in print. Due to his later, more important, duties our Field Marshal had no time to revise his original journal, but it has now been published such as the then colonel happened to write it down in his notebooks during the years 1906-1908.”

In reality, the editorial demands encountered in the journal had been unsurmountable. Mannerheim knew the difficulties inherent in the geographical nomenclature, and, regret tably, his worst fears came true. If he really would have had an opportunity to read the translation closely enough and compare it with his original manuscript, the innumerable blatant misreadings of his monumental and generally very clear hand, committed by an incompetent copyist, would immediately have been detected, for example, in cases like Badsuddin/Badrudin, Deregoffsky/Berezoffsky, Rtbashi/Atbashi, Samada/Jamada, Saizam/Sairam, Sukara/Buhara, Tja/Ljo (Liu), Tli/Ili, Yanusoff/Yunusoff, Yutai/Vutai (Wutai) Shan, etc.

Innumerable unidentified geographical names have been adopted into the English translation without change from their Swedish spelling, although transforming the forms to match English orthography would have been a minimum requirement, e.g. Djan/Chang, Dsjimusar/Jimusar, Ilkhamsjanoff/Ilkhamzhanoff, Jailik/Yailik, Jamanjar/Yamanyar, Jang/Yang, Juanj Chong Jo/Yüan Hung Yu, Khunnan/Honan, Kuj/K'uei, Lalasja/Lalasha, Ijansa/liantzu, Ljo/Liu, Ljo Dje/Liu Che, Ljo Konj Tchin/Liu Gongchin(?), Njetai/nietai, Shatå Musur su/Shato Muzart su, Sjamar/sha-mar, Tchentoj/ Chentai, Tchyng/Cheng, tja/chia, etc. Many forms derive from Russian orthography: bambanj/pangpan, Dzian Dziun/chiangchun, in/ying, lan/liang, Lanj/Lan, Pyn ta yen/ Päeng tajen, Suitin/Shuiting. It is unclear why G. J. Ramstedt himself, a top expert in Turkic and Mongolic languages, seems not to have been used in the revision work.

A peculiar error is found on p. 216. Mannerheim relates that in the Ili district almost everybody knew how to greet in Russian by saying “zdravstvuj”. The copyist has insisted on trying to read the Russian word, divided on two lines (здрав-ствуй), in Roman characters, and created a fantastic monster-word “gapab-embyu”. It is followed by a passage listing names of peoples: “Tarantchis, Dungans, Tartars, Kaulasians” (i.e., Taranchis, Dungans, Tatars, Caucasians).

It is understandable that native speakers of the relevant languages in London were helpless when confronted with hundreds of names distorted by Swedish orthography in which Mannerheim's denotations correspond to their English equivalents as follows:

<i>dsj</i>	=	<i>j</i>
<i>j</i>	=	<i>y/i</i>
<i>tj/tch/tsch</i>	=	<i>ch/ts</i>
<i>sj</i>	=	<i>sh</i>
<i>lja/ljä</i>	=	<i>lia</i>
<i>å</i>	=	<i>o</i>
<i>o</i>	=	<i>o/u</i>
etc.		

Leaving most of the names in their original state was an unlucky solution necessitated by lack of expertise and time. Sometimes names and terms are wrongly emended due to incorrect identification. Robert Fazy has, in his above mentioned review published in *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* IV, pp. 113-116 (Bern 1950), solved the problem by changing all names cited by him to those forms used in Sir Aurel Stein's Central Asian works.

In the light of the above-mentioned facts, there are sufficient grounds to say that Mannerheim's journal was inadequately edited and that it by no means does justice to his original manuscript. It is also regrettable that long passages were purposefully and for several reasons omitted. For example, Mannerheim's interesting description and comments upon the French expedition, and especially on the character of its leader Professor Paul Pelliot, would deserve to be included in a possible future edition.

The aim of this *Analytical Index* is to present all geographical and personal names as well as any foreign words found in the text, to give Mannerheim's own original forms, marked with [M .....], as comparisons in all cases where the editors have altered or modified them. In addition, short passages are quoted from the edition elucidating the name or term and to give explanations, references and translations helping to identify them correctly. However, in many cases this has been very difficult or even impossible, especially concerning small geographical places with Chinese names, taken down by Mannerheim by ear.

*Across Asia from West to East* is an abbreviated edition of the original journal kept in Swedish. During the first part of his route, Baron Mannerheim travelled together with a French expedition led by Paul Pelliot. Their mutual conversation was conducted in French, and this must be the reason why Mannerheim used French forms for geographical and personal names in his notes until he separated from that expedition (e.g. "Aksou", "Kouck Boulak", "Oulouktschat", "Ouroumtchi", "Koutchar", "Koudriavtzeff", etc.). Forms like "Jangi Gissar" [Янги Гиссаръ < Yangi Hissar] are perhaps due to the influence of Russian maps at his disposal. Soon he begins to use German forms with *sch*, but already at Maralbashi he often prefers general English forms with *sh* and sometimes even *ch* instead of *tsch* or *tj* as well as *y* instead of *j*.

The instabile nature of the Eastern Turki (Uyghur) sound system (e.g., *w/b*, *p/f*, *kh/h*, *a/u*, see Hoppe 1995, 85), combined with varying orthographic conventions in different writing systems, has produced a bewildering variety of variant name forms. To elucidate Mannerheim's toponymy, sometimes a selection of more common forms are presented for comparison and identification.

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