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THE TRADITION OF STEPPE HEALING OF THE DESHT-I QIPCHAQ IN HISTORICAL MEDICAL TEXTS

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Abstract. Research objectives: To explore the traditions of Turkic medicine as reflected in the medieval medical works *Asrār al-atibbā'* and *Dastūr al-'ilāj*, which were originally written in Turkic and later translated into Persian, surviving to the present day.

Research materials: The primary materials for this study are the medical works *Asrār al-atibbā'* and *Dastūr al-'ilāj*, as well as research dedicated to the history of Turkic medicine. These two works were created in the region of Desht-i Qipchaq, yet their study remains insufficient. While some scholars have mentioned these texts, no specialized textual studies have been conducted. Within the framework of this article, textual, descriptive, historical-comparative, and general scientific methods are applied to the study of historical medical texts.

Results and novelty of the research: The anonymous work *Asrār al-atibbā'* and the medical treatise *Dastūr al-'ilāj*, authored by Sultān 'Alī al-Khorasānī, who served as a court physician for 20 years under the Shaybanid Kuchkündjī Khān (1512–1530), contain extensive information about the medical methods widely practiced among Turkic peoples. The analysis of these works provides an overview of the history of medical traditions that developed in Desht-i Qipchaq during the medieval period. Although Iranian researchers traditionally view these works as part of Persian medical heritage, the question of their original language remains insufficiently explored. Evidence suggests that these works were originally written in Turkic and only later translated into Persian. This article presents evidence supporting the Turkic origins of these works and examines aspects of medical practices characteristic of the Turkic peoples, as reflected in the texts through the framework of Islamic medical concepts. These aspects, until now, have remained outside the scope of scholarly attention. Additionally, the article attempts to classify the healing traditions specific to Turkic culture.

Keywords: traditional medicine, Turkic steppe medicine, medical treatises, “*Dastūr al-'ilāj*”, “*Asrār al-atibbā'*”

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Introduction. The art of healing represents a significant cultural phenomenon that has undergone several stages, from its inception and development to systematization over the centuries. It has become deeply intertwined with the worldview, way of life, and traditions of various peoples, persisting to the present day. This medical culture was built upon centuries of accumulated experience, philosophical reflection, meticulous observation, comparison, and systematization. The most effective and advanced models and achievements were recorded in written monuments, which became an integral part of ancient sciences and were disseminated through knowledge exchange.

By their very nature, both science and art require continuous development; consequently, they have transcended the boundaries of individual nations and regions, becoming the shared heritage of humanity. Thus, since ancient times, medicine has been an essential component of global cultural heritage.

Each nation shaped its unique cultural identity, and the Turkic peoples were no exception. They developed distinctive healing methods, concepts of diseases and their treatment, as well as rituals and beliefs that originated in ancient times and were closely linked to their nomadic style of life.

The medicine of nomadic peoples who freely moved across Eurasia is known from ancient literature. For example, ancient chroniclers report that the medicinal herbs used by nomadic peoples were in great demand. Pliny and Theophrastus write about the widespread use of medicinal herbs called «Scythian herbs» and «Scythian roots» by the Romans and Greeks and their transportation along trade routes. For example, the Roman veterinarian Pelagonius writes about the widespread use of «Scythian herbs» by Greek and Roman doctors for the production of medicines and that among the «Scythian herbs» they specially Tatar grass, kirkazon root, Pontic chandra, wormwood and others. In addition to human medicine, the Scythians were adept at veterinary medicine and were especially knowledgeable in treating the health problems of their horses [13, p.12-20; 3, p. 207; 17, p. 65].

Traditional Turkic ideas about health and disease are rooted in numerous worldviews and cultural conditionings that reflect different historical experiences, from pre-Islamic times to the advent of the Tsarist Empire. There can be no doubt that from the 8th century onwards the interaction of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia with Islam, culturally, intellectually and religiously, set the basic framework for understanding and managing health and disease. This is clear from the local Central Asian medical literature; it is clear from the basic history of medical cul-

ture in the region; and it is clear from the very vocabulary of health, disease and healing in the Turkic languages¹.

The Great Silk Road, which connected the East and the West and facilitated interactions between various peoples and civilizations, played a crucial role in the comprehensive development of the healing arts among the Turkic peoples. A significant portion of this trade route passed through the steppes of the Desht-i Qipchaq, and the inhabitants of ancient settlements, fortresses, and cities along this path became acquainted with the crafts, professions, and cultural traditions of other peoples through goods brought by merchants from distant lands.

This brief survey aims to highlight sources that may be valuable for a more in-depth study of the medical practices and health concepts of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia before the advent of Western medicine. It outlines the body of medical literature in Persian and Chagatai Turkic, produced, disseminated, and utilized in Central Asia from the 16th to the early 19th century. Drawing primarily on published manuscript catalogs, this study not only reflects the ongoing reproduction of classical Islamic medical texts but also reveals indigenous adaptations, translations, and observationally augmented elaborations of these works, as well as original compilations intended for practical use by physicians.

Methods and materials

Central Asian medical literature primarily exists in manuscript form, housed in various collections. Due to a range of subjective and objective factors, it remains largely unexamined. One key reason is the limited scholarly attention given to Turkic medical treatises. Even within Central Asia, researchers tend to focus on earlier medical texts by figures such as *Abū 'Alī bin Sīnā* (Avicenna), *Abū Bakr al-Rāzī* (865–925), and *Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī* (973–1050), while later works are often regarded as mere retellings or translations. Paradoxically, older “classical” texts are more widely recognized than those from the sixteenth century and beyond. The emphasis on establishing the original versions of early works naturally prioritizes the oldest manuscripts, overlooking later copies that may contain extensive commentaries, annotations, or insights drawn from comparative study and practical experience.

This preference for “classical” works aligns with broader trends in Central Asian textual studies but is also linked to the integration of pre-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Central Asian medical literature into the wider Islamic medical tradition. These early works are well represented in manuscript collections worldwide and are studied as part of a broader intellectual heritage. Central Asian medical texts, while still rooted in Islamic medical traditions, became more regionally distinctive. They increasingly reflect local developments and historical contexts that are crucial for understanding the evolution of medical concepts and practices in the region – yet remain largely unexplored.

This article examines two medical treatises from the steppes of Desht-i Qipchaq, *Asrār al-aṭibbā'* and *Dastūr al-'ilāj*, with particular attention to the traditions of Turkic steppe medicine² reflected in these sources. Through comparative

¹ On the spread of Muslim healing arts and centers among the Turkic peoples during the Golden Horde and later periods, see: Abzalov L.F. [1, p.460] and Dogan Sh. [5, p. 125].

² Turkic steppe medicine refers to a body of traditional healing knowledge, practices, and remedies that developed within the nomadic and semi-nomadic cultures of the Eurasian

and textual analysis, it further considers the documentary significance and distinctive features of subsequent medical works.

Medical manuscripts serve as crucial written sources for transmitting fundamental medical knowledge across generations. These texts provide valuable insights into historical medical practices and treatments while also reflecting the linguistic and cultural contexts of their time. However, restricting their study solely to the history of medicine would offer only a partial understanding of their significance. To fully appreciate the features embedded in these medical manuscripts, they must be examined not only from a medical perspective but also through the lens of other disciplines, particularly linguistics.

***Asrār al-atibbā'*: The Medical Book of the Chagatai Regions**

The first scholar to acknowledge the medical significance of *Asrār al-atibbā'* (Secrets of Healers) and introduce it to the academic community was Joseph-Désiré Tholozan (1820–1897), a French military physician, epidemiologist, and distinguished member of both the French Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Medicine. In 1858, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs appointed Tholozan, a highly regarded doctor, as the personal physician to the Persian Naser al-Din Shah (1831–1896). Known in Iran as *Ṭabīb Ṭulūzān Yūnānī*, he played a pivotal role in establishing medical institutions and served as *Hakim-Bashi* (حكيم باشي), the Shah's chief physician, for three decades [14, p. 1122].

Prior to his appointment in Iran, Tholozan was the editor of *Gazette Médicale de Paris* from 1850 to 1856. He also participated in the Crimean War (1854–1855), where he conducted extensive research on infectious diseases affecting soldiers, such as cholera, dysentery, typhus, and typhoid fever, as well as nutritional deficiencies like scurvy and acrodynia. Throughout his career, he authored nearly fifty articles on epidemic diseases. During Tholozan's residency period in Iran, not only did he act as the special physician of the Qajar court, but he also treated patients from the general Iranian population. He studied diseases that were so common in Iran at that time. Tholozan explored Persian and Indian medical traditions and played a key role in bringing two previously overlooked medieval Persian medical treatises to light: *Asrār al-atibbā'* and *Risālah dar ṭibb* [22, p. 96].

The medical work *Asrār al-atibbā' iā mudjarabāt ilāt Chaḡatāi* (اسرار الاطباء – مجربات ايلات چغتايي) – *The Secrets of Healers, or the Medical Practices of the Chagatai Lands* – was first published in Tehran in 1276 AH / 1860 CE under Tholozan's initiative and editorial supervision. A century later, in 1963, *Asrār al-atibbā'* was republished. *Risālah dar ṭibb* republished in Tehran at 1293/1876 [21, p. 299].

The book's introduction provides an overview of the manuscript's origins and historical background. Through meticulous examination, Tholozan established that the work originated from the peoples of Central Asia and had been translated from Turkic into Persian in 910 AH³. The translation was carried out in 910 AH / 1506 CE by *Mirzā Shihāb ad-Dīn Sāqib Dihlawī al-Khurasāni*, who rendered it from a Chagatai-language manuscript. This manuscript had belonged to Prince Azat Mu-

steppes. We outlined the concept of Turkic steppe medicine in our book “Dastūr al-‘ilāj” [32, p. 7].

³ This was discussed in more detail in our article, see: Tuyakbayev O. [24, p. 100].

hammad Azim Tore, who carried it with him on his pilgrimage to Mecca via Bombay [14].

“...And a complete manuscript of *Asrar-e Mujarrabat* (The Secrets of Tested Remedies) by the doctor Tolozan, the unique one of his time, who was known among the Chagatai tribes, had been recorded in writing by the mentioned doctor in the year 911 Hijri. However, due to the absence of printing facilities, he was unable to publish and disseminate it. Therefore, some trusted officials of the state and the people of the Chagatai province (which lies beyond the river) possessed a handwritten copy of this book, which they held dearer than their own lives and faith. This sage was regarded as a skilled healer, proficient in diagnosing both minor and major human ailments – indeed, this is the truth. Thus, a volume of this esteemed book, whose original text was in the Chagatai Turkish language, was obtained through the boundless grace of His Excellency, the most noble and honorable Prince Muhammad Azim Tura. At that time, he had embarked on a pilgrimage to the sacred destination of Mecca – may God increase its honor and reverence – and made a stop in Bombay⁴...”.

The information about the author in the book's introduction has sparked mixed opinions. While some sources attribute the work to the translator *Mirzā Shihāb ad-Dīn Thāqib*, who rendered it from Chagatai [7, p. 940], and some researchers ascribe it to the unknown Greek physician Tolozan Yunani [27, p. 129]. In his catalog, Storey listed author states as *Hakīm Tūlūzān Yunānī* originally composed the work in Turkic but expressed doubts about its authorship, suggesting that it is “presumably this has something to do with Dr. Tholozan” [21, p. 299].

This work has not yet been fully studied. Although Turkish scholars identify the author as the unknown *Tūlūzān Yunānī*, we cannot say that a comprehensive study has been conducted⁵. One section of the book describes the experiences of *Hājī Ahmad-Djān* from Yarkent, which completely refutes all assumptions that this could be *Tūlūzān Yunānī*. There is no doubt that *Shihāb ad-Dīn* translated the anonymous work from Turkic. Overall, Haydar Varner and Idris Nebi Uysal were the ones who evaluated the work as a source of Turkic medicine [27, p. 129; 26, p. 380].

... و نسخه کامل از اسرار مجربات حکیم طولوزان وحید الزمان المخاطب به ایلات چغتائی که در سنه نهصد⁴ و یازده هجری حکیم مذکور در ضبط تحریر آورده بود اما بجهت فقدان چاپ نتوانست او را طبع نشر دهد بناء علیه بعضی از امنای دولت و اهالیان ولایت چغتائی (که ماوراء النهر باشد) نقلی خطی از ان کتاب عزیزتر از جان و ایمان داشتند و او را حکیم حاذق جزوی و کلی امراض انسانی میشمردند الحق راست است لهذا جلدی از ان کتاب مستطاب که اصل نسخهاش در زبان ترکی چغتائی بود به توصل عنایات بلانهایه حضرت اجل اکرم افخم جناب شاهزاده آزاده محمد عظیم طوره که در ان ایام بعزم زیارت؟؟؟ مقصد مکه معظمه زاد الله شرفا و تعظیما نزول اجلال در بمبئی فرمود بدست...

⁵ Vaner: «Türklerin Maveraüunehirde kullandıkları ilaçların, tatbik ettikleri tedavi usullerinin Yunan hekimlerinin ilaçlarına ve tedavi usullerine benzememesini Yunanlı hekim Tolozanın dikkatini celbetmiş ve bu bapta yaptığı tetkikat neticesinde, H 911, M 1506 tarihlerinde bu eseri vücuda getirmiştir» (The Greek physician Tolozan noticed that the medicines used and the treatment methods applied by the Turks in Mawarannahr were different from those of Greek physicians. As a result of his research on this matter, he produced this work in the year 911 Hijri [27, p. 129].

Dastūr al-‘ilāj (933/1526–1527)

Dastūr al-‘ilāj, written in the 933/1526–1527 by *Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Khorāsānī*, known as ‘*Tabīb-i Khurāsānī*, who served at the court of *Köçkündji Khan* (1452–1530). The first impetus for the composition of this work was the case of *Sulṭān ‘Alī* curing *Mahmūd Shāh*⁶, the ruler of Akhsikat, who summoned *Sulṭān ‘Alī* to his court during his illness⁷. After this, he became famous among the people as a doctor and was offered to write a medical essay based on his experiences and knowledge. In the introduction to *Dastūr al-‘ilāj*, the author writes that he worked as a doctor for “40 years”, served in the court of *Köçkündji* and *Abū Sa‘īd khāns* for 20 years. But we have very limited information about his life. Only *Khojā Bahā’ al-Dīn Hassān Naqīb al-Ashraf Bukhārī* (1516–1596), known as *Khojā Hassān Nisārī*, provides a brief information about *Sulṭān ‘Alī* in his work “*Muzakkir al-ahbāb*” (Memoir of the Beloved), written in 974/1566, that he studied medicine under *Maulānā Hakīm Shahrisabzī* and that he was well-educated⁸.

Today, the work *Dastūr al-‘ilāj* is preserved in two languages, Turkic and Persian. One version in Turkic is in the collection of Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies⁹ in Tashkent and one version is housed in a private collection of “Ampir” antique salon in Almaty¹⁰ [18, p. 106].

Through manuscript catalogs compiled by researchers such as F. Keshavarz [11], A. Azmi [2], A. Munzavī [15], A. Naushāhī [16] and others over 30 Persian manuscripts are available in various libraries worldwide¹¹. In the Majlis Library alone in Iran, 9 Persian versions have been digitized and are available online¹².

Devin DeWeese and others¹³ affirms that the Turkic version is a translation of “*Muqaddimat-e Dastūr al-‘Ilāj*” was rend from Persian by an unknown translator in Yarkand. Devin DeWeese writes: “At the beginning of the *Dastūr al-‘ilāj*, the author affirms that he had worked as a physician for ‘40 years’, gaining a reputation in Khurāsān and Mawarannahr, prior to his summons to Akhsī; in his *Muqaddima*, he refers to having served *Köçkündji*’s son *Abū Sa‘īd* for 20 years prior to that later work’s composition, suggesting his attachment to the court of Samarqand during much of the reign of *Köçkündji*. *Sulṭān ‘Alī*’s *Muqaddima* was translated into Chagatai Turkic in Eastern Turkistan, in the eighteenth or nineteenth century” [4, p. 5].

⁶ D. DeWeese identifies Mahmud Shah as Mahmud bin Sulayman bin Jani-Bek, the grandson of Jani-Bek, who received the Akhsi region during the conquests of his uncle Muhammad Shibani Khan [4, p. 12].

⁷ *Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Khurāsānī. Dastūr al-‘Ilāj*. Manuscript. Ketābkhāne-ye Majles-e Shorā-ye Mellī, No 6155. ff. 1b–224a.

⁸ *Khoja Hassan Nisārī. Muzakkir al-ahbāb*. Manuscript. Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan. No. 4282. ff. 24b–204a.

⁹ For a brief overview of medical literature preserved in manuscript collections in Uzbekistan, see: M.V. Shterenshis [20] and H. Hikmatullayev [9].

¹⁰ The Chagatai manuscript No. 7.10(152) (ff. 1a–88b), preserved in the private collection of the “Ampir” Antique Salon in Almaty, was published in our monograph *Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Khurāsānī. Dastūr al-‘ilāj* (Almaty: Kazakh University, 2024, 388 p.) with facsimile, transliteration, Kazakh translation, commentary, and introductory studies [11].

¹¹ See about the “*Dastūr al-‘ilāj*” manuscripts in Iranian archives [6, p. 4–25]; See about the manuscripts in the Tashkent archives [4, p. 3–18].

¹² See more: <http://www.lib.ir/library/178>

¹³ It is briefly discussed in Kydyrbayeva U. [12, p. 125].

Although the majority of surviving manuscripts of “Dastūr al-‘ilāj” are in Persian, it is challenging to definitively conclude that the work was originally composed in Persian. Written records were generally more prevalent among sedentary populations than nomadic groups and were better preserved in urban settings. This is one aspect; on the other hand, during the Middle Ages, medical works were not only translated from Arabic and Persian languages; conversely, there were cases where they were translated from Turkic into Persian. For example, *Rashīd al-Dīn Hamadānī* (1247–1318), a statesman, scholar, encyclopedic, and physician who held significant positions during the Ilkhanate, and the author of the famous historical-encyclopedic work “Djāmi‘ at-Tawārīkh” (Compendium of Chronicles), he translated a medical work titled “Tansūq-nāme-i Ilkhānī” into Persian and wrote a *muqaddam* (introduction) to it at the order of *Ghazān Khān* (1271–1304) [25, p. 8–9]. This work was widely used in the traditional medicine of the Turkic and Mongol peoples. As we mentioned above, the work ‘Asrār al-atibbā’ was initially written in Chagatai and later translated into Persian. Similarly, the treatise “Dastūr al-‘ilāj”, written in the court of *Köçkündji Khān*, might have initially been composed in the Chagatai language and later rewritten in Persian by the author himself. Based on written sources, if we raise questions about the author's environment, the place of writing, the purpose, and the intended audience, the idea that it was first written in Chagatai seems highly plausible.

Additionally, it is historically known that *Köçkündji Khān* commissioned the translation of several works from Persian into Chagatai. For example, *Köçkündji Khān* ordered the court scribe, *Uāhidi Balkhī*, to translate the work of the famous historian *Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. Djarīr b. Yazīd at-Ṭabarī* (839–923), titled “Tārīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk” (The History of Prophets and Kings, also known as “Tārīkh at-Ṭabarī”), into the Turkic language. *Uāhidi Balkhī* did not translate it directly from the original Arabic manuscript written in 915–916 but instead used the Persian translation by the historian *Abū ‘Alī Muhammad Bal'amī*, which was commissioned in 963 by the *Samanid Amīr Mansūr bin Nūh I*. This Persian translation became widely known in Eastern literature as “Tārīkh-i Bal'amī”¹⁴. *Uāhidi Balkhī* completed his translation in 952/1522 and dedicated it to *Köçkündji Khān's* youngest son, *Sultān ‘Abd al-Laṭīf* (1495–1551).

“..The greatest ruler, the exalted Khan, the Khan of Khans, *Köçkündji Khan* – may Allah perpetuate his reign – commanded his youngest son, the light of the garden of the caliphate, the rose of the garden of the sultanate of the world, the nightingale of the assembly of Khans, the delicate sapling of the garden of elegance, the refreshing shade of the meadow of grace, the wise ruler of the city of eloquence, the possessor of perfection in the realm of the world, the guardian of justice like Nushirvan, the sea of generosity, the possessor of good fortune in the battlefield, the prince of the world, the most virtuous and noble of the age, the successor to the throne of Solomon, the Darius of the time, the Alexander of the era, the Rustam of the age, the illustrious Sultan Abdulatif – may Allah perpetuate his reign and sovereignty and bestow his mercy and benevolence upon the world – to commission someone to translate this book into Turkic. This humble servant, the

¹⁴ Bal'amī's version was widely disseminated in non-Arab countries of the Muslim world. This is evidenced by the large number of manuscripts (more than a dozen in Saint Petersburg), the Turkish translation, the Urdu translation and the Chagatai language. There is a French translation by H. Zotenberg. More about the work see: Gryaznevich P.A., Boldyrev A.N. [8].

librarian Wahid Balkhi, with the grace of God Almighty, the assistance of the prophets and saints, and the support of the noble ones, sought help from all and, girding the waist of service with the belt of effort and striving, translated this book into Turkic”¹⁵.

The translator of the *Tārīkh-i Bal'amī* wrote: “Date 927, the month of Dhul-Hijjah, This book was in Persian, the kings of that time were more inclined to the Turkic language”¹⁶.

Additionally, *Köçkündji Khān* commissioned *Muhammad ‘Alī b. Darwīsh ‘Alī Bukhārī* to translate *Sharaf ad-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī’s* historical work “*Zafarnāma*” (The Book of Victories), which was dedicated to the lineage of Amīr Timūr and written in 1425, into the Chagatai language in 1519 saying: “the work is useful for the Tajiks, it did not bring any benefit to the Turkic peoples, and therefore it must be translated into the Turkic language” [28, p. 13].

In a number of manuscript versions, the author states: “During this period, whatever I had studied from the reliable books and gained through experience, I composed in Persian as a book adorned with exalted honorific titles, dedicated to His Excellency, the Supreme Khaqan, the Solomon of the age, the Shadow of the Divine, the Possessor of Fortune, entitled *Dastūr al-‘Ilādī* (“Manual of Treatment”). Some eminent figures remarked that if a book were also written on the general principles of medicine, the states of the pulse, crises, and other such matters, in such a way that there would remain no need for any other book, then this work would attain completeness and endure as a memorial upon the pages of time. Therefore, in compliance with the command and within the limits of what was permitted, I composed several sections to serve as a preface to that book, as a gift dedicated to the library of His Majesty, the exalted Sovereign of celestial dignity, unique in devotion and beneficence, established in divine grace — *Sulṭān ibn Khāqān, ibn Abū al-Ghāzī, Sulṭān Abū Sa‘īd Bahādur Khān, may God Most High elevate his commands and, through his existence, grant prosperity to both near and far*¹⁷ (*Dastūr*, f. 3a-b)”. How significant are the differences between the copies

¹⁵ *Haqan al-a‘zam hān almu‘azzam hānlar hānī Köçküñji Hānñiñ – khallada Allahu mulkahu – kichik oğly nur-i hadīqa-yi hīlāfat nur-ı khadīqa-yi sultanat jahān bostāniniñ güli ua khān jami‘unıñ bülbüly zarāfet bağunıñ nāzuk nihālī luṭafat jaūnıñ zulālī faṣāhat malikiniñ dānā hakīmi fuqāhat şahriniñ şāhib kamal jahān iqlīminiñ amn ua amānī ‘adālat ahliniñ Naūşiruānı saḥāuat bahrinıñ dar-i hoş ābi uruş maidānyıñ şāhib-qyırāmı şah-zāde-i ‘ālamıyān ahsan ua ansab-i jahān qāyim-i maqām-ı Sulaymān dārā-yi zamān-i Isikander daurān-ı Rustām dastān-i şāh-i ‘ālī-şān ‘Abdu al-Laṭīf Sulṭān – khallada Allahu mulkahu ua sulṭānahu ua afāda ‘ala al-‘ālamīn birrahu ua ihsānahu taklīf qıldı kim kişi bolğay kim bu kitābnı Türkī qılğai. Bu haqır al-dā‘i kitāb-dār Uāhid-i Balkhī Tanrı Ta‘ālānıñ taufıqı bilan anbiyā’ ua auliyā’nıñ imdādı bilan ua ‘azīzlarnıñ himmati bilan barchadin isti‘anat tilap ḥidmat kamarin jānni bilga bağlap jadd ua djuhd bilan bu kitābnı Türkī qıldı (f.2a-b). See: Balkhī Uāhidi. *Tārīkh-i Bal'amī*. Manuscript. Russian National Library. Dorn, no.519, ff. 2a–819a.*

¹⁶ *Tārīh tokuz yüz yigirmi yetti zul-ḥicca ayğaçı bu kitāb fārisi erdi ua bu zamānaniñ paḍşāhlarnıñ tab‘i Türkīğa māyil köprek erdi. See: Tārīkh-i Bal'amī, f.2b.*

¹⁷ درین مده آنچه از کتب معتبره و تجربه نموده بزبان فارسی کتاب موشح بالقاب همایون انتساب حضرت اعلی خاقانی سلیمان مکانی ظل سبحانی صاحب قرانی مسمی بدستور العلاج نوشته شده از بعضی اغره چنین اشارت شد که اگر کتاب بر کلیات طب و احوال نبض و بحران و غیره نیز چنین نوشته شود که بکتاب دیگر احتیاج نماند بر این کتاب را تکمیل افزاید و بر صفایح ایام یادگاری بماند بنابر آن بموجب المامور معذور جزوی چند بر سبیل آنکه مقدمه آن کتاب باشد مرقوم گردانیده برسم تحفه نذر کتاب خانه اعلی حضرت کیوان رفعت المنفرد بالسجود و

dedicated to *Köçkündji Khān*'s brother and successor, *Abu Sa'īd Bahādūr Khān*, who ruled in 1530–1533. This issue has not yet been fully studied. According to Storey, in the versions composed during the reign of *Abu Sa'īd Bahādūr Khān*, the *Muqaddimah* and two *maqālas* (in 16 *bābs*) were added [21, p. 233].

However, in the Osler Library of the History of Medicine, McGill University (B.O. 7785/4, f.334), a manuscript copied in the 19th century in Indian *nasta'liq* script, both redactions of the work appear within a single codex. In this copy, the recension dedicated to *Abu Sa'īd Bahādūr Khān* (ff. 1b–176a) is noticeably shorter than the version addressed to *Köçkündji Khān* (ff. 179b–334a), which appears more complete and extensive in terms of length. In the introduction to the recension dedicated to *Köçkündji Khān*, however, the author does not mention his earlier composition. It seems that the *Muqaddimah* was added not only at the request of readers, but also as a means of retaining his position at the royal court.

Nevertheless, under *Köçkündji Khan*'s son and successor, '*Abd al-Laṭīf Khān* (r. 1540–1551), the name of *Sulṭān 'Alī Ṭabīb* is no longer mentioned in the court, whereas the physician *Mullā Muḥammad Yūsūf Kahhāl*, author of *Zubdat al-Kahhālīn* and *Tahqīq al-himāyāt* ("Analyses of Fevers"), is recorded as having dedicated treatises to the ruler.

Although the author appended the *Muqaddimah* in order to praise the later khan, it appears that in the main text he also abridged certain parts. Clearly, no definitive conclusion can be drawn until all surviving manuscripts of *Dastūr al-'ilāj* preserved in various repositories—in both Persian and Turkic—are examined systematically, and the two redactions are studied in detail. Nevertheless, whether in Persian or in Turkic, the author's style is strikingly plain. It is difficult to describe him as a creative writer with full command of literary language. It seems more likely that he first composed a shorter version in Turkic, and later expanded it into a more substantial work in his native Persian, as he himself suggests in the subsequently written *Muqaddimah*.

In a manuscript in the private collection of the "Ampir" antique salon in Almaty, dated to the end of the 17th and 18th centuries based on paleographic features, in Turkic, it is stated that "The Prophet [Muhammad] – may God bless him and grant him peace – gave this book the name "Dastūr al-'ilāj" (*Ḥazrat paigambār – salla Allahu 'alaihi ua sallammā – bul kitābğa Dastūr al-'ilāj at qoıyp berdılar*) – although the author's identity remains a mystery, it is clear that the name is «Dastūr al-'ilāj»¹⁸ [Fig. 1].

Description, structure and content of the manuscript "Dastūr al-'ilāj" kept in a private collection in Almaty

The manuscript of the treatise "Dastūr al-'ilāj", kept in a private collection in Almaty, shows paleographic features characteristic of the Central Asian book traditions. The text is written on oriental paper, nine lines per page, in *nasta'liq* script, using rich black ink. When viewed against the light, only the verge lines are visible, the pontuseau lines are absent, which is typical of Central Asian papers. The bold *nasta'liq turkistani* style and the consistent observance of the catchwords

لاحسان المستقر من المنان سلطان ابن خاقان ابن ابوالغازی سلطان ابو سعید بهادرخان رفع الله تعالى احكام و اعز الملك بوجوده فاضی علی القریب و البعید...

¹⁸ Khurāsānī Sulṭān 'Alī. *Dastūr al-'ilāj*. 1526. Manuscript. «Ampir» Antique Salon. Private Collection No. 7.10(152), ff. 1a–88b.

(*riqabe*), determining the sequence of pages, clearly indicate that the manuscript was written entirely by one scribe. Several pages contain marginal notes in fine small script, added by later readers to clarify the meanings of certain words. The first pages of the manuscript are missing, although the title “*Dastūr al-‘ilāj*” is clearly mentioned on folios 2b and 73b. The last three pages contain the texts of various prayers in Persian and Turkic [Fig. 2]. The manuscript does not indicate its scribe or date of completion, but paleographic analysis suggests that it was written in the second half of the 18th century.

The manuscript is preserved in a hard oriental binding. The cover, made of cardboard, is covered with dark brown leather and has the same *lacachi*, *turunj* with floral patterns and *sar turunj*, where the name of the binder (*sahhaf*) is written – *Mullā Mīr Hamīd Sakhāf*. The spine of the book is made of leather. The dimensions of the binding are 21 x 13.5 cm.¹⁹

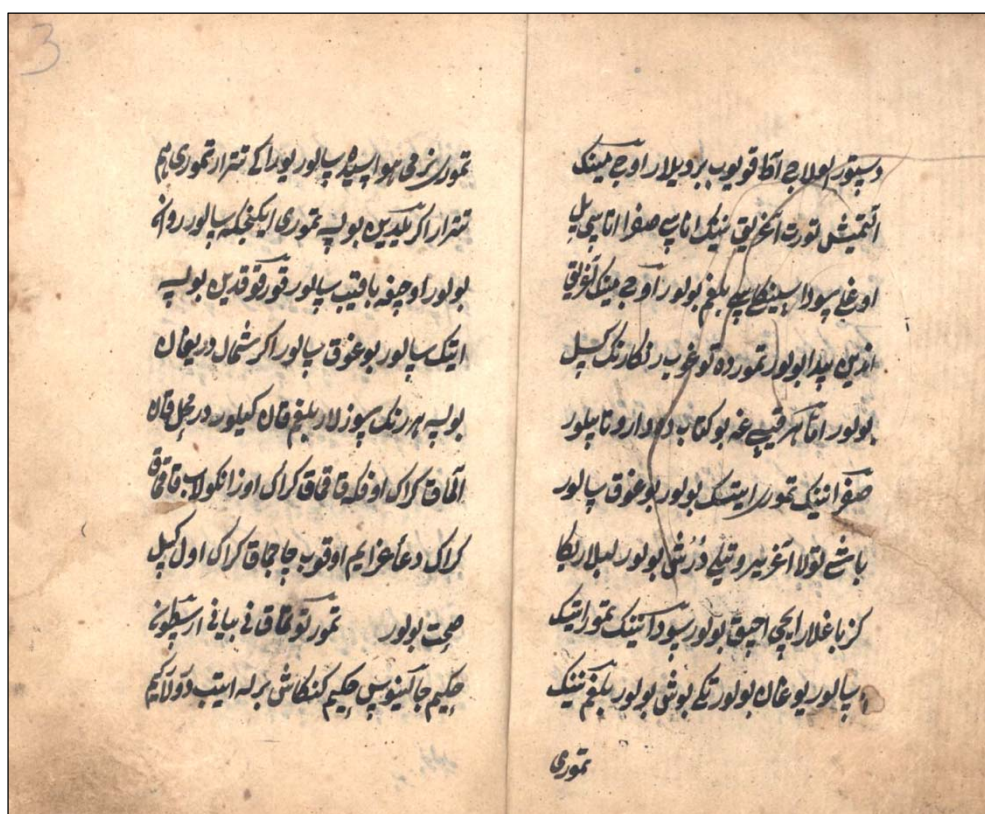


Fig. 1. *Dastūr al-‘ilāj* manuscript in a private collection in Almaty, p. 2b–3a

¹⁹ A manuscript similar to the Almaty copy, in which the author is not indicated, but only the name is indicated on pages 13a and 75a, and in nasta'liq script with 9 lines on each page, is described in the catalogues Wellcome Hist. Medical Library (MS Pers. 159) and A Shelflist of Islamic Medical Manuscripts at the National Library of Medicine (89, NLM MS P6.). On the manuscript versions of *Dastūr al-‘ilāj*, see Shadkam Z., et al. [18].

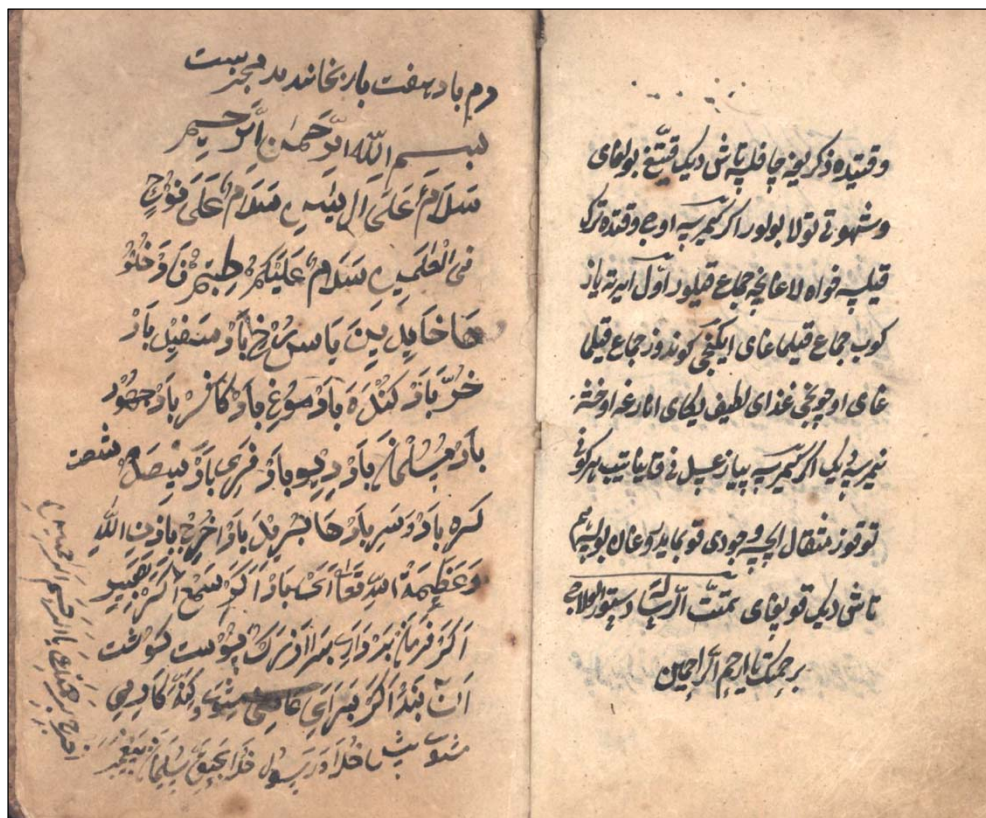


Fig. 2. *Dastūr al-‘ilāj* manuscript in a private collection in Almaty, p. 74b–75a

The medical treatise “*Dastūr al-‘ilāj*” consists of an introduction (*muqaddimah*) and two main chapters (*maqālah*). The chapter is divided into sections (*faṣl*) and the sections into subsections (*qism*). In the introductory part of the work (2a–12b), the benefits of general medicine are explained based on the verses of the Quran and the *hadith* of the Prophet, and the advice and exhortation of the ancient judges and saints regarding the preservation of human health are revealed. In addition, the introduction states that Allah Almighty sent 3064 different diseases for humanity as a test and that the book was named “*Dastūr al-‘ilāj*” because it contains a collection of traditional remedies used among the people for these diseases.

The first chapter is mainly devoted to the symptoms of the disease and the signs of the disease in the body and the methods of treatment. The text states that in addition to the patient's speech, his mood, appetite, heartbeat, pulse, breathing, dryness of the lips, change in the color of the tongue, etc. are determined by close observation and monitoring of the physiological and psychological condition. Although this chapter is divided into several articles (sections 1–11), the symptoms of the disease in the human body and the condition and treatment of patients are described without any systematic approach.

The second chapter (chapters 11–21) describes the types and causes of diseases related to a specific human body, and presents several types of treatment meth-

ods. If we group the treatments proposed in the work, we see that there are two types; the first is treatment through medication, stroking, bloodletting, vomiting, etc., and the second is psychosomatic treatment, Islamic-based prayer, breathing, ablution, etc. A distinctive feature of the chapter is that the treatment of each disease is described separately and systematically. The most obvious method of treating diseases in the work was the prescription of drugs. The vast majority of the manuscript text consists of describing the composition, preparation, method of application, and recipes of tinctures, drinks, medicines, and ointments for external use. Two types of preparation of medicines can be distinguished, the first is prepared from medicinal herbs, and the second is prepared from the internal structures of animals (liver, lungs, bones, etc.) and their products (milk, fat, blood, bile, etc.). Another feature of this chapter is that, in addition to treating the disease, it also provides advice on maintaining beauty and cleanliness, and on first aid for the removal of poison from poisonous insects²⁰.

The healing art of the Turkic peoples, as reflected in medieval written sources

Some Religious and Spiritual Healing Methods Mentioned in the Text:

– If phlegm mixed with blood is present, bloodletting is necessary. The lungs need to be struck or massaged, and the *‘Azāyim* prayer should be recited and blown (onto the patient). The person will regain health [11, p. 42].

– If internal bleeding occurs, it is caused by exposure to a cold wind. If the face or body weakens, the *Basra* prayer should be recited and written down [11, p. 44–46].

– If someone’s joints become stiff at night and during the day on Wednesday, Tuesday, Sunday, or Monday, causing discomfort similar to malaria, it is due to the wind (cold wind), inflammation, and bile. First, four pairs of bread should be vowed (offered), then a cuckoo should be wrapped in fat, placed between the bread, and a prayer should be made in the name of the four archangels starting with Gabriel. They are the agents (of Allah) [11, p. 132].

– If a person places a medicinal paste on the root of an aching tooth, it will heal. If not, carve fourteen sharp teeth from a tamarisk tree, recite the *Kašmīr* prayer three times, and then nail the carved teeth to the tree trunk. The person will undoubtedly be cured [11, p. 240].

The texts also describe various traditional practices known among the local people, such as reciting prayers for saffron (*kašmīr*), headaches (*šaḡiqa*), and colds (*nasūr*), and writing verses from the Qur’an on a piece of paper. This paper is then either dissolved in water and administered to the patient, a practice known as “*işirtki*” [29, p. 752], or burned, with the patient inhaling the smoke, a method known as “*tütetki*”.

On page 70a of the text, it is advised that, among other treatments for infertility, the paper on which the *Surah Ikhlas* is written should be dissolved in water and consumed. The practice of burning written Qur’anic verses along with rue and allowing the patient to inhale the smoke, unfortunately, has been largely forgotten in recent times. The terms “*işirtki*” and “*tütetki*” may appear in historical and old literary texts but have become obsolete in contemporary practice²¹.

²⁰ For more details see the article Kydyrbayeva U. [12, p. 121–131].

²¹ This issue was discussed in our article, see: Shadkam Z. [19].

Some Mechanical Methods Mentioned in the Text (bloodletting, striking, carving, cutting, emesis, and cauterization):

– To determine which partner in a childless couple has the issue, each person should knead a handful of flour (here, “*tarımaq*” means to knead dough). If one partner’s flour (dough) becomes spoiled, the problem lies with that partner. If neither partner’s dough spoils, then the man should be given a *surki* (mixture), and the woman should be induced to vomit while prayers are recited. With Allah’s permission, they will conceive a child [11, p. 190].

– If the cause of a headache is related to blood, the symptoms include redness in the face and nose, a heavy head, constant drowsiness, and itching in the head, eyebrows, eyes, and ears. The treatment involves bloodletting from the *qifal* vein and the tip of the nose [11, p. 214].

– People who have a disease due to bile have a yellow complexion, do not drink water even though they are thirsty, and have swellings in their bodies. These swellings, which sometimes cause gas and sometimes water accumulation, can be eliminated by giving *surki* (mixture) and cutting the swollen areas with a *kama* (a type of knife or dagger) [11, p. 278].

The use of prayer in treatment is a well-understood and accepted practice among Muslims. Islamic religious teachings emphasize the importance of divine reliance and seeking assistance through prayer. Consequently, the practice of using prayer, *zikr* (remembrance of God), and *virđ* (recitation) for therapeutic and healing purposes reflects its significance in our customs, traditions, and practices [19, p. 45–46]. Thus, after the advent of Islam, Islamic religious elements became an integral part of Turkic folk medicine.

The text also describes various irrational and superstitious methods for protection, respect, and gaining esteem:

– If the wisdom tooth of a yellow dog is tied around the neck of a child who cries excessively, the child will stop crying, will not be frightened, will be protected from the evil eye, and will be safeguarded from sudden death [11, p. 76].

– If a person buries the head of a wolf in a cattle pen (or barn), the wolf will not approach or enter the pen [11, p. 80].

– If a person carries the heart of a black cat with them, they will possess the strength of a hundred men and will gain respect and authority in the presence of scholars and leaders [11, p. 82].

– If a person carries the eye of a fox with them, they will be perceived as good or charming in everyone’s eyes, and their words will carry weight [11, p. 84].

– If a person fears kings, wrapping a snake skin and the heart of a black sheep around the wolf’s skin and carrying it with them will ensure their respect in the presence of kings [11, p. 102].

– If the horn of a mountain goat is buried in a barn, no disaster will befall the animals in the barn [11, p. 78].

These practices reflect the actions taken by individuals in desperate situations to protect themselves and their animals.

Treatment Using Animal Products:

– If the hair or hide of a camel is burned and its ash mixed with camel fat and applied to the eyes, it will relieve eye pain and prevent further discomfort. If there is ear pain, applying camel bile into the ear with a pipette will alleviate the pain. If

there is persistent bleeding from the nose, sprinkling the ash of burned camel hair on the nose will immediately stop the bleeding [11, p. 74].

- If a person applies or presses camel brain onto an aching eye, the discomfort will be relieved [11, p. 78].

- If a woman who is unable to conceive mixes sheep brain with tiger fat, forms suppositories, and uses them for three days, and then engages in sexual relations with her husband, she will conceive [11, p. 78].

- Washing the head with a mixture of aged cow fat and buffalo bile will relieve headaches [11, p. 212].

Treatment Using Herbal Products:

- The *surki* remedy is prepared from the following ingredients: two *misqal* (unit of measurement) of *yasmug* (from the legume family), two *misqal* of *ulcang* (?), two *misqal* of *iker/eker* (a type of mixture), 15 *misqal* of onion, three *misqal* of yellow helile (from the almond family), two *misqal* of barley, two *misqal* of *badiyan*, talhe seed, two *misqal* of henna seed, and two *misqal* of melon seed. These ingredients are collected, crushed, and boiled in *dinar şerbet*. The resulting mixture is then combined with the juice of *Fışık tere* (a type of plant) and consumed daily in a dose of three *misqal*. This remedy will eliminate accumulated fluids in the abdomen, leading to recovery [11, p. 272].

- Jaundice is caused by excessive heat in the liver. The remedy involves applying a mixture of black sandalwood and red sandalwood with rose water to the liver/chest area. This treatment will alleviate jaundice [11, p. 290].

- To relieve headaches, mix grape seed, barley flour, sesame, and *boyan* (a type of tree root or gum) each in a spoonful and apply this mixture to the head [11, p. 204].

- Combining two *misqal* each of black sandalwood and red sandalwood with sesame oil and applying it to the forehead will resolve headaches persisting for 3 to 4 years [11, p. 214].

Treatment Using a Combination of Herbal and Animal Products:

- If a person experiences chest discomfort or difficulty walking, mixing black sheep tail fat with white onion and white turnip, and boiling the mixture, then consuming it on an empty stomach for three days, will alleviate the symptoms [11, p. 76].

- To treat cough and shortness of breath, mix 4 *misqal* of dried and powdered horse lung with 2 *misqal* of *qara çiçek* (black flower), 5 *misqal* of butter, and 2 *misqal* of sesame oil. Consuming this mixture every morning on an empty stomach and without speaking to anyone will relieve the cough and shortness of breath [11, p. 254].

- If a person is suffering from thirst (accumulation of water in the stomach)/the disease is progressing, if he does not have camel buttermilk, he should drink cumin with goat buttermilk and eat partridge or duck meat for dinner, (his disease) will go away [11, p. 280].

In the recovery of patients, psychological and emotional well-being are also considered:

- For patients with tuberculosis, it is advised to avoid arguments and disputes around them. Spending time in a quiet, calm place, singing with loved ones, gazing

at flowing water, fire flames, or a mirror, and conversing with enlightened and knowledgeable individuals will aid in their recovery [11, p. 252].

Historical medical texts hold a significant place in Turkic scientific history. One of the challenges encountered in studies of these historical medical texts is the explanation of the medical terms used. Relying solely on a few accessible Ottoman Turkic dictionaries is insufficient for elucidating these medical terms. Disease names are a crucial part of medical terminology and are important not only for Turkic terminology studies but also for historical medical research [7, p. 95].

The existing Chagatai dictionaries are unfortunately insufficient for explaining the types of medicines, diseases, and patient-related terms exemplified above. In this situation, the importance of researching Chagatai historical medical texts related to the steppe medicine developed by the Central Asian Turks becomes evident for understanding the unknown and missing aspects of Turkic medical history and medical terminology.

In both texts, various methods of preparing medicines are described, including the soaking, boiling, steaming, cooking, frying, soaking and straining in water, grinding, mashing, mixing, drying, and infusing of plant leaves, roots, seeds, fruits, flowers, saps, and gums. The medicines are sometimes mixed with animal or mineral products and prepared in forms such as pills, suppositories, pastes, or burned to produce ash, powder, and dust. These preparations are used through various methods including drinking, eating, applying, burning, placing, compressing, and occasionally inhaling smoke like that from cigarettes. Both folk medicine and classical medical methods are employed in the preparation of these medicines.

In the Turkic steppe medicine system developed by the nomadic Turks of Central Asia, both in the preparation of medicines and in treatment methods, there is a significant use of animal products. For example, the texts *Asrār al-atibbā'* and *Dastūr al-‘ilāj* reveal that products from both domestic and wild animals (approximately 50 species) were utilized. Domestic animals such as cattle, sheep, lambs, kids, goats, rams, camels, and horses provided not only meat, hides, milk, bones, bile (gallbladder), liver, lungs, heart, brain, fat, and wool, but occasionally also nails, dung, urine, blood, and horns. In addition to these domestic animals, various wild animals and birds such as hedgehogs, frogs, snakes, bears, tigers, wolves, dogs, donkeys, rats, cats, crows, swallows, cuckoos, pigeons, chickens, ducks, partridges, rabbits, deer, and bats were used in medicine and healing rituals for their bile, fat, hides, eggs, female parts, astragali, heads, and bones.

Discussion and Conclusion

In addition to therapeutic methods, such as *agryq* (disease, pain), *dert* (pain, agony), *auru*, *kesel* (disease, patient), *em*, *daru*, *dermen* (medicine), and terms for various preparations like *atala*, *felte*, and *sürki* which denote pastes, poultices, and creams made from a mixture of plant, animal, and sometimes mineral products. The texts also include references to resins produced by trees (e.g., pine resin, gum, tree honey) and various substances (e.g., *şağyr*, *djağyr*, *katira*, *muql-y azraq*, *yelim* (medicinal resin), *kavaç*) used in medicinal pastes. Actions such as applying (*sürmek*), burning (*yaki*), rubbing (*sürtmek*), spreading (*çafylmak*), and applying medicine or ointments (*tartmak*, *sürüp bağlamak*) are described. Other related actions include binding (*tanmaq*), preparing a paste or poultice (*atala qylmaq*), spraying or dispersing (*pürkmek*), and making a thick paste or cream (*felte qylmaq*). It is

also important to consider the age, gender, and color of animals used in these treatments (e.g., ram, horned ram, rooster, ox, bull, buffalo, black sheep, stallion, wolf, lamb, dog, yellow dog, domestic goat, red goat, black goat, black crow) as significant factors in treatment. Researchers should pay attention to these aspects in their studies.

The revival and prominence of folk medicine reflect a deep respect for and significance of the cultural heritage of all peoples and humanity at large. Historical medical texts play a crucial role in reinstating and preserving these cultural values, especially those that have been forgotten or are on the verge of being forgotten. The examples of folk medicine found in these texts extend beyond the fields of medicine, medical history, and folklore to encompass numerous scientific disciplines such as phytotherapy, pharmacology, sociology, psychology, religion, botany, zoology, linguistics, culture, and belief systems.

Research into Turkic medical texts facilitates the rediscovery of forgotten terms such as *auru*, *em*, *em-dom*, *auruhana*, *emhana*, *emşi*, *otaşı*, and *sınıksı*, as well as the names of diseases and medicines. Additionally, these texts reveal that rituals derived from Shamanistic practices – such as *alastau* (purification from illness using fire and water), *uşkurtu* (purification from illness using fire and water), *uşyktau* (purification from illness using soil), and *kurşun dökme* (lead melting) – continued to be employed in patient care and healing even after the advent of Islam. This tradition involved the use of Quranic verses, prayers, recitations, alms, vows, and offerings, alongside the cultural practice of preparing medicines from animal, plant, and mineral substances. These practices reflect a unique therapeutic system specific to the steppe life of Central Asia.

Historically, the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Turkic tribes in the Desht-i Qipchaq region transitioned into more settled forms of existence. Despite these shifts, they retained the philosophy and cultural practices of their nomadic heritage, including their unique healing traditions. Centuries ago, the Turkic tribes of the Desht-i Qipchaq developed a systematic practice of Steppe Medicine, which facilitated extensive trade and cultural exchange.

The *Dastūr al-‘ilāj* text reveals a variety of medicinal substances from around the world, such as *horazi Esfahān* (Isfahan rooster), *anzerut-i Buhārī* (Bukhara gum), *ifay-i Taškendī* (Tashkent remedy), *mundistin-i Kāşqarī* (Kashgar remedy), *Kaşqar ufası* (Kashgar remedy), *hurma-i Hendü* (Indian date), *temre-i Hindi* (Indian fruit), *bādyān-ı Rūmī* (Roman herb), *Mısır nabatı* (Egyptian sugar), and *rund-ı Çīn* (Chinese remedy). These items, combined with local medicines and treatments, illustrate the development of a regionally specific therapeutic system. Additionally, the presence of terms such as *yeseer* (black coral), *istisqā-i lahm* (disease), *şing*, *çengal*, *piyāle*, *misqal*, and other units of measure and names for diseases, plants, minerals, and geographic locations from Persian, Arabic, Greek, and Chinese in these historical medical texts further strengthens the view of the fact that the Jochi Ulus and the Chagatai Ulus covered a vast territory intertwined the cultures of several nations and peoples, and that this culture was preserved in the Desht-i Qipchaq after the fall of the Ulus.

Therefore, research into the Steppe Medicine of the Desht-i Qipchaq, medical texts, is believed to illuminate critical periods in Turkic scientific and medical history, highlighting its deeply rooted regional and historical context.

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ТРАДИЦИЯ СТЕПНОГО ВРАЧЕВАНИЯ ДЕШТ-И КЫПЧАКА В ИСТОРИЧЕСКИХ МЕДИЦИНСКИХ ТЕКСТАХ

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Резюме. Целью статьи является исследование традиций степной медицины, представленных в средневековых медицинских трудах «Асрār аль-атиббā'» и «Дастūr аль-‘илāдж», а также выделение их роли в передаче медицинских знаний в тюркском мире.

Материалы исследования: Основными материалами исследования являются медицинские произведения «Асрār аль-атиббā'» и «Дастūr аль-‘илāдж», а также исследования, посвящённые истории тюркской медицины. Эти два произведения были созданы на территории Дешт-и-Кыпчак, однако их изучение остаётся недостаточным. Некоторые учёные упоминали эти труды, но никто не проводил специальных тексто-

логических исследований. В рамках статьи применяются текстологический, описательный, историко-сравнительный и общенаучный методы исследования исторических медицинских текстов.

Результаты и научная новизна: анонимное произведение «Асрār аль-атиббāʾ» и медицинский трактат «Дастūr аль-‘илādж», автором которого является Султанали ал-Хорасани, 20 лет служивший придворным врачом при дворе шейбанидского хана Кучкунджи, содержат обширные сведения о методах врачевания, широко применявшихся тюркскими народами. Анализ этих произведений позволяет провести обзор истории медицинских традиций, сложившихся в Дешт-и Кыпчак в средние века. Несмотря на то что иранские исследователи традиционно рассматривают эти труды как часть персидского медицинского наследия, вопрос о первоначальном языке их создания остаётся недостаточно изученным. Имеются свидетельства, что изначально данные произведения были написаны на тюркском языке и лишь впоследствии переведены на персидский. В данной статье приводятся доказательства, подтверждающие тюркское происхождение указанных произведений, а также анализируются аспекты врачебного искусства, характерного для тюркских народов, которые находят отражение в текстах на основе мусульманской медицинской концепции. Эти аспекты до настоящего времени оставались за рамками внимания исследователей. Кроме того, предпринята попытка классификации традиций врачевания, характерных для тюркской степной культуры.

Ключевые слова: народная медицина, тюркская степная медицина, медицинские трактаты, «Дастūr ал-‘илādж», «Асрār ал-атиббāʾ»

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