

V. V. BARTHOLD

FOUR STUDIES ON THE
HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

K36
E601
1

外文书库

V. V. BARTHOLO

3338952

FOUR STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

V. AND T. MINORSKY

VOLUME I



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1962

*Copyright 1956 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.
All rights reserved, including the right to translate or to
reproduce this book or parts thereof in any form.*

FIRST EDITION 1956
SECOND PRINTING 1962

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

FOUR STUDIES ON CENTRAL ASIA

VOLUME I



B. Kapinsky

FOREWORD BY THE TRANSLATOR

Barthold (1869-1930) was a great historian of the Muslim East and a remarkable personality. In the obituary notice of the *London Times* (26th August, 1930) he was called "the Gibbon of Turkestan". This epithet stresses the importance of Barthold's researches on the vast area extending from the Caspian to Mongolia and China, but, even outside it, and apart from it, there are many branches of Islamic history on which he has left his impress. He wrote a 'Historical Geography of Iran', a 'History of Oriental Studies in Western Europe and in Russia', a study of the two pillars of the Islamic state 'The Caliph and the Sultan', and several books on Islam and Islamic culture, to say nothing of a host of important articles on varied subjects of Islamic culture, history and geography¹, biographical notices² and reviews of new books, some of which are veritable gems of acumen and learning³. The list of Barthold's works contains over four hundred items, and it can be confidently said that none of his writings has lost its utility and interest, in the light of later research.

Barthold was born in St. Petersburg in 1869 and belonged to a well-to-do family of German origin. His Christian name was Wilhelm, but he readily acquiesced in its Russianised form "Vasily Vladimirovich". Russian was Barthold's mother-tongue and he himself acknowledged the help of the friends who checked the German of his first articles written for a foreign audience⁴.

¹ Among them are his articles in Russian encyclopedias, and especially in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden).

² R. Dozy, I. Goldziher, Baron V. Rosen, F. Hirth, K. Salemann etc.

³ See in particular his reviews of the works of Chavannes, Blochet and Marquart.

⁴ Some light on Barthold's Russian roots is shed by a passage in his autobiography (*Ogonyok*, 2 Oct. 1927) in which he stresses the fact that after 1917 neither he, nor his brothers "emigrated, or tried to save their fortunes". After 1917 Barthold paid several visits to England, Germany and Turkey.

He studied at the University of St. Petersburg where he himself began to lecture in 1896. In 1912 he was elected member of the Russian Academy and held this post till his death on 19 August 1930. His very close connections with the University and the Academy were reflected even in his family ties, for he married a sister of the well-known Persian scholar V. A. Zhukovsky (1858-1918), whose other sister was married to Prof. N. Y. Marr (1864-1934).

Barthold was a stern-looking man of Socratic appearance and students feared his sarcasm above all things, but "off stage" he was capable of devoted friendship and was the first to encourage talent and enterprise. It was only when attempts were made to pass off amateurish views as unconditional truths, that Barthold refused to compromise and would ruthlessly tear such flimsy constructions to pieces. He spread around him a salutary awe, and many an Orientalist in preparing a new article thought: "what will Barthold say to it?" The present writer once had to compile, in great haste, a bibliography of the great German scholar J. Marquart (1864-1930), with whom Barthold had long-standing divergencies of views. On seeing the list published, Barthold was apparently so displeased with the few inadvertent omissions, that he even forgot to sign the personal letter in which he gave vent to his criticism. It was an excellent lesson, and I immediately recast my list, which has now received the blessings of Marquart's pupils and biographers.

As time wore on, Barthold became mellowed by age and experience. "Perhaps you are right: with me the negative aspect of things is sometimes expressed more strongly than I would like it to be, and this dims the recognition of the merit where merit there is... It is a source of regret to me that my article on N. I. Veselovsky... in which I wished to say of my teacher all good I could, has been understood as wholesale and excessive vituperation" (letter of 2nd July 1929).

In addition to his many bodily infirmities, Barthold broke his leg on his very first expedition to the Semirechyé (1893). He returned for treatment to Tashkent, but in the following spring set out, nothing daunted, to complete his tour. His curiosity and

thirst for knowledge overcame any other consideration. One day he declared to his young nephew Y. Marr: "Come with me to see America", and off they sailed to New York. Barthold worked for long periods in many European libraries, as well as in those of Istanbul and Cairo, each time carefully recording the results of his studies and discoveries. Nearly every year he made a pilgrimage to Turkestan, where he knew every scholar, every private collection of manuscripts, and even every single rare book. One of Barthold's memorable achievements was to arouse the interest in local history and antiquities among Russian and Muslim scholars, officials, teachers, doctors and engineers. He became the organising link of this army of explorers. He corresponded with all, wrote readily in local papers and investigated the special problems which might be of interest to the men on the spot¹. The Introduction to his *History of the Semirechye* (see below p. 73) is the best witness to his aims and practice.

Barthold was a scholar in all three "Muslim languages" — Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and published texts in them² but his fundamental characteristic was that he was not an "Oriental philologist" making inroads into history, but a "historian" equipped with Oriental languages. In his articles, especially of his later period, one can see how well read he was in general historical literature, and how at home he felt in discussing such problems as migrations, feudalism, or Charlemagne's correspondence with the Caliph. There was nothing "second hand" in Barthold; a true historian, he had grown up from his sources, supplementing their range every year. No sooner was Kāshghari's dictionary of mediaeval Turkish discovered in Turkey during the first world war, than, in the midst of the Russian revolution, Barthold read through the bulky work in difficult Arabic and extracted from it all the historical references. And so he proceeded with every new source brought to light, every new geographical exploration, every new archaeological discovery. The

¹ For example, a study of the different courses which the Oxus followed in historical times and a masterly history of *Irrigation in Turkestan*.

² The Russian original of his *Turkestan* is accompanied by two hundred pages of very difficult Oriental texts edited for the first time.

Oriental sources may have been dry, but Barthold ever kept an eye on the influence of economic factors, institutions, trade routes, art and other elements of general importance. Very illuminating in this respect are the "fifteen theses" advanced by Barthold in his dissertation on "Turkestan at the epoch of the Mongol invasion" (see below pp. 69-72).

In 1928 this "epoch-making" book was translated into English¹ in the Gibb Memorial series, under the auspices of Prof. H. A. R. Gibb and Sir D. Ross, who in his early years had attended Barthold's courses in St. Petersburg. A short book by Barthold on Islamic culture was translated from the Russian by Dr. Shahid Suhrawardy in Calcutta (1934). Other works have been translated into French, German, Arabic and Persian. Three bibliographies of Barthold's works have appeared, two of them in German and one in Russian², and before the last war German scholars had begun actively translating and assimilating Barthold's works and even his scattered materials³.

All his life Barthold maintained his independent views on scholarly problems. In the pre-revolution days he created some stir by his utterances⁴ on the slow rhythm of Oriental studies in

¹ Under the improved title of "Turkestan down (sic) to the Mongol invasion".

² Umnyakov, in *Bull. de l'Université de l'Asie Centrale*, fasc. 14, 1926, 175-202 (the same author has now prepared an extensive analytic bibliography of Barthold); Milius Dostojevskij, in *Die Welt des Islams*, XII/3, May 1931, pp. 91-135; T. Menzel, in *Der Islam*, XXI, 238-242, XXII, 144-61.

³ See Hinz, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Timuriden* (ZDMG, 80/2, 1936, pp. 357-98), which for the most part gives a resumé of Barthold's articles.

⁴ See his *History of Oriental Studies*. The late Prof. M. Hartmann (Berlin) in his review of the book tried to attenuate Barthold's conclusions. Barthold's later views are reflected in the following quotations: "(Kampfmeyer's article on Kratchkovsky) shows that the activities of Russian scholars are no longer lost on the West as they used to be formerly" (letter of 2 August 1927). Then referring to his views on certain Western European books he remarks: "once again these reviews will show that in the field of Oriental studies we are not so far behind the West" (letter of 21 December 1928).

Russia; he withdrew from the editing board of the *Mir Islama* (founded by himself) as soon as he felt that adventitious elements had begun to lower its standards. After the revolution, some of his views (on feudalism) provoked sharp remarks in the *Novy Vostok*, but they left Barthold unruffled. Even at the time when the outlook was very obscure and complicated, Barthold took the far-sighted attitude of a historian and philosopher which is reflected in the conclusion of his essay 'Mir Ali Shir' (see below p. XIII).

Barthold's authority always stood high. After the revolution of 1917, there was a period of acute nationalism among the peoples of Turkestan who eagerly asserted the principle of "We, ourselves" in every matter, including the reform of their alphabets. Yet even in those days the Turkmans and the Qirghiz officially requested Barthold to write for them the histories of their communities. At the invitation of the new government of Mustafa Kemal, Barthold delivered in Istanbul a course of lectures on the history of the Turks, and their text was first published in Turkish¹.

The loss of his wife, who was his devoted companion and helper, was a hard blow to Barthold, especially at a period when demand was growing for his teaching and writings. "There was no interruption in my usual work: I had to return to it almost immediately after the funeral" (letter of 16 May 1928). "Never in my life have I worked harder than nowadays", he wrote in another of his letters. After the revolution the unique manuscript of the Persian geography *Hudūd al-ʿālam* (written in A.D. 982) had left Russian soil but the present writer succeeded in re-directing it from Paris to Petrograd. Barthold's last big work was the publication of its *facsimile*, with a remarkable introduction on Muslim geographers. It is written with the perfect mastery of a scholar who sums up the facts carefully collected

¹ At a historical congress held in Istanbul (in 1932) some entirely irresponsible remarks were heard about this book, but it is much more characteristic that in 1937 a Turkish scholar (an emigré from Russia) honoured Barthold's memory by dedicating his book to him as his teacher and friend.

during a long and strenuous career, but Barthold did not live to greet it in its printed form¹.

Among the obituary notices dedicated to Barthold, one written by P. Pelliot merits special attention. The most renowned of modern French Orientalists (d. 26 October 1945) wrote²: "tant par l'étendue des connaissances que par la pénétration et la netteté de l'esprit critique, l'œuvre de Barthold est d'une solidité et d'une variété exceptionnelles. Ce grand savant laisse vide une place que nul n'est préparé à occuper comme lui. Et il vaut peut-être de rappeler que, par la loyauté, le désintéressement et le courage, l'homme fut chez lui à la hauteur du savant."

The four monographs out of Barthold's legacy, which are now presented in translation, have been selected so as to illustrate the general course of history in Turkestan and the Semirechyé. It is necessary to bear in mind that in the present edition, the studies are printed in the chronological order of their contents, and not of their composition. Moreover, the dates of each of the four works are separated by considerable periods of time and each study contains some repetition of certain facts, which, in a slightly different sequence, are referred to in the three others. To recast the essays so as to eliminate the repetitions would be inadvisable, as each of the surveys would lose its special logic. Besides, in view of the peculiarities of Barthold's condensed style (see below), it is in the interest of the readers to see the facts presented in fuller detail and without constant references to the other parts of the collection.

The position will be much clearer if we take up the purport of each of the essays separately.

I. *A short history of Turkestan*, published in Tashkent in 1922, is a syllabus of the lectures delivered by Barthold at the newly founded University of Turkestan in 1920-1. As such, it contains very few foot-notes and is more popular in character

¹ The book was published by the Soviet Academy towards the end of 1930. Barthold's 'Introduction' will be found in English in my translation of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam* (Gibb Memorial series, 1937).

² *T'oung Pao* 1930, No. 4-5, pp. 458-9.

than its companions. This essay is entirely different from Barthold's well-known dissertation "Turkestan at the time of the Mongol invasion" (published in 1900). In a very concise form, the Short History covers a much longer period, from time immemorial down to the Russian conquest, and, in view of its encyclopedic nature, it forms a useful introduction to the whole series. In order to underline some points of general interest, it has been thought useful to give in the Appendix the so-called "theses" advanced by Barthold in his dissertation. In these fifteen points Barthold has summed up all his main conclusions, and their translation will be welcome both to the readers of the present collection of essays and the students of his *Turkestan*, published in an English translation in 1928.

II. *A History of the Semirechyé* was published in Verny (now Alma-ata) in 1893, seven years before Barthold had submitted his thesis on *Turkestan*. This very early work, written over half-a-century ago, remains, as it is, unique in that it systematizes the little-known events on a territory lying between Turkestan proper and Western Siberia. *Semirechyé* is the Russian translation of the local Turkish term *Jiti-su* "the Seven Rivers", and *grosso modo* covers the basins of the two great lakes, Issik-kul and Balkhash, with the addition of some areas in the West. The territories of the former Semirechyé are now divided between the Soviet republics of Qazakhstan and Qirghizistan. In his *Turkestan* Barthold often refers his readers to the *History of the Semirechyé* but even in Russian the book was unobtainable until quite recently when it was reprinted in the capital of the Qirghiz republic (Frunze, 1943) under the supervision of Dr. A. N. Bernstam, the present-day explorer of local antiquities. In re-transcribing Chinese names I have had much help from [the late] Prof. G. Haloun (Cambridge).

III. *Ulugh-beg*, written in 1915 and published in 1918, is a good sample of Barthold's painstaking methods of historical investigation. This monograph fits into the general scheme traced in the first two essays and picks up the thread of events where *Turkestan* has left it, at the Mongol invasion. In the light of all the genuine sources and with all the accuracy of modern research,

the monograph of Ulugh-beg throws a new light on a considerable period of the history of the Timurids (*circa* A.D. 1400-1450), in the thick of Central Asian troubles.

IV. *Mir 'Ali Shir* is the latest in date of our collection. It appeared in 1928 in a volume published by the Soviet Academy to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the birth of the well-known statesman and writer who lived and worked at the court of the last important Timurid of Central Asia. If the story of *Ulugh-beg* centres round Samarqand, that of *Mir 'Ali Shir* centres round Herat, in the North-Western corner of present-day Afghanistan. This equally detailed monograph represents the second land-mark in the destinies of Tamerlane's descendants (*circa* A.D. 1450-1500).

Barthold is not an easy writer to read, still less to translate. The author makes few attempts to render the spiritual food more digestible by means of repetitions or of a slight watering down of the facts, and on the part of the student the text requires a constant concentration. The translators have tried to do their best by shortening and simplifying the heavier constructions, but they did not feel themselves entitled to re-write the original under the pretext of producing "more fluent English". This might have amounted to changing the author's purpose.

The four monographs are full of difficult Oriental names and words, Turkish, Mongolian, Chinese, Arabic and Persian. The established system of transcription in the first two languages is phonetic, whereas in the last three it more or less follows the native script so as to enable a scholar to put the transliteration back into the original garb. In the present publication, care has been taken not to complicate the text with too many diacritical signs. Well-known names of persons and places have been quoted in their familiar form (Muhammad, cadi, Isfahan). For the title *Khwāja* I have adapted the Central-Asian pronunciation *Khoja*. In more difficult cases, an accurate transcription has been used when the name appears for the first time, and after that only occasionally, by way of reminder. At the risk of being suspected of inconsistency, the translators have tried to spare the eyes of the readers any unnecessary fatigue. The references in Oriental

languages which Barthold gives in his foot-notes have been translated or explained in English.

Cambridge, 25 December 1947.

V. MINORSKY

P.S. For certain technical reasons, it has been decided to publish the first two essays as a separate volume, to be followed by the two books on *Ulugh-beg* and *Mir ʿAlī Shīr*.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AR* — ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Matla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, MSS. Leningrad University, No. 157 [published by M. Shafī‘, Lahore 1941 and 1949].
- Aristov — *Zametki ob etnicheskomo sostave turkskikh plemen*, in *Zhivaya starina*, 1896, III-IV, 277-456.
- Babur, *Babur-nāma* facsimile, ed. Annette Beveridge, *GMS*, 1905. [Turkish transcription and translation by R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1943-5, 2 vols.]
- Barthold, *Turkestan*, Eng. translation, *GMS*, 1928.
- Barthold, *Turkestan*, texts — in vol. I of the Russian original.
- Barthold, *Irrigation* — *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, SPb. 1914.
- Barthold, *Report* — *Otchet o poyezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu v 1893-4*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. I, No. 4, 1897.
- Barthold, *Semirechyé* — *Ocherk istorii Semirechya*, Pamyatnaya knizhka Semirech. Oblasti, II, 1898 [reprinted (with corrections) in Frunze 1944, with an introduction by A. N. Bernstam.]
- Hudūd* — *Hudūd al-‘Alam* (“rukopis Tumanskogo”), photographic reproduction and introduction by Barthold, Leningrad 1930; Eng. trans. by V. Minorsky, *GMS*, 1937.
- Iakinf — Iakinf Bichurin, *Sobraniye svedeniy o narodakh obitavshikh v Sredney Azii*, SPb. 1851, 3 vols. [New edition, Moscow 1950-3].
- Mujmal* — *Mujmal al-tavārikh* (520/1126), Paris MS. [Printed Tehran 1318/1938.]
- d’Ohsson — *Histoire des Mongols*, La Haye 1834-5.
- Qutadghu-bilik*, ed. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, SPb. 1891 [new edition by R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1947].
- Rubruquis (Rubruk), ed. *Recueil de voyages ... publié par la Société de Géographie*, t. IV, Paris 1839.
- T.R. — M. Haydar Dughlat, *Tārikh-i Rashidi*, trans. by E. D. Ross, 1895.
- Veliaminov-Zernov, *Izslodovaniye o kasimovskikh tsaryakh*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg 1863-7.
- Waṣṣāf — *Tārikh*, ed. by Hammer (1st Book), Vienna 1856; Bombay, 1294/1877.
- ZVO* — *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya*, SPb.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| Foreword by the Translator | VII |
| List of abbreviations | XV |
| I. A short history of Turkestan | I |
| Appendix: Theses advanced by V. V. Barthold in his dissertation on Turkestan presented to the University of St. Petersburg in 1900 | 69 |
| II. History of the Semirechyé | 73 |
| Appendix: Chronological table | 166 |

I. A SHORT HISTORY OF TURKESTAN

ANCIENT WORLD

Turkestan, the southernmost region of Russia, was the first to be drawn into the cultural exchanges of the ancient world. Our information about the Greek towns of the northern coast of the Black Sea goes still further back, but being foreign colonies, these towns left no durable impress on local cultural life. In Transcaucasia only a few frontier regions could have been affected by the influence of Assyrian culture. Of the Transcaucasian peoples the Armenians alone are mentioned among the subjects of the kings of Persia. At that time they were living mainly outside the limits of present day Russia, in what are now Persian or Turkish territories. The earliest information on the Albanians¹ and Iberians was collected during Pompey's campaigns (first century B.C.).

The ancient population of Turkestan, both sedentary² and nomad (the Sakas), belonged to the same Iranian stock as the Persians who founded the first world monarchy in history. The original home of the Iranians remains doubtful. Most of the existing data show that the Iranians, as later the Turks, advanced from East to West and penetrated into Eastern Europe (the Black Sea Scythians) from Central Asia. The remnants of the pre-Iranian population of Persia disappeared at an early date in the North-East, but survived longer in the South-West. It can be reasonably assumed that this population was connected with the so-called "Japhetids"³, i.e. the non-Semitic population of Hither Asia whose present-day remnants are the Georgians and

¹ [In Armenian sources the *Alvank'*, i.e. the people living on the lower course of the Kur, in the present day Soviet republic of Azarbayjan.]

² I.e. the Parthians and Bactrians in the Transcaspian province (the region along the Murghab being reckoned to Bactria), the Khwarazmians on the lower course of the Oxus and the Soghdians on the Zarafshan.

³ [This term, first proposed by Prof. N. Marr (1864-1934), is obsolete. V. M.]