ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS,
JOHN STREET, ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.2

ALDRED LECTURES

on

NOMADIC MOVEMENTS IN ASIA

by

SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., F.D.
Director of the School of Oriental Studies, and Professor of Persian, University of London

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Nomadic Movements in Asia.

LECTURE I.—THE ARABS.

(Delivered April 22nd, 1929).

The four nomadic movements which form the subject ot these lectures extend over a period of roughly 1,000 years. The first is the great exodus in the VII Century of the manhood of Arabia from their deserts and their rare towns into the lands of the Byzantine Emperors, and of the Chosroes of Persia. The second movement is that of the Turks, who, in the VIII Century, began to migrate in a westerly direction from their habitats in Mongolia and Northern China. The third movement, namely, the penetration of Middle Asia by the Seljuks in the XI century, is actually only a corollary to the second: while the fourth, the most extensive of all, is that of the Mongolians under Chingiz Khan and his sons and grandsons in the XIII century. The period of time which elapsed between the exodus of the Arabs and the Mongolian invasion of Asia and Europe, of course, witnessed many other big movements of armies in Asia, but none of these can, I take it, be characterised as migrations of peoples: for these expeditions usually returned by the way they had come, whereas the Arabs, the Turks, and the Mongols established themselves as far as they were able wherever they penetr ated by conquest, and had *no thought of returning to their original homes.* The Arabs and the Mongols, it is true, remained in close touch with their mother countries as long as it was possible, but the early Turks and the Seljuks as it were carried their homes with them in a wider sense than the purely nomadic. If we consider the conquests of later Turks, such as those of Mahmud of Ghazna, in the X-XI century, of Muhammad the Khwarazm Shah in the XII, or of Tamerlane in XIV-XV, we shall notice that, although these resulted in the temporary establishment of vast empires, they were rather in the nature of military exploits by organised troops than of nomadic migrations, and that those leaders invariably returned to their head-quarters at the termination of a successful campaign.

The case of the conquest of Upper India by the Mughals under the Emperor Babur, himself a Turk, offers peculiar features: for here we find a conqueror with an organised force setting up a new kingdom in a foreign land—a land inhabited mostly by Infidels—and founding a dynasty which became essentially Indian. There is no question of a Turkish Court at Delhi or of Turkish settlements in Hindustan. The Turkish troops under Babur seem to have left no more mark on the population of the Panjab than those under Mahmud of Ghazna (who invaded India no less than 14 times) or of Tamerlane who raided Delhi. It is in view of such considerations as these that I would claim a distinct place in history for the four movements which form the subject of my lectures.

There is in these lectures what I may call a quite unintentional unity of action, seeing that the Arabs encounter the Turks: that from these Turks spring the Seljuks: that the downfall of the Seljuks facilitated the invasion of Persia by the Mongols.

It is interesting to picture to ourselves the immediate effects of such wholesale invasions as we are now considering, in contradistinction to the passage through the country of a military invader.

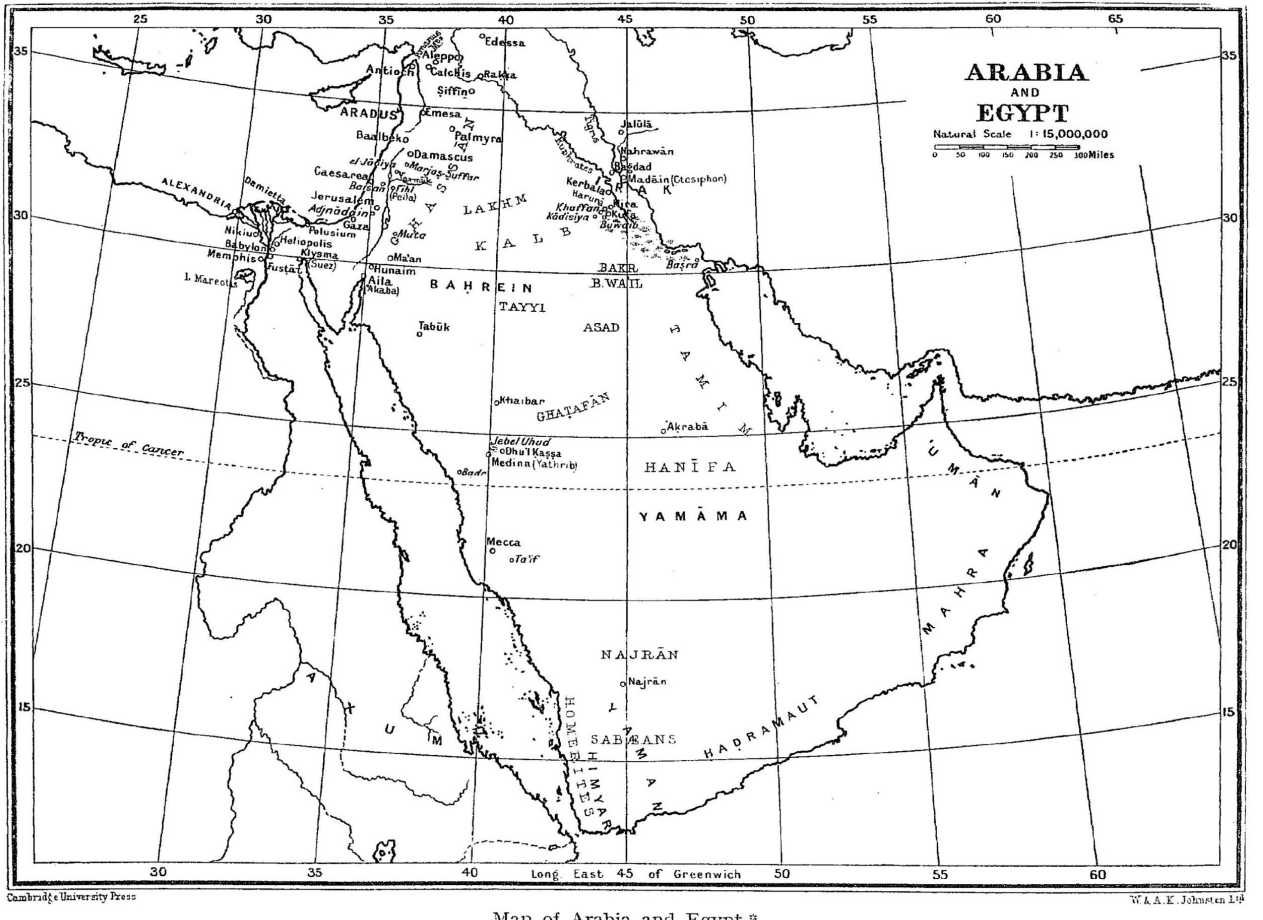
As an example, we may take it that the occupation of N.W. France by the Norsemen was an immigration, whereas the conquest of England by the descendants of these Norsemen was a military invasion. One part of France became Norman and has remained so ever since: no part of England became Norman any more than India under British rule becomes English.

The Exodus of the Arabs.

In order to give you a picture of this great exodus of the Arabs, I fear I cannot avoid referring at some length to the career of the Prophet Muhammad and to the foundation of Islam as a religion, and this will necessitate the repetition of many incidents with which most of you are, I am sure, already familiar.

For, in order to understand the true significance of the Arab invasions, we must realise what it was that led to the creation of a united nation in arms out of the unpromising material offered by the scattered Bedouins of the desert, whose only common bond was a vague fetishism. The Bedouin also had the tie of kinship which attached him to one or other of the great desert tribes: but his main characteristic was his love of independence. It is difficult for those who have not seen the lonely Arab in his desert to picture what this independence means. We are so apt to think of the Bedouins in terms of encampments, of large tribes wandering about with their flocks and tents in search of pasture or water. This picture has been made more familiar in recent times, thanks to the cinema and its ridiculous idealising of the *sheikh*.

Arabia, as we know her to-day, has no rivers, and her towns are few and far between. Three-quarters of her natural frontier is formed by the sea-coast. The rest of her frontier, extending from Akaba to the confines of Mesopotamia, is in desert land. In remote times, Arabia, according to the geologists, presented a very different picture and possessed streams and consequently pasturage. But, as has so often happened and as still happens to-day in countries where sand is prevalent, the desert has constantly eaten up the sown and finally dried up the rivers. This process of desiccation it was that led in the past to the migration of the inhabitants of Arabia, who were of Semitic stock, northwards into Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia. And thus probably originated those great cultural nations, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Arameans, the Syrians, and the Jews, who left behind them so great a heritage of literature and art.



Map of Arabia and Egypt.*

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I do not think either geologists or historians are prepared to give dates for these migrations, which did not probably all take place at one time. But it would seem that by the end of the sixth century the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula had again so greatly increased, and the resources had again so greatly decreased, that the Semitic people—who now called themselves Arabs—were beginning to move northward, forming the Arab population of Syria, which under the Byzantine Emperors accepted Christianity.

We must not forget the close connection that exists between the character of the Arabs and the physical conditions of their land and of the Arabian desert in particular.

For us who have always lived in temperate regions, where the climate is mild and victuals are cheap and abundant, and where life is easy and secure, it is difficult fully to appreciate what a man's life is like in a country where for more than eight months of the year the heat is asphyxiating by day and where in the winter the cold is intense by night, food is scarce and water a precious rarity, and any form of government is totally lacking, so that the life of every individual is in constant danger, either from nature or from man.

Only he who has journeyed in the desert can understand the terrors, the dangers and the suffering which these cruel solitudes impose on mankind, solitudes in which to go astray means certain death from thirst. Mere words cannot but fail in an attempt to describe the desert with its fearful summer heats, its immense stretches of burning sand, its rocky hills and plains, brought to a white heat by the implacable sun, where in summer every inch of ground burns so that it is almost unendurable to the human touch.

Of course there have always been among the Arabs townsmen and dwellers in the oases whose lives in general were very much like those of any other settled population in the East. But it is the life of the Bedouin nomad that offers us such a strange picture—I do not think it is commonly realised that the desert is largely peopled by small groups of wandering families, with small mixed flocks, who have *no home* to go to at any time, and who many of them never sleep under a tent. And in the desert the cold is at certain seasons as severe as the heat of the sun in the summer.

The wonder is that any race should have been found which was willing to endure all the hardships involved by such a life : and that the causes which led to the emigration of the other Semitic peoples did not compel this branch also to abandon Arabia when this once smiling and fertile land began to dry up. We do however hear of several migrations during the sixth century due no doubt to further dessication of the soil.

In any case the Arab tribes in the time of the Prophet knew of no other life and no other conditions than those of the desert : and long generations before them had learnt to resign themselves to what they considered the inevitable, and had developed those peculiar characteristics which fitted them to this strange and apparently aimless life.

Though the Arab of those days was illiterate he had one element of culture strongly developed, namely, his love of poetry, and among them no man enjoyed such high prestige as a recognised poet, whose glory redounded to the honour of the whole tribe to which he belonged. With the rise of Islam this gift gradually disappears—partly no doubt because Muhammad had a special dislike for poets—and although the Arabs quickly took to learning and letters after they had been brought into contact with the cultured nations they had conquered, there was no survival of real Bedouin poetry—only artificial imitations quite lacking in inspiration. The designation Arab as applied by us to-day to Literature and Art—except for this Bedouin poetry—does not mean pure Arabian, but the product of that merging of the descendants of the early Bedouin invaders with the cultured races of the Near East and Middle East.

Let me now pass to a rapid survey of the rise of this new religion.

At the beginning of the seventh century the Yemen and part of the Hadramaut were in the possession of the Persians, while the Syrian frontier was ruled over by the Ghassanids under the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperor. The whole peninsula was inhabited by Arabs, but the Hejaz contained large Jewish colonies which had been driven out of Palestine. Some of the Arabs were Christian, but the majority were heathen. They believed in a supreme God called Allah, who had created and who ruled the world. He had no temples in his honour and no priests to serve him. Next to Allah came the jinns who had fixed habitations in stones, trees or statues. Each Arab tribe had its special jinn or jinns. Mecca was the principal religious centre of Arabia, and possessed an old temple called the Ka'ba—or Cube—round which the tribe of Kuraysh had built a city in the fifth century of our era. The Ka'ba did not belong to the Kuraysh but was the common Pantheon of many tribes and contained three hundred and sixty idols. The most sacred object it contained was the Black Stone, which is still venerated by the Muslims. Hence the importance of the city of Mecca and of the tribe of Kuraysh which had the guardianship of the Ka'ba. The Arabs had no belief in a future life, and their religion was little more than a degraded fetishism.

Early in the seventh century there suddenly appeared an Arab named Muhammad, of the tribe of Kuraysh, inspired with the idea of reducing the number of Arabian gods to one, and of compelling his fellow countrymen to recognise his mission as divine. The new prophet being a townsman and a merchant, whose business had taken him into foreign countries, had often had opportunities of meeting Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. Islam owed much of its success to the fact that so large a part of its doctrines was derived from these three great religions. The Prophet is instructed by God to say " I am no apostle of new doctrines, and I do not know what will happen to me or you. I follow naught save what has been revealed to me. For I am only a public admonisher."

The pagan Arabs had no " book " and very few monuments. Other nationals

with whom Muhammad came in contact had a "book" and temples, but they had no idols. It is possible that Muhammad, impressed by the feeling that in these respects the Arabs were inferior to their neighbours and that idols were undignified, determined to provide his fellow countrymen with a "book" of their own and to exterminate all the gods but one. But in order to justify the preaching of a new religion he must prove its superiority to all others and try also to convert to his way of thinking the Jews and Christians. He was determined to make Islam the one religion of the Arabian Peninsula. He was, however, unable to satisfy either the Jews or the Christians, and thus one of his first objects was to turn the Jews out of Arabia. In connection with his relations with the Jews there is an infallible way of remembering the relative positions of Mecca and Medina. In the first instance, the Prophet instructed his followers to turn towards Jerusalem when saying their prayers. When he quarrelled with the Jews he reversed the order, and told the Muslims to turn towards Mecca. For the people of Medina this meant *exactly the opposite direction*. His feelings against the Christians as such were no doubt somewhat modified by the fact that the Christian King of Ethiopia gave sanctuary to many of his persecuted followers who had fled across the Red Sea. This same circumstance may possibly account for the fact that Abyssinia was never invaded by the Arabs.

Muhammad, the son of 'Abdallah, the son of 'Abd-al-Muttalib, the son of Hāshim, the son of 'Abd Manāf, is said to have been born in A.D. 571. Of his early life down to the age of forty we know very little. At the age of twenty-four he married Khadīja, widow of a rich merchant in whose service he had made caravan journeys into Syria and South Arabia. By this marriage Muhammad had six children, of whom we need only mention the youngest daughter Fātima. After the death of Khadīja he married a young girl called 'Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Bakr.

About the year A.D. 610 Muhammad, who was given to solitary wanderings, one day had a dream in which it seemed to him that someone said to him: "Recite in the name of thy Lord who created man—and teaches man by the pen what he does not know." Muhammad was deeply impressed by this dream, which may be regarded as the beginning of his mission.

Thereafter he began to receive these dream messages with recurring frequency, and they were recorded or remembered by Muhammad as the Word of God delivered to him by the Angel Gabriel. Thus was created what came to be known as the Koran, or "the reading," which was only brought together after the Prophet's death. It should always be remembered that the Koran contains not the words of the Prophet, but the Words of God. All quotations begin: "God said—" not: "Muhammad said."

The whole of his family, including his adopted sons 'Ali and Zayd, and many of his intimate friends immediately believed that Muhammad had received a divine mission. The most important of these friends was Abu

Bakr, a wealthy merchant who belonged to the tribe of Taym. The complete faith which this honourable man placed in Muhammad and his mission was not only an invaluable source of encouragement to Muhammad, but is a most important testimony to the genuineness of the Prophet's mission.

His uncle, Abu Tālib, became his chief supporter. Though only a poor man, he enjoyed the highest respect of all the Hāshimites, and whilst he lived no one would dare to attack Muhammad.

Not all the Kuraysh, however, were prepared to follow him, and the most notable opponent was another of his uncles, Abu Lahab, who was consequently condemned in the Koran to hell fire.

Another Kurayshid follower was won by his marriage with two of Muhammad's daughters, namely, 'Othman, of the family of Omayya. In all, the first band of the faithful are said to have numbered forty-three persons. Among these were several slaves, and mention may be made of an Ethiopian named Bilāl, who, by reason of his loud voice, became the first *Muezzin* to call to prayer in Islam. The whole Muslim confession of faith is contained in the words: "*There is no Deity but Allah; Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah.*"

By day the Prophet preached to the people, and by night he received revelations, which often had bearing on current events. Muhammad knew no half measures; and the name Muslim, applied to believers, is derived from the word *Islam*, which means "total submission [to the will of God."]

The public feeling against the new religion often took an active form, and the Muslims were mocked and persecuted. Indeed, they were soon obliged to hold their meetings in a private house. But the turning point in these first years of the mission was the conversion of 'Omar, the son of Khattāb, who had hitherto been one of the strongest opponents of Islam. This young man of twenty-six already commanded so much respect among his townsmen for his bravery and decision of character that from the day of his acceptance of Islam the Faithful were able to perform their prayers in public. The importance of the role played by 'Omar in the history of Islam cannot be overrated. It was he who spurred the Prophet on to action, and encouraged him to undertake the conversion of all Arabia; and to resort to force of arms where peaceful methods failed. It was 'Omar, moreover, who initiated the invasion and conquest of the outer world by the Arabs.

Towards the end of A.D. 619 two great misfortunes befell the Prophet. Within a few weeks he lost first his faithful Khadīja, to whom he had been married for twenty-four years, and then his uncle and staunch defender Abu Tālib, who enjoyed such respect in Mekka that no one dared to attack his nephew. On the death of Abu Tālib, Muhammad's position in Mekka became one of such grave danger that he was, we are told, afraid to leave his own house. He was peremptorily ordered to give up his public preaching, and to cease from attacking the idolatry o fhis compatriots. In the meantime,

however, during the annual pilgrimage which brought Arabs from far and near to Mekka, he had succeeded in converting a number of pilgrims to the New Faith, and notably some inhabitants of the town of Yathrib. With them he formed a secret alliance in A.D. 620; but no sooner was it noised abroad that he had thus betrayed his own home and his tribe, than further residence in Mekka became impossible for him. He therefore resolved to migrate to Yathrib and seek the protection of its inhabitants; but the number of converts he had succeeded in making during the pilgrimage was not sufficient to guarantee the support of the whole tribe. In A.D. 622 a secret meeting was held during the last days of the pilgrimage, between the Muslims of Mekka and the envoys from Yathrib; as a result of which the former migrated to the latter city, where they were received with open arms by the local converts. The last to leave Mekka were the Prophet himself, Abu Bakr and 'Ali: it is from this event—known as the *Hijra, i.e.*, the migration of the Prophet—that the Musulman era dates. The town of Yathrib, to which Muhammad fled, now received the name of al-Medîna, which means "the city *par excellence*." He found Medina ready to receive him, and it remained his headquarters for the next ten years; for he did not capture Mekka until just before his death.

During these ten years the Prophet, who while in Mekka had only been the preacher of a new religion now became unconsciously the founder of a new military state, was constantly engaged in warfare and in bringing the people of Arabia to obedience. He was determined to make the new religion the religion of the whole peninsula, and by the time of his death, in 632, he had practically achieved his purpose.

When Islam was carried outside Arabia as an established religion, the Muslims showed themselves to be tolerant, and, apart from the risk of eternal damnation, the conquered peoples had only to choose between Islam and the payment of an annual money contribution.

Whatever opinions we may hold regarding the message of the Arabian prophet, we may rest assured that Muhammad always had complete faith in himself. It would be difficult to imagine any man starting on such a career as his at the age of forty for other than a spiritual motive. Whether Muhammad at the outset conceived the idea of making Islam a universal religion—and texts have been quoted from the Koran to show that he did—is still a matter of debate, but he certainly could not have entertained any thoughts of temporal leadership, still less of sovereignty over all the Arabs. During the ten years of the Prophet's life that remained to him after his flight to Medina he took part in no less than twenty-seven battles and organised forty-seven expeditions. It may be imagined, therefore, that he cannot have had much inclination to think of converting the outside world. Tradition speaks of letters addressed by Muhammad to the Byzantine Emperor and to the Chrosroe of Persia, demanding their acceptance of the

new faith, and a force of some size for a punitive expedition over the Syrian frontier had been collected in Medina just before the Prophet's death; but beyond this there is nothing recorded which points to a determined propaganda outside Arabia. Muhammad gained his lordship over the Arabs by force, and while his devoted generals were wielding the sword on his behalf, he himself was laying the foundations of the faith which, though it at first found so little favour in Arabia, was ultimately to be accepted by peaceful preaching in so many countries outside the Prophet's own land. We may take it that the Arabs as a whole felt very little drawn towards either dogmatic beliefs or ritual practices. This indifference was largely responsible for the intransigeant form given by the Prophet to the creed he preached. But propaganda in the truest sense only makes its appearance in Islam in connection with the parties and sects that arose among the Muslims; factions which, though bearing a religious semblance, were purely political in aim, such as propaganda of the 'Abbasids in Khurasan, of the Fātimids in Egypt, and of the Ismailis in Persia. Behind most of these movements, notably the great schism between the Sunnis and the Shi'as, lie the disputed claims of inheritance. It is interesting to recall that no such questions were at the back of Christian schisms, which were all dogmatic. Whereas these arose on questions which had reference to the preaching of Jesus Christ, Islamic schisms nearly all related to the question of succession to the Caliphate, on which Muhammad has made no pronouncement at all.

The hold of the new faith over the Arabs was of the slightest, and it is highly probably that if chance had not at an early stage filled the Muslims with a desire for foreign conquest, the whole of Arabia would have reverted to its original state. For the Arabs above all love independence, and the Bedouin resents all forms of control and authority beyond that of his tribal chief, and that sits lightly enough.

It was the civil war necessary for the conversion of the Arabs which gave the warlike character to Islam; and it was the successes of Muslim generals like Khālid ibn Walīd which tempted the faithful to try issues with foreign nations.

The battles in which the true believers were during ten years so constantly engaged against their fellow countrymen, were never on a very large scale—but they did suffice to make the fame of a number of capable commanders, and to give the Arabs as a whole more experience in warfare than they were in the habit of deriving from their inter-tribal feuds. We can imagine that they now wanted to turn to advantage the experience they had thus gained and try issues with the Arabs over their frontiers. The very first movement of this kind was a raid led by certain hot-headed men into Transjordania, where they came into collision with the troops of Byzantium by whom they were utterly routed at Mūta. It is more than likely that the Prophet would immediately have followed up this defeat by an expedition of revenge into Syria,

but he was at that moment engaged in the important task of capturing the town of Mekka. When in 631 he at last achieved this he assembled a huge army and set out towards Syria to avenge the slaughter at Mūta. He did not accompany the expedition very far as his presence was needed in Mekka, and in the following year he died and the expedition was abandoned. Muhammad died without appointing a successor ; and this may be accounted for by the fact that he did not realise that he had founded not only a new religion but also an empire ; that he was not only the Prophet of God and Islam, but had also become virtual king of Arabia. There was much discussion after his death regarding a successor, and finally his old and trusted friend Abu Bakr was appointed Khalīfa or Caliph. He only survived for two years, but in these two years he initiated the first stages of the conquest by the Arabs of the outer world. The first task which lay before Abu Bakr was suppressing the revolutions which followed the death of the Prophet. Three different pretenders arose in various parts of the Peninsula and laid claim to the Prophetic office, and it is noticeable that these rebellious leaders never posed as princes or kings, but only as rival prophets. It was the courage and firmness of the aged Abu Bakr which saved Islam at this crisis. One Muslim historian writes :—" On the death of Muhammad it wanted but little and the Faithful had perished utterly. But the Lord strengthened the heart of Abu Bakr, and established us thereby in the resolve to give place not for one moment to the apostates ; giving answer to them but in these words : ' Submission, Exile, or the Sword."

In 633 when Abu Bakr had managed to bring back to the fold the recalcitrant Arabs, he was faced with the problem of a country full of trained men who were a positive menace to peace. As a solution for this difficult problem he decided to send thousands of these men over the northern frontiers with promises of loot such as they had never dreamt of. These men were only too ready to rush over the border as their ancestors had done before them in the previous century. I do not think either he or anyone else then thought of conquest on an extensive scale ; it could hardly occur to them that they would so soon find themselves in Cairo and Khurasan. He dispatched two armies towards Iraq ; one of these armies under the famous Khālid is said to have numbered 20,000 men.

The first battle fought took place at Hafir and was known as the Battle of the Chains, because some of the Persian soldiers are said to have been bound together with chains to prevent their running away. Khālid, who began the engagement by slaying the Persian satrap in single combat, gained a decisive victory over the enemy and was able to send vast booty to Medina.

At this time Bedouins were fighting on both sides and the famous tribe of Bakr was about equally distributed. The intense cruelty of Khālid towards the prisoners aroused bitter feelings on the part of the non-Muslim Arabs. Otherwise it might have been possible for him to advance at once against the Persian capital Ctesiphon. He, however, first directed his march towards

Hīra, on the Euphrates, which capitulated, and here was concluded the first treaty between the Arabs and a foreign power. Hīra, in which Khālid remained for one year, was the first foreign town of importance to be occupied by the Muslims.

A third army meantime had been despatched to Syria under a leader also named Khālid, who, though he had better troops, could not be compared with his namesake in generalship. In his first encounter with the Byzantines Khālid fled and Abu Bakr now despatched a strong force in four detachments numbering, we are told, between 30,000 and 40,000 men. They concentrated at a spot on the river Yarmuk, which falls into the Jordan below the lake of Gallilee. For some time desultory fighting occurred, but the four leaders were unable to come to an agreement on a joint attack, and feeling that what was needed in this great emergency was a unity of command, Abu Bakr recalled the other Khālid from Iraq and placed him in command of the Syrian army. In the battle which ensued the Byzantines were totally defeated and the fate of Syria was sealed. The Muslims are said to have lost three thousand men, while the Byzantine losses are estimated at over a hundred thousand. This large figure is to be mainly attributed to the fact that the Greeks were hurled over a yawning gulf which lay immediately in their rear.

In 634 Abu Bakr died and was succeeded by 'Omar, who had already played such an important part in the rise and progress of the new religion. In 635 Damascus fell. In the following year Heraclīus abandoned Syria. In the great victory of Qadisiyya in 637 the Arabs drove the Persians out of all their western possessions and became masters of Iraq, including the then capital Ctesiphon, where the Persians offered hardly any resistance. Progress from now on was so rapid that within twelve years of the Prophet's death the Arabs, marching north, east and west, had acquired territory as large as Germany and Austro-Hungary before the war. Thus did the unlettered Bedouins, conquer highly civilised peoples ruled by kings of ancient lineage and by a highly efficient bureaucracy.

It is not my object in this lecture to enumerate the battles won or the lands conquered by the Arabs in their triumphant progress East and West, but rather to help you to understand the ecomomic conditions and other circumstances which brought about this mass exodus from Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century, and rendered possible their victories. The fundamental causes of this movement may have been, as I have said, mainly economic: they were certainly in a large measure political; and ostensibly they were wholly religious. But although the Muslims had a *slogan* or war-cry, one cannot help feeling it was their love of fighting and of loot that was their strongest impetus: for the clearly-defined conditions of conquests which they adopted go to show that their main objective was the occupation of fresh territory.

One can well imagine the astonishment of the Byzantines, the Persians and the rest when they discovered that these unlettered men in addition to their swords and spears had a new religion which was made their excuse

for invading the world. Surely no other victorious army in history has ever insisted on spreading a new religion. And surely no other religion has ever been first preached at home and abroad at the point of the sword.

It has been suggested by some writers that it was the friendly attitude of the Semitic peoples in Syria and Iraq which changed the original plan of using the trained men of Arabia for simple raids across the frontier into one of conquest. "Among the shrewd companions of the Prophet at Medina, the idea speedily gained ground that instead of the precarious adventure of such raids from which only those engaged in them would benefit, and which would only leave destruction in its train—the friendly attitude of the indigenous population, who had no reason to love their rulers, whether Byzantine or Persian, now made it possible to turn the ephemeral gains of an expedition into a permanent and secure source of revenue to the newly-founded state of Islam. It was therefore these Semitic subjects of Christian and Zoroastrian rulers who really turned the Arab raiders into conquerors—and not only did they offer no resistance except under compulsion—but they rendered practical assistance to the Muslims by acting as spies and by offering their services in the administration of the new state."

Almost our only sources of information are those of the Arabs themselves, and it is quite natural that their chronicles should maintain a discreet silence on any factors in the story which tended to diminish the glories of the conquest.

We at any rate know that on the whole very little opposition was encountered while the expeditions of the Muslims were confined to Semitic lands. The task of the invaders became more difficult when they came into conflict with non-Semitic populations.

In view of the comparatively sparse populations of the Peninsula the number of the Moslem troops engaged in these early conquests cannot have been very large: but new recruits would be constantly arriving, and after a quarter of a century had elapsed from their first exodus, there were doubtless thousands of young Muslims ready to take up arms whose mothers were of non-Arab origin.

Another important factor of the success of the Muslims was the good treatment meted out to all who submitted without resistance.

The conditions of conquest were clearly defined. Where the population submitted without any show of opposition, they were allowed to retain their own religion and to continue in possession of their lands: all that was required of them was the payment of a capitation tax which was considered to be the price they paid for the protection they received from the conqueror.

Where, however, armed resistance was offered and force had to be employed the Muslims claimed the right to pillage the country, kill the men and make slaves of the women and children. Of course any one who wished to turn Muslim was at once admitted to the fold on pronouncing the simple formula of Islamic faith. According to the prescriptives of the second Caliph 'Omar

every Muslim was a soldier of Islam who might at any moment be called upon to defend the faith, and was entitled to pay for services rendered.

The Muslims were forbidden to acquire land, and received payment either in money or in kind which was derived either from the tax on the conquered or from loot. The old division of the Arabs into tribes was still continued, with its concomitant internecine quarrels and its *vendettas*. The conquered peoples cultivated the soil, the Muslims lived on the produce and had no occupation but that of soldiers.

One can readily believe that the conditions of life in these new surroundings did not fail to have a demoralising effect on these Arabs of the desert, and that in the course of time those who settled in towns became luxurious and effeminate. Where the population becomes settled tribal solidarity and tribal loyalty tends to disappear.

LECTURE II.—THE TURKS.

(Delivered April 29th, 1929.)

I should like to confess to you that when I undertook to lecture on the early Turks as a part of this course I did not realise, in spite of the amount of time I have devoted to this subject, how difficult a task I had set myself. Scholars have dealt at enormous length with such details as the identification of the names of the tribes and the towns, and are for ever propounding new theories, but no one it seems has ever had either the time or the courage to piece together the puzzle. In dealing with the Arabs, the Seljuks and the Mongols, one has a due series of historical records to go upon and positive dates and topography, but in dealing with these Turks, everything is more or less in the air. When we consider how many big problems in regard to race origin still remain to be solved—such as the original home of the Aryans, of the Sumerians, or of the Georgians—it is interesting to find a nation which one can trace step by step from their original homes to the furthest limits of their migrations as we can trace the Turks from Mongolia to the Balkans; but our more precise knowledge of the Turks dates from comparatively recent times.

Writing of the Tartars in 1820, the famous French Orientalist, Rémusat, remarks:—

> "The origin of these nations is still very obscure. It is impossible as yet to say from how many races they sprang, and what territories they originally inhabited, or to determine with any certainty what circumstances led to their emigrations. In the absence of data, due largely to the fact that no one has taken the trouble to collect and sift what does exist, it is not surprising that the most contradictory theories should have been advanced regarding the antiquities of Tartary."

You must remember Rémusat had access to the Chinese authorities, which are plentiful, as the history of each dynasty had a special chapter on their foreign neighbours, quite apart from the incidental dealings they had with them. During the last thirty years, however, Chinese studies have undergone a profound transformation, and the discoveries of archæologists in Central Asia have set at rest some of the most vexed questions regarding the early inhabitants of Tartary. Among these discoveries nothing is more arresting than the decipherment of the Turkish inscriptions of Northern Mongolia, which, taken together with the material found in the Chinese

annals, give us a vivid picture of the Turkish race in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries after they had left their settlements on the Orkhon and Selinga Rivers.

The westward movement of the Turks from the steppes of Northern Mongolia constitutes the first stage in history of the penetration by various branches of this family into Central and Near Asia and into Europe, including the Pechinegs, the Comans, the Tartars of the Volga and of the Crimea, whose history forms an interesting subject of study and one that has received little attention except on the part of Turkologists.

In my present lecture I wish not only to give you some idea of the origin of the Turkish people, but also to trace the beginning of their westward movements down to the period, namely, the middle of the seventh century, when the Arabs, arriving from the opposite direction, had reached the Oxus country, and found themselves for the first time face to face with a Turkish power. It was not till the middle of the eleventh century that the Turks began to spread in large numbers over middle Asia (and this will form the subject of my next lecture), and it was the Arabs who barred the way to further westward progress during the intervening period, just as it was the Turks and the Chinese who prevented the Arabs spreading into Eastern Turkestan. For the rise and progress of the Turks down to the eighth century we rely upon Chinese historians: and for their subsequent history it is mainly to the annals of the Muslims that we must turn.

Central Asia, which was known to our forefathers by the convenient name of High Tartary, is surrounded on all sides by almost impassable mountains. There are only two natural exits, the one to the north-west in Zungaria, the other in the south-east. It was this latter exit that the earliest nomad and pastoral people of this inhospitable country usually selected as giving them, in a few days' march, easy access to the rich and fertile plains of China. This circumstance explains how it was that the great migration of Central-Asian hordes did not take place until a comparatively recent date in the history of mankind: that is to say, in the third century B.C., when the Chinese, under an Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, tiring of the incessant incursions of the tribesmen on their northern frontiers, of which their early records are full, set about the completion of the Great Wall by joining into one continuous wall the various barriers which had been from time to time set up by the barons of the northern marches. It was the construction of this formidable obstacle by the Chinese that led to the great Western migrations from Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan, and hastened the downfall of the Abbasid Caliphate.

With regard to the country in which we first hear of these nomadic races, I feel I cannot do better than read you a few extracts from a paper read recently before the Royal Geographical Society by Mr. Lattimore.[1]

1 See *The Geographical Journal*, December, 1928.

"It has been roughly estimated that about a fourth of Mongolia is either utter desert, or so arid as to invite the occupation of only the poorest nomads. Not all of the remaining three-fourths are arid enough to compel nomadic pastoral life, without the alternative of settled occupation. Every important mountain range appears to be a centre of good climatic conditions, including a regular water supply, from which the climatic lines radiate outward and downward, through arable land and steppe country to sterile desert. This, however, is a physical structure which makes the mountains centres on which nomadic life converges, rather than barriers separating one climatic region from another. The tendency to a nomadic life, therefore, has always dominated the tendency of society to attach itself to particular localities and develop the culture of fixed communities. Well-favoured regions exist in Mongolia where agriculture is quite possible. Still more favoured regions are to be found, with abundant forests, good arable land, and easily worked mineral deposits, where it might be expected that men would readily turn from the nomadic life to one of permanent occupation. Historically, however, it has always been difficult for a minority to settle in such regions, because they lie open to regions in which a conversion from the nomadic to the agricultural life is not likely, and the accumulated wealth of settled inhabitants would provoke raids from the wandering tribes.

"It is evident that there have been attempts in Mongolia to break away from the nomadic tradition. In the fertile part of northern Mongolia, where numerous lakes and rivers drain toward Siberia, many tumuli and stone monuments indicate that the country was once held by the Uighurs, who appear to have been the central stock of all the Turkish tribes, and the first of the Turks to adapt themselves to agriculture and permanent habitations. The Uighurs, apparently, first showed a tendency to settle down while in this region, but they were dislodged by the tribes whose modern representatives are the Qazaqs, and after migrations which took them first westward, in the direction of Chuguchak or perhaps farther, they pitched at last on the northern flanks of the Tien Shan, which form the southern rim of Zungaria. There they speedily adopted agriculture and rose to a high degree of culture. Their capital is supposed to have been near the modern Urumchi, and they even spread beyond the Tien Shan to Turfan, which is in the true zone of oasis-culture.

"The first migration from Mongolia of tidal proportions, that of the Hun tribes, appears to have taken place about the dawn of our own era, at a period when the power of the Chinese was also in the ascendant, and the Great Wall frontier was being asserted. The power of resistance which it represented gave the migration a set that took it to the north-west, away from China and the settled country and into the Russian steppes. There is ample evidence in history to show that this initial westward drift, though confirmed by subsequent migrations, was concurrent with periodic backwashes that affected China and northern Chinese Turkistan. Strong Hun tribes were established for a long

time in the Barkol Tagh, dominating the obvious trade-route approach from Kansu province to Qomul (Hami) Turfan and Urumchi, and forcing the Chinese to work out the more difficult "silk road," the classical route through the wastes of Lop Nor into southern Chinese Turkestan."

The centre of interest for us lies, in the first place, between Lake Baikal and the Northern frontiers of China. The position of Lake Baikal is easily pictured if we remember that the Trans-Siberian Railway on its way from Vladivostok to Moscow skirts its Southern shores. It is from the country watered by the rivers which run into Lake Baikal from South to North that the ancestors of the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols migrated, and it is in this country that they established their capitals : notably the towns of Karakorum and Kara Balgassun. It includes Mongolia and the Great Desert of Gobi. It is bordered on the North by Siberia, on the East by Manchuria, on the South by the Chinese provinces of Shen-si and Shan-si and on the West by Zungaria and the Altai and Chinese Turkestan and the Tien-Shan.

The only practicable land routes between Northern China and the West in ancient times were ;

1. The route through Chinese Turkestan, which did not touch Mongolia at all and lay South of the Tien-Shan, and

2. The route through Central Northern and Western Mongolia and thence North of the Tien-Shan.

These were the alternative routes used for the silk trade.

The term Chinese Turkestan is of course merely descriptive, for at the time of the first appearance of the Turks this country was inhabited by Indo-Germanian peoples, including the Iranian Sakas who lived between Kashghar and Khotan and the Ephthalites, who were established in the 5th century in Soghdiana whence they had driven out the Yüeh-chi or Kushans.

The whole country which the Turks began to occupy in the sixth century, which we now call Eastern Turkestan was inhabited by people of Indo-Germanic stock, mostly Iranian. South of Lob nor there were Indians, North of Lob-nor, probably as far East as Hami, were Iranian Soghdians whose influence stretched as far West as the Oxus ; between Kucha and Turfan there dwelt a strange people called the Tokharians, whose Indo-Germanic dialect seems to belong to the European group ; they were probably the descendants of the Yüeh-chi who, having driven the Sakas out of the valley of Ili, founded in the fifth century a powerful kingdom. Both the Sakas and the Yüeh-chi had adopted Buddhism, as did later on many of the Turkish tribes.

According to the Chinese, these nomads were divided from the earliest times into two main groups, namely, the Hsiung-nu and the Tung-hu. The Hsiung-nu were the ancestors of the Mongols and the Turks, and the Tung-hu of the Tunguz races, the ancestors of the Manchus and the Coreans. The oldest Chinese traditions tell us that, before the time of Yao and Shun, that is about 2500 B.C., while the ancestors of the Chinese were establishing themselves

in Shensi and Shansi, they were brought into frequent contact with the wild nomadic people of the North and West. Their general name for these neighbours was Jung or Shan Jung; this name occurs both in the *Shih Ching* and in the *Shu Ching*. They also spoke of them as Hin Yung and Hun Yok. These names gave way later to the familiar name Hsiung-nu, which was current down to the sixth century A.D. All the names seem to point to an original name like Hsiun or Hun, which we find again in the Sanskrit Huna, and our word Hun.

But, though these two races, the Tung-hu and the Hsiung-nu, were sharply distinguished from the Chinese at the time referred to, there can be no doubt that at an earlier stage all three had to a great extent intermingled. The very circumstance of the constant raids in which the women as well as the flocks were carried off by the various peoples in turn, would imply much mixture of blood; and the marriage of a chief to the daughter of a rival chief is often recorded in Chinese history. Moreover, different as are the old Turkish, the Tunguz and Mongolian languages, their resemblances and their mutual borrowing of words point to a close and constant intercourse between these peoples.

It is probable that when the Hsuing-nu first came into contact with the Chinese they were no longer a purely Turkish people, so that, if we are to admit that the Huns who invaded Europe in the fourth century A.D. are to be identified with the Hsiung-nu it can hardly be claimed that they represent only one particular race. Their original habitat at the date of this contact must have extended far South into China. It was in the Southern portion of the present provinces of Shansi and Shensi that the first conflicts of the Chinese with the Hsuing-nu took place. It is probable that the Chinese were in most cases the aggressors. In the course of later history the Hsuing-nu were continually driven more and more to the north of the Gobi desert. In A.D. 220 the Hsuing-nu were conquered by Tunguzian Hsien-pi, who remained masters of High Tartary for about a hundred years. Owing to the rise of other powers in Turkestan, the Hsuing-nu power was finally brought so low that for several centuries they seem to disappear as a separate people. They are not heard of again until one branch of them appears in the sixth century as T'u-chüeh in the Koko-nor region.

The earliest monuments hitherto discovered of the Old-Turkish language are the inscriptions found by Yadrintsef on the Yenissei River in 1890. These inscriptions belong to the Kirghiz and not to the Turks proper, though they are written in a language and a runic script closely resembling those employed in the famous monoliths discovered later on the Orkhon River. The Orkhon inscriptions, thanks to the researches of Thomsen of Copenhagen and Radloff of Petrograd, have brought to life again the earliest Turks known to us in history; for they give us a first-hand account of these people written by themselves. These inscriptions are engraved on two monoliths situated about a mile apart in the desert country near Lake Kosho-Tsaidam to the west of the Orkhon River. They are about fifty miles north of the old site

of the town of Karakorum, which was the capital of the Northern Turks, and twenty miles to the north-west of Kara-Balgassun, the ancient capital of the Uighurs, where Turkish inscriptions have also been found.

The first of these monoliths bears on one side a long Turkish inscription engraved in honour of a certain Kültaghin by his brother Bilgä Khan, and on the other some beautifully executed Chinese inscriptions bearing the date A.D. 732, the 20th of K'ai-Yüan of the T'ang dynasty. The second monolith, which bears the date A.D. 735, was erected in memory of Bilgä Khan who had died in the previous year. It likewise bears a Chinese inscription; and we learn that, on the occasion of the death of both these princes, the ruling T'ang Emperor sent special missions of condolence to the Turks and ordered inscriptions to be erected in their honour.

The contents of these great inscriptions fall into three distinct parts :—

1. General, containing a sketch of the history of the Turkish empire from its foundation down to the reign of Bilgä Khan.

2. A special detailed account of the doings of Kültaghin and Bilgä Khan from the beginning of their reigns till their deaths.

3. An epilogue describing the services rendered by Bilgä Khan and his people.

The history contained in the general portion deals with the foundation of the old Turkish kingdom in the middle of the sixth century down to its overthrow by the Chinese in 630 A.D. It next deals with the 50 years during which the Turks were struggling to release themselves from the Chinese yoke. Then comes the short description of the restoration of the Turkish kingdom under Kutlugh Khan, the father of Bilgä Khan, and the history of Mé-chüeh, the uncle of Bilgä Khan, whose career begins at this time. They conducted punitive expeditions against the Turgesh in the west, and against the Kirgiz whose chief, Bars-beg, had received the title of Khan at their hands. Finally we have the reigns of Bilgä Khan and Kültaghin with their wars against the Oghuz and the Chinese.

It may interest you to hear how these early Turks are described in the contemporary Chinese annals.

"The T'u-Chüeh wear their hair long and loose, throw the skirt of their garment to the left side, and live in felt tents. They wander from one place to another, settling down where they find water and grass. Their chief occupations are tending their flocks and hunting. They have little respect for old age, but show great admiration for a man in the prime of life. They are without any sense of honour and have no idea of law and justice, in which they resemble the Hsuing-nu.

Their functionaries are divided into 28 distinct classes, and all the offices are hereditary.

Their arms are bows and arrows, lances, sabres, swords and breast plates. They are skilled horsemen and archers. They wear belts ornamented with

carved and embossed designs. Their flag staffs are surmounted with the head of a she-wolf in gold. The king's gentlemen in waiting are called *fu-li* (*i.e.*, *Büri*, a word meaning wolf).

When a man dies, his body is placed in his tent. Then his sons and nephews and relations of both sexes each kill a sheep and a horse, and spread them out in front of the tent as though offering sacrifice. They ride round the tent seven times uttering melancholy wails, and as they pass the door of the tent each one cuts his face with a knife, so that his blood mingles with his tears. When they have been round seven times they stop. Then they choose an auspicious day and burn the horse belonging to the deceased together with all his possessions. The ashes are gathered up, and the burial must take place at certain fixed times. If a man dies in spring or summer, he must not be buried until autumn has come and the leaves have fallen from the trees. If he dies in autumn or winter the burial must be postponed until spring when the trees and plants are in leaf. Then a grave is dug and the corpse buried, and on the day of the burial the relations offer sacrifices riding round on their horses and cutting their faces as on the day of death. After the burial, stones are placed over the tomb and a sort of monument erected, on which is painted a representation of the deceased and of the combats in which he has been engaged. The stones vary in number according to the number of his enemies the deceased has killed. If he has only killed one, one stone is placed on the grave; some, however, have as many as a hundred and a thousand.

After the death of a father, an elder brother or an uncle, the sons, the younger brother or the nephews marry their widows and sisters. Although the T'u-Chüeh wander from place to place, each one possesses a certain portion of land. The Khan lives permanently on the mountain of Tu-Chin. His tent faces east out of respect for the quarter in which the sun rises. They pay homage to demons and spirits and believe in magic. They glory in falling in battle, and would blush to die of illness."

The T'u-chüeh flourished from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth. The first allusion to the T'u-chüeh in the Chinese annals occurs in the year 545, when the western Wei Emperor sent an embassy to them; and in this connection we are told that originally they formed a small kingdom to the South-West of the Altai mountains. These T'u-Chüeh had migrated from the North, and in the middle of the fifth century had settled in the neighbourhood of Lake Kokonor, and were tributary to the Tunguzian Jüan-Jüan (Avares) under whom they lived in a state of subjection as workers in iron. Under their Khan, Tümen, they had, by the middle of the sixth century, attained to considerable power, and had begun to infest the western frontiers of the Wei emperor; and it was for this reason that the embassy was sent to them from the Chinese Court.

In 551 Tümen married a daughter of the Emperor T'ai-tsu, with whose aid the T'u-Chüeh defeated their former masters the Jüan-Jüan. Tümen thereupon

adopted the Jüan-Jüan title of Ili-Khan. These Jüan-Jüan (Avars) were the first to employ the title Khan. It may be recalled that about 500 the Avars became leaders of the Turkish and Slav tribes against the Byzantine Empire. His younger brother, Istämi Khan, who accompanied Tümen on all his expeditions, was the head of the section of hordes known as the Turks of the Ten Tribes ; and it is from him that the Western T'u-chüeh traced their descent. Both these chiefs are mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions. Tümen died in 552 and was eventually succeeded by his son Mokan, who in 554 finally routed the Jüan-Jüan, and the Turks thus became masters of all the country from Korea right up to the Caspian.

They now came into collision with the Ephthalites, or White Huns, with whom the Jüan-Jüan had concluded a treaty of peace, and who had been established since 450 in the rich country between the Yaxartes and the Oxus, whence they had driven out the Yüeh-chi (Kushans or Indo-Scythians). The Ephthalites had been engaged in continual warfare with the Sassanian rulers of Persia. In 555 the Sassanian monarch requested and obtained from the Turkish Khan a Turkish princess in marriage ; and a year later he sent a letter to Mokan Khan asking him for aid against the Ephthalites. To this the Turkish Khan agreed, and the Ephthalites, caught between two powerful enemies, were finally defeated. The Turkish Khan, having established himself in Transoxiana, wrote a letter to the Persian King, Anushirwan, saying that the blood of their common enemies had reddened the waters of the Oxus.

As a result the Ephthalite empire was divided between the Khan of the Turks and Anushirwan of Persia. Roughly speaking, the Oxus formed the dividing line.

The Turkish language had not apparently come into its own at this date, for this letter, we are told, was written on satin and in Chinese. The Persian King had this letter translated by a priest in his employ and sent a reply written on parchment in the Pehlevi or old Persian language.

The power of the Sassanian dynasty was already waning ; and the Turks, elated with their recent triumphs, were not slow to take advantage of the good bargain they had struck. Within a short time they had practically annexed all the countries which had been included in the later Kushan Empire, for no sooner had the Turks become their neighbours than they showed themselves to be the worst enemies of the Sassanians. They did all they could to encourage the Byzantines to attack the Persians. In A.D. 568 the first Turkish embassy was sent to the Byzantine Emperor ; and in the following year a mission arrived at the camp of the Khan (called by the Greeks *Dilzibul*, in part a corruption of the Turkish title *Yabghu*) from the Emperor Justin II. The object of this mission was to secure a direct route to Europe of the raw silk, and thus to avoid the obstacles put in the way by the Persians, who had, owing to their geographical position, created a monopoly of the Chinese silk trade. Although Justinian had managed to secure through certain missionaries a number of

silk-worm eggs and had thus established the manufacture of silk in the Greek empire (552), the large and increasing demand for raw silk could not be in this way satisfied and the importation through Persia involving heavy duty still continued. It was during the reign of Justinian that the Turks reached the height of their power ; and with their capital near the modern Urumtsi, in the neighbourhood of Lake Balkash they controlled practically the whole country from Eastern Turkestan to the Chinese frontier ; and thus all Chinese merchandise was obliged to pass through their territory. There were three routes, all of which began by the crossing of the Gobi desert to Hami :—The main route lay through Soghdiana, that is, the country round Samarkand ; but when the Turks became master of this country the Persians became anxious lest the Turkish armies might follow in the steps of the silk caravans, and they therefore forbade the Persians to buy silk from the Soghdians. It was at the request of these local merchants that the Turkish Governor sent an embassy to Persia to request the withdrawal of this ban. We are told that the Persian king not only refused this request, but actually burnt in the presence of the envoys the silk they had brought with them.

The Soghdians were therefore compelled to find some other outlet for their silks, and it was at their suggestion that the Khan of the Turks entered into friendly relations with the Byzantines. The Emperor Justin II received them in the most friendly way and sent a return embassy to confirm his treaty with the Turks (568-569). Thereafter the caravans were directed to the north, but the exact route is not known.

The trade through Transoxania was only resumed after the fall of the T'u-chüeh in the first half of the 7th century.

In 630 the Northern T'u-chüeh who had split off from the Western Turks were totally defeated by the Chinese and there followed a period of fifty years of slavery, which is referred to in pathetic terms in the Orkhon inscriptions. In 659 the Chinese subdued all the country of the Turks, but in 681 a new Khan arose named Kutlugh, who temporarily revived the prestige of his people by uniting them. He proclaimed himself Khan of all the Turks, and after defeating the Chinese, invaded the country of the Western Turks.

The Western Turks finally appealed to the Chinese to be allowed to occupy one of their provinces. On the death of Kutlugh, about 691, his younger brother Mé-chüeh became Khan of the Turks, who nevertheless still remained nominally vassals of the Chinese. Throughout his reign he continued to give trouble to the Chinese, but we are told that owing to the rapidity of the movements of the Turkish hordes, who would appear suddenly on marauding expeditions and disappear again before the Chinese troops could arrive on the scene, pitched battles were seldom fought.

On the death of Mé-chüeh in 716, Kültaghin, the son of Kutlugh, assumed command of the Turkish hordes and, having put to death the sons and brothers of Mé-chüeh, placed on the throne his eldest brother under the title of Bilgä Khan.

In 731 Kültaghin died, and on his death the Chinese Emperor sent a mission under the Imperial seal to carry condolences to the great Khan and to make offerings on his tomb. The Emperor ordered an inscription to be engraved and a statue of the dead Khan to be erected, and a temple to be built, on the walls of which battle pictures were to be painted. Bilgä Khan in return asked for a Chinese princess in marriage. To this the Emperor agreed, but the Khan died by poisoning before the arrival of the princess. This was in 734. The Emperor again sent condolences and ritual offerings to the Turks and ordered a further inscription to be erected. Such is the origin of the two monoliths of the Orkhon.

Bilgä Khan was succeeded by his son, who died after a reign of eight years. His death was followed by great disturbances throughout the country of the Turks, and in 745 the chief of the Uighurs became possessed of all the country of the Turks and put to death their last Khan.

After this date the Turks are seldom mentioned in the history of China. The last mention occurs in connection with an embassy sent to the Emperor of China in 941. Without doubt, after their conquest by the Uighurs, these Western Turks began to lose their identity, and were gradually absorbed into other branches of the same race.

The Uighurs first appear in history in the sixth century, when they were known as the Kao-ch'ê or " High Carts," being one of the two main divisions of the Turks in and around Northern Mongolia. They re-appear in the seventh century under a new name Hui-ho, which is probably the Chinese rendering of the Turkish Uighur. In 742 they conquered Mongolia from the Northern Turks. Their period of greatness was about 750-850, corresponding with the zenith of the famous T'ang dynasty. They had their capital at Kara Balgassun in the Orkhon country. Among their most important towns were Bishbalik, Kara-Khoja and Turfan. They were finally defeated by the Kirghiz. They attained a very high level of culture, and recent archæological research has brought to light a vast amount of Uighur literature and art. From this we learn that Christianity, Buddhism and Manichaeism were all practised in their kingdom, the utmost tolerance being observed; but Manichaeism was the state religion. The Uighurs were certainly the most civilised of all the northern neighbours of China; and, though their kingdom was destroyed in 850 by a Northern Turkish Tribe, the Kirghiz, they by no means disappear from history. Down to the fifteenth century we constantly find small Uighur principalities and states springing up, while during the whole of this period the Uighurs were extensively employed in Musulman chancelleries, playing much the same rôle in the Government Offices of Turkestan as the Panjabi Hindus under the Delhi Moghuls and the Bengalis under the British in India.

The Uighur language bears the closest resemblance to the Turkish of the Orkhon inscriptions, and continued to be employed as a literary medium at any rate down to the twelfth century. Prior to the conversion of the

Uighurs to Islam, their language had been widely used for the translation of Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean works, which have only been brought to light in recent years. The T'u-chüeh and the Uighurs are therefore the two great branches of the Turkish-speaking family with whom all the Turks of to-day may claim relationship if only on linguistic grounds.

If the Iranian civilisation had the upper hand in Turkestan it did not hinder the Turks from cultural development. Buddhism was studied by the Turks with all seriousness, and apart from translations from the Chinese into Uighur of the best-known canonical works, we have commentaries on the Abhidharma which have the appearance of notes taken by a Turk while studying the Chinese originals.

Finally Turkish got the upper hand in the whole region, so that by the end of the tenth century the Indo-Germanic languages, Soghdian, Oriental Iranian and Tokharian, had died out altogether.

Persian has, however, survived in old Soghdiana. For in Smarkand and Bokhara one still hears both Turki and Persian in the bazaar. This Persian, known as Tajiki, differs in many respects from the Persian of Iran proper, and in it we have words which are to be met with in the Shah Nama, but are no longer current in Persia. As you are all aware, the Soviet has created a separate Republic for these Persian-speaking Turkestanis called Tajikistan,

A few words may be said in conclusion on the names Turk, Tatar and Moghul, which have given rise to much confusion. With regard to the name Turk, there can be no doubt that it was the name by which the Turks were known to others and among themselves in Central Asia in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. In their inscriptions they speak of themselves by this name, of which the Chinese T'u-Chüeh is obviously a corruption, while they call their language Türkcha as do the Ottoman Turks to-day.

As for the word Tatar, it is probably derived from the Chinese word Ta-ta or Ta-tse, which first appears in the Christian Era and corresponds more or less to the Greek term " barbaros." It was applied by the Chinese to the peoples on their northern frontiers. The name Tatar is now only used by, and applied to, the Turks of the Volga and the Caucasus, the descendants of those Tatars who for several centuries ruled over part of Russia.

The names Mongol and Moghul have of course a common origin ; and the Mongolians have survived as a race since the days of Chinghiz Khan. In the 15th century Russian Turkestan was known to Muslim writers as Moghulistan; and the famous Emperors of Delhi, the descendants of Tamerlane, were known as the Great Moghuls, though they were in reality not Moghuls but Turks. The Ghaznavid dynasty, which preceded them (c.900-1200 A.D.) in Northern India were, however, avowedly Turks, while the Slave dynasty which ruled over Northern India from 1206 to 1290 was founded by a Turkish slave named Kutbud-din. The reason why the Delhi Emperors called themselves Moghuls rather than Turks was probably not unconnected with their desire to claim descent from the great Chingiz Khan as well as from Tamerlane.

LECTURE III.—THE SELJUKS.

(Delivered May 6th, 1929.)

In my previous lecture I attempted to describe the manner in which the Turks migrated or drifted westwards from their ancient habitats in Mongolia into the fertile basins of the Ili and Tarim rivers, and even into Soghdiana. I brought the story down to the beginning of the eighth century, when a final effort on the part of the Eastern Turks came near to bringing about the restoration of the United Turkish Empire, an effort which was frustrated by the diplomacy of the Chinese. Such was the position when the Arabs, after wasting upwards of fifty years in desultory raids into Transoxania, set about the serious invasion of that country under their famous general Kutayba.

Towards the end of the eighth century we find two Turkish kingdoms on the Jaxartes: on the upper reaches of this river were the Karluqs, and on the lower the Ghuzz or Oghuz, a section of the Western Turks. In and around Kashghar there was a third powerful Turkish kingdom belonging to the Kara-Khanids. [The main Uighur kingdom first established in the middle of this century was brought to an end, as we have seen, by the Kirghiz in the middle of the ninth century.]

As we are only concerned with the migrations of the Turks I must now pass at once to the last decade of the tenth century, which saw the first beginnings of that great infiltration of this race into the middle and near East.

In the interval the Abbasid Caliphs had become masters of all the country lying between Khorezmia on the North, Chinese Turkestan on the East and India on the South; but already, at the beginning of the ninth century, the Caliph was losing his hold on the Eastern provinces of Islam; and by the end of that century we find there the Samanids, a native Persian dynasty exercising independent rule, though outwardly acknowledging the authority of Baghdad, with their capital alternatively in Samarkand or in Bukhara. The Samanids at the height of their power ruled over Khurasan, which then extended to the Oxus, and included Herat and Merv, Transoxania, the province of Ghazna extending from Balkh to the Panjab, and Khorezmia. Their most troublesome neighbours were the Turks on their Eastern frontiers. During the whole of the tenth century there were frequent incursions or invasions made from either side. We also hear of hordes of Oghuz Turkomans being allowed by the Samanids

to occupy land in Transoxania, land suited only to nomads, and engaging in return to protect the frontiers from all inroads, and it is in this connection that we first hear of Seljuk, the grandfather of the two brothers who founded the Seljuk Empire.

We read in Gibbon's Chapter 57 the following accurate description of the situation in Central Asia at this period : " In the decline of the Caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated : in such invasion, after the retreat or victory of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxania and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan."

In the year 985 a branch of Turkomans under the leadership of Seljuk, separated from their fellow-tribesmen in and around Jand, in the lower reaches of the Jaxartes, turned Muslim and were allowed by the Samanid ruler to settle in Nur, north-east of Bukhara.

The most redoubtable Turks on the Eastern frontier of Transoxania were at this time the Kara-Khanids, who are reported by legend to have embraced Islam in the middle of the tenth century. The Kara-Khanids, as near neighbours of the Uighurs, were probably more cultivated than the Turkoman Seljuks. In 992 Bukhara was entered by Bughra Khan, who shortly after withdrew, owing, it appears, to ill health. But a fresh invasion took place in 995, and the Samanid king (Nuh), whose forces had been considerably reduced by revolts within his kingdom, decided to appeal for assistance from Sebuktagin, a Turk who was governor of Ghazna, and had rendered great services to the Samanids. In 999 Sebuktagin died and was succeeded by his famous son Mahmud of Ghazna, who in the course of his thirty years reign made himself master of all the territory possessed by the Samanids.

The Ghuzz Turks had by this time arrived in vast hordes in Transoxania, and already in the Samanid period many of them had settled round about Samarkand and Bukhara. The Ghuzz, like the Turkomans, belonged to the Western Turks, and on arrival in Muslim territory soon adopted the religion of the Arabian prophet and always became rigidly orthodox Sunnis, a circumstance which had a very far reaching influence on the history of Islam.

Later on bodies of these Turks began to penetrate into Khurasan from both sides of the Oxus, only to be driven out again by the Ghaznavids, and scattered westwards as far as Hamadan and Mosul, robbing and pillaging as they went and making good government impossible for the lesser princes of Persia and Mesopotamia. Thus gradually the whole of Northern Persia was overrun by Turks, who formed a valuable nucleus of partisans for the more or less organised hordes which were soon to arrive in Persia under the leadership of the indomitable Seljuks. One naturally asks what particular quality it was which differentiated

the Seljuks from the numerous other hordes which were continually passing into Khurasan and beyond.

The sudden rise of the Seljuks may probably be due solely to the personal factor. Really capable men like Tughril and his brother Chaghri by sheer individual prestige attracted to their banners Turks of any horde that was in their neighbourhood—just as Chingiz Khan, though actually a Mongol, attracted to his side countless Turks.

That we know so little of the rest of the Ghuzz is no doubt due to the fact that if they found no great leader, the name of their tribe or tribes would be ignored by native historians ; and having reached the end of their wanderings, they either became merged in the local population, or attached themselves to some new chieftain who might be moving further afield.

We next hear of the Seljuks under the two brothers Tughril Beg and Chaghri Beg, the grandsons of Seljuk, forming an alliance in 1034 with the Ghaznavid Governor of Khorezmia, who had revolted against his masters. In the following year, dissatisfied with the treatment they received from the " Khwarazm Shah," they decided to follow the example of the other Ghuzz and cross the Oxus into Khurasan, where they managed to make themselves masters of the important towns of Nasa, Merv and Nishapur. A battle at Dandanqan in 1040 finally put an end to Ghaznarid rule in Khurasan and in the words of Gibbon " founded in Persia the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings."

Mas'ud of Ghazna, who had been during this time mainly engaged with the affairs of India, now, too late, awoke to the gravity of the situation in the North, and made several attempts to drive the Seljuks out of Khurasan : as did also his son Maudud, who succeeded him in A.D. 1042. The actual possession of this great province continued a question of dispute down to A.D. 1059, when, by a treaty, it was definitely ceded to the Seljuks together with Balkh, Herat and Sistan.

While Chaghri Beg was left to consolidate the power of the Seljuks in Khurasan, Tughril Beg was pursuing a career of conquest in the West; and parcelling out his newly-acquired territories among his numerous brothers and nephews. These early conquests included Iraq, Kirman, Azarbaijan, Hamadan and Gurgan. He selected Rayy as his first capital.

Persia was at this time split up into a number of independent principalities, which had nothing in common but a nominal recognition of the Caliph : and there could be no question of any combined effort on their part to show a united front to the advancing armies of Tughril. The once powerful Buwayhids who, since the middle of the tenth century had exercised complete control over the Caliphs of Baghdad, and had founded states in Southern Persia and Iraq, owing to family feuds had lost much of their former power and influence ; and although they were able, by obstinate bravery, to delay Tughril's progress through Southern Persia—notably at Kirman in 1047 and at Ispahan in 1051, which only surrendered after being completely starved out—they were obliged in 1055 to recognise defeat.

In 1054 Tughril determined on a final coup, and after securing his flank by a successful raid into Azarbaijan, marched direct on Baghdad. Here the political situation was all in his favour. The Shi'a Buwayhids had placed the affairs of the orthodox Caliph under the control of a certain Basasiri, whose position had been much weakened by the hostility of the Bedüin Chiefs of Iraq. Baghdad was moreover the scene of constant disputes between the Sunnis and Shi'as. The arrival of the orthodox Tughril in the neighbourhood of Baghdad must have inspired new hope in the heart of the Caliph Kāim, who was even suspected of having invited the redoubtable Turk to come and deliver him from his Shi'a guardians.

In December, 1055, Tughril entered Baghdad in state and was loaded with favours by the Caliph, who seated him on a throne and clothed him with a robe of honour. The conversation they now held was interpreted by Tughril's famous vezir Kunduri. Tughril probably only spoke Turkish, for none of the Seljuks were educated men, and we have it on good authority that even Sanjar, the last of the great Seljuks, was illiterate. They left learning and the encouragement of learning to their Persian ministers. We may recall that the great Emperor Akbar of Delhi is said to have been illiterate, but no one could accuse him of lack of culture.

Meanwhile, at the approach of Tughril, Basasiri had fled, and although no opposition was raised against the Seljuk's entry into Baghdad, the presence of his nomad hordes was by no means welcome to the inhabitants, and in order to avoid possible disturbances, and thus preserve the political advantages he had gained, Tughril shortly afterwards left Baghdad, but not before giving his niece, the daughter of Chaghri Beg, in marriage to the Caliph, and thus cementing the good understanding arrived at between the first Arab in the land and the self-made Turk. During the twelve months which followed Tughril and his generals succeeded in subduing Mosul and Diyar Bekr.

Meanwhile, Basasiri was planning revenge. He gathered round him many of the Beduin chiefs of Iraq, intrigued with the Fātimids of Cairo and even stirred up dissension among the Seljuks themselves, by inducing Ibrahim ibn Inal, a cousin of Tughril's, who had been made governor of Hamadan, to revolt. It must here be noted that the Turks always retained the idea of the family, and though they recognised the head of the clan, they did not aim at sole and individual rule by one chief, but bestowed newly conquered territories on their immediate kinsmen, giving them almost independent powers. This same characteristic is equally notable in the case of the Mongols at a later period, when Chingiz divided his vast Empire among his sons. This was a very different policy to that pursued by other oriental dynasties, whose kings on accession to the throne were in the habit of putting to death, or at best blinding, all potential rivals, especially their brothers. The subsequent history of the great Seljuks goes to show how dangerous this policy might become when the Nomads began

to settle in a strange land. The revolt of Ibrahim ibn Inal was a case in point and the situation was only saved by the prompt action of Tughril, who sent three of his nephews to punish the rebel, and having captured him, caused him to be strangled with the string of his own bow.

Tughril next turned his attention to Basasiri and his Beduin chiefs who had, in the interval, re-occupied the Residency in Baghdad ; and in a fierce engagement which ensued, Basasiri, deserted by his new allies, fell into Tughril's hands and was beheaded. This was in 1059, and after this success the founder of the Seljuk state refrained from all further aggression and set about the consolidation of his Empire.

Chaghri Beg had just died, and his son, Alp Arslam, was given the Governorship of the Eastern provinces. Chaghri's widow, who was his second wife and the mother of his son Sulayman, was now married to Tughril.

Although Tughril seems to have grown weary of campaigning, his ambitions were not altogether satisfied, and in spite of his old age he had made up his mind to ally himself yet more closely with the Caliph, and sent his vezir Kunduri to ask for the hand of the Caliph's daughter. But in spite of the deep obligations of the Caliph towards the man who had released him from the Shi'a tutelage, and in spite of the fact that Tughril could at any moment dethrone him, his aristocratic Arab blood revolted against such an alliance with this crude Turkish chieftain, who was devoid of all the elegancies and nearly seventy years of age, and he at first refused. Some writers have also suggested that the initial refusal was prompted by a determination to make the price as high as possible, and indeed one of the conditions proposed was the immediate restoration of the Caliph's sovereignty over Baghdad.

Not before the end of 1062 was Kunduri able to report a successful termination to these long drawn out negotiations, and at the beginning of the following year preparations were made for the marriage, which was to take place at Tughril's capital, Rayy. The princess on reaching Tabriz learnt, (we may imagine to her great relief) that the bridegroom had died after a few days of illness. Thus was the great Tughril, on whom fortune had been so constant an attendant, cheated of his last great ambition.

In less than twenty-five years, from their first successes in Khurasan in 1037 down to the death of Tughril in 1063, these two brothers had conquered the whole of Persia proper, and what is perhaps equally remarkable, had introduced orderly government into a country which for nearly two hundred years had been the scene of discord and civil war. But it was not only Persia that was resuscitated by the conquering Seljuks; Islam itself seemed on the eve of disruption : neither the Sunni nor the Shi'a Caliphs were able to give it anything approaching its earlier homogeneity ; there was no really paramount power in Asia. It was Tughril who revived the waning prestige of Islam ; who postponed for nearly two hundred years the extermination of the Baghdad Caliphate, and it was his conquests which paved the way for the foundation of

the last great Muslim Empire, that of the Ottomans of Turkey. The failure of the Crusaders to make a lasting impression on Asia may also be in a large measure accounted for by the existence of this strong Central Empire.

It is one thing to conquer, and another thing to hold, and we must not forget that the Turks, though great soldiers, were very seldom administrators ; but, like the early Caliphs of Baghdad, they turned to the Persians : and if the Seljuks were fortunate in their leaders, they were equally fortunate in the great Persian ministers they attached to their service ; without whom it is unlikely that they would have been so clearly distinguished from the many hordes of Turks who plundered their way across Asia.

It was, however, a great misfortune for the oriental world that the race which contributed most to the strength and continuance of Islam should have been illiterate and uncultured barbarians. This epithet does not, of course, apply to all the Turks ; for long before the time of Mahmud of Ghazna—who at any rate attracted to his court the first men of letters of his day—there were branches of the Turks, notably the Uighurs, who had taken to a settled life and had developed a literature of their own. The nomad Turk, however, had no predilection for letters or art, and in spite of the generous patronage, which men like the vezir Nizam ul-Mulk gave to literature and science, the triumph of the Turk over the Arab gave a permanent set-back to that appreciation of Western thought and science which the Arabs had displayed immediately after their emergence from the desert. For the Arabs who brought nothing with them but their rich language and its fine poetry, at once showed an eagerness to benefit by their intercourse with both Byzantium and Persia, and from the treasure house of Greek Science laid the foundations of a vast literature comprising philosophy, mathematics and the natural sciences, which though it owed its origin to Greek or Syrian originals, soon took on a character of its own and gave rise to various native schools of thought.

The Turks, who brought nothing with them, cared for none of these things, and it was only thanks to their cultured Persian advisors that Arabic learning and Persian literature survived. It is true the Seljuks did not, as did the Mongols two hundred years later, set out to destroy the monuments of Muslim literature, and this must be reckoned to their credit ; for the Mongols, like the Seljuks, had in their service men like Rashid ud Din and Juwaini the historians, who were the intellectual equals of Kunduri and Nizam ul-Mulk, but were powerless to stay the wholesale destruction of the libraries of Baghdad wrought by Hulagu.

It should also be borne in mind that although the mass of these hordes were quite rough, their leaders often showed themselves susceptible to refined influences. A famous Muslim Geographer of the middle ages, speaking of the Turks, observes : " Their princes are warlike, provident, firm and just ; they are distinguished by admirable qualities : the nation is cruel, wild, coarse and ignorant."

From the point of view of the peaceful merchant or cultivator it is difficult for us to judge whether they were able to notice any difference between the raids of the Ghuzz and the invasion of the Seljuks ; both were probably more alarming than the constant wars between the Ghaznavids and the local Persian princes. In these last it was mainly the regular soldiers which were engaged, under trained generals, whereas the Ghuzz, who were solely bent on loot and pillage, were allowed to practice without restraint every kind of depredation. The military adventures of the princes and their generals often make good reading, and their prowess fills us with admiration—but one is apt to feel the aimlessness of it all and to be disgusted by the wanton waste of human life, and to regret the absence of all cultural interest outside the field of religious fanaticism : a thick mist of battle, murder and rebellion seems to cast its shroud over every page of Islamic history and leaves one with the impression that the average inhabitant of Persia and Central Asia spent his days in either apprehension or terror. And yet we know that in spite of these constant wars and rebellions the system of administration under the Samanids and the Seljuks was elaborate and sound in theory, and that on the whole justice was well administered. Moreover, in the midst of all this rivalry of warring chiefs and the burnings and pillagings of towns, the student in his cell, the astronomer in his tower, the poet at the court and the preacher in the mosque, still existed ; but as they are for the most part ignored by the chronicler of the day we must discover their existence by piecing together the broken mosaics which may be found after careful search in the rare books of travel, and in those rare passages in Persian poetry which contain personal allusions or references to passing events.

Thanks to the preservation of Nizam ul-Mulk's " Book of Government," we have very precise information regarding his, Nazim ul-Mulk's, system of administration. As has already been mentioned, in the eyes of the Turkish nomads the Empire was the property of the whole family of the Khan ; and not only were entire provinces given over to uncles, brothers and sons, who ruled them in their own name, but there was further introduced a system of territorial fiefs (*iqṭā*) which were distributed to distinguished soldiers in lieu of payment of grants or in part payment. Nizam ul-Mulk himself tells us that former kings, except in very rare cases, had never distributed fiefs, but paid their troops in money only. Fief holders were only entitled to demand a specific sum from the inhabitants and had no rights over the persons, property, wives or children of the population.

The great vezir also describes the difficulties that were encountered in training nomad chiefs to adopt a sedentary life and to submit to the same administration as the settled population. Under former Persian rulers there had been a strong force of " guards " composed of bought slaves and mercenaries, and some means had now to be found whereby the nomad invaders might be brought under the same system. In his " Book of Government " he gives a most interesting account of the measures he adopted for training large numbers of

young Turkomans to become servants of the court, without interfering with the interests of the settled population. He was also strongly opposed to the holding of more than one post by any individual, as this tended to increase the number of unemployed in the official class, who were always an element of unrest.

Sanjar, having spent twenty years as virtual ruler of Khurasan, was destined to spend forty years as master of the whole Empire. His reign was distinguished by great successes and great reverses. Among the former were his conquests of Ghazna, Samarkand and Sistan. Among the latter was his defeat at the hands of the Kara-Khitaïs, which deserves special notice on account of its curious repercussion in Europe. Mahmud Khan, the Kara-Khanid King of Transoxania, had invoked Sanjar's help against the Karluk Turks who had invaded his country. The Karluks in their turn appealed for aid to the Gur-Khan (or Universal-Lord) of another group of Turks known as the Kara-Khitaïs. Negotiations for a peaceful settlement having broken down, mainly owing to the haughty attitude adopted by Sanjar, a sanguinary battle was fought in the Katwan steppe in September, 1141, in which the Seljuk army was totally defeated and fled, leaving half the army dead or wounded. The Kara-Khitaïs in the same year occupied Bukhara.

The reports of this defeat, which reached Europe shortly after, led to the belief that the Seljuks had been defeated by a Christian prince on their Eastern frontier ; and hopes were cherished that a new Christian ally had suddenly appeared who would simplify the Crusaders' task of attacking the Seljuks in the rear. It was actually this rumour which led to the belief in the Christian kingdom of Prester John in Central Asia ; and there was this much of justification for the report, in that among the Turkish tribes fighting for the Gur-Khan some professed the Christian faith.

The main cause of anxiety to Sultan Sanjar during most of his reign was Atsiz, the Khwarazm Shah who succeeded to the Governorship of Khorezmia in A.D. 1128. Although when he died he was still the vassal of the Seljuk Sultan, he must be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty of independent Khwarazm Shahs, who in the thirteenth century were the last bulwark between Persia and the invading Mongols. The story of the constant revolts of Atsiz and the repeated expeditions into Khorezmia of Sanjar make wearisome reading, and need only be referred to because they certainly hastened the break-up of the Seljuk Empire.

It was however his near kinsmen the Ghuzz nomads in Khurasan who finally brought Sanjar's rule to an end. In A.D. 1153 the leaders of these Ghuzz, enraged at the Sultan's attempt to subdue them to the rule of Persian officials and tax-collectors, rose in revolt, and not only destroyed his army but took the Sultan himself prisoner. He remained in their hands until 1156, when some of his faithful retainers managed to obtain his release by bribing his custodians. He was brought safely to Merv and began to collect a new army, but grief at the ruin and desolation of his country, combined with old age—he was then seventy-two—caused his death a few months later. In these tragic circumstances did the Empire of the great Seljuks come to an end in A.D. 1157.

LECTURE IV.—CHINGHIZ KHAN AND THE MONGOLS.

(Delivered May 13th, 1929).

In this, the final lecture of my course, I shall deal with the invasion of China and Middle Asia by the Mongols during the 13th century. It would take me outside the limits of this lecture if I were to dwell on the Mongol invasion of Europe. Although the migration of the Mongols was on an infinitely larger scale than the three movements of which I have already spoken, its influence on Asia has been less lasting than that of the others. The influence of the Arabs, for example, is ever before us in the wide-spread profession of Islam; the westward movements of the early Turks paved the way for the later supremacy of the Seljuks, which, in its turn, led to the subsequent domination of the Middle and Near East by the Ottomans. Mongol rule in Persia lasted barely 80 years and the Yüan dynasty in China rather less: and it is only in Southern Russia that we can readily detect to-day the ethnic results of the Mongol invasions, for it was in Russia and not in Asia that the descendants of Chinghiz Khan ruled for the longest period.

The name of Chinghiz Khan is commonly associated with the terrible invasions of Persia and Eastern Europe which were carried out by the forces which he had set in motion in the 13th century. It was in reality his grandson Hulagu who turned Baghdad into a smouldering charnel house, and it was another grandson, Batu, who invaded Europe. Chinghiz Khan himself never journeyed further west than the Oxus or further South than the Indus. During his active career, extending over fifty years, he was fully occupied with the unification of the Tatar tribes, the conquest of Northern China and the overthrow of the powerful king of the Eastern Provinces of the Islamic world. It was another grandson, the famous Kubilaï Khan, who completed the conquest of China, and founded the dynasty of the Yüan, which endured for eighty-nine years (1280-1369).

Harold Lamb, in his popular account of Chinghiz Khan, thus summarizes in a few words the career of his hero: "A Mongol nomad who had never seen a city, founded an empire that ruled half the world; a hunter and herder of beasts outmanœuvred and crushed the armies of three civilizations; a barbarian who did not know the use of writing made a code of laws for fifty peoples."

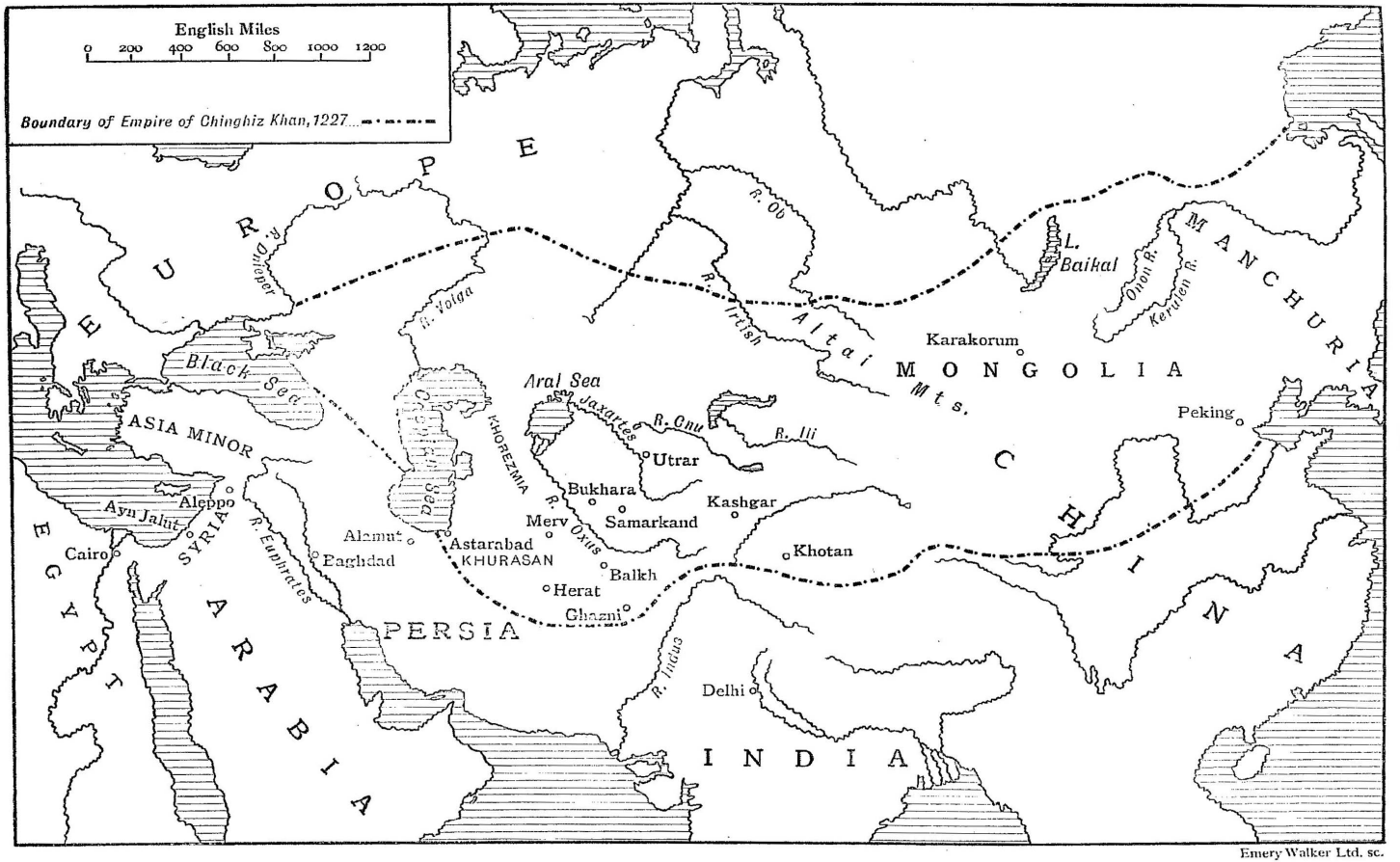
Chinghiz was something more than a ruthless barbarian at the head of

countless savage horsemen, and though he and his successors carried destruction and desolation into the fairest lands of Asia on an unprecedented scale, what he achieved in unifying his empire, in organising his administration, and in codifying his laws, entitle him to unstinted admiration. As a world conqueror he does not yield in eminence even to Alexander the Great ; as a legislator he may fitly be compared to Napoleon ; as an administrator he showed a wonderful broad-mindedness in choosing the right men to serve him no matter what their nationality ; as a general he was never out-manoeuvred and as a soldier he was the bravest of the brave. It is none the less astonishing that a man who displayed such gifts of statesmanship, foresight, love of justice and real tolerance should have spread over half Asia the stillness of a churchyard. How can we account for his inhuman savagery ? and whence did he derive the ambition to conquer all the world ? He had nothing to preach, for the Mongols, unlike the Arabs, had no slogan, no new culture to offer the conquered peoples, nor did he care for the things those conquered peoples possessed.

If we consider for how many centuries the various hordes of nomads had hovered on the Northern frontiers of China, without ever making any movement on a really large scale, we shall better realize the outstanding importance of the part played by this extraordinary man. All previous movements, whether towards China or towards the Middle East, seem like so many aimless wanderings or haphazard raids which only took definite shape with the chance appearance of a great leader. With Chinghiz the case is different ; for he seems from the first to have been inspired by a definite desire to conquer the whole world ; with the sole object of getting other nations to provide for himself and his family. But how, one asks, did a man, brought up in the simple environment of a nomad camp suspect the wide extent of Asia ?

He, of course, considered the organisation of his empire only from the point of view of nomad conquerors dominating civilized peoples. And what can have given birth to this spirit of World-conquest in this nomad chieftain ? His whole life was devoted to this one aim, and so powerful was this spirit in him that it seemed to survive his death and to pass as a natural heritage to his very numerous sons and their descendants. Though he cared nothing for human life, he cared a great deal about law and order.

I fear I cannot, in this lecture, indulge in the anecdotal side of the career of Chinghiz Khan, for I am only concerned with him as the leader of his people and not as a hero of romance. It is interesting to consider how Chinghiz Khan came to enjoy such popularity in the West. How so much romance attaches to his name that any popular work written round it is at once assured of a market. When did this taste for Mongolia in the Middle Ages first manifest itself ? Marco Polo, who also makes a best seller, belongs to the same land and age. The only pity is that scholars have not the time for writing popular books, and that consequently the writers of them know nothing of the sources and never seem to know where to find the best information, thus leading the



Map of Central Asia shewing the boundaries of the Empire of Chinghiz Khan.

public astray. Now the sources are exceptionally plentiful. First of all there are the Chinese histories of the Yüan dynasty, which tell us about his early career and his conquest of Northern China, but very little of his achievements in the West; and secondly the Persian histories; and thirdly the Mongolian histories, which are mostly legendary. The monumental *History of the Mongols* by Sir Henry Howarth, though a mine of information, is actually only a compilation of second-hand sources, mainly French and Russian. By far the most important account of Chinghiz Khan in English is to be found in Professor Barthold's *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (Publications of the Gibb Trustees, New Series, Vol. V, 1928).

Certain writers on Mongolian history have held that if Chinghiz had not achieved the confederacy and overlordship of the Mongolo-Turks, circumstances were such that one of his rivals would probably have done so; for times were obviously ripe for the unification of these peoples.

In order to understand the career of Chinghiz Khan we must know something of the state of affairs in China at the beginning of the twelfth century. The anarchy which followed the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 906 gave the opportunity for a Mongolian tribe known as the Ch'i-Tans or Khitaïs (whence our word Cathay) who had recently conquered Manchuria to invade Northern China. In 963 Southern China was brought under the rule of the Sung dynasty, who had to protect their frontiers, not only against the Khitaïs in the North, but against the Tunguts in Kan-Su. During the greater part of the eleventh century the Khitaïs and Sung rulers lived in peace. In 1114, however, a Manchu people called the Jurchen, who were vassals of the Khitaïs, revolted, and having driven their former masters out of Northern China, founded a dynasty known as the Chin or Golden, with their capital at Peking. The chief of the Khitaïs, Ye-liu-ta-shih, fled with his people from China and, after years of wandering, arrived in the country of the Uighurs, in the Ili basin, who had been his vassals, and now received him as their over-lord. In the course of the next few years he conquered Kashghar and Khotan, destroying the power of the local dynasty of Kara-Khanids. He also made the Khwarazm Shah, Atsiz, his tributary, and captured Transoxania; finally, in 1141, he defeated the Seljuk Sultan, Sanjar, at Katwan, in the famous battle to which I referred in my previous lecture. He was now proclaimed Gur-Khan, or universal lord of the Turks, and his newly-founded dynasty is known as the Kara-Khitaïs. His kingdom now comprised all the lands of the Turks, from the country of the Uighurs to the Sea of Aral. He made Bala Saghun on the Chu river his capital. This empire lasted down to 1211, when their power was destroyed by the Khwarazm Shah.

At the time when Ye-liu ta-shih was forming his new Turkish empire in the West, the Tatars of Mongolia were rapidly growing in strength and were causing much anxiety to the Chin Emperor. One of the most formidable of these peoples were the Keraïts, a Turkish tribe who had been converted to Christianity by the Nestorian bishop of Merv in the eleventh century. Among

the vassals of the Karaïts who aided them in their wars against the Chin was a confederacy numbering upwards of 30,000 families inhabiting the prairies round about the Onon and Kerulen rivers. The head of this confederacy was a certain Yisugai who married the daughter of the Karaït prince, by whom was born to him a son named Temujin, afterwards known as Chinghiz Khan.

On the death of Yisugai in 1167, Temujin, who was twelve years of age, was considered too young to succeed his father, and the King of the Taijiut was elected as chief of the confederacy. The active career of Temujin did not begin until twenty-one years after his father's death ; not that the young man was idle during these years ; on the contrary he was, with the wise counsel of his mother, steadily paving the way for his future career ; and always watchful for the moment when he should be strong enough to seize the leadership of the confederacy, from which he had been excluded by reason of his tender age. Temujin, during these years managed to retain personal independence with only a very small following, but in 1188 this following had attained such large numbers that he felt strong enough to give battle to his rivals the Taijiuts. In the fierce contest which ensued, Temujin owed his victory of 13,000 over 30,000 men to his tactical skill, and with it began his triumphant career as a conqueror. His next task was to subdue the Merkits who lived round the lower shores of lake Baikal, and during the next four years he was engaged in constant warfare with them without any conclusion being reached.

Temujin was a vassal of the Keraït Khan. In 1203 a Mongol named Jamuka, who had been blood-brother (*Anda*) to Chinghiz and had subsequently turned against him, took refuge with the Keraïts and managed by intrigue to turn the Keraïts against Temujin, and open war was declared. This put Temujin for the first time in a position of real independence ; and in a fierce battle which ensued, the Keraïts were utterly defeated, and their king fled to the king of the Christian Naimans, while the Keraïts themselves surrendered body and soul to Temujin.

In the following year Temujin attacked the Naimans who occupied the Southern plains of the Altai range, and were vassals of the great Kara-Khitaï Emperor. With the defeat of the Naimans (1206), Temujin had made himself real lord of Mongolia. The Khan of the Naimans was killed, but his son, Küchlük, escaped and fled to the Gur-Khan of the Kara-Khitaïs, whom he succeeded in 1212. It was only after the subjugation of the Naïmans that the transaction of business in writing was instituted by the Mongols. A Uighur who had been the keeper of the seal to the Naiman Khan, was appointed to the same office by Chingiz, and was commissioned to teach reading and writing to his sons. The Uighurs thus became the first counsellors of the Mongols in their new capacity of a world state, and it is impossible to overestimate the important role they played in consolidating the Mongol Empire.

In 1206 Temujin held a grand *Kuriltai* of all the chiefs, at which he received

the titles of *Sutu Bogdo* " Son of Heaven," and of Chinghiz, whence the name of Chinghiz Khan by which he has ever since been best known. (The real meaning of this title has not yet been discovered). Some further trouble from the Naimans and Merkits was disposed of without much difficulty. In the South West, Chinghiz was recognised by the *iduqut* of the Uighurs, who had been vassals to the Kara-Khitaïs (1209). Finally the Karluks and the Kirghiz submitted (1218).

Having thus effected the unification of the Tartars, Chinghiz turned his attention to the Tanguts of Kansu (1205-09). He aided the Öngüts and the Ch'i-Tans in their revolt against the Kin—and by 1215 the Mongols had possessed themselves of the Kara-Khitaï Empire, and had revived the old Turkish State.

According to the *Chin Shih*, Chinghiz was tributary to the Chins down to 1211, when he withdrew his allegiance and made his first eruption into Northern China.

The conquest of Northern China was a very long and difficult task, for the Chin Manchus were a loyal and devoted people and offered the most stubborn resistance. It required 4 years for Chinghiz to capture Peking, which finally fell in 1215, and another three to subdue the rest of Northern China.

Seeing that my subject is the westward migration of the Mongols, I cannot dwell on the campaign in China.

After the fall of Peking, Chingiz again turned his attention to the Turkish tribes bordering on the Islamic provinces of Khorezmia and Transoxania, the Uighurs, the Karluks and the Kirghiz. Presumably for strategic reasons he now transferred his capital from Karakorum to Bala Saghun on the river Chu, the former capital of the Gur-Khan of the Kara-Khitaïs.

It is at this point necessary to introduce the Khwarazm-Shahs, who by the end of the twelfth century had become masters of nearly the whole of the Empire of the Great Seljuks.

The famous battle of Katwan in 1141, was the result of an appeal made by Mahmud Khan, the Kara-Khanid king of Transoxania, to Sanjar for help against the encroaching Karluks, who in turn had invited the aid of the Kara-Khitaïs. The Khwarazm Shah at this time was, as we have seen, a vassal of the Kara-Khitaïs; this fact did not hinder him from carrying his armies into the West and the East, and 'Ala ud-Din Muhammad, who reigned from 1200 to 1220, by the year 1214 had made himself master of Khurasan in the west, had driven the Kara-Khitaïs out of Transoxania and had captured Balkh, Herat and Ghazna in the South. Sultan Muhammad in 1215 turned northwards to attack the Kipchaks, and it was in this campaign that he first came in contact with the Mongols, then pursuing the Merkits who had fled westwards. It is important to realise that this encounter did not in any way affect the relations of the Khwarazm-Shah with the Mongols, as will be seen from the exchange of friendly embassies which now followed.

In 1216 the Sultan, having learnt the news of the fall of Peking, sent an embassy to Chinghiz Khan, probably with the object of finding out more about this great conqueror. Chinghiz received the envoys well, and told them to inform their master that he regarded the Khwarazm-Shah as the ruler of the West, and himself as the ruler of the East; that he wished to remain on peaceful terms with him and to encourage free intercourse of merchants between their two countries. This would go to show that at this time Chinghiz was not dreaming of world-wide dominion; and certainly did not contemplate invading the Sultan's territories.

In 1218 Chinghiz sent a return embassy which was received none too graciously by the Sultan (probably in Bukhara); with a proposal for an alliance, or at least a regular commercial treaty. To this the Sultan, after some hesitation, agreed, though he was unwilling to recognise the supremacy of the Mongol Khan. Either simultaneously, or very shortly after the embassy, Chinghiz had sent a caravan of four hundred merchants to Khorezmia. On reaching the frontier post of Otrar, near the Jaxartes, these merchants were plundered and put to death by the local governor, and although it appears that the Sultan was in no way responsible for this wanton and cruel act, war between the two rulers was now inevitable. Before opening hostilities, however, Chinghiz sent three envoys to ask satisfaction for this outrage; one of these envoys was put to death by the Sultan's orders and the other two were sent back after having their heads and beards shaved.

War was now inevitable: but had not such a good excuse been offered to Chinghiz it was obviously only a matter of time for him to turn his attention to these rich neighbouring lands, and the weakness of Sultan Muhammad's kingdom must sooner or later have proved an irresistible temptation to the mighty conqueror. We cannot therefore put the blame entirely on the Khwarazm Shah for the westward march of the Mongols, still less can we accept the suggestion made by a Muslim historian that the Caliph of Baghdad had invited Chinghiz to attack the Sultan, of whose power he was jealous.

In 1219 Chinghiz set out from his headquarters at the head of the largest force he had yet employed in one campaign, accompanied by his four sons. Seeing that a large force had to be left to continue the war in China, which had by no means ended with the fall of Peking, the actual Mongolian troops with Chinghiz have been estimated by Prof. Barthold at 70,000. To this number must be added the subjected peoples, including many Muslims, bringing up the total to about 200,000 men. The forces at the disposal of the Sultan were probably twice that number, mostly mercenaries. Professor Barthold thus describes the method of warfare always adopted by the Mongols in settled lands: "Everywhere the defenceless inhabitants of the villages were driven in large numbers to assist the Mongols in besieging the fortified towns; in storming fortifications the Mongols used to drive these unfortunate wretches in front of them so that they received the brunt of the hail of arrows and prepared the way for the army following them."

By the end of 1219 Chinghiz had established himself firmly in Transoxania, having captured both Bukhara and Samarkand. Chinghiz himself did not travel further west than Bukhara. The Sultan fled ignominiously into Northern Persia and managed to elude the pursuing Mongols. Finally he took refuge in an island of the Caspian, not far from the modern Astarabad, where in the following year he died in utter destitution. His valiant son Jalal ud-Din continued the unequal struggle, which ended with his defeat by Chinghiz on the banks of the Indus in 1221. For the Mongols had turned southwards and had captured and reduced to ruins Herat and Ghazna. It was while Chinghiz was resting on the banks of the Indus that he received news of a revolt in the north of his dominions which caused him to retrace his steps.

After spending a few months on the Indus, he returned by the way he had come and wintered in Samarkand. It was on this return journey that he was met by the Taoist priest, Ch'ang Ch'un, whom he had invited to come and discuss with him religious matters. Ch'ang Ch'un, accompanied by a Keraït Christian Chingay, set out to find the conqueror at the beginning of 1219, when Chinghiz was still on the Irtish, and only overtook him nearly three years later in the neighbourhood of Samarkand. The narrative of this holy man's journey, told by one of his diciples, is a document of the greatest interest and gives us a wonderful picture of China and Turkestan in the thirteenth century. The account of Ch'ang Ch'un's first interview, through an interpreter, with the Emperor is worth quoting. The Emperor said: "You have come to see me, having travelled 10,000 li. I am much gratified." The Master answered: "The wild man of the mountains came to see the Emperor by order of his Majesty. It was the will of heaven." Chinghiz invited him to sit down and ordered a meal to be set before him. After this he asked: "Sainted man, you have come from a great distance. Have you a medicine for immortality?" The Master replied: "There are means for preserving life, but no medicines for immortality." Chinghiz lauded him for his sincerity and candour, and, by imperial order, two tents were pitched for the Master east of the Emperor's tents.

The next three and a half years he spent in and around Transoxania. News of a revolt of the Tunguts made Chinghiz, in 1225, withdraw to the East, never again to turn his face Westward. It was while setting out on a fresh expedition into China, at the end of 1227, that he died at the age of seventy-two, an old and tired man. The funeral escort that bore his body to its final resting place put to death every person that they met—as was the Tartar practice—possibly so that the great Khan's burial place might not be divulged.

The history of the dynasty reports that when he felt death was approaching he thus addressed those gathered round him: "The best troops in China are those of T'ung Khan, but owing to their geographical position it is hard to surprise them," and proceeded to describe a stratagem whereby these people

might be drawn out, and, being fatigued by a long journey, be open to attack, "*Then we can certainly destroy them.*"

In these dying words we see the undying love of conquest and destruction which possessed this most gifted and most brutal of conquerors even at the moment of death.

And now for a period of thirty years Central Asia was spared further horrors. It was during the reign of Chinghiz Khan's son, Ugedei, that the invasion of Central Europe took place, and it was only the death of this prince in 1241 that saved Europe from being entirely overrun by the Mongol hordes. In 1248 another grandson of Chinghiz Khan, named Mängü Khan, succeeded to the overlordship of the Mongols, and it was he who again set in motion fresh western campaigns, and for the special subjection of the western lands of Islam he appointed his brother Hulagu, who crossed the Oxus in 1253 at the head of some fifty or sixty thousand men. Such had been and still was the state of disorder and anarchy in Persia since the last Mongol invasion that Hulagu was actually met and welcomed on Persian soil by a number of local princes and governors, and his response to this invitation offers another example of that extraordinary mixture of destruction and good government which characterised Mongol rule.

One of Hulagu's first acts was the destruction of the great stronghold of the *Assassins*, Alamut. Marching through Persia by slow but sure degrees, he finally reached Baghdad on January 18, 1258. Many descriptions have come down to us of the terrors of the sack of Baghdad and the destruction of her buildings, the slaughter of her inhabitants, and the murder of the Caliph. Without quoting any of these I would like to mention two anecdotes which illustrate the terror which the Mongols inspired. These men rode about on little ponies, their toes almost dragging on the ground, armed only with bows and arrows. It was said that a single Mongol would enter a village, wherein were many people, and would continue to slay them one after another, none of them daring to raise a hand against this horseman. Another Mongol, having taken a man captive, but having no weapon wherewith to kill him, said: "Lay your head upon the ground and do not dare to move," and he did so, and the Tatar went and fetched a sword and returned and killed him.

A Persian related the following: "I was going with seventeen others along a road and there met us a Tatar horseman, who bade us bind one another's arms. My companions began to do as he bade them, but I said: 'He is but one man, why should we not kill him and flee?' They replied: 'We are afraid,' and not one of them dared to move, so I took a knife and killed him."

There still stands in Baghdad to-day a beautiful minaret-shaped tower, which, the latest researches seem to prove, was built by Hulagu himself! It is interesting to note that the chief commander of Hulagu's forces at this time was a Christian Nestorian named Kit Buka; moreover, Hulagu had himself married a Nestorian lady named Dokuz Khatun, who was the grand-daughter of the last King of the Keraïts, Wang-Khan Tughril.

Having thus completed one of the most terrible deeds recorded in the history of the world, Hulagu continued his western march in the hope of subduing the remaining Muhammadan states. Crossing the Euphrates he carried havoc and slaughter into Mesopotamia and Syria. In Aleppo alone he put 50,000 people to the sword. But even the Mongol resources in men were nearing an end; for at the same time they were fighting in China and Southern Europe; and Hulagu now at last met an enemy who was prepared to stand up against him in the person of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars. In 1260 on the field of Ayn Jalut near Nazareth, the Mongols met with their first defeat, and Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Asia Minor were saved from sharing the fate of Baghdad.

In 1259 Mangu Khan was succeeded by his brother, the famous Kubilai Khan (of Xanadu fame) who shortly after conferred on Hulagu the title of Il-Khan, or Provincial Khan, of Persia, a name by which the dynasty of Hulagu and his successors is known.

Hulagu dying in 1265 was succeeded by his son Abaqa, who also suffered a defeat at the hands of Sultan Baybars in 1277.

The Mongols had hitherto shown themselves tolerant towards all religions, except Islam. Chinghiz Khan professed Shamanism, and his wife was Christian. They had, however, like the Seljuks, been quick to appreciate the administrative genius of the Muslim Persians, and gathered round them men of science, poets and historians, and the 60 years of Il-Khanid rule in Persia was rich in literary achievement. The wonder is that those cultivated Persians like Juwayni and Rashid ud-Din, the administrators and historians, could bring themselves to serve the men who had laid waste their country and destroyed so many libraries.

A similar case is offered by the willing service rendered to the unlettered Seljuks by men like the Vezirs al-Kunduri and Nizam ud-Mulk who were also both historians.

During the rule of the Il-Khanids (1258-1335) Persia enjoyed something more nearly approaching peace and quiet than she had known for centuries. The accession of Ghazan the Seventh Il-Khanid, who adopted Muhammadanism with strong Shi'ite proclivities, marks the definite triumph of Islam over Mongol heathenism and the beginning of the reconstruction of Persian independence. His conversion was regarded with disfavour by many of the Mongols, and led to rebellions which Ghazan suppressed with a ruthless hand.

He was constantly engaged in war with the Mamluks of Egypt with varying success, but finally in 1303 his forces were utterly defeated by the Egyptians, and one can picture the exultation of the inhabitants of Cairo when they beheld, being led through the city as prisoners, 1600 of these terrible Mongols, each bearing slung round his neck the head of one of his dead comrades. Ghazan never recovered from the vexation and shame of this defeat, and died in the following year. E. G. Browne thus writes of him in his *Persian Literature under Tartar Domination:* "The mourning for his death throughout Persia was

universal, and appears to have been sincere, for he had restored Islam to the position it occupied before the invasion of Chingiz Khan, repressed paganism and reduced chaos to order . . . . He was devoted alike to arts and crafts and to the natural sciences, especially to architecture on the one hand and to astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy and botany on the other. He was extraordinarily well versed in the history and genealogy of the Mongols, and besides Mongolian his native tongue, was more or less conversant with Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Tibetan, Kashmiri and, it is said Latin. . . . Previous Mongol sovereigns had, in accordance with the custom of their nation, always taken measures to have the place of their burial concealed. Ghazan, on the other hand, specified the place where he should be buried, and spent large sums in erecting and endowing round about his mausoleum a monastery for dervishes' colleges, a hospital, a library, an observatory, a philosophical academy, etc. etc."

It is indeed curious to contrast this passage with those relating to the sack of Baghdad, and to realise that less than fifty years after the merciless destruction of all that Islamic culture stood for by Hulagu, his great grandson should as a devout Muslim devote so much time and money to precisely the contrary object, though Ghazan could not of course bring back the dead to life !

Ghazan was succeeded in 1305 by his brother Uljaïtu, who had been baptised into the Christian Church as a child, but was afterwards converted to Islam by his wife. He corresponded with various European courts, and some of the letters on both sides are extant, but he seems to have hidden from Pope Clement V, Philip le Bel and Edward II the fact that he had renounced Christianity.

I have now reached the end of my lectures, but I fear that the ground which I had hoped to cover could not fittingly be compressed into the allotted space. I shall, however, be satisfied if I have succeeded in giving you some idea of these great semi-military migrations which form the outstanding landmarks in the history of Central and Middle Asia between the rise of Islam in the VII century and the fall of the Baghdad Caliphate in the XIII. Although I have avoided as far as was possible the introduction of unfamiliar names, I fear their number is great. There is, however, no reason why such names should remain unfamiliar to us, for our knowledge of history should certainly include that of Asia, and there is no reason why Oriental heroes and the geography of Asia should not become part of our general knowledge.