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**DIPLOMATS, REFUGEES AND EMIGRANTS –
BEYOND MISSION, CORRESPONDENCE
AND MERCY**

L'Ambassadeur turc Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver et l'Institut de turcologie de Iassy – Roumanie (1939–1944)

Dan PRODAN

Pendant la période 1934–1939, les relations entre la Roumanie et la Turquie connurent leur niveau le plus haut de tout l'entre-deux-guerres. L'entente et la collaboration bilatérale ou zonale se manifestèrent sur différents plans (politique, économique, militaire, culturel etc.) et les relations diplomatiques entre les deux Etats furent relevées au niveau d'ambassade¹. Illustrant cette conjoncture favorable, l'ambassadeur Hamdullāh Suphî Tanrıöver exprima son désir de visiter la capitale culturelle et scientifique de la Moldavie, l'Université de la ville, de s'entretenir avec les autorités locales et de donner une conférence sur l'art turc.

L'événement culturel et scientifique du mois d'avril 1939 à l'Université de Iassy fut constitué par la visite et la conférence de l'ambassadeur de la République de Turquie en Roumanie, H.S. Tanrıöver².

Ce désir fut « entendu » à Iassy et, le 24 juin 1938, le doyen de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de la ville, le professeur Iorgu Iordan, invita officiellement

¹ Mehmed Ali Ekrem, *Relațiile româno-turce între cele două razboaie mondiale (1918–1944)*, Editura Științifică, Bucarest, 1993, pp. 50–95; Ion Calafeteanu et Cristian Popișteanu (coord.), *Politica externă a României. Dicționar cronologic*, ESE, Bucarest, 1986, pp. 204–233, *passim*.

² *Sur la vie et l'œuvre de H.S. Tanrıöver*, voir les monographies et contributions: M. Acaroğlu, M. Türker, « Tanrıöver ve Gagauzlar » dans la revue *Türk Yürdû*, VI-ncı yılı, no. 2/Şubat, 1967, Istanbul; Mustafa Baydar, *Hamdullah Subhi Tanrıöver ve anıları (HST et ses mémoires)*, Menteş Matbaa'sı, Istanbul, 1968, 392 p. (sur son activité en Roumanie, voir pp. 153–161); Mustafa Baydar, « H.S. Tanrıöver'in Romanya'daki çalışmaları », dans *Türk Yürdû*, VI-ncı yılı, sayı 6/Temmuz 1967, Ankara, 8 p.; Dr Fethi Tevetoglu, *Hamdullah Subhi Tanrıöver (1885–1966). Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Sevinç Matbaa'sı, 1986, 303 p. + 1 portrait (voir aussi la note bibliographique signée par Mihail Guboglu, dans *Annuaire de l'Institut d'histoire et archeologie « A.D. Xenopol » de Iassy*, XXV, 1988, no 2, Iassy, pp. 614–615); Y. Anzerlioğlu, « Bükreş Büyükelçisi Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver ve Gagauz Türkleri », dans la revue *Bilgi*, no. 39, 2006, Istanbul, pp. 31–51 Eldar Hasanov, « Hamdullah Subhi Tanrıöver și România », dans la revue *MI*, 43, 2010, nr. 8, Bucarest, pp. 34–35; H. Serarslan, *Hamdullah Suphi Tannöver*, Ankara, TAKE Yayınları, 1995; Dan Prodan, *Franz Babinger en Roumanie (1935–1943). Études et sources historiques*, préface par Mihai Maxim, Les Éditions Isis, Istanbul, 2003 (339 p.), pp. 100–115, 167–213, *passim*; Kemal H. Karpat, « The Emigration of Turks from Romania to Turkey and Hamdullāh Suphî Tanrıöver », dans le vol. Stoica Lascu, Melek Fetisleam (eds.), *Contemporary Research in Turkologie and Eurasian Studies: a Festschrift in Honor of Professor Tasin Gemil on the Occasion of 70th Birthday*, Presa Universitara Clujeana, Cluj-Napoca, 2013 (1056 p.), pp. 529–548.

H.S. Tanrıöver à donner une conférence sur l'art turc, à partir du 1^{er} novembre³. Pour des raisons diverses, objectives si subjectives, l'homme de culture turc ne put honorer cette invitation pendant les derniers mois de l'année 1938. La visite d' H.S. Tanrıöver à Iassy eut lieu en avril 1939. Depuis le 1^{er} mars 1939 déjà, le doyen Iorgu Iordan avait sollicité au recteur de l'Université de réserver l'Aula Magna pour la date de 23 avril, à 17 heures, quand devait avoir lieu la conférence de l'ambassadeur turc. Il y eut un nouvel et dernier ajournement, mais le 30 avril 1939, à 17 heures, dans l'Aula Magna, devant un nombreux auditoire, H.S. Tanrıöver présenta (en français) sa conférence sur « L'Art Turc »⁴. Parmi les invités il y avait le ministre Petre Andrei, qui était professeur universitaire à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, le recteur, les membres du Sénat de l'Université⁵, le personnel didactique de la faculté susdite, dont Franz Babinger⁶. Ainsi, à la date et à l'heure susmentionnées, dans la présence de Petre Andrei (ami personnel de l'ambassadeur turc⁷), du recteur I. Tănăsescu, du doyen Iorgu Iordan, d'un grand nombre d'universitaires et d'un public important, la conférence de l'ambassadeur H.S. Tanrıöver, illustrée de projections, connut un succès éclatant⁸. Bien entendu, Gh. I. Brătianu et Franz Babinger étaient du nombre.

Durant sa visite à Iassy, dans le cadre des discussions avec les officiels locaux ou à la tribune académique, H.S. Tanrıöver milita pour l'amplification et l'intensification à l'avenir des relations turco-roumaines. C'était la tumultueuse et tragique année 1939. Le doyen Iorgu Iordan s'en souvient: « Étant donné le but, politique en premier lieu, de sa visite, la conférence (d' H.S. Tanrıöver – complété DP) n'a pas été purement scientifique. Il a évoqué les relations entre les deux pays (la Roumanie et la Turquie – complété DP) qui même à l'époque de la suzeraineté turque sur les principautés (roumaines – complété DP) n'avaient pas été proprement inamicales et a insisté discrètement mais instamment sur la nécessité de les développer à l'avenir, plus énergiquement encore, en raison de la situation internationale (des quatre premiers mois de l'année 1939 – complété DP) ».⁹

³ Archives Nationales de Roumanie, Direction Départementale de Iassy (ANR, DJI), fonds (UI, FLPh), d. 9 / 1938, f. 149.

⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2 / 1939, f. 315; d. 8 / 1939, f. 192 (copie); ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 1866 / 1939, f. 596.

⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 8/1939, ff. 219; 220; 221; 226; 229 (copies); ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 1866/1939, f. 644.

⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 8/1939, f. 223.

⁷ Petre Andrei, *Jurnal. Memorialistică. Corespondență*, édition de Petru P. Andrei, V. F. Dobrinescu, Doru Tompea, Editura Graphix, Iassy, 1993, p. 3.

⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 10/1939, ff. 39–39v; *Anuarul Universității Mihăilene din Iași pe anul academic 1938/1939*, vol. XXIV, publié par le professeur Mihai David, Editura Universității Mihăilene, Iassy, 1942, p. 155; Iorgu Iordan, *Memorii*, vol. II, Editura Eminescu, Bucarest, 1977, p. 294.

⁹ Iordan, *Memorii*, p. 294.

Durant les discussions officielles avec les autorités locales de Iassy, vu l'évolution politique internationale et les intérêts communs – zonaux et européens – des deux pays, l'ambassadeur H.S. Tanrıöver proposa la fondation d'un « Institut de Turcologie » dans le cadre de l'Université de Iassy. Je pense que le modèle – théorique et pratique, didactique et scientifique – de l'initiative de l'homme de culture turc était Türkiye Enstitüsü (l'Institut de Turcologie) d'Istanbul. Cette institution, créée par « le fondateur de la turcologie moderne en Turquie », Mehmed Fuad Köprülü[-zade], en 1924, sur l'ordre formel du président Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], dans le cadre de l'Université d'Istanbul, avait pour but d'étudier l'histoire, la langue, la littérature et l'art, la culture et la civilisation des Turcs (de Turquie, d'Asie, de partout). La revue de spécialité de cet institut a été Türkiye Mecmu'sı¹⁰. Aux dires du recteur Dr I. Tănăsescu, participant aux côtés du ministre Petre Andrei, du doyen Iorgu Iordan, des professeurs Franz Babinger, Gh. I. Brătianu, Paul Nicorescu etc. à cet intéressant échange d'opinions et d'idées politiques, diplomatiques, culturelles, scientifiques etc., l'ambassadeur turc « (...) a décidé la fondation d'un Institut de Turcologie dans notre pays. Cet Institut devait fonctionner auprès de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, dès cet automne (de l'année 1939 – note DP) »¹¹.

Cette affirmation comportait, d'abord, une exagération, H.S. Tanrıöver ne pouvant « décider », mais simplement « proposer » aux autorités roumaines la fondation de l'Institut; en plus, l'information était inexacte : Institut a « fonctionné » à partir seulement du 1er avril 1940. Mais elle montrait clairement que l'initiative était venue de l'ambassadeur H.S. Tanrıöver. Il n'y a pas de raison de mettre en doute cette information, puisqu'elle provient d'une « source » directement « impliquée » dans les discussions et les démarches officielles visant la création de l'Institut de Turcologie. L'État roumain, représenté par le Premier ministre Armand Călinescu, accepta initiative turque et passa à l'acte. Mais pour mieux comprendre « l'acte de naissance » de l'Institut de Turcologie, il faut revenir un peu en arrière, en février–mars 1939. En février 1939 déjà, H.S. Tanrıöver avait discuté la proposition de créer une telle institution avec les officiels de Bucarest, qui, en principe, y avaient acquiescé. Les derniers détails furent établis en mars–avril 1939, sous l'égide du Premier ministre Armand Călinescu. Le turcologue allemand Franz Babinger, qui connaissait personnellement H.S. Tanrıöver et Armand Călinescu, fut prié d'élaborer, en mars–avril de la même année, un « règlement intérieur » du futur Institut, dont les

¹⁰ Ettore Rossi, « Turcologia, in voce Orientalismo », in *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere et Arti*, vol. XXV, Roma, 1949, p. 543; *Turkic Studies in the World and Turkey*, Nadir Devlet, İnci Enginun, Emin Gursoy – Naskali (eds.), Istanbul, 1987, pp. 12; 47–48.

¹¹ *Anuarul...* 1938/1939, p. 7; Dan Prodan, « Din tradițiile orientalisticii românești. Franz Babinger și Institutul de Turcologie de la Iași (1940–1945) », dans *Caietele Laboratorului de Studii Otomane*, no. 2, 1993, Bucarest (pp. 164–201), p. 179; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 170.

« missions » étaient formulées avec précision. En tête de ce statut, Babinger mentionnait que « l'Institut [avait été] projeté et nommé à juste titre « Institut d'études turques » par M. le Premier ministre Armand Călinescu »¹², ce qui prouve le rôle et la participation de l'État roumain à la mise en œuvre de ce projet.

Trois jours après la conférence de l'ambassadeur turc à Iassy, le 3 mai 1939, Franz Babinger envoyait au ministre de l'Education Nationale, Petre Andrei, un Mémoire qui présentait les « missions » du futur Institut. Le tout bref intervalle écoulé entre la conférence d'H.S. Tanrıöver (le 30 avril) et l'envoi du Mémoire (le 3 mai) prouve que les idées fondamentales du document, formulées avant 30 avril, avaient été simplement insérées dans le document respectif.

Dans la vision de Babinger, l'Institut avait une mission « historique » et une autre « ethnographique, philologique et culturelle ». La mission « historique » était « d'étudier les liaisons séculaires et étroites entre les Principautés Roumaines et l'Empire Ottoman », « les relations turco-roumaines le long des siècles ». Mais ces relations ne pouvaient être étudiées sans l'investigation, la traduction et la publication « des sources historiques des Turcs osmanlis »: documents, chroniques, sources épigraphiques, numismatiques etc., disséminées en Turquie, en Roumanie, dans les pays balkaniques, en d'autres pays de l'Europe et de l'Asie de l'Ouest. À mesure que ces sources historiques étaient connues, on pouvait mieux étudier et comprendre les « diverses influences sur le droit public et, avant tout, sur la culture roumaine ». Un autre volet de la « mission historique » était « l'étude des populations turques pré-ottomanes, comme les Pétchénegues et les Coumans, dont les liaisons avec les Roumains furent souvent étroites ».

L'autre « mission » de l'Institut, « ethnographique, philologique et culturelle », était d'étudier les « nombreux emprunts linguistiques et, qui plus est, les expressions, les coutumes, les mœurs etc. survivant encore – en Moldavie notamment – dans les couches populaires, et qu'on doit inventorier ». L'Institut avait aussi la mission urgente « d'étudier attentivement les dialectes des minorités turcophones, c'est-à-dire Tatars, Turcs, Gagaouz etc. (...), ce qui peut offrir d'importants points d'appui pour éclaircir l'histoire, obscure encore, de ces tribus (sic!) ». Pour accomplir plus rapidement et avec succès cette « mission » de l'Institut, il fallait former des spécialistes (historiens, ethnographes et philologues) provenant des rangs des minorités turco-tataro-gagaouz.

¹² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 3/1939, f. 99₂. Il est curieux qu'Armand Călinescu n'ait rien noté sur l'Institut dans son journal: *Însemnări politice, 1916 – (20 septembrie) 1939 (Notes politiques, 1916 – (le 20 septembrie) 1939)*, édition et préface par Dr Al. Gh. Savu, Editura Humanitas, Bucarest, 1990, 423 p. (1938 – 20 septembre 1939, pp. 365–432).

Comme personnel de l'Institut, Babinger proposait : un directeur, turcologue de réputation internationale; deux assistants, l'un assigné « à la mission historique », l'autre « à la mission philologique » (responsable également de la bibliothèque qui allait être créée); enfin un lecteur de langue turco-osmanli, ayant de solides compétences en paléographie et diplomatique ottomano-arabe.

Pour tenir à jour son activité scientifique, l'Institut allait entretenir des relations de collaboration avec les institutions similaires de l'étranger, « et avant tout avec le monde scientifique turc ». C'était là une priorité, puisque le futur Institut de Turcologie « aura aussi l'importante tâche de cimenter les relations culturelles entre les deux peuples amis (souligné D P) ».

Les résultats des recherches scientifiques de l'Institut seront publiés dans sa propre revue, à parution régulière, annuelle, et comportant une édition dans une langue de large circulation. Encore une priorité établie par la direction de l'Institut: organiser et doter une bibliothèque de spécialité.

L'activité de l'Institut devait être complétée par une série de conférences, données par des spécialistes turcologues. En plus, il fallait organiser des excursions d'études pour les membres de l'Institut, en Turquie, notamment à Istanbul et Ankara, afin de connaître « sur le terrain » les complexes réalités turques. Il était nécessaire de créer des bourses aux recherches turcologiques, dont une au moins pour études et spécialisation à Istanbul.

Pour que l'Institut puisse accomplir ses « missions », il devait, en premier lieu, rester une institution universitaire, didactique, formative et de recherche scientifique, et ne jamais devenir « l'annexe d'une entreprise privée ou semi-publique ». S'imposait également une « intégration complète de la turcologie dans le système de disciplines enseignées à l'Université (de Iassy – souligné et complété DP), pour former de jeunes spécialistes dans cette branche historique, aussi bien que pour développer la science historique et philologique roumaine »¹³. Ce Mémoire et son programme prouvent le rôle d'organisateur, de technicien et de logisticien que joua Babinger à la création de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy, pendant la période 1939–1940.

L'activité de recherche scientifique en Roumanie était d'ailleurs dominée par « la mode des instituts ». L'accent devait être mis sur un programme de recherche bien conçu, sur le travail d'équipe, la systématisation rigoureuse des informations scientifiques, la discipline méthodologique, la publication des résultats dans les périodiques du pays et de l'étranger. L'idée de fonder des instituts de spécialité assurant une recherche scientifique complexe avait une riche tradition (fin du XIXe siècle et début du XXe siècle); elle était devenue une pratique courante pendant

¹³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 3/1939, ff. 991–992–993–994; Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », pp. 180–181; Prodan, *Franz Babinger ...*, pp. 171–172.

l'entre-deux-guerres, et en Roumanie on avait déjà obtenu des résultats concrets, après 1920 notamment¹⁴.

Par conséquent, à l'intérieur du pays comme à l'étranger, l'institut était devenu un moyen de concevoir, organiser, dérouler et finaliser l'activité de recherche scientifique; il devait également répondre aux exigences de l'ethno-pédagogie et du progrès. Ces institutions étaient le produit d'une stratégie de la recherche scientifique, aux caractéristiques communes au niveau européen. La recherche, l'interprétation et l'introduction dans le circuit national et international des valeurs culturelles et scientifiques, des témoignages et des vestiges du passé s'appuyaient sur les institutions centrales de l'État, sur le patronage scientifique officiel, pour que l'investigation historique s'étende le plus possible en dehors des frontières nationales et intéresse, de façon bénéfique, les disciplines proches¹⁵.

Une question se pose naturellement: cet Institut de Turcologie, pourquoi le fonder à Iassy? La réponse est complexe et pour la formuler nous devons tenir compte des « conditions turcologiques favorables » existant dans la capitale culturelle et scientifique de la Moldavie. Depuis novembre 1937, c'est à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy que Franz Babinger donnait un cours d'histoire de l'Empire Ottoman et des relations ottomano-roumaines, un cours de langue turco-osmanli avec travaux pratiques sur documents et chroniques ottomanes. Or Franz Babinger était le seul turcologue embauché sous contrat en Roumanie, le seul ayant une formation de spécialité, la compétence d'organisateur et l'autorité scientifique, didactique et morale nécessaires pour mettre sur pied et gérer un tel Institut de Turcologie. Babinger avait procuré en Turquie un important fonds d'ouvrages de turcologie pour la Bibliothèque Centrale Universitaire de Iassy, constituant ainsi un premier noyau de la bibliothèque de spécialité du futur Institut et créant en cette ville la base matérielle nécessaire à l'activité didactique et de recherche scientifique dans le domaine de la turcologie.

Au Sud de la Bessarabie vivait une minorité de Turcs christianisés, les Gagaouz: le centre universitaire le plus proche étant celui de Iassy, l'Institut qui devait y être fondé avait pour « mission » l'étude historique, ethnographique, linguistique etc. de cette population. Les jeunes Gagaouz, locuteurs natifs de langue turque (dialecte gagaouz), pouvaient être entraînés avec succès aux activités didactiques et scientifiques de l'Institut. Par ailleurs, depuis décembre 1938, l'Académie roumaine avait alloué à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy une bourse de deux années

¹⁴ Voir Alexandru Zub, *Istorie și istorici în România interbelică*, Editura Junimea, Iassy, 1989, p. 141; Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 179; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 173.

¹⁵ Zub, *Istorie și istorici...*, p. 142; Prodan, « Din tradițiile... », p. 180; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 173.

(80.000 lei par an) pour l'étude de la langue turque, des chroniques et des documents conservés dans les archives turques d'Istanbul.

La décision finale d'installer l'Institut à Iassy fut déterminée, d'une part, par l'amitié personnelle qui liait l'ambassadeur H.S. Tanrıöver et le turcologue allemand Franz Babinger (amitié datant des premières années d'après la proclamation de la République de Turquie, quand l'homme de culture turc avait été nommé ministre à l'Education Nationale). D'autre part, un certain rôle a été joué par l'amitié personnelle entre l'ambassadeur turc et Petre Andrei, le ministre roumain de l'Education Nationale, ancien professeur à l'Université de Iassy.

L'intention d'inaugurer l'Institut de Turcologie à l'automne 1939 n'a pu être réalisée: l'institution n'a démarré son activité que le 1er avril 1940¹⁶. Ce retard de cinq ou six mois est à l'origine des opinions divergentes sur la date réelle de la fondation de l'Institut. Mihail Guboglu lui-même, ex-secrétaire scientifique, assistant et bibliothécaire de l'Institut, donnait comme date de la fondation le mois d'octobre 1939¹⁷, ce qui est faux. Pas un seul document de l'Institut ne mentionne cette date. En octobre 1939 Babinger se trouvait par ailleurs à Istanbul, fouillant dans les archives turques¹⁸, or si l'Institut avait été inauguré ce mois-là, sa présence à Iassy aurait été de rigueur. Certains actes officiels relatifs à l'Institut contiennent également de telles « antedatations »¹⁹.

La raison de cet « ajournement » est d'ordre financier. Dans le système financier roumain de la première moitié du XXe siècle, l'exercice commençait le 1er avril de l'année courante et prenait fin le 31 mars de l'année suivante. L'enseignement universitaire ne faisant pas exception, le budget annuel des facultés de l'Université de Iassy couvrait cette période – du point de vue financier²⁰. Les discussions concernant la fondation de l'Institut ont eu lieu pendant la période février–mai 1939. Par conséquent, les sommes nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de cette institution n'ont pu être incluses dans le budget de l'exercice 1939–1940, qui avait commencé le 1er avril 1939: on aurait dû les introduire dans le projet de budget trois mois avant cette date! Mais elles pouvaient être tirées d'autres fonds ou réserves budgétaires avant le 31 mars 1940. Rappelons-nous les “sources” financières utilisées par l'historien Gh. I. Brătianu afin d'assurer le salaire de Franz Babinger à la Faculté des Lettres

¹⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 1966/1940, f. 240; Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 181; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 174.

¹⁷ Voir *Annuaire de l'Institut d'Histoire et Archéologie « A.D. Xenopol » de Iassy (AIIAXI)*, t. XXV, 1988, no. 2, Iassy, p. 615.

¹⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 5/1939, f. 178 ; voir aussi *Anuarul Universității « Al. I. Cuza » Iași, 1939–1959*, rédacteur responsable – maître des conférences D. Gafițeanu, Bucarest, 1960, p. 17.

¹⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2159/1941, f. 188. Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 174.

²⁰ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1942, ff. 149 ; 152; d. 13/1943, f. 243.

et Philosophie de Iassy, avant le 31 mars 1938²¹. Cependant, pour l'Institut, on n'a pas pu procéder de la sorte avant le début de l'exercice 1940–1941, faute de fonds disponibles, vrai semblablement. D'autres causes dudit « ajournement », d'ordre politique, peuvent être envisagées: l'éclatement de la seconde guerre mondiale (le 1er septembre 1939), l'assassinat du Premier ministre Armand Călinescu (le 21 septembre 1939), personnalité politique qui avait joué un rôle important dans l'embauche sous contrat de Franz Babinger à l'Université de Iassy (juin–juillet 1938) et dans la matérialisation du projet de l'Institut (février–mai 1939)²².

Je dois ouvrir ici une parenthèse pour rappeler qu'à l'occasion de la rencontre entre les ministres des Affaires étrangères de la Roumanie et de la Turquie, Grigore Gafencu et Sükrü Saraçoğlu, et dans le cadre des négociations déroulées entre le 11 et le 14 juin 1939 à Ankara, on a rediscuté, entre autres, l'initiative de créer un Institut d'Études et Recherches Balkaniques, ayant le siège à Istanbul. On a décidé de concert de matérialiser cette initiative, vieille d'une décennie, par la création d'une institution aux buts scientifiques et didactiques (l'étude de chaque peuple balkanique en particulier, de la zone balkanique en général, et des intérêts communs – économiques, politiques, diplomatiques, militaires – des pays appartenant à la zone carpatoponto-méditerranéenne-adriatique); on se fixait également des buts politiques et culturels (consolider l'alliance et la collaboration entre les membres de l'Entente balkanique)²³. Finalement, dans les circonstances politiques et diplomatiques – tendues, puis dramatiques – de l'été et de l'automne 1939, cet Institut n'a pu voir le jour.

En février–mars 1940, on a établi les derniers détails administratifs et financiers qui devaient régler le statut et l'activité de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy. Ainsi, par décision du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale no. 42 754 du 16 mars 1940, « on a fondé un Institut de Turcologie auprès de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, le 1er avril 1940 ». Le personnel de l'Institut était formé d'un directeur des études, au salaire mensuel de 8 800 lei, et d'un secrétaire scientifique payé 6 000 lei par mois²⁴. À commencer du 1er avril 1940, le grand savant et historien orientaliste sui-generis Nicolae Iorga fut nommé directeur général honoraire de l'Institut, et le turcologue allemand Franz Babinger directeur des études²⁵.

À partir du 1er avril 1940²⁶, Mihail Guboglu a été nommé au poste de secrétaire scientifique, par la note no. 48 407 du 27 mars 1940. Cette nomination est liée à

²¹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, ff. 242–243; d. 13/1933–1938, f. 62.

²² Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 181; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 175.

²³ Ekrem, *Relațiile româno-turce...*, pp. 92–93; *Politica externă a României*, 1986, p. 229.

²⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1966/1940, f. 240; d. 2101/1941, f. 133.

²⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1966/1940, f. 239; d. 2102/1941, f. 133; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1940, ff. 84; 87.

²⁶ Voir aussi *AILAXI*, t. XXV, 1988, no. 2, Iassy, p. 615.

un fait intéressant qui mérite d'être consigné. Le jeune Mihail Guboglu, diplômé de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Cernăuți/Tchernovtsy (octobre 1938) – (en Bukovine), n'avait pas connu l'ambassadeur turc H.S. Tanrıöver avant 1939; c'est l'année où, à l'occasion du « Jour de la Jeunesse Roumaine » (le mois de mai 1939), il visita Bucarest à la tête d'un groupe d'élèves de Bessarabie. Ce fut pour Mihail Guboglu l'occasion de rencontrer Tanrıöver et de discuter avec lui ses projets scientifiques. Quant à Franz Babinger, le jeune Mihail Guboglu l'a connu personnellement soit en novembre 1939, quand ils auraient pu discuter à propos de la bourse en Turquie, soit en mars 1940, dans les semaines précédant le début officiel de l'activité de l'Institut de Turcologie. Entre la décision de fonder l'Institut (le 16 mars 1940) et celle de nommer Mihail Guboglu au poste de secrétaire scientifique (le 27 mars), les relations de collaboration entre l'ambassadeur turc et le jeune Guboglu reprirent. H.S. Tanrıöver, considérant l'origine ethnique de Mihail Guboglu (gagaouz) et appréciant ses connaissances de langue et d'histoire turco-osmanli, le recommanda au professeur universitaire de Iassy Petre Andrei, ministre de l'Education Nationale, pour le poste de secrétaire scientifique de l'Institut de Turcologie. L'intervention de Tanrıöver fut personnelle et directe: il téléphona au ministre Petre Andrei. Le 27 mars 1940, Mihail Guboglu fut nommé secrétaire scientifique de l'Institut. Mihail Guboglu m'a également dit, le 15 février 1989, que cette nomination avait été faite sans consulter le directeur des études Babinger, qui aurait préféré les jeunes historiens bucarestois Maria-Matilda Alexandrescu-Dersca, Gh.I. Constantin ou Rodica Ciocan. Mais l'intervention de Tanrıöver n'a pas altéré les relations professionnelles entre Babinger et le secrétaire scientifique de l'Institut de Turcologie²⁷.

Ainsi a été fondé l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy, suite à une initiative commune turco-roumaine, de l'ambassadeur turc H.S. Tanrıöver et de l'État roumain (représenté par le ministre de l'Education Nationale, Petre Andrei). L'initiative de fonder une telle institution allait dans le sens d'une pratique universitaire roumaine de l'entre-deux-guerres, celle de transformer les séminaires existant dans le cadre des facultés en instituts du même profil que le séminaire d'origine²⁸. Conformément à cette pratique, en juin 1943, à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy on proposa « (...) d'ériger au rang d'Institut tous les séminaires de la Faculté (...) (souligné DP) »²⁹. Le séminaire de turcologie fonctionnait auprès de la Section d'histoire (Histoire des Roumains et Histoire Universelle³⁰) de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy; il fut réorganisé dans le cadre plus vaste de l'Institut de Turcologie,

²⁷ Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 183; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 176.

²⁸ Voir Zub, *Istorie și istorici...*, pp. 141–142.

²⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, ff. 436–437.

³⁰ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2251/1943, f. 444.

et la Chaire (le « Cours ») de Turcologie, incluse dans le nouvel Institut, allait grandement contribuer à accomplir les « missions » de celui-ci.

Subordonné à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy et intégrant ses structures didactiques et scientifiques, l'Institut de Turcologie a eu le statut de personne juridique, a entretenu une riche correspondance à l'intérieur du pays comme à l'étranger. On a imprimé et expédié des actes officiels avec l'en-tête de cette institution (imprimé à l'encre rouge) et son cachet (rond). L'Institut avait un registre consignait les entrées et les sorties de la correspondance, des registres inventoriant les fonds fixes, les livres entrés dans la bibliothèque etc.; il disposait de trois salles pour ses activités didactiques et scientifiques etc.

Par rapport à la structure organisationnelle proposée par Franz Babinger au ministre de l'Education Nationale le 3 mai 1939, le tableau du personnel a été revu à la baisse, par les décisions ministérielles de mars 1940. On introduisit une nouvelle fonction, celle de directeur général honoraire et, au lieu de deux assistants (aux « attributions d'historiens et de philologues ») et du lecteur de langue turco-osmanli, on a dû se contenter d'un seul « secrétaire scientifique », responsable en plus de la bibliothèque de l'Institut. Cette réduction du nombre du personnel didactique et des chercheurs, déterminée, paraît-il, par des raisons financières, « n'a pas laissé de traces » dans les documents et les actes concernant l'Institut, mais a négativement affecté l'activité complexe de cette institution et l'accomplissement des objectifs formatifs et scientifiques proposés.

Par la nomination de l'historien orientaliste sui-generis Nicolae Iorga dans la fonction de directeur général honoraire, on a voulu transférer aux activités de l'Institut un peu du prestige, de la prestance, de la consistance et de l'autorité dont jouissait le savant. Les contributions de Nicolae Iorga à l'étude des relations ottomano-roumaines et de l'histoire de l'Empire Ottoman³¹ étaient connues et appréciées à l'intérieur du pays comme à l'étranger. En plus, Nicolae Iorga pouvait faciliter l'invitation de conférenciers étrangers ainsi que les relations de collaboration de l'Institut de Turcologie avec les instituts européens ayant un « profil » identique ou connexe³². Nous n'avons pas encore découvert des documents attestant la collaboration de Nicolae Iorga avec l'Institut de Iassy. Les événements de l'année 1940 – avec son

³¹ N. Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, 10 vols. 1936–1939, Bucarest; *idem*, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, nach den Quellen dargestellt*, I–V. Bandes, Gotha, F.A. Perthes Verlag, 1908–1913. Voir aussi Dan Prodan, « Istorici români și istorii ale Imperiului Otoman. N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, nach den Quellen dargestellt* – sinteză centenară (1913–2013) », dans *Annuaire de l'Institut d'histoire « A.D. Xenopol » de Iassy*, t. L, 2013, Iassy, pp. 343–354.

³² Dan Prodan, « The Turkologists from three Generations in Romania (1900–1945). Nicolae Iorga – Franz Babinger – Mihail Guboglu. Similitudes – Collaborations – Results », dans *AIIXI*, t. XLVIII, 2011, Iassy, pp. 273–282.

« long été torride » et son « automne légionnaire » qui marqua la mort tragique mais digne et héroïque du savant – ont fait que cette collaboration ne dépassât jamais le stade d'intention³³.

Le directeur des études avait de nombreuses attributions. Il devait: élaborer le plan annuel d'activité didactique et scientifique de l'Institut et surveiller sa mise en œuvre; réaliser les cours de spécialité dans le cadre de l'Institut, en collaboration avec le secrétaire scientifique; représenter l'Institut et ses intérêts dans les relations officielles avec la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie et avec l'Université de Iassy, avec d'autres centres universitaires du pays, avec le ministère de tutelle, avec des instituts ou facultés de l'étranger ayant un profil identique ou complémentaire; vérifier la comptabilité de l'Institut et assurer en temps utile les sommes nécessaires à ses besoins et activités. En outre, il devait créer la bibliothèque de l'Institut et la doter de livres de spécialité, il devait doter l'institution du mobilier et du matériel didactique requis. Il surveillait la réalisation de thèmes d'étude du secrétaire scientifique et des étudiants de l'Institut, assurant les facilités nécessaires. Il devait assurer les fonds nécessaires pour que les publications et les ouvrages parus sous l'égide de l'Institut sortent dans les meilleures conditions techniques et graphiques³⁴.

Les attributions de service du secrétaire scientifique puis de l'assistant Mihail Guboglu étaient non moins nombreuses. En tant qu'assistant à la Chaire de turcologie, il devait: préparer les séminaires avec les étudiants de la section d'histoire (la spécialité turcologie); offrir aux étudiants, régulièrement, des informations bibliographiques pour les séminaires et autres références méthodiques et scientifiques diverses; participer à tous les examens, semestriels, annuels et de licence, de chaque session ordinaire ou extraordinaire. En tant que secrétaire scientifique de l'Institut, il devait: mettre à la disposition des étudiants et de tout autre sollicitant la bibliothèque de l'Institut, tous les jours pendant les heures du programme, offrir des informations bibliographiques, s'occuper du courrier de l'institution, être à jour en ce qui concerne les nouveautés éditoriales du domaine, en proposer l'achat, commander des livres, payer et recevoir les colis de livres, en faire l'inventaire et en doter la bibliothèque de l'Institut; identifier de « nouvelles sources » de livres de spécialité et compléter les fonds et les collections de la bibliothèque de l'Institut³⁵.

Pour revenir aux débuts proprement dits de l'activité de l'Institut de Turcologie, je dois mentionner que le 29 mars 1940 Franz Babinger sollicitait l'intervention du doyen de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy pour obtenir l'interruption du stage militaire de Mihail Guboglu, alors mobilisé au 30^e Régiment d'artillerie

³³ Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 184.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 184.

de Chişinău (Kichinev, en Bukovine)³⁶. Le jour suivant, Mihail Guboglu prêtait serment de fidélité au roi Carol II³⁷. Mais il est possible qu'on ait antidaté le jour de cette cérémonie, puisque Mihail Guboglu ne fut démobilisé que le 4 ou 5 avril 1940³⁸.

Pour les salaires de Franz Babinger et Mihail Guboglu, le Ministère de l'Education Nationale avait approuvé et garanti les fonds nécessaires³⁹. On y avait ajouté la somme de 100 000 lei par an, allouée à la bibliothèque de l'Institut, pour l'acquisition de livres et périodiques⁴⁰.

Pour les activités de l'Institut, la direction de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy avait assigné trois salles au sous-sol du bâtiment de l'Université (dans l'aile donnant sur la colline Copou de son actuel corps « A »⁴¹). Aujourd'hui ces salles abritent Les Archives de l'Université de Iassy; elles sont situées sous les salles 125 (le Décanat de la Faculté des Mathématiques) et 126 (le Secrétariat de la Faculté de Physique), au rez-de-chaussée dudit corps « A ». Deux de ces salles, plus petites, flanquaient la grande salle où se trouvait la bibliothèque de spécialité, servant également de salle d'étude et de lecture, ainsi que salle de cours et de séminaire. L'un de "ces « petits cabinets » fut transformé en bureau pour Franz Babinger, qui insista d'y faire installer des sanitaires neufs⁴². L'autre fut aménagé pour le secrétaire scientifique (assistant par la suite) Mihail Guboglu, qui remplissait également la fonction (non-rémunérée) de bibliothécaire. Le mobilier, les tapis, les stores etc. furent payés par la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy⁴³; pour ranger les livres et les publications de la bibliothèque, on avait procuré « 6 grands placards » (MG).

Après la création de l'Institut de Turcologie, durant le 2^e semestre de l'année universitaire 1939–1940, Babinger continua à faire les cours I et II de langue turque, ainsi que les cours d'histoire de l'Empire Ottoman et des relations ottomano-roumaines (dans le cadre de la Chaire de turcologie). Quant au secrétaire scientifique Guboglu, il faisait en plus des travaux pratiques de langue et grammaire turque, dans le cadre des séminaires. D'après la déclaration que je tiens de Guboglu, Babinger n'a pas fait de cours magistral de paléographie ni de diplomatique turco-osmanli. Quant aux séminaires et travaux pratiques de paléographie turco-osmanli, leur nombre fut

³⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1940, f. 145.

³⁷ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1966/1940, f. 430.

³⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 8/1940, f. 114.

³⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1993/1940, ff. 32; 132; d.1969/1940, ff. 1044; 1045 (dans le budget de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy pour l'exercice 1940–1941, on a introduit, pour la Conférence de langue turque, la somme de 180 000 lei, représentant le salaire annuel de Franz Babinger – soit 15 000 lei par mois).

⁴⁰ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2159/1941, f. 180; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 6/1943, f. 59.

⁴¹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1880/1939, ff. 18; 24; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 6/1943, f. 59.

⁴² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1966/1940, f. 449.

⁴³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 9/1940, f. 86; d. 3/1940, f. 151; d. 12/1941, f. 151; d. 5/1945, f. 93.

petit; on travaillait notamment sur le *Tevārih-i al-i 'Osmān* (l'édition Fr. Giese, vol. I–II, 1922–1925) et sur la *Chronique d'Oruç bin 'Adil*, éditée par le turcologue allemand en 1925. Les étudiants de la section historique de la Faculté qui fréquentaient ces cours et séminaires passaient leurs examens pendant les sessions ordinaires et extraordinaires⁴⁴. Il existait une liste de ces passionnés de turcologie, au nombre de 15 à 20 étudiants et diplômés, dont Guboglu se rappelait encore quelques noms: Alexandru Andronic, Florentina Banu⁴⁵, Anișoara Ene, Aurelia Ignat, C. Pânzaru, Aurel Golimas, Mihai Spânu, Nicolai Stan.

Durant l'année universitaire 1940–1941, l'activité didactique dans le cadre de l'Institut de Turcologie se déroula conformément au programme approuvé en 1938, déjà mentionné. Le 31 mars 1941, le contrat du professeur Babinger avec la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy expirant, il ne fut pas renouvelé les mois suivants. Cependant les sommes nécessaires au fonctionnement de l'Institut de Turcologie pour l'exercice 1941–1942 furent introduites dans le budget de la Faculté⁴⁶.

L'année universitaire suivante, 1941–1942, l'activité didactique de l'Institut s'est déroulée conformément au même programme. On avait également conservé l'horaire du professeur Babinger (cours et séminaires d'histoire ottomane et de langue turque): lundi entre 18 et 19 heures; mardi entre 18 et 19 heures, mercredi entre 10 et 12 heures⁴⁷. J'ai même découvert un formulaire–questionnaire portant sur l'activité de l'Institut en l'année universitaire 1941–1942, complété par Babinger lui-même, et qui devait servir à l'élaboration de L'Annuaire de l'Université de Iassy pour l'année universitaire respective. La Chaire de Turcologie conservait le même programme (devenu tradition !): on y continuait à faire les cours I et II de langue turque et celui d'histoire ottomane “intéressant directement l'histoire des Principautés Roumaines (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)”. En séminaire, Babinger a traduit avec ses étudiants des passages de la susdite *Chronique* (XV^e siècle) d'Oruç bin 'Adil, et l'assistant Guboglu a organisé les travaux pratiques de langue et grammaire turco-osmanli⁴⁸. On mentionnait enfin les « articles scientifiques »⁴⁹ et l'un des comptes-rendus⁵⁰ de Babinger, ainsi que la première « publication » de l'Institut (1942)⁵¹.

⁴⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 11/1940, f. 182; d. 2/1941, f. 57; d. 5/1941, ff. 150, 151.

⁴⁵ Proposée par le Rectorat comme boursière pour l'année universitaire 1940–1941, voir ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 1969/1940, f. 897.

⁴⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1941, f. 156v.; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2155/1941, ff. 188, 189, 196; d. 2209/1942, f. 34.

⁴⁷ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 12/1941, f. 121.

⁴⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds U.I., Rectorat, d. 2159/1941, f. 67.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 68: «Die osmanischen Quellen des Dimitrie Cantemir» (dans le volume en hommage de Ioan Lupaș); «Izvoarele turcești ale lui Dimitrie Cantemir» dans *Arhiva Românească*, 1941); «Histria (Istria) au XVI^e siècle» (dans *RHSEE*, 1941); «Histria (Istria) au XVII^e siècle» (dans *RHSEE*, 1942).

Durant l'exercice financier 1941–1942, l'activité didactique de Babinger à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy se déroula en l'absence d'un contrat officiel écrit. Le contrat conclu en 1938 avait expiré, nous l'avons déjà dit, le 31 mars 1941. Pour parer au danger réel qui menaçait l'avenir et les "missions" didactiques et scientifiques de l'Institut de Turcologie, le Décanat de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy sollicita à plusieurs reprises au ministère de tutelle le renouvellement du contrat du professeur Babinger, ainsi qu'une augmentation du salaire du turcologue allemand⁵². Le contrat fut conclu le 1er avril 1942, pour une durée de 5 ans⁵³, « officialisant » ainsi les rapports de service entre le Ministère de la Culture Nationale et des Cultes d'une part, et Franz Babinger de l'autre.

L'activité didactique et scientifique dans le cadre de l'Institut de Turcologie a été sérieusement affectée par les absences répétées de Mihail Guboglu et de Franz Babinger, mobilisés l'un et l'autre dans l'armée roumaine, respectivement allemande. En fait, l'Institut existait de jure, mais son activité était inexistante de facto. Aux appels, parfois pathétiques, de Mihail Guboglu, et pour éviter cette situation fâcheuse, le Décanat de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy est intervenu à plusieurs reprises auprès du ministère de tutelle, pour obtenir du Ministère de la Guerre la démobilisation de l'assistant. Ainsi, dans la note du 1er février 1944 que le Rectorat de l'Université de Iassy adressait au Ministère de la Culture Nationale et des Cultes, on insistait en ce sens: Guboglu était "absolument indispensable à l'Institut", vu l'absence du directeur des études Babinger, lui aussi mobilisé dans l'armée allemande. On y énumérait les précédents rappels de Guboglu: du 25 juin au 17 novembre 1941, du 5 février au 30 septembre 1942; du 8 octobre 1943 au 8 janvier 1944, et un nouveau rappel à partir du 1er février 1944⁵⁴. S'y ajoutaient le rappel du début de 1940 (jusqu'en avril même année, quand il fut démobilisé à titre exceptionnel afin de pouvoir démarrer l'activité didactique à l'Institut de Turcologie⁵⁵) et ceux de mai–juin, juillet–novembre 1940⁵⁶.

À son tour, Franz Babinger avait été mobilisé dans l'armée allemande: absent du 15 mai au 15 octobre 1942⁵⁷ (en avril même année il s'était rendu en Allemagne

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 68v.: la monographie J. von Hammer, *Lebenserinnerung* (Esquisse biographique), Wien, 1939, dans *RHSEE*, 1941.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*: vol. I: M.M. Alexandrescu–Dersca, *La Campagne de Timūr en Anatolie (1402)*, Imprimeria Națională, Bucarest, 1942. Voir aussi Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 180.

⁵² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 1/1942, f. 207.

⁵³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 5/1942, f. 379.

⁵⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2343/1943, f. 187.

⁵⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1940, f. 145.

⁵⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 11/1940, ff. 274; 275; d. 12/1940, ff. 45; 64 v.; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1968/1940, f. 376; d. 1988/1940, f. 197.

⁵⁷ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 5/1942, f. 198.

« pour raisons spéciales », probablement liées à cette mobilisation), et puis à partir de juin 1943⁵⁸, après avoir conduit à terme les cours et la session d'examens⁵⁹. Babinger ne reviendra plus jamais en Roumanie pour reprendre son activité didactique et scientifique à l'Institut de Turcologie, ni avant ni après 1945⁶⁰.

Durant l'année universitaire 1942–1943, l'activité didactique dans le cadre de l'Institut s'est déroulée conformément au programme des années précédentes. Le tableau du personnel de l'Institut de Turcologie incluait Franz Babinger, comme directeur des études, et Mihail Guboglu comme « chef de bureau »⁶¹, le premier ayant un salaire mensuel net de 13 107 lei, et le second un salaire de 8 513 lei⁶². Dans le projet de Règlement de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, rédigé en avril 1943, voté et appliqué par la suite, la Turcologie (sous contrat) figurait au chapitre « Cours et travaux pratiques ». Au chapitre « Examens à passer », la Turcologie occupait la position 7 du profil « l'Histoire de Roumains », et la position 6 du profil « l'Histoire Universelle ». Mais ledit Règlement, il faut le préciser, ne désignait la Turcologie comme discipline d'examen de licence – ni principale ni secondaire – à aucun des deux profils⁶³. Un questionnaire–formulaire envoyé au professeur allemand et qui devait centraliser des données pour l'Annuaire de l'Université de Iassy 1942–1943, resta vierge (Babinger étant mobilisé dans l'armée allemande); aussi manque-t-on de données concernant l'activité didactique et scientifique de l'Institut durant la période mentionnée⁶⁴.

Durant l'année universitaire 1943–1944, l'activité didactique et scientifique de l'Institut fut inexistante, puisque, nous l'avons déjà mentionné, le directeur des études Franz Babinger avait été mobilisé dans l'armée allemande (depuis juin 1943), et l'assistant bibliothécaire Mihail Guboglu dans l'armée roumaine (du 8 octobre 1943 au 8 janvier 1944, et à nouveau depuis le 1er février même année). Babinger et Guboglu ont continué à être considérés membres du personnel de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy⁶⁵, dont l'Institut de Turcologie était subordonné⁶⁶. En 1944, au printemps, l'Université de Iassy a été évacuée à Alba Iulia; la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie fut installée à Zlatna, dans le département d'Alba⁶⁷.

⁵⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1944, f. 11; d. 10/1943, f. 48; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2343/1943, f. 187.

⁵⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2251/1943, f. 729.

⁶⁰ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 61.

⁶¹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, f. 352; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2159/1941, ff. 183; 194.

⁶² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, d. 4/1943, ff. 105, 106.

⁶³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2251/1943, ff. 433, 443, 444.

⁶⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2259/1943, ff. 232–233.

⁶⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2259/1943, f. 60; d. 2102/1941, ff. 9, 14; d. 2348/1944, f. 124.

⁶⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2102/1941, f. 119.

⁶⁷ Voir le mémoire du professeur C.C. Angelescu adressé au recteur prof. M. David le 12 mai 1944, sur les causes et les conditions objectives du cantonnement de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie

En mars 1944, Guboglu fit les préparatifs pour le départ à Zlatna–Alba; il avait les billets de trains et les lettres de voiture nécessaires à ce déplacement⁶⁸. Je mentionne que durant la période 10 février – 31 mars 1944, Guboglu, « exonéré de la mobilisation »⁶⁹, a pu surveiller et prêter main-forte lorsque la bibliothèque, les archives et autres objets transportables de l’Institut de Turcologie furent empaquetés pour le voyage de Zlatna–Alba. Néanmoins Guboglu ne put y suivre ses collègues de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie: il fut mobilisé une fois de plus, à partir du 1er avril 1944⁷⁰. Je dois préciser que, parmi les « instituts–annexes » de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, le seul à avoir obtenu un “bordereau d’évacuation” est l’Institut « A.D. Xenopol » (il n’y aucune mention quant à l’Institut de Turcologie⁷¹).

Saisissant le danger réel qui menaçait l’existence de l’Institut de Turcologie, l’assistant Mihail Guboglu est intervenu le 1er février 1944 auprès du recteur de l’Université de Iassy pour hâter sa démobilisation, par le truchement du ministère de tutelle. Il justifiait sa démarche par le fait que « l’Institut (de Turcologie –complété DP) [...] allait être fermé pendant la période février–mars (1944–complété DP), juste au moment de la clôture de l’exercice 1943–1944 »⁷², en l’absence du directeur des études Franz Babinger (mobilisé dans l’armée allemande, il avait quitté Iassy depuis huit mois déjà), et du pétitionnaire lui-même, qui allait être remobilisé le 1er février 1944. Guboglu précisait également que « dès la rentrée 1943–1944 jusqu’au 10 janvier 1944, l’Institut (de Turcologie – complété DP) n’avait eu aucune activité (souligné MG) »⁷³, et qu’il en serait de même à l’avenir si l’assistant se trouvait lui aussi dans l’impossibilité de dérouler une activité didactique et scientifique. L’intervention eut l’effet escompté, puisque les sommes assignées aux salaires de Babinger et de Guboglu furent introduites dans le budget de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy pour l’exercice 1944–1945⁷⁴, et l’Institut de Turcologie continua à exister, préservant son statut d’institution annexe de cette faculté⁷⁵.

L’Université de Iassy étant évacuée en Transylvanie, à Alba Iulia et dans les villes avoisinantes, l’année universitaire 1944–1945 n’a pu se dérouler entre les limites temporelles normales (octobre 1944 – juin 1945). Les causes en étaient: le

de Iassy, avec ses bibliothèques et annexes, à Zlatna–Alba, dans ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2348/1944, ff. 199–211.

⁶⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 10/1944, ff. 16, 19, 20.

⁶⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 1/1944, f. 183.

⁷⁰ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2348/1944, f. 124.

⁷¹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 10/1944, f. 20. Voir aussi Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 188; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 182.

⁷² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2343/1943, f. 188.

⁷³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2343/1943, f. 188.

⁷⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 6/1944, f. 126.

⁷⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2102/1941, f. 119.

rapprochement du front d'Est du territoire roumain, l'évacuation des institutions de l'État (de Moldavie vers la zone intra-carpatique), les violents combats contre les armées allemando-hortystes, enfin les pérégrinations du retour. Cette année universitaire fut condensée et se déroula pendant la période mai⁷⁶–octobre 1945, après le retour à Iassy, avec « armes et bagages », de l'Université et de ses facultés. La Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy n'a repris ses activités didactiques que le 18 juin 1945 !⁷⁷. Le « Tableau des cours et travaux pratiques à la Faculté des Lettres (de Iassy – complété DP) pour l'année universitaire 1944–1945 », en fait juin–octobre 1945, ne mentionne ni cours ni séminaires de langue ou d'histoire turco-osmanli⁷⁸, faute d'enseignants: Franz Babinger n'était plus rentré d'Allemagne, et son assistant Mihail Guboglu avait été détaché, sur sa demande, à l'Institut d'Études et Recherches Balkaniques de Bucarest⁷⁹ (depuis le 1er août 1945). Ainsi, durant l'année universitaire 1944–1945, l'Institut de Turcologie, étant donné l'absence du directeur des études et de son assistant, n'a déployé aucune activité didactique ou scientifique.

Vers la fin de l'année 1944, l'assistant Mihail Guboglu se trouvait, avec le « personnel didactique et auxiliaire » de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, à Zlatna–Alba; il avait été indemnisé pour la mutation et l'évacuation⁸⁰. La bibliothèque et les archives de l'Institut de Turcologie avaient été évacuées, fait attesté par les documents officiels relatifs à cette évacuation⁸¹, et par Guboglu lui-même. Iorgu Iordan aussi se souvenait, trois décennies après ces événements, que les bibliothèques des séminaires de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy avaient été évacuées à Zlatna–Alba, d'où elles avaient été ramenées à Iassy dans les meilleures conditions, au printemps 1945⁸².

Le projet de budget de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy pour l'exercice 1945–1946 incluait les sommes assignées au paiement du salaire de l'assistant Mihail Guboglu (« grade I d'ancienneté »); mais on ne mentionnait plus le directeur des études Franz Babinger, la direction de la faculté comprenant que le

⁷⁶ Début mai 1945 on a rouvert les cours de l'Université « Cuza Vodă » et de l'École Polytechnique « Gh. Asachi ». Ont participé Ștefan Voitec (membre du PSDR), ministre de l'Éducation Nationale, et Petru Constantinescu–Iassy (membre du PCdR), ministre de la Propagande Nationale (voir MI, p.n., XXIX, no. 5 (338)/mai 1995, Bucarest, p. 8).

⁷⁷ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, ff. 53–56; 63.

⁷⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2361/1944, f. 4.

⁷⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 3/1945, f. 463; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 61; d. 7/1945, f. 221.

⁸⁰ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 10/1944, ff. 95, 99, 101.

⁸¹ Le 4 mai 1944, le colonel Constantin Talpeș, préfet du département de Iassy, communiquait au professeur Bronislaus Irion, directeur de la BCU Iassy, que les « bibliothèques de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, avec leurs valeurs » avaient été évacuées dans le département d'Alba (ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2348/1944, ff. 127, 186–187).

⁸² Iordan (1977), p. 342.

turcologue allemand n'allait plus revenir à Iassy. Dans le même projet, le seul « employé » de l'Institut de Turcologie restait l'assistant Guboglu⁸³.

Comprenant que l'existence de l'Institut de Turcologie était assez incertaine, Mihail Guboglu changea de cap vers l'Institut d'Études et Recherches Balkaniques de Bucarest et accepta l'offre de collaboration didactique et scientifique que lui proposait le directeur dudit Institut, l'historien balkanologue Victor Papacostea. Le 22 juin 1945, discutant la sollicitation officielle du directeur Papacostea, le Conseil Professoral de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie Iassy accepta l'affectation temporaire (une année) de Guboglu à l'Institut d'Études et Recherches Balkaniques de Bucarest, pourvu que ce soit avec l'accord de l'assistant⁸⁴. Bien entendu, il fut d'accord avec sa mutation et le ministère de tutelle l'approuva à son tour, à partir du 1er août 1945⁸⁵. Dans le cadre de l'Institut d'Études et Recherches Balkaniques de Bucarest, Guboglu fut nommé lecteur de langue turco-osmanli à « l'école de langues balkaniques », remplaçant H.Dj. Siruni qui avait été arrêté au décembre 1944 par les « alliés de l'est » et déporté dans le GOULAG soviétique⁸⁶.

Le départ de l'assistant Mihail Guboglu réduisit l'Institut de Turcologie à une existence purement nominale. Prenant acte de cette réalité dramatique, le Conseil Professoral du 22 juin 1945 décida d'intervenir auprès du Ministère de l'Education Nationale, afin que celui-ci, avec l'appui direct du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, embauche sous contrat un professeur de langue turque, assurant la continuité des activités didactiques de l'Institut de Turcologie. Cette démarche était justifiée par l'urgence de trouver un successeur à Franz Babinger, parti en Allemagne depuis juin 1943 déjà⁸⁷. Trouver un nouveau professeur de langue turque s'avéra une démarche difficile et dura trois mois. Le 15 septembre 1945, on gardait quelques espoirs de résoudre ce problème⁸⁸. Mais finalement on dut accepter que la cause était perdue et, sur la proposition du professeur Paul Nicorescu, ancien ami de Franz Babinger, le Conseil Professoral du 2 octobre 1945 approuva le prêt des volumes de turcologie de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy à l'Institut d'Études et Recherches Balkaniques de Bucarest; les volumes traitant de l'histoire des Roumains passaient, eux, à l'Institut d'histoire « A.D. Xenopol » de Iassy⁸⁹.

⁸³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1944, f. 79.

⁸⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 61.

⁸⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 7/1945, f. 221, ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 3/1945, f. 463; voir aussi *AIIAXI*, t. XIX, 1982, Iassy, p. 924.

⁸⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 5/1945, f. 110; Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 190; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 184.

⁸⁷ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 61.

⁸⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 80: Le 15 septembre 1945, le Conseil Professoral de la FLPhI refusa le professeur E. Pora qui demandait qu'on lui cède deux placards de l'Institut de Turcologie.

⁸⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 87.

Privé de son instrument de travail le plus important, la bibliothèque de spécialité, l'Institut de Turcologie avait cessé d'exister de facto, sans qu'un acte officiel le consigne de jure. Ou bien il n'a pas encore été découvert. Durant les années universitaires 1945–1946, 1946–1947, 1947–1948, jusqu'à la promulgation de la nouvelle Loi communiste de l'enseignement du 3 août 1948, les procès-verbaux des Conseils Professoraux de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy ne contiennent plus une seule mention sur l'Institut de Turcologie.

Si le 1er avril 1940 est considérée comme date de naissance de l'Institut, et le 20 octobre 1945 celle de sa fin (donc cinq ans et cinq mois!), on peut calculer la période durant laquelle l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy a effectivement déployé une activité didactique et scientifique, compte tenu de la structure de l'année universitaire. Je prends aussi en considération les périodes où professa un seul des deux « permanents » de l'Institut, Franz Babinger ou Mihail Guboglu. Par conséquent, la période durant laquelle l'Institut de Turcologie a déployé une activité didactique et scientifique en des conditions et avec des résultats satisfaisants va du 1er avril 1940 à juin 1943, c'est-à-dire les derniers mois de l'année universitaire 1939–1940 et intégralement les années suivantes, 1940–1941, 1941–1942, 1942–1943. En 1943–1944 et 1944–1945 l'Institut n'a fonctionné que sporadiquement (quelques semaines pendant chaque année universitaire), mais le rendement et les résultats didactiques et scientifiques ont été insignifiants⁹⁰.

L'activité scientifique dans le cadre de l'Institut de Turcologie fut variée: conférences sur des thèmes historiques données par des invités étrangers, recherches ethnographiques et folkloriques au Sud de la Bessarabie, communications scientifiques. Par exemple, dans une note envoyée au Rectorat de l'Université de Iassy le 9 décembre 1940, Franz Babinger proposait l'invitation du Dr Ernest Gamillscheg, directeur de l'Institut de Culture Allemande de Bucarest, pour donner à l'Université une conférence sur un thème d'histoire ancienne des Roumains. Le recteur acquiesça et l'invitation officielle fut adressée au professeur allemand⁹¹. Les détails de cette initiative ne nous sont pas connus, mais, si elle avait été menée à bien, les étudiants de l'Institut de Turcologie auraient certainement été présents, avec à leur tête Babinger et Guboglu.

Le 8 juin 1943, le directeur Babinger envoyait l'assistant Guboglu « [...] collecter du matériel folklorique et étudier le dialecte de la population turque (Gagaouz) du Sud de la Bessarabie, pour le compte de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy »⁹². Cette expédition avait été approuvée par le Décanat de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie

⁹⁰ Voir aussi Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », p. 191; Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, p. 185.

⁹¹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 1969/1940, f. 892.

⁹² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2251/1943, f. 708; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 5/1943, f. 123.

et le Rectorat de l'Université de Iassy⁹³. Mis à part la motivation subjective de ce déplacement (le désir de Guboglu de revoir ses parents et sa commune natale), je souligne que ces recherches continuaient et complétaient les études historiques, ethnographiques et folkloriques de l'assistant, réunies dans sa thèse de doctorat *Găgăuzii în lumina istoriei* (Les Gagaouzes à la lumière de l'histoire). Cette thèse, élaborée en 1940–1941, n'a malheureusement pu être publiée ou soutenue durant les années de la seconde guerre mondiale, ni après la guerre.

En complément à son activité didactique à l'Institut de Turcologie, l'assistant Guboglu a élaboré deux communications scientifiques, « L'Historiographie ottomane et son importance pour l'histoire des Pays Roumains » et « Les Roumains dans les chroniques turques du XVe siècle ». La première a été présentée dans le cadre de l'Institut de Turcologie (séance présidée par Babinger) et la seconde dans le cadre de l'Institut d'histoire « A.D. Xenopol » de Iassy (séance présidée par le directeur de l'époque, le professeur Alexandru V. Boldur)⁹⁴.

Dans un Mémoire envoyé le 3 mai 1939 au ministre de l'Education Nationale, le professeur Petre Andrei, Franz Babinger proposait la création d'un périodique ou d'un annuaire qui publie les résultats de l'activité scientifique du futur Institut de Turcologie. Les conditions subjectives et objectives n'ont pas permis la matérialisation de ce projet. Néanmoins, sporadiquement, sous l'égide de l'Institut de Turcologie ont paru deux titres.

En 1942, sous le patronage de l'Institut, le chercheur bucarestois Maria-Matilda Alexandrescu-Dersca publia sa thèse de doctorat intitulée *La Campagne de Timūr en Anatolie (1402)*⁹⁵. Franz Babinger aurait voulu que ce fût le volume inaugural de toute une série, c'est pourquoi il portait le numéro 1. Le livre était dédié à la mémoire de Nicolae Iorga, qui avait été l'initiateur et le directeur de cette thèse de doctorat. Dans l'Avant-propos olographe de N. Iorga, reproduit en fac-similé, l'historien appréciait la valeur scientifique de l'ouvrage et l'activité de recherche de l'auteur. L'Avant-propos en roumain et en turc, signé par Babinger, était suivi d'une Introduction de l'auteur; elle y remerciait Nicolae Iorga, Franz Babinger et H.S. Tanrıöver de la

⁹³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2251/1943, f. 707; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 6/1943, f. 144; l'approbation officielle se trouve dans les ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 6/1943, f. 172.

⁹⁴ Anca Radu, « Profesorul Mihail Guboglu la 70 de ani », dans *AIAXI*, t. XIX, 1982, Iassy, p. 924. L'auteur ne précise pas la date de ces deux communications, et peut-être Mihail Guboglu lui-même n'a pas accordé beaucoup d'importance à ce détail. Elles auraient pu être présentées dans les intervalles: novembre 1940 – juin 1941; novembre 1941 – janvier 1942; octobre 1942 – juin 1943, quand l'auteur n'était pas mobilisé dans l'armée roumaine. Voir aussi Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », pp. 191–192; Prodan, Franz Babinger..., p. 186.

⁹⁵ Imprimeria Națională, Bucarest, VIII+180 p. + une carte.

compréhension et du soutien scientifique et moral que les trois savants lui avaient dispensé dans l'approche de ce thème inédit de la recherche historique turcologique⁹⁶.

Le second volume des « Publications de l'Institut de Turcologie » a été un manuscrit aux caractères arabes, *Die Vita (Menaqibnāme) des Schejch Bedr ed-din Mahmūd*, gen. Ibn Qadi Samauna, von Chalil bin Isma'il bin Schejch Bedr ed-din Mahmūd, I. Teil: Urtext nach der einzig erhaltenen Handschrift im Revolutions-Museum zu Istanbul (Sammlung Muallim Cevdet No. 228), Alleinvertrieb Ausserhalb Rumäniens und der Türkei; Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig C1, 1943. Le manuscrit fut édité par Franz Babinger, son découvreur. La seconde partie de cette édition, comprenant la translittération du texte en alphabet arabe dans les « nouveaux caractères turcs », était préparée pour l'impression quand elle brûla, le 16 mars 1945, dans le bombardement allié de la ville bavaroise Würzburg, où vivait Franz Babinger. Elle ne sera rééditée qu'en 1967⁹⁷.

Dans la même série, sous les auspices de l'Institut de Turcologie, l'assistant Mihail Guboglu avait l'intention de publier sa thèse *Găgăuzii în lumina istoriei* (Les Gagaouzes à la lumière de l'histoire), élaborée en 1940–1941. Malheureusement il n'a pas réalisé ce projet, qui aurait beaucoup pesé dans la soutenance de son examen de doctorat, et dont le directeur de thèse aurait pu être l'historien Ioan Nistor ou, peut-être, le turcologue Franz Babinger. Sa mobilisation dans l'armée roumaine, l'approche du front d'Est du territoire roumain, avec toutes les conséquences qui en découlèrent, ont empêché le jeune historien de mener à bonne fin son projet de doctorat.

Durant la période où l'Institut de Turcologie déployait son activité auprès de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy, on a entrepris des démarches officielles pour le transférer à la faculté homologue de Bucarest.

Tout commença dans la deuxième décennie d'octobre 1941 avec la sollicitation que l'historien médiéviste Gheorghe I. Brătianu adressa au doyen de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Bucarest, le professeur Alexandru Marcu, le priant de soumettre au Conseil Professoral de cette faculté la proposition de délocaliser l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy à Bucarest. Gh.I. Brătianu justifiait sa demande par ce que « (...) dans la capitale du pays, (l'Institut de Turcologie – complété DP) pourrait concentrer et diriger mieux l'activité de tous les chercheurs qui voudraient

⁹⁶ Sur la structure de l'ouvrage et les comptes-rendus qu'il suscita, voir Dan Prodan, « Preocupări de orientalistică-turcologie în România de la Marea Unire până la instaurarea regimului comunist (1918–1948) », dans *Acta Moldaviae Septentrionalis*, III, 2004, Botoșani, Roumanie (pp. 51–210), pp. 83–86.

⁹⁷ Pour des détails concernant cette édition, 1ère et IIème partie, voir in Prodan, « Din tradițiile ... », pp. 192–193; Prodan 2003, p. 187.

se spécialiser dans l'étude de cette question (de turcologie – complété DP) ». Brătianu continuait par attirer l'attention « (...) sur l'importance que l'existence d'un tel l'Institut (de Turcologie – complété DP) présente pour toutes les branches de notre enseignement historique »⁹⁸. Le Conseil Professoral de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Bucarest, dans la séance du 22 octobre 1941, avisa favorablement cette proposition. Elle fut soutenue par C.C. Giurescu, N. Bănescu, Al. Rosetti, T. Capidan, V. Grecu, la seule voix contre étant celle d'Ion Petrovici⁹⁹. En conséquence, le Conseil Professoral de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Bucarest a fait des démarches auprès du ministère de tutelle pour qu'il y donne son aval.

L'attitude et les diligences de Gh.I. Brătianu ont naturellement suscité une question: à qui l'initiative de ce transfert a-t-elle appartenu en fait ? A lui seul ? A Franz Babinger ? Aux deux historiens amis?¹⁰⁰. Dans le stade actuel des recherches du fonds documentaire relatif à cette question, on ne saurait donner une réponse documentée et définitive. L'étude des documents connus laisse croire qu'il s'agit d'une initiative commune, où la démarche ou l'avis de Babinger avaient joué un rôle décisif. On sait qu'à partir du 1er octobre 1940 l'historien Brătianu a déployé son activité didactique et scientifique à Bucarest. On sait également, les déclarations de M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru et de Mihail Guboglu en font foi, que Babinger venait dans la capitale trois ou quatre fois par mois, dans des buts personnels, mais aussi didactiques ou scientifiques liés à l'activité de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy. Les grandes bibliothèques bucarestoises et la filiale locale des Archives de l'État roumain offraient un vaste champ de recherche dans le domaine de la turcologie. À Bucarest, l'activité didactique et scientifique dans le cadre de l'Institut de Turcologie se serait déroulée dans des meilleures conditions qu'à Iassy.

Ces raisons, auxquelles se seraient ajoutées d'autres, pas encore connues, auraient déterminé Franz Babinger de proposer ou d'accepter la suggestion, avancée par Gh.I. Brătianu, d'un possible transfert de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy à Bucarest. Mihail Guboglu m'a dit que Babinger, dans le cercle de ses amis et connaissances de Iassy, ne cachait point son espoir de voir l'Institut transféré de Iassy à Bucarest. Si le turcologue allemand avait été contre ce projet, alors, personnalité forte et volontaire comme il était, il aurait exprimé sans ambages son désaccord. Mais il ne l'a jamais fait, ni verbalement ni par écrit, son acquiescement tacite étant une

⁹⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 11/1941, f. 133. Document publié aussi par Lucian Năstasă dans le recueil épistolier « „Școala nouă“ de istorie. Mărturii documentare (III) », dans *AIAXI*, t. XXIV, 1987, no 2, Iassy, pp. 429–430.

⁹⁹ ANR, DMB, fonds Université de Bucarest (UB), FLPh, d. 340/1939–1943, f. 233. La copie dans ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 11/1941, f. 134.

¹⁰⁰ Dan Prodan, « Gheorghe I. Brătianu și Franz Babinger. Convergențe – Gh.I. Brătianu et Fr. Babinger. Convergențe », dans *AIAXI*, t. XLVII, 2010, Iassy, pp. 81–96.

« complicité préméditée » avec l'idée du transfert, que lui, citoyen et universitaire allemand, ne pouvait exprimer et soutenir officiellement. Celui qui l'a fait, dans les conditions présentées plus haut, a été son ami, Brătianu, citoyen et universitaire roumain.

En novembre 1941, un « dossier » qui contenait une copie de la requête de Gh.I. Brătianu, la note no. 271.142/1941 du Ministère de la Culture Nationale et des Cultes demandant l'avis de la Faculté de Iassy au sujet du transfert, et un extrait du procès-verbal du Conseil Professoral de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Bucarest du 22 octobre 1941¹⁰¹, fut envoyé à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy pour l'informer et lui demander de préciser sa position officielle dans cette question.

Le Conseil Professoral de la faculté de Iassy, réuni le 3 décembre 1941, analysa le « dossier » du problème et conclut à ce qu'il « (...) était contre le transfert de l'Institut de Turcologie à Bucarest », motivant sa position par le fait que cette institution avait été « fondée à Iassy, dès le début, que les fonds dont on avait acheté la bibliothèque et le mobilier avaient été versés exclusivement ou en grande partie par l'Université de Iassy, que l'Académie roumaine avait créé une bourse d'études en Turquie en valeur de 100 000 lei » à l'intention d'un historien diplômé de Iassy¹⁰².

La décision du Conseil Professoral de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy fut communiquée au ministère de tutelle dans la note no. 1189 / 4 décembre 1941¹⁰³.

La question d'un éventuel transfert de l'Institut de Turcologie à Bucarest est revenue à l'ordre du jour un an et cinq mois plus tard, en avril 1943, lorsque le Ministère de la Culture Nationale et des Cultes a redemandé l'avis de l'Université de Iassy¹⁰⁴. Le 16 avril 1943, la note du ministère fut soumise à l'analyse du Sénat Universitaire, qui la passa au Décanat de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy (note du Rectorat no. 1761/1943¹⁰⁵).

Le Conseil Professoral de la faculté, réuni le 11 mai 1943, « (...) remet à plus tard la délibération de cette question »¹⁰⁶. Un mois plus tard, le 16 juin, Le Conseil Professoral « ne voit pas l'opportunité immédiate d'un transfert de cet Institut à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Bucarest (souligné DP) ». Par ailleurs, « Mr le Professeur Babinger, directeur de l'Institut de Turcologie a exprimé don désir de rester à Iassy pour le moment (souligné DP) »¹⁰⁷. Le Rectorat reçut la réponse le

¹⁰¹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 11/1941, ff. 132, 133, 134.

¹⁰² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, ff. 312–313.

¹⁰³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 12/1941, f. 151.

¹⁰⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2251/1943, f. 55.

¹⁰⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 3/1943, f. 258.

¹⁰⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 429.

¹⁰⁷ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 13/1943, f. 431.

17 juin 1943¹⁰⁸, et le ministère de tutelle le 24 juin même année¹⁰⁹. L'emploi des adverbes temporels immédiat et pour le moment dans la décision du 16 juin 1943 me fait croire qu'entre temps (1942–1943), un élément nouveau était intervenu dans la question de l'éventuel transfert, sans pouvoir préciser quel élément, faute d'informations et de documents. On laissait entendre que le Conseil Professoral de Iassy pourrait être d'accord avec le transfert, mais pas tout de suite (durant l'été 1943), peut-être à l'avenir (peut-être durant l'année universitaire 1943–1944), et que pour le moment le directeur des études Franz Babinger désirait rester à Iassy. Savait-il donc, le turcologue allemand, en juin 1943 déjà, qu'une fois mobilisé dans l'armée allemande il ne reviendrait plus jamais en Roumanie, pour des activités didactiques et scientifiques ? Après cet échange de notes officielles, nous n'avons plus trouvé des témoignages documentaires concernant ce transfert pour les années universitaires suivantes, 1943–1944 et 1944–1945. De toute façon, le ton du refus de juin 1943 a été moins catégorique que celui de décembre 1941¹¹⁰.

Le témoignage des documents et des personnes directement impliquées dans l'activité de l'Institut de Turcologie nous permet d'insister sur le caractère des rapports de collaboration entre les membres de cette institution et leurs supérieurs hiérarchiques, ainsi qu'entre Babinger, le directeur des études, et Guboglu, secrétaire scientifique, assistant et responsable de la bibliothèque de l'Institut.

Les rapports de collaboration entre Franz Babinger et le Décanat de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie, le Rectorat de l'Université de Iassy ou la direction du ministère de tutelle ont dépassé le cadre des simples relations de service: ils furent cordiaux et fertiles, les deux parties s'entraïdant avec sollicitude. Le Décanat et le Rectorat ont insisté pour l'embauche sous contrat de Franz Babinger à Iassy; le turcologue allemand a acheté pour la Bibliothèque Centrale Universitaire de Iassy des livres et des publications turques de grande valeur scientifique. Les petites divergences d'opinions au sujet du statut et du grade didactique de Babinger à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy ont vite trouvé des solutions¹¹¹. Par le contrat de 1942, Babinger s'est vu reconnaître le statut de professeur universitaire titulaire quatrième grade¹¹².

Les relations entre le jeune Mihail Guboglu et les institutions universitaires supérieures et le ministère de tutelle ont eu le même caractère officiel, de service. Le Décanat de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie, le Rectorat de l'Université de Iassy și le ministère de tutelle ont fait souvent des interventions auprès du Ministère

¹⁰⁸ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 6/1943, f. 186; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 2251/1943, f. 773.

¹⁰⁹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2251/1943, f. 773.

¹¹⁰ Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, pp. 188–190.

¹¹¹ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 2104/1941, f. 56; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 7/1941, ff. 159; 160.

¹¹² ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 5/1942, f. 379.

de la Guerre et du Grand Quartier Général de l'armée roumaine pour démobiliser Guboglu afin qu'il puisse reprendre son activité didactique et scientifique à l'Institut. L'assistant Guboglu a acheté pour cet Institut des livres de turcologie d'Odessa. Guboglu s'est heurté à des difficultés pour obtenir sa nomination précise et définitive à la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie de Iassy et, implicitement, l'introduction de son salaire dans le projet de budget annuel de celle-ci¹¹³. Nommé secrétaire scientifique de l'Institut de Turcologie le 1er avril 1940, il a été définitivement fixé à son poste le 1er janvier 1942¹¹⁴. Il y a reçu le premier grade didactique le 1er avril 1942¹¹⁵, et a été confirmé en tant qu'assistant provisoire à l'Institut de Turcologie le 23 mai même année¹¹⁶. Le 1er avril 1945, on lui reconnaît le premier grade d'ancienneté dans la fonction d'assistant provisoire (cinq années d'activité ininterrompue)¹¹⁷. Toutes les requêtes sollicitant ces promotions que Guboglu adressa au Rectorat de l'Université de Iassy et /ou au ministère de tutelle ont eut le soutien du Décanat de la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie Iassy.

Les relations entre Franz Babinger et le jeune Mihail Guboglu furent de strictes relations professionnelles. Le directeur des études appréciait son secrétaire scientifique pour ses connaissances de spécialité, qu'il avait vérifiées lui-même en lui faisant lire et traduire des fragments de chroniques ottomanes, notamment de *Tevârih-i âl-i 'Osmân* (éd. Fr. Giese, vol. I-II, 1922–1925) ou de *Tarih d'Oruç bin 'Adil* (éd. Fr. Babinger, 1925). M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru m'a dit (en février 1989) que, dans les années 1940–1941, Babinger, un habituel de la famille Bulgaru, lui avait raconté comment l'ambassadeur turc H.S. Tanrıöver lui avait présenté personnellement le futur secrétaire scientifique de l'Institut de Turcologie, Guboglu. Les relations entre les deux collaborateurs on connu parfois des moments critiques, se souvenait, en février 1989, le professeur Guboglu. Babinger, personnalité forte et volontaire, avait ses propres idées et conceptions (dont certaines rigides, « prussiennes »), qu'il entendait imposer dans ses relations avec les autres, dont Guboglu; il paraît qu'il avait mal digéré la désignation et la nomination du secrétaire scientifique de l'Institut de Turcologie, qui s'étaient faites sans son avis ou accord.

Mihail Guboglu a exprimé des jugements très critiques au sujet de l'activité didactique et scientifique déployée par Franz Babinger en Roumanie pendant la période 1935–1943. Cette position, en partie motivée politiquement, fut suivie par

¹¹³ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1940, ff. 210; 210v.

¹¹⁴ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 11/1941, f. 194; d. 12/1941, ff. 222, 223; d. 13/1943, ff. 318–319; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 2204/1942, f. 10.

¹¹⁵ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 5/1942, f. 153; d. 9/1942, f. 32; ANR, DJI, fonds UI, R, d. 2204/1942, f. 19.

¹¹⁶ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, Rectorat, d. 2348/1944, f. 64; d. 2355/1944, f. 21.

¹¹⁷ ANR, DJI, fonds UI, FLPh, d. 2/1944, f. 79.

une autre, plus rationnelle et plus objective, que Guboglu adopta après la mort du turcologue allemand (en 1967). Ce fut le moment pour Guboglu d'analyser et juger de façon plus réaliste, plus détachée, sans états d'âme, la place et le rôle de Babinger dans l'évolution de la turcologie roumaine et universelle. L'ancien assistant de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy ne s'est jamais déclaré, formellement, le disciple du professeur Babinger; néanmoins, il n'a jamais déclaré non plus n'avoir rien appris du turcologue allemand. En effet, il est difficile de croire que Guboglu ait pu être durant trois ans le collaborateur officiel de Babinger, sans en emprunter certaines méthodes, certains procédés, outils de travail, éléments bio-bibliographiques etc.

Conçu et "projeté" dans les mois précédant l'éclatement de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale (février–mai 1939), fondé le 1er avril 1940, l'Institut de Turcologie a déployé son activité didactique et scientifique entre les années 1940–1943/1944. Il a donc fonctionné en « temps de guerre », cette réalité dramatique affectant de façon évidente la qualité et la « quantité » de ses résultats, ainsi que l'accomplissement intégral de ses « missions », précisées dans le Mémoire rédigé par Franz Babinger le 3 mai 1939.

Mettant en balance, d'une part, les dimensions théoriques de ses "buts" projetés et, d'une autre, l'œuvre pratique, concrète, didactique et scientifique réalisée par les membres et les étudiants de l'Institut de Turcologie, je peux affirmer que l'activité didactique (formative) et scientifique (de recherche) déroulée dans le cadre de cette institution entre 1940–1943 a été modeste. Elle pourrait être taxée d'insignifiante par un observateur ou un analyste impartial, équidistant, mais critique, ou de satisfaisante par un chercheur qui, comprenant l'essence des informations relatives à l'institut, ou ayant vécu et connu la période difficile et trouble de la seconde conflagration mondiale, fait la part des choses.

Comparée à l'activité didactique et scientifique d'autres instituts d'histoire « nationale » (« l'histoire des Roumains ») ou « universelle » de Roumanie durant les années de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, celle de l'Institut de Turcologie de Iassy se situe relativement au même niveau et même, dans certains domaines, leur est supérieure, vu l'intervalle relativement court (1940–1943/1944) où elle s'est déroulée. A la différence d'autres instituts d'histoire qui furent fondés, organisés et dotés « en temps de paix », l'Institut de Turcologie « a vu le jour en temps de guerre », avec toutes les conséquences, principalement néfastes, qui en ont découlé¹¹⁸.

L'ambassadeur turc Hamdullāh Suphî Tanrıöver a fini sa mission diplomatique en Roumanie à 4 décembre 1944¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁸ Prodan, *Franz Babinger...*, pp. 191–192.

¹¹⁹ *România–Turcia. Relații diplomatice*, vol. I, 1923–1938, ediție de Dumitru Preda, studiu introductiv: Alexandru Ghișa și Dumitru Preda, Editura Cavallioti, București, 2011, p. 354.

Mehemmed Emin Resulzade in Romania (1940–1944)

Jale ISMAYIL

Unfortunately, the exile lifestyle lived in Romania by the great statesman, thinker and at the same time a valuable scholar, Mehmed Emin Resulzade (1884, Baku – 1955, Ankara), one of the founders of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan (1918–1920) was not researched until present days. Ömer Özcan, who signed many studies concerning Azerbaijan’s politic refugees, in the article “The Unknown Works of Mehmed Emin Resulzade”, published in the magazine “Turkish Homeland”, declares that despite of the researches made in Turkey and Azerbaijan concerning Resulzade, his entire biography and bibliography is not yet disclosed¹. For now, based on some sources and our own investigations, we will try to offer you some information concerning the period during which M.E. Resulzade lived in Romania.

After the Soviet Union overthrew A.D.R. (Azerbaijan Democratic Republic), Resulzade lived a pretty harsh exile lifestyle, full of struggling and straining. After the Soviet occupation on 27 April 1920, he activated in secret for a period of time until he was arrested. On Stalin’s orders Resulzade was removed from jail and brought to him in Petrograd. Refusing Stalin’s proposal to collaborate with the soviet state he began his exile, leaving Petrograd and travelling to Finland and then Turkey. After the expulsion of the politic refugees in Turkey, in 1931, at the request of the soviet state, he lived in different European countries for short periods of time and eventually he settled in Poland. During the time he lived in Poland he was involved in political activities and became friends with many important European politicians, diplomats, officers, and men of letters and also with Turkish people. Due to the occupation of Poland by the Nazis, he went to Switzerland. After the hard times he had in France, Holland, Belgium and England, he settled in Romania in August 1940.

Resulzade lived in this country as a guest to Hamdullah Süphi Tanrıöver (1885–1966), Turkey’s ambassador in Romania, until the arrival of the Red Army, in August 1944. Even if occasionally he went to Germany to discuss Azerbaijan’s independence, the release of Azerbaijani prisoners and the resolving of other political issues, he spent most of the 4 years lived in Romania in Bucharest. While living in Bucharest,

¹ Ö. Özcan, “Mehmet Emin Resulzade’nin Bilinmeyen Yazıları”, in *Türk yurdu*, Ankara, 2010, nr. 99.

he continued to serve Azerbaijan as a politician, a man of letters and researcher. In other words, even in Romania he continued to live the same exile lifestyle which he lived in Turkey and Europe and he fought on all fronts for Azerbaijan. He did not remain an outsider while waiting for the war. On one side he was going to Germany to try and sign an agreement with the Nazis concerning Azerbaijan's independence and on the other side, he was working on the monograph "Nizami the Azerbaijani poet". This valuable monograph was published in the year 1951, in Ankara. In the book's preface, Resulzade explained the reason why he published it 10 years after completing it in 1941 with the occasion of the poet Nizami's 800th anniversary. This delay helped the monograph get much better by adding additional material, descriptions and stories². The researcher Fethi Tevetoğlu who wrote the book "Russia, which I see now", in which he mentions about his journey in Soviet Union, explained the reasons why the publishing of Resulzade's research, presented to the Ministry of National Education in 1948, was delayed. According to what he said the pro-Soviet authorities requested Mehmed Emin Resulzade to eliminate the anti-Russian ideas presented in the book, but Resulzade gave up the book's publication saying "These ideas were not written by me but by the great Nizami. I have no right to remove them and doing that would do no good to anyone". The book was published exactly as it was written only after Tevfik İleri was named minister of national education³. We must specify that this monograph was appreciated and considered by specialists as a very important work being a major contribution concerning the research of Nizami's legacy.

Regarding the period of time in which Resulzade lived in Bucharest, unfortunately, so far there were not found many articles and works written by him. During this time the leader was preoccupied with freeing the Azerbaijani prisoners in Germany and trying to obtain the promise of Azerbaijan's Independence from Nazi Germany. From what Resulzade wrote at that time we now only have access to small articles concerning Azerbaijan, found in "The Encyclopedia of the Turkish Islam" published in 1943, in Istanbul.

Fortunately, we do have some information concerning the period of time spent by M.E. Resulzade in Romania from the book "The Life for Crimea", written by the great Crimean statesman and one of the leaders who fought for Crimea, the lawyer Müstecip Ülküsal and from the book "The Memoirs of an Officer" written by the Turkish military attaché in Bucharest, colonel Kenan Kocatürk. Because these books are memoirs, we can only read about their conversations with Resulzade and his views. In his autobiography K.Kocatürk tells about the important events in his personal

² M.Ə. Rəsulzadə, *Azərbaycan şairi Nizami*, Təknur, Bakı, 2011, p.17.

³ F. Tevetoğlu, *Benim gördüğüm bugünkü Rusya*, Komünizmle Mücadele Yayınları, Ankara, 1968, p. 200.

and business life and dedicates two entire pages for Resulzade. The military attaché talks about Resulzade with great respect. In his book we are also given information related to Resulzade's book about the poet Nizami. According to the colonel, Resulzade became close friends with the ambassador Hamdullah Süphi Tanrıöver, he was spending most of his time in the Turkish embassy and used to work in Kocatürk's room. Because of the searches that were being made in Bucharest, Resulzade gave to mister Kenan his small pistol, which he received as a gift from colonel Bek, Poland's ministry of foreign affairs. As it is said in his memoirs, this pistol was going to save the military attaché.⁴

After the Second World War, while Resulzade was living in Mittenwald Camp, in Germany, he writes a letter to Kenan Kocatürk explaining him his situation and his desire to go to Turkey with the help of his friends. After Kocatürk sends this news to Tanrıöver, who was now charged in Ankara, and with the support of the former ambassador, Resulzade and his wife received permission to come to Turkey. He arrives in Turkey in the year 1947 after receiving Turkish citizenship, as a result of the decision taken by of the Council of Ministers on 8 July 1947⁵. Kocatürk attached to his book the letter that Resulzade wrote him on 5.08.1946 and some pictures.

Furthermore, we are given the details concerning Resulzade's staying in Romania from M. Ülküsal's book "A life for Crimea". Even though M. Ülküsal was born in Romania he is originally from Crimea and he dedicated his entire life to the fight for his country and to winning the independence of the Turkish people from Crimea. M. Ülküsal holds an important place among the Turkish intellectuals. While fighting for his aspirations he spent a life full of gaps and eventually ended his life in Turkey. In his book there are mentioned meetings and conversations which he had with Resulzade in different places and periods of time. M. Ülküsal also talks about Resulzade with great respect, just like K. Kocatürk, and points to the fact that he is not only a great thinker, but also a great statesman to the Azerbaijani refugees and all of the Turkish intellectuals. M. Ülküsal recounts a meeting between him and Resulzade, after returning from Germany with Memduh Şevket Esendal, who was at that time the General Secretary of CHP (The Republican People's Party) and who worked at Baku as Turkey's plenipotentiary ambassador⁶. He revealed how much he valued the Turkish leaders and how confident he was in his fight. Recounting Esendal's life, Ülküsal heard him say: "The ones you acknowledge as leaders, like Cafer Seydahmet, Mehmet Emin Resulzade, Ayaz İshaki and others take advantage

⁴ K. Kocatürk, *Bir subayın anıları. 1909–1999*, Kastaş, Ankara, 1999, pp. 284–285.

⁵ Ö. Özcan, "Məhəmməd Əmin Rəsulzadə Rumıniyada", in *525-ci qəzet*, 21 May 2011.

⁶ https://intr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Memduh_%C5%9Eevket_Esendal is not working on days of March 2016. www.memduhsevketesendal.net the source is a webpage.

of young idealists as yourself and throw them into the furnace of fire to achieve their own interests. Even camels would laugh at what you do”. M. Ülküsal replied to him: “Mister Esendal, the people we acknowledge as leaders are indeed loyal to our national cause. They dedicated their lives and wholeheartedly supported the cause of Turkish identity and the liberation of our fatherlands. We are fully convinced they are not taking advantage of this cause or of us to achieve their own interests. I disagree with your opinion and with what you’re saying. These are considered grave insults to them and to us as well. Your words hurt me very much”⁷.

Ülküsal meets Resulzade for the first time in Poland, at a gathering of the Promotey Organization, in August 1937. At the great event where every statesman, student and young Turkish nationalist gathered, Resulzade held an honest speech in which he highlighted the importance of the meeting⁸. Their next meeting would take place in Romania. In the summer of the year 1939 M. Ülküsal visits Resulzade and Ayaz İshaki at their resting place, in Constanta to discuss the future of Europe and Turkish identity. On 13 August a 50-person party took place, held by The Central Management of the Turkish People Union in Dobrogea to honor the guests. At this party, which took place at the restaurant 10 May, was also invited the polish professor Tomkevicz. Every guest held a speech. In his speech M.E. Resulzade said: “In the last few days the world again started to shake and the destiny and rights of nations became bet topics. No doubt that, on this battlefield, the nations oppressed by the Russians and especially us, will occupy an important place. Russia will fall apart and the Turkish occupied nations will certainly escape soon. Let us unite and prepare for this happy and glorious day”⁹.

In June 1940 together with several colleagues Resulzade was forced to take refuge in Romania. It was no longer possible to stay in Poland, which was attacked by the Nazis. Hamdullah Süphi Tanrıöver, Turkey's Ambassador in Romania, who had a prominent role in Resulzade's establishment in Bucharest, always supported him. The love and respect Tanrıöver had for Resulzade can be seen after his death in the magazine “Turkish Homeland. After republishing the articles in the magazine “Azerbaijan”, Tanrıöver said he knew and loved Resulzade because of his gifted personality, fairness, faith and the perseverance not to back down from his principles¹⁰. Unfortunately, a mistake was published in this article. Some sources say about the article written by S.H. Tanrıöver that it's actually “Resulzade's Biography”. Tanrıöver writes in the preface from where he got the articles and shares his own ideas on Resulzade.

⁷ M. Ülküsal, *Kırım yolunda bir ömür*, Şafak, Ankara, 1999, p. 403.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p.229

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 256–257

¹⁰ *Türk yurdu*, April 1955

M. Ülküsal grants a special place in his book to politic debates on different topics, which he had with Resulzade and to the letters they sent to each other. Caucasian Federation, Crimea's destiny, the future of the Turkish Nations from Volga-Ural region, Germany and Russia's struggle to divide Europe were the daily topics of these two valuable patriots. Reading these debates from Ülküsal's accounts stands out that Resulzade was aware of the political situation back then and knew the history closely. It should be noted the fact that in the most different periods of his political activity, even before the ADR, Resulzade was watching closely the events that had place in Europe and through his articles he proved himself as an astute political analyst. To remind about his article "The Balkan States" when we mention about Romania, can be accepted as proof of what I said. Analyzing the events before the First World War, the immediate past of the Balkan States and assessing the situation between them, M.E. Resulzade attracts attention with his forecast¹¹. From this book we also find out about the plans of the Nazi regime, who have not forgotten about his great reputation among the Turks in Azerbaijan, to lead Resulzade in Germany to establish the organization of the Azerbaijani Turks in Germany and creating the legionary movement against the Soviets¹².

Unfortunately, we do not have much information about M.E. Resulzade's stay in Bucharest. We just could not find the place where he lived. Settling in hotel Kiriazi, located in one of the oldest suburbs of Bucharest, a place which at that time was visited not only by Resulzade but also by many artists, musicians and very famous Romanian and European writers. It is said that even Mihai Eminescu recited poems and doinas in the hotel. We want to emphasize that the current state of the hotel is very sorrowful. The building of the famous hotel collapsed and despite the fact that the place gives off a bad smell, was transformed into a place where Roma live. We believe that for the period Resulzade spent in Romania should be made a comprehensive research study in state archives. We believe this blank page, in the history of the 20th century's three countries – Azerbaijan, Turkey and Romania, is an important point the history of relations between these countries.

¹¹ M.E. Rəsulzadə, "Balkan dövlətləri" in *İqbal*, no.787, 11 November 1914.

¹² M. Ülküsal, *Kırım yolunda...*, p. 334.

**The Ottoman Empire
in the Second Half of the 19th Century
through the Eyes of Turkish Migrant Noblewoman
(Via Letters of Zeyneb Hanoum)**

Natavan AGHAYEVA

The Ottoman Turkey in the 19th century was a state of great contrasts: that was a time of glorious initiatives and great losses; admiration for the West and simultaneous desire to save self-identity; that was a time of men in European costumes, but with fez on the head, and women with European education, but wearing tcharchaff and living in harem; that was a time of inception of new ideas and attempts to realize them but in old conditions; fight for reformations and against them. The Ottoman Empire of those years was an object of close attention and undiminishing interest. That was a time of constant external pressure and keen desire to save the state. The second half of the 19th century is a period, when “domestically, the central state became more powerful and influential in everyday lives than ever before in Ottoman history, extending its control ever more deeply into society”¹.

The present article is an endeavor to build up an impression on the Ottoman Empire of the second half of the 19th century by virtue of personal correspondence of the witness of those historical events.

In 1913 a British journalist, suffragette, and traveler Grace Marry Ellison released letters of the Turkish noblewoman Zeyneb Hanoum as a complete book under the name “A Turkish Woman’s European Impressions”². In those letters dated 1906–1912 Zeyneb Hanoum shares with the “dear and latest friend” her impressions on the West – its lifestyle and rules, culture and manners, routine and entertainments, and along with it she recalls own stories of her past life in the Ottoman Empire, where she came from, and tells about historical events which she witnessed. Although all epistolary illustrations of life in the Ottoman Empire are episodes of her childhood and youth, and bear more of subjective character, nevertheless they are able to depict

¹ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922*, second edition, p. 54.

² Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman’s European Impressions*, edited & with an introduction by Grace Ellison, 1913.

moods existed in certain circles of the Ottoman society in the second half of the 19th century. So, comparing these two periods of her life and analyzing feelings that they provoke, she writes the following: “Nothing in our life can be compared to yours, and in a short time you will see this”³.

“Zeyneb Hanoum” – is a pen name of a Turkish noblewoman Hadidje Zennour, which occurred at the instigation of French novelist, a member of the French Academy, “defender and expert of a true Turkish life”⁴ Pierre Loti. In late 1870th French naval officer Julien Viaud publishes some pages from his dairy as a novel named “Aziyadé”. This story makes him widely known under the pseudonym Pierre Loti. In 1904 during his next visit to Istanbul the sailor novelist meets two sisters – representative of the high circles of Istanbul society. Friendly conversation between them, their stories of daily life inspired him to write a novel about Turkish woman and society, where she has to exist. And so, the novel “Disenchanted” comes into being, and these two sisters became its main characters, disguised under the names “Zeyneb” and “Melek”.

For the first time Zeyneb Hanoum from the book character turns into a real-existing person in December 21, 1909, on the pages of a French newspaper “Le Figaro”, where in the article under the name of “Plain truth about Disenchanted” was written: “The day after tomorrow our famous colleague Pierre Loti will accept Jean Aicard to French Academy. One of the main characters of “Disenchanted”, Zeyneb Hanoum, taking advantage of this event, would like to share with us all the truth about this great novelist”⁵. And the main character of the novel writes: “For a start, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Hadidje Zennour, I’m a daughter of Nouri Bey, and there is nothing easier than to check it in Constantinople, where I originate from. After my arrival to France I accepted a family name of my grandfather, count de Châteauneuf, who in the times of Abdul Aziz became a Muslim Turk and took the name Reshat Bey⁶. I’m “Zeyneb” from that book...” “Melek” is my small sister and “Janan” is our dear cousin Leyla, who rests in peace now in the cemetery of Eyoub...”⁷.

The representative of high society of the Empire, granddaughter of the French officer count de Châteauneuf, who moved about Turkey at the beginning of the 19th century, accepted Islam and entered into civil service, gained a high position in one

³ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XIX.

⁴ *Le Figaro*, “La Vérité vraie sur les ‘Désenchantées’”, front-page article, Paris, 21.12.1909.

⁵ *Le Figaro*, “La Vérité vraie sur les ‘Désenchantées’”, Paris, 21.12.1909.

⁶ Count de Châteauneuf was of French ancestry. In his arrival to the Ottoman Empire he fell in love with one Circassian girl, accepted Islam and took a name “Reshat Bey”. Only after all these procedures, when he “became Turk”, he was allowed to marry his beloved.

⁷ *Le Figaro*, “La Vérité vraie sur les ‘Désenchantées’”, Paris, 21.12.1909.

of the departments in Imperial armory Chancellery Tophane⁸ and stayed in the country forever⁹, Zeyneb Hanoum in 1906 along with her sisters migrates to Europe. Recognized in literature as one of the first Turkish female travelers Zeyneb Hanoum in real could be defined more as a migrant, rather than a simple traveler, because the reason for her travel was not derived by the simple wish to see the world, but the forced escape from her motherland. The reason for her escape from the Ottoman Empire in her letters she explains this way: “You will say, that I am sad – morbid even; but how can I be otherwise when the best years of my life have been poisoned by the horrors of the Hamidian régime”¹⁰.

Here she talks about Sultan Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876–1909). The reign of Abdul Hamid II coincided with the tough period of history, when the state faced a great number of problems of internal and external character, when the pressure of the West, who regarded the Empire as a “sick man of Europe”, reached its summit. Wars, territory losses, external expansion along with internal extremism¹¹ demanded decisive actions. If the measures taken by him to save the state could be accepted as ones which are warranted by the current political situation, the methods chosen by him for their realization, unfortunately, attain him notoriety. In spite of the fact, that the years of his reign could be characterized by the rise of infrastructural and cultural modernization, reorganization of admission policy into the civil service and educational institutions, extension of telegraph lines to enable administrative surveillance from Albania down to Yemen, reforms in juridical system and development of a new type of literature, also he broke ground with railway construction, which allowed to connect distant provinces of the Empire to the capital city¹², nevertheless, Sultan himself had been remembered in the history as one of the authoritarian and firm rulers, whose regime had been qualified by the western liberal and opposition Turkish press as “tyranny”¹³.

The style of narration in the letters of Zeyneb Hanoum lets us think, that she also belonged to those circles of society, who criticized Sultan Abdul Hamid II's reign. In one of her letters she retells one episode of her past life in the Ottoman Empire in the following manner: “...Do you think there is in any language a sentence stronger and more beautiful than that which terminates in Loti's Pecheurs

⁸ Original name of establishment is Tophane Mûşiriyeti Mektubi Kalem.

⁹ Count de Châteauneuf is mentioned in biography of a great litterateur and illuminer of Tanzimat Ibrahim Shinasi. He was the person who taught him French language during their service in Chancellery.

¹⁰ Zeyneb Hanoum, *A Turkish Woman's European Impressions*, p. 35.

¹¹ Here it tells about Russo-Turkish war 1877–78, Balkan crisis 1875–76, French occupation of Tunisia in 1881, Anglo-Egyptian war 1882, etc.

¹² Gábor Ágoston, Bruce Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 8.

¹³ The word “tyrant” to the reign of Abdul Hamid II firstly was applied by the Young Turks, who “spoke out in the name of liberty and portrayed Abdul Hamid II as a tyrant”. Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 253.

d'Islande – the tragedy of waiting – with these words, “Il ne revint jamais”? I mention this to you because my whole youth had been so closely allied with this very anguish of waiting. Imagine for a moment a little Turkish Yali on the shores of the Bosphorus. It is dark, it is still, and for hours the capital of Turkey has been deep in slumber... Four discreet taps at my father's window and his answer “I am coming.” Away yonder, in his fortress of Yildiz, the dreaded Sultan trembles even more than I. The caique moves away as silently as it came. Will my beloved father ever return?...”¹⁴.

To characterize the Sultan she uses such words as “dreaded” and “trembles”, which are quite proper word to utilize in this case, as the adoption of the first Turkish Constitution in 1876, lost war with Russia in 1877–78, vast territorial losses in Balkans and the Eastern Anatolia, and finally fear of the possible loss of the entire Empire turned Abdul Hamid II into suspicious and restless person. Hard political heritage formed those certain traits of his character, which marked an obscure imprint on the whole époque of his reign. They strongly affected the mood of his subjects too, as well as those from his close associates, who were always under his sleepless control, what was mentioned in the letters of Turkish noblewoman: “...A Turkish official has arrived at our house, he has dared to come as far as the very door of the harem. He is speaking to my mother. “I am only doing my duty in seeing if your husband is here? I have every right to go up those harem stairs which you are guarding so carefully, look in all your rooms and cupboards. My duty is to find out where your husband is, and to report to his Majesty at once”. This little incident may sound insignificant to you, yet what a tragedy to us! What was to happen to the bread-winner of our family? Would it mean exile for our father? Would we ever see him anymore?...”¹⁵.

The slightest suspicion of conspiracy, any rumor of a possible coup d'état could cause the arrest. To prevent any dissatisfaction, by the direct order of the Sultan had been created the secret police services, strengthened the palace guard, reinforced surveillance of citizens. “...Do you know – this is what Zeyneb wrote about it – the Sultan was informed when your friend Kathleen came to see us? Every time our mother invited guests to the house, she was obliged to send the list to his Majesty, who, by every means, tried to prevent friends from meeting...”¹⁶.

Just for the reason of constant suspicions and persecutions, born in the second half of the 19th century and being the witness of a series of events, which played a key role in the history of the state and formation of world view of the Ottoman society, Zeyneb Hanoum until the certain time had no other choice but to hide her

¹⁴ Zeyneb Hanoum, *op.cit.*, pp. 35–37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

identity and existed only like the character of the novel. Despite the fact, that the main characters and stories, which laid in the basis of the narration were real, the political situation in the Ottoman Empire of that period made the author write in foreword of his novel these words: "Present story is a pure fiction. And those, who will try to find out the real names of Zeyneb, Melek and Andre, will waste their time, as these persons never exist in a real life"¹⁷. The fear of harassment by the government secret police for the excessive sincerity of narrated to the novelist stories and further possible punishment for such behavior forced the author and his interlocutrix to cloak them by the feigned names: "...When the first parts of the novel had been completed we, all three of us, "Janan", "Melek" and I, "Zeyneb", had still lived behind the bars of harem, and we had to take great precautions to stay unrecognized on the pages of this book"¹⁸. Therefore, in order to exclude the risk of any matches with a real life of the ladies and to confuse those who, perhaps, would recognize them, Pierre Loti, in one of the chapters "slays" Melek.

Thus, just in 1909, after the death of Abdul Hamid II, it became possible to publish the article, which reveals who "Zeyneb" is. After this occasion the name "Zeyneb Hanoum" was left just as a pen name of Hadidje Zennour, which she widely used to sign her letters and further articles on the pages of European press.

Referring to the European periodicals of the second half of the 19th century, it should be noted that the subject of the Ottoman Empire took on its pages a worthy place, an interest in its history and culture, especially in the current political situation was great. And it is no coincidence that the escape of two Turkish women from the Ottoman Empire in 1906, also found a great response on pages of numerous Western newspapers.

In Turkey, things were quite different. Due to the fact that Abdul Hamid II came to power in a very difficult time for the Empire, any excuse that can lead the country out of precarious equilibrium was brutally suppressed. And as the West was the main source of "subversive" ideas¹⁹, and due to the fact that the majority of opposition Turkish political figures have found shelter in European countries, all the Press and letters sent from there were previously perused by the respective authorities.²⁰

¹⁷ Pierre Loti, *Les Désenchantées*, Introduction, p. I.

¹⁸ *Le Figaro*, "La Vérité vraie sur les 'Désenchantées'", Paris, 21.12.1909.

¹⁹ In 1867 the group of exiled Ottoman intellectuals formed the movement of The Young Ottomans with its center in Paris. One of the founders kept in contact with exiled Ottoman intellectuals whose newspapers were under the ban of censorship by the Ottoman administration to publish their papers in Europe. The Young Ottomans founded and disseminated their thoughts through them; Gábor Ágoston, Bruce Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 604.

²⁰ Regardless to the critics of Abdul Hamid's regime by the Western and Turkish opposition press at the beginning of 20th century, a lot of experts tend to consider his reign "free from the Western influence", Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*.

In her letter to Grace Ellison Zeyneb recalls: “When our correspondence was sent to us direct, it had to pass through the hands of three different persons before we had the pleasure of receiving it ourselves. All the letters we sent out and received were read not only by my father and his secretary, but by the officials of the Ottoman Post. One day, I remember, the daughter of an ex-American minister sent me a long account I was just going to write to her for an explanation, when the remaining sheets were sent on to me by the police, whose duty it was to read the letters, and who had simply forgotten to put the sheets in with the others”²¹.

All newspapers, including those which were sent from Europe, also were pre-read and its contents were seriously analyzed. After the release of the articles about the two sisters, Abdul Hamid II ordered to send all European publications in which they are mentioned for him to the palace.

“...They were clever enough to know that by giving vent to any ill-feeling, saying what they really thought of our “disgraceful” conduct, they would draw still more attention to the women's cause; so we were left by the Press of our country severely alone...”²². And those newspapers which were not possible to hide were sold at inflated prices. Still, despite the risk of being caught on showing the interest to these articles, the demand for these papers was great.

Describing all the difficulties in the political life of the country, Zeyneb Hanoum, at the same time, depicts the social life of the Turkish aristocratic society in quite an “optimistic” way: “...Two or three Turks meeting together in a cafe were eyed with suspicion, and reported at head-quarters, so that rather than run risks they spent the evenings in the harems with their wives. One result, however, of this awful tyranny, was that it made the bonds which unite a Turkish family together stronger than anywhere else in the world...”²³.

In her memories on the life in the Ottoman Empire Grace Ellison notes: “...it is not unusual to find Turkish women who can speak fluently two or three European languages (and this was very striking to me when I stayed in a Turkish harem)...”²⁴.

To this remark of the English journalist Zeyneb Hanoum gives a following respond: “How else we could spend our long monotonous days in harem?...We Turkish women read a great deal of foreign literature... And yet how little we are known by the European critics! The people of the West still think of us women as requiring the services of the public letter-writer!... In costume we are on a level with Paris, seeing we buy our clothes there; and as regards culture, we are perhaps

²¹ Zeyneb Hanoum, *op.cit.*, pp. 79–80.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 42

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p.XIII.

more advanced than is the West!... What I call the disastrous influence was the influence of the Second French Empire”²⁵.

For the first time representatives of the higher strata of society in Istanbul directly come into contact with the “French fashion” during a visit to the capital of the French Empress Eugenie. After the formation of the Second Empire in 1852 and the announcement himself as an Emperor, Napoleon III began to establish a more active diplomatic relations with eastern countries, especially the Ottoman Empire, which he supported in the war of 1853 against Russia. So, a very important event happened in 1869 – the completion of construction and opening to navigation of the Suez Canal – played an important role in the history of European-Oriental relations. The wife of Napoleon III, the Empress Eugenie, at his request, had to present at the opening ceremony. Her way to Egypt laid through Istanbul. The visit of the royal person in the Ottoman capital committed resonance among the upper classes of the Empire and encouraged the change of a number of traditional views on certain norms of Ottoman society, including the role of women in socio-political life of the country.

In memoirs of the biographer of the Empress Eugenie Comte Maurice Fleury was written: “Finally the Aigle dropped anchor in front of the palace of Beylerbeyi, when a row-boat, surmounted by a red dais of velvet, embroidered in gold, left the quay and came rapidly forward, and the Empress soon perceived that the Sultan himself had come to fetch her and to escort her with solemn pomp to the palace...”²⁶

Here he tells about sultan Abdul Aziz (r. 1861–1876), predecessor of Abdul Hamid II, the ruler, who “in contrast to his successor, was well-educated and had a broad outlook”²⁷. “...The Turkish sovereign desired to show every sign of courtesy, respect, thought and attention and even wished to kiss the Empress’s hand, an unheard-of thing; I am told, on the part of the Commander of the Faithful. But, out of respect for Mussulman customs and feelings, she discreetly declined to allow this mark of homage to be paid to her, and warmly thanked the Sultan for his many kindnesses”²⁸.

Received thanks to his brother Sultan Abdul Majid I (r. 1839–1861), an excellent education which included not only the knowledge of traditional oriental disciplines such as Arabic and Persian languages, calligraphy, music, literature, etc., Abdul Aziz, along with this, also knew the French language. In 1867, at the invitation of Emperor Napoleon III, he visited the Paris Exposition. This visit was followed by invitations

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 39, 95–96.

²⁶ Comte Maurice Fleury, *Memoirs of the Empress Eugenie*, v.1, p. 291.

²⁷ Gábor Ágoston, Bruce Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 5–7.

²⁸ Comte Maurice Fleury, *Memoirs of the Empress Eugenie*, v.1, p. 291.

from other European rulers. So, the journey of the Sultan dragged on for 46 days. First he visited London, where he met with the Prince of Wales and the Queen of England. How the Queen Victoria later recalls: “My ‘Oriental brother’ turned out to have truly splendid eyes and ate most things, but (which I was glad to see) never touched wine; his meat was cut up for him. With evident relish I describe the return of splendor – the magnificent gold plate out again, everyone in full dress and the band playing the first time these 6 years...”²⁹.

The exposure to the other European ruler was followed by a meeting with the Belgian King Leopold II in Brussels, then the king and queen of Prussia and the emperor of Austria-Hungary. Thus, he was the only sultan of the Ottoman Empire, visited the European countries on a state visit.

After his political tour, Abdul Aziz was pleased with what he saw in the European powers, became more aware of the traditions and customs of the West, which, of course, he wished to apply in his state too. Therefore, during the visit of the Empress Eugenie, he was not slow to demonstrate his knowledge of Western etiquette.

In her letters Zeyneb Hanoum recalls these events in a following way: “...No doubt they (newspapers*) will treat her journey as a simple exchange of courtesies between two Sovereigns. They may lay particular emphasis on the pageantry of her reception, but few women of that time were aware of the revolution that this visit had on the lives of the Turkish women...”³⁰.

According to testimonies of the time, the Empress was incredibly beautiful. After her departure, all the women of the palace and wives of high-ranking civil servants tried to copy, as best they could, the style of the beautiful guest. They combed their hair parted in the middle, spent hours curling locks in bunches of small curls. High-heeled shoes replaced the traditional papuch. They've even mastered the crinoline and abandoned traditional outfits consisting of shalvar and long embroidered tunics. “...As it might be supposed, the middle class soon followed the example of the palace ladies and adopted the Western costume. Then there was a craze for everything French. The most eccentric head-dresses and daring costumes were copied... It was at the beginning of the reign of Abdul Hamid II that this craze for Western culture was at its height...”³¹. So, these tastes divided society into those who followed French fashion (mainly well-off sections of the population) and those who lead a traditional Turkish life. These layers are named, respectively, “a-la franca” and “a-la turka”.

²⁹ Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria*, p. 396.

³⁰ Zeyneb Hanoum, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

The prominent writer, journalist, translator and publicist of the Tanzimat Ahmed Mithat Efendy depicts in his satirical story “Falatun Bey and Rakim Efendy” the society of those days: “Here is Falatun Efendy. Despite his wealth, he was a very friendly young man. It would seem that as a rich man he must look at all *de haut en bas*. No way! He is “a-la franca”! “A-la franca” should never be arrogant; they have to smile to everyone. And often, watching the master talking to a man, a boy, who was always by his side, was thinking: “Perhaps, this man is a good friend of the master”, just as in real the only thing Falatun Bey wanted to do is to shout and bless out at him, such a strong anger he felt for his interlocutor. But this kind of behavior was strange to the well brought up “a-la franca”³².

But not only the manner and fashion began to be taken over from the French. Education also could not avoid the new trends. Following the fashion of western education and training, a great number of French governesses were brought to Istanbul. Mithat Efendy wrote: “...After Mustafa Meraki Efendy from the person of deep ‘a-la turka’ traditions turned into ‘a-la franca’, it became easy to estimate which education he would prefer for his orphan children left without mother. Every morning the child with the bag behind his back goes to school. Moreover, twice a week a French teacher comes to their house. Just because Mustafa Efendy himself never received such education, he thought, that for the good upbringing it is quite enough...”³³.

But reality showed the opposite. French governesses had never always been of high qualification and conscientious. It was not uncommon when their “upbringing” ended in tragedy. This is how Zeyneb Hanoum remembered: “The Western governesses, in so many cases, took no interest in their pupils' reading, and allowed them to read everything they could lay their hands on. With their capacity for intrigue, they smuggled in principally French novels of the most harmful kind. Physical exercise being impossible to work off the evil effects of this harmful reading, the Turkish woman, discontented with her lot, saw only two ways of ending her unhappy existence – flight or suicide; she generally preferred the latter method...”³⁴.

This situation continued until the beginning of the reign of Abdul Hamid II. The first years of his reign are characterized by the peak of French-craze. The new ruler opened incredible for that time number of schools throughout the Empire. Now, however, education had become more systematic and organized. “The terrible war, and the fall of the two beloved Sultans³⁵, woke the women from their dreams. Before the fact that their country was in danger, they understood their duty. From odalisques

³² Ahmet Mithat, *Felâatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, pp. 14–15.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁴ Zeyneb Hanoum, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

³⁵ Here she means Abdul Aziz and Abdul Majid I.

they became mothers and wives determined to give their children the education they themselves had so badly needed...”³⁶. About her own education Zeyneb Hanoum wrote the following: “At the age of ten, when I began the study of English, we were learning at the same time French, Arabic, and Persian, as well as Turkish... My mother, rather the exception than the rule, found we must be always occupied. As a child of twelve, I sat almost whole days at the piano, and when I was exhausted, Mdle. X. was told to give me needlework...”³⁷.

But having gone through its peak, the fashion for all the French began gradually subside. Seeing the danger of such overwhelming influence of the West on the minds of his subjects, who, according to their personal preferences, tried to persuade the public course in different directions, Abdul Hamid II saw no better solution than to prohibit or severely control these preferences.

In 1907 Zeyneb Hanoum met Lady Eugenie, the former Empress, in Nice. “The Empress remembered with great pleasure every detail of her visit to the East. She spoke of the persons she had known, and asked for news of them. Alas! So many were dead, and others scattered to the four corners of the Empire! She remembered the town, the Palaces, and the marble Beylerbei which had been built specially for her. So kindly, too, did she speak of the Sultan Aziz, saying how welcome he had made her, and how his people loved him. Was it possible without appearing unpatriotic to make her understand that the lovely Palace in which she had stayed, the Palace which had echoed with the sounds of Eastern music and dancing and singing, was now being put to a very different usage? During Hamid's reign Palaces are not required for festivity, but captivity. Many unfortunate souls have only known Beylerbei as the stepping stone to Eternity!”³⁸.

Another detail in letters of Zeyneb Hanoum, which clearly characterizes the perception of the difference between the reigns of the two sultans in the public mind of the higher Turkish society, refers to women apparels. If during the time of Abdul Aziz women cover themselves with yashmak – white silk cloth like a veil, then during Abdul Hamid II regime it was replaced with tcharchaff – thick black veil, through which light is passed with difficulty, and it was difficult to see something. Moreover, in order to hide their hands, ladies had to wear thick long gloves.

Thus, the modernization of society, which had decades of history, and began in the first half of the 19th century, was given a new direction. Orders, established by Abdul Hamid II, were appraised by some public circles of the country as a backward movement from the course in the West direction, which the Empire adhered to earlier.

³⁶ Zeyneb Hanoum, *op.cit.*, p. 101.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

To Zeyneb Hanoum, a woman who received advanced for those times European education and who was part of the highest circles of imperial society, who had an access to the different diplomatic houses³⁹, with respective manners and habits, the return to the old orders was unacceptable.

In Introduction to her book Grace Ellison writes: “Freedom, it cannot come by a mere change of law, and it is a cruelty on the part of Europeans to encourage them to adopt Western habits which are a part of a general system derived from a totally different process of evolution”⁴⁰. But the process of modernization started by Abdul Aziz was impossible to stop. Even if some of the measures taken by Abdul Hamid II seem to drag the state backward, he was that ruler, who opened a large number of modern schools, which were giving modern for that period of history education. The Young Turks’ movement is the best proof for that. Due to education they got in those schools they could organize the movement which at last destroyed the Empire.

Thus, getting acquainted with the Ottoman Empire of the second half of the 19th century through letters of Zeyneb Hanoum, it became clear how in the social minds of a certain part of the higher circles of the Empire different stages of modernization of the country in the 19th century had been perceived and evaluated. So, if the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, the time of the reign of Abdul Aziz was characterized by the desire of adopting of all the European and that’s why considered as “modern” concepts, the easy existence of society and the ability to output to the west, then the last quarter of the 19th century, the reign of Abdul Hamid II, was called the time of tyranny and authoritarianism. Although the letters are full of subjective judgment of the author on the certain events, they serve as a useful source to get an idea of how political and cultural world view of the Ottoman elite on the eve of The Young Turks’ revolution formed, what conditions helped this process and what preceded upcoming events.

³⁹ In one of her letters Zeyneb Hanoum mentions how from time to time her family liked to visit the foreign friends of her father; Ibid. p. 91.

⁴⁰ Zeyneb Hanoum, *op.cit.*, Introduction, XVIII.

Excerpts from the Correspondence of Famous Orientalists. Géza Kuun and József Thúry

Margareta ASLAN

This article comes as a continuation of a series of papers that will be published under the title “Din corespondențele marilor orientaliști” (From the Correspondence of the Great Orientalists. Documents.). If the first study focused on the correspondence between Géza Kuun and Vámbéry Armin, this second study regards the correspondence between Géza Kuun and József Thúry. This article is materialized in the form of a study, summing up some of the results of the research, however the extended scientific information gathered and processed will be published in the form of a book, being already in under-press stage.¹

I. Physical description of the material used

To accomplish this study research was conducted in the archives of Cluj and Budapest. The studied folders were those of the County Department of the National Archive in Cluj, where 3 folders were found. Folder no. 674 contains 3 letters on 9 leaves, folder no. 442 – containing the events between the years 1903–1904) is formed of 4 letters in 10 leaves, and the folder no. 675 – the largest, containing 99 leaves of manuscript. Unfortunately, the entire correspondence between them was not kept, except these abovementioned folders, but we find out about certain manuscripts only from other letters, where, if we are lucky, we find out a few completely random information about the content of certain texts.²

Of the total of over 80 letters and 5 postcards, 38 letters come from the Hungarian archives, precisely from the “Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára”, the holdings of Szilády Hagyaték, Ms 4455, but also from the archive of Szécsényi National Library, as correspondence holdings among various scientists, where the activity of Thúry was mentioned. Even if the number of these sources is not significant, they complete the information detained. Moreover, the holdings of Szécsényi National

¹ This study was performed with the help of MTA–DOMUS HUNGARICA scholarship, offered to the Hungarian Diaspora, 1st January 2016 – 30rd June 2016.

² Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library, holdings of Szilády Hagyaték, Ms 4455/57.

Library³ and of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library⁴ provided me with important edited sources for the analysis and achievement of the processed topic. The processed manuscripts represent the bilateral correspondence between Géza Kuun and József Thúry. If the letters edited by József Thúry are easily legible, and they can be easily deciphered, those written by Géza Kuun are difficult to decipher, in the last years of his life, which indicates a difficulty in writing, due to his age and certain diseases.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the board of Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára for offering me the possibility for documenting, also Dr. Tüske László, the director of Szécsenyi National Library, a very special and of great scientific value, passionate about orientalistics, that I had the opportunity to meet at the conferences in Dunaszredanska; I would also like to thank the board of the County Department of the National Archive in Cluj, and last but not least, Mr. Mihály Aládar Dobrovits, who accepted to be my mentor during my research.



Photo no. 1.a: Baron Géza Kuun



Photo no. 1.b: József Thúry

³ Szécsényi National Library, Kezirati Tár, Funds Count Kuun Géza to Thorma Károly, Thúry József to Szilágyi Sándor, fond IX.657 etc.

⁴ Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library, Kezirati Tár, Funds Thúry József to Munkácsi Bernárt Mss. 10285., Funds Count Kuun Géza to Munkácsi Bernárt, mss. 10282,

Before beginning the scientific analysis, I wish to specify that the scientific analysis of the documents will be made from a historical point of view, as I am more interested on the public and private life of József Thúry, by his evolution in research, perhaps a little on the history of Hungarian Orientalistics and Turkology, however I will set my limit to thorough linguistic issues, as I consider that Hungarian linguists can do this better, should they consider it necessary. In other words, the purpose of this research is not focused on an analysis of the real quantity of the information offered by the Turkologists between the beginning of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in the area of linguistic analysis of certain Hungarian words, but they will be assessed for the purpose of shaping the size of Turkology research among the Hungarian scientists through the relations between official and unofficial Turkologists, the interest or disinterest of scientists and of society towards Turkology sciences, moral and financial supporters of these brains, their daily life, private and official life, their struggles and satisfactions, etc.

II. József Thúry, a marginalized turkologist?

“Many are invited, but few are chosen!”

Born in 1861, on December 25th in Makád, the young József went to the College of Science, hoping that he will become a good specialist in Hungarian history and comparative linguistics of languages closely related to Hungarian, therefore, his preoccupations in the Turkish-Tartar and Fino-Ugric linguistics, Mongolian and Persian linguistics, as a complement to the other two, help him in research on the historical writings and Eastern travel journals.⁵ Since he was young he was passionate about oriental sciences, he manages to earn the scholarship with his Turkic linguistic paper *Az ujjur, csagatáj és oszmán-török dialektusok egyezései és eltérései*. He could, without much effort, do studies on languages like Chuvash, Chagatai, Yakut, Turkish, Mongolian etc.⁶

After finishing his studies, at the recommendation of Ármin Vámbéry, Minister Trefort, he is appointed Turkish language professor for four years, in the newly established department of Eastern Sciences within the Commercial Academy of Sciences in Budapest. In 1881 he gets a study scholarship from the Hungarian state in Istanbul, where through the acquaintances recommended by Vámbéry he manages to easily obtain access to consult some original documents or copies of the best works known in those times. On his return, due to the special undertakings of Count Kuun, Thúry succeeds in being appointed professor at the Reformed Gymnasium in Halas,

⁵ Vásáry István, “Thúry József (1861–1906)”, *Halasi Téka*, 6. Kiskunhalas 1987, pp. 11–20.

⁶ Németh Gyula I tag, Thúry József I tag emlékezete.

position that he feels compelled to accept, at least to be able to research the studies on his comparative dictionary. The correspondence unveils a tenacious professor, very hard-working, with great passion for sciences, but to whom the scientific society did not offer the deserved position. The professor, now being far away from the capital city, managed to perform his researches using various scholarships offered by the Hungarian Academy for Scientists, which were not substantial.

In over 150 pages of manuscript sent to the count, the content is dominated by his dissatisfaction, presented in many of the letters. He considered himself as being seen by the scientists as a second-hand Turkologist, and Orientalist, although he was sent copies that favored scientists were not able to process. Of course, the collocation used by him was something like “I don’t want to step aside as the one whom they chased away, but as the one who left out of his own will. At least they don’t laugh at me. Many are invited, but few are chosen.”⁷ Moreover, his complaints were grounded, given the fact that the Hungarian archives contained valuable holdings of documents and manuscripts that could not be processed by the so-called specialists of the scientific world: “My heart was crying when I saw, last summer, how many interesting materials are found in the holdings of Szilágyi Dániel and they have been sitting there unprocessed for a long time. If only I could get to Budapest, if only I could get any status at the Academy’s library, I would immediately dedicate myself to enrich the Turkic materials and oriental sources, through the vision of linguistics, history and Hungarian literary history. Because I see that we have rich mines, but haven’t found any mine workers yet, though it would be a great shame that the richness remains un-researched.”⁸ Within the riches of the mentioned fund there must have been manuscripts acquired from Istanbul, which have been submitted or donated to the fund, which, however, were not looked after, but “thrown aside like garbage”, kept in a crate without the proper keeping conditions. He did not hesitate to remind the Count and express his sadness concerning the indifference shown towards the rare manuscripts left to decay. At a first glance, we tend to believe that the Balkan tactics, quite spread, to protect favorites was present also during the time of Romantic scientists, which was hard to believe as long as there were good experts in paleo-

⁷ Gyulay-Kuun family holdings, folder 674, mss.7. “Nem akarok úgy állni félre, mint a kit elűztek, hanem mint a ki önelhatározásából vonul vissza. Legálább ne nevéssenek rajtam. Sokan vannak a hivatalosok, de kevesen a választottak.”

⁸ Gyulay-Kuun family holdings, folder 442, mss.1. “Szinte a lelkem is sírt, mikor láttam a nyáron, hogy mennyi értékes anyag van a Szilágyi Dániel hagyatékában s azok felhasználatlanul hevernek már hosszú évek óta! Ha nekem sikerül valaha feljutnom Budapestre s főleg, ha az akadémiai könyvtárban kaphatnék valamelyes állást: rögtön arra adnám a fejemet, hogy az ott levő török, általában orientalis forrásokat értékesítsem a Magyar nyelvészet, történelem és irodalomtörténet szempontjából. Mert látom, hogy van nekünk kincses bányánk, de bányász még eddig nem találkozott; pedig nagy kár azokat a kincseket kiaknáztatlanul hagyni!

graphy and Turkic and Oriental languages. However, coming into contact with the correspondence, and its thorough study, allow us to observe that the problem sums up to a battle of ideas between two scientific factions: those who supported the idea that the Hungarian people contains in its linguistic area a quite marked Turkic imprint, and those who supported the clear idea of belonging to the Fino-Ugric group, refusing any analysis made on roots of Turkic words.

The friendship between József Thúry and Count Géza Kuun is a sincere friendship, between two people sharing a passion for orientalist sciences. Of course, their interest was closely related by Hungarian linguistic sciences. The Count, author of a few prestigious studies (*Adalékok Krim történetéhez*. 1873, *Codex Cumanicus* 1881, *A kunok nyelvéről és nemzetiségéről*. U. ott, 1885, *Ujabb adatok a kun Petrarka-codexhez*. Bpest, 1892.), does not hesitate to send his friend ideas that he works on, for debate. If it were to make a complex analysis of their relationship from the point of view of Turkology sciences, we could conclude that, beside off-stage stories related to scientific life, an important part was played by mailing materials, exchanging studied materials. Kuun, travelling to Görz or Gráz, requested, several times, various theme-based dictionaries, Mongolian⁹ or Turkish¹⁰, as he had nowhere else to get them from, and they were necessary for his study. The continuous relationship, by exchanging ideas, requesting and giving advice, indicating documentation sources to establish working hypotheses, in old and new Hungarian and by comparison with Turkic languages. “I am well aware of the fact that both from the old as well as the modern language many examples can be taken; but now I must confine myself to those few examples of which I am currently aware of. Such examples are: hívott and hitt (Csepel Sz., Kunság); ütötte and ütte, kötötte and kötte, sütöttem and süttem, akaszutottam and akaszтам, terítettük and terittük, láttam and látottam (Nyelvőr II: 175; III: 2, 51, 53; IV: 471).

We could consider the following examples as well: ettem, ettél, – but in the 3rd person evett; ittam, ittál, in the 3rd person ivott stb. I consider these factors absolutely necessary for the pronunciation; for why do Hungarians pronounce gereblye or dorong, if the words are actually grablje and drang? The fact that today we can pronounce: halált, azt etc., does not mean that the Hungarians in the time of Árpád could also pronounce it, – after all, today we pronounce it like this as well, krajczár, drót, not only: karajczár, dorót. We did atone for the pronunciation of “azt” and “ezt” because we pronounce them: aszt and eszt!”¹¹

⁹ Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library, holdings of Szilády Hagyaték, Mss 4455/63.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, Mss 4455/ 74.

¹¹ County Department of the National Archives, branch of Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun family holdings, folder 675, mss.1

Of course, current Turkology may find that certain opinions or hypotheses of the old Turkologists are obsolete or even false, but we must not forget that these Turkologists started their journey with less didactic advantages than turkology students possess nowadays. The bibliographies they had were very limited in number, the research was hindered by lack of access to certain volumes found in libraries or private holdings in various corners of the world. However, the close relationships among them, favored the purchase of copies, confirmation or invalidation of the quality of certain copies found for study or purchase, and yet, the quality of their work is given by the sound knowledge of oriental languages, which allowed them to work directly on manuscripts and edited sources of the time, something that is more and more rarely seen at today's young Turkologists. Moreover, the edited volumes, although not multi-disciplinary as we tend and wish for nowadays and by this often generating quantity without quality, provided thorough analyses in specific areas.

The Count can also be called his protector, because he carefully supervises his scientific activity (1885)¹² and behaved and treated him with great kindness. It is not for nothing that Thúry wants to thank his for the spiritual support that he received. He offers him details on how he planned to build his dictionary, based on the collected sources. The Count appreciated him because he was very attentive and a good resourcer. For Thúry resourcing was extremely important "I cannot be satisfied with three word corpuses, this is the greatest problem".¹³ We find out about this amid the linguistic duel with Budenz, when he tells the count that he does not intend to introduce in his dictionary other words than those that he can explain clearly, and that he will avoid words with roots whose explanations cannot be grounded, such as his competitor in the scientific world, Budenz.¹⁴ Both the scientific world and the society of that time was following with great impatience the scientific duel between the two scientists, one trying to prove the richness of Hungarian words of Turkic origin, the other one trying to counteract any such attempt, leading the scientific motivations and explanations more towards the Fino-Ugric group. In order to help him in grounding his replies, the Count indicates him not to omit the rich Mongolian linguistic holdings from his study.¹⁵

Actually, up to the current study, there is a scientific duel shaping between Turkologists, on one hand, and Budenz, who probably on his turn, was supported by other scientists in the field, who shared his point of view. However, the group's voice was heard through Vámbéry, with a few articles hitting back at Budenz' articles,

¹² *Ibidem*, mss.4.

¹³ "Nagyobb baj ennél az, hogy három testrész- szóval nem tudok boldogulni."

¹⁴ County Department of the National Archives, branch of Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun family holdings, folder 675, mss.4. „az olyan egyezéseket, melyeket a hangtörvények nem igazolnak, nem veszem föl a szótárba, mert semmi ambícióm sincs a monstorumok teremtésében Budenzzel versenyezni."

¹⁵ Vásáry István, "Thúry József (1861–1906)", Halasi Téka, 6. Kiskunhalas 1987, pp. 11–20.

but when his replies became too passionate and he risks going in a direction that already exceeded the objectivity of the topic and the maturity of the response, Thúry intervenes with matching answers.

The refusal received from certain publishing bodies is beyond the scientific area and brought the count back in the game, who, through his permanent care and protection towards his protected Turkologists, made the refusals and delays of the editors turn into acceptances, and his publications become “top” articles for the first number that was about to be edited. Moreover, the count intervened in the awareness of the potential and future scientists’ group, interested in the subject, indicating them the author in due time; the title and the number of the sensational publication, thus making bringing this duel to the interest of the scientific and social opinion, and especially making Thúry’s articles followed and read. It is certainly important that Kuun, besides being informed about all the details during the writing process or suggested directions, ideas and sources, he received a manuscript form of the articles that would be edited.

The main argument of the duel among linguists can be concisely given through a single sentence, clearly shaped in this respect: “In my view, therefore, this is how the Mongolian vocabulary can be taken into account in a Hungarian-Turkish comparative dictionary. But since the supporters of the Finnish theory were already shocked when Vámbéry mentioned a few Mongolian words in the *Magyarok Eredete* (The Origin of the Hungarians), and so they do not know whether the Hungarian language has Turkish or Mongolian origins?, in the preface of the dictionary I should explain that the Hungarian language, within the Altaic region, *is primarily related to the Turkic languages*, and as Turkish and Mongolian have again common roots, Hungarian is then secondly related to the Mongolian language. The supporters of the Finnish theory should not believe that the words we cannot find a match for in the Turkish language are *eo ipso* Ugric; because those words are not Ugric, but rather Mongolian. And thus, the Mongolian examples that cannot be found in Turkic languages show the Mongolian-Turkish heritage of the language.”¹⁶

Although a holdings of correspondence materials between the two orientalist is not enough to succeed in entirely establishing all the aspects of the research life in the 20th century, we can however conclude that the methods of theme-based research took place in a different manner than nowadays. By collaboration in documenting activities, either oral or in the form of correspondence, they managed to get to sources that were not always in handy for a researcher. The pro and con opinions could be debated and theorized before publishing, thus offering the possibility of amending

¹⁶ County Department of the National Archives, branch of Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun Family holdings, folder 675, mss.4.

certain ideas before publishing. Starting from this idea, we can say that the Hungarian orientalist group on the whole has been united, thus they had considerable results in this field. Of course, there were small disagreements, but letters prove that they were not significant enough to lead to stagnation of work off-stage. It is important to emphasize the Turkologists' visions and options in terms of ideas, and what is very important, even if only fragmentarily, it shows us that the colleagues' points of view were analyzed, even if they were not entirely accepted. Thúry, a calculated scientist, did not share Vámbéry's ideas, an exceptional orientalist, who was fierce, warmed up and reacted accordingly. His passion brought him long-term dislike, as the one involving Count Gubernatis,¹⁷ but also, as Thury notes, an abstention regarding certain scientific arguments, motivated by the fact that he rushes to give answers.¹⁸

Due to this, Thúry did not share some of his ideas. "I cannot seem to be content with Vámbéry's explanation regarding the tátos, because, after all, the more complete form of the word is táltos (shaman), which cannot have been formed out of jaiči, or žaiši. There is, however in the sojong a tölgögyi „sorcerer” noun, which corresponds to the Chag. tölgüči, or kirgh. tölgüş forms, just like the sojong pälgägyi (priest) = bilgüči. – Thus, at first I analysed the words tölgögyi, resp. tölgüči in the following way: the gü nom. verb. képzö (töl-gü), the či (= gyi): nom. possessoris (töl – gü- či = sorcerer). However, the kojb.-kar. tölkälä – (zaubern. spähen, to conjure. to peek) contradicts this explanation, which seems to be la-le denominative verb with the la-le suffix.." ¹⁹

The holdings of materials will bring to the attention of the specialists disagreements existing among linguists, as scientists that eventually each supported his own point of view, based on a good argument of that time. Disagreements related to ideas are materialized in terms of publications and a long duel in the scientific media, whose protagonists were Vámbéry Ármin and Thúry József in Turkology, and Budenz from the Fino-Ugrics. I have much more to tell about the whims of the language, i.e. the examples contrary to general phonetic laws than I could express in writing; therefore, I wish to tackle this subject personally with Milord, – so far I only wish to express my opinion that at least half of Budenz' word-matches was created due to these whims contrary to general phonetic regulations.²⁰ Vámbéry was a grate passionate supporting the idea of Turkic origin, that he probably over zealously proved in his articles, and his professor, Thúry must reply to the most "fearful" defender of the

¹⁷ Margareta Aslan, "From the Correspondence between Géza Kuun and Ármin Vámbéry. Documents.", in *Studia et Documenta Turcologica*, no.1/2013, Cluj-Napoca, pp. 295–318.

¹⁸ County Department of the National Archives, branch of Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun family holdings, folder 675, mss.4.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ County Department of the National Archives, branch of Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun family holdings, folder.8.

Fino-Ugric origin, Budenz, by calculated, moderate studies, that would not create a new wave of “replies” from Budenz. Indeed, Thúry was Vámbéry’s professor and educator, but at the same time, he was his coordinator, his protector.

Unfortunately, disagreements do not end at paraphrasing and demonstrating the idea through the articles of that time, but they are brought in the academic world, which may seem, at a first glance, to affect the development of the Turkologic sciences, to a certain extent. The clear example is given by Thúry’s intention to publish the fruit of his work in the field of linguistics, which materialized in a dictionary. The study on which he worked 4 years, was began in the autumn of 1885 “Hungarian-Turkish Comparative Dictionary”.

This dictionary, as we see in the letter sent by Thúry to Kuun on 27.10.1889, was presented to Gyulai Pál but he refused to publish it all, half of it being published only after a year. The dictionary that was supposed to be analyzed in terms of quality by the Academy²¹ was denied by Budenz and Hunfalvy.

Thúry proved once more to be clever and realistic, as he knew at the delivery of the manuscript that it will be rejected. He suspected that the two supporters of the Finnish theory will be in the evaluation committee and thus he knew that his work will be rejected. In fact, after being evaluated by Vámbéry, the manuscript was handed over to the two linguists for evaluation. The “publishing” of this dictionary is very interesting, which in the end remained a manuscript. The work of Pataki Ferenc, *Elfelejtett magyar tudos* is quite suggestive. The author states that, through this dictionary Thúry actually started his youth-dream, and through this work he wished to eliminate Budenz’ scientific theory expressed in the Hungarian-Ugric Comparative Dictionary, a similarly large work. In 1891, at the November meeting of the Academy Budenz presented his motivation for rejecting the dictionary. The tactics of rejecting in an elevated, academic way remained unchanged until today, and are specific in other geographic regions as well. Both Budenz and Hunfalvy spoke honourably about Thúry’s scientific work, however, his work “aimed at convulsing all our lives and work, though it is written wonderfully”.²² Kuun offers him the necessary moral support during the analysis of the dictionary, encouraging him constantly: “I do not see the fate of the honourable Dictionary in shades as dark as the esteemed author does”²³. Thúry had turned to Ballagi to ask for support for his dictionary, but not only was he rejected, but he was also discouraged: “He, who, when I stepped up on the scientific stage hugged me with tears in his eyes, congratulated me and promised me heaven

²¹ County Department of National Archives, Branch Cluj-Napoca, Gyulai-Kuun Family Fund.

²² Pataki Ferenc, *Elfelejtett magyar tudos*, p. 12. pedig az egész életünk es mukodesunk eredményenek megdöntését celozza.

²³ M. Tud. Akad. Könyvtára, Szilády Hagyaték, Ms 4455/ 70, Nagybecsú szótárának sorsát nem látom oly sötét színekben, mint tisztelt szerzője.

and earth just to continue my research, now asked me: Do you and Vámbéry think that in the current times, when a strong clique reigns in the Academy, it would be possible to publish your dictionary? Because he does not think so. “For who shall support you? – he said – Count Kuun and Vámbéry are but two people, only two voters; as I know Szilády Áron and Szász Károly better and consider them smarter, as they won’t challenge those whom they also often need for such a cause.” In Vámbéry’s opinion, the dictionary would receive the Academy’s approval for publishing.²⁴

III. Late accomplishments

The correspondence helps us shape at least a sketchy image of the public and private life of the Turkologist Thúry. It is sad to see the tragic fate of the scholar, who, after a lifetime of seeking recognition, and fighting through the paths known to him to gain recognition, manages to receive it shortly before his death. Upon his countless requests, Count Kuun Géza intervenes informally and supports him, as shown in the above, whenever he was asked to do so: the publication of an article in a certain paper, in publications where his article would most likely have been postponed for a future issue, most likely due to the scientific duels they had in that time; *the entry of a certain study to be read in one of the meetings of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, when there were already too many papers submitted to present research findings and there were no places left; the fact that he was chosen to be a correspondent member of the Hungarian Academy on May 8th, 1903; him being proposed for a teaching position at the Budapest University, replacing Vámbéry, who did not wish to teach anymore. „In the first half of this month I announced the Secretary of the department that I intend to use, i.e. to present my work at the meeting of June 6th. Now I have received notice from Mr. Gyulai that there are already three papers announced for June 6th, and it will be decided on May 2nd, which paper will be read on June 6th and which will be postponed for later meetings.” Upon the intervention of the Count, Thúry’s study was chosen for the meeting of June 6th.²⁵

²⁴ County Department of National Archives, Branch Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun Family Fund, file no. 675, mss.16. ’O, a ki első irodalmi föllépésemkor könyezve borult nyakamba, összevissza ölelt, s eget –földet ígért, csak folytassam megkezdett művemet,–ő most így vigasztalt: hat hiszem-e en es hiszi-e Vámbéry, hogy a mostani viszonyok között, mikor az akadémiában egy erős klikk uralkodik, lehetséges volna elfogaltatni es kiadatni az en szótáramat?

O maga részéről nem hiszi. „Aztán kik lesznek a támogazatok? – folytatta – gr. Kuun es Vámbéry meg csak két ember, a szavazásnál csak két numerus; mert sokkal jobban ismerem es okosab embereknek tartom Szilády Áront es Szász Károlyt, hogy sem ezek ilyen úgy miatt ujjat húzzanak azokkal, a kikre magoknak is gyakran szükségünk van.”

²⁵ Gyulay-Kuun Family Fund, file no. 442, mss.2. “E hónap első felében bejelentettem az osztálytitkár úrnak, hogy e munkámat az I. osztály június 6-iki ülésen szándékozom felolvasni, illetőleg bemutatni. Most azt az értesítést kapom Gyulai úrtól, hogy a június 6-i ülésre már három tárgy van bejelentve

After the same thoughts repeatedly came up in his letters, Thúry was getting used to the idea that he will not get recognition, and he will have to renounce scientific work. However, giving up everything that was his dream, actually meant a vegetative existence, a life that he would have given up at any time, rather than give up scientific research: “I don’t want any money, or rank, just to be in such a place where I can work < research >. It only reassures me that the withdrawal of a man is not observable in our scientific world, in the place of one ten others appear and this is gratifying. It hurts, though, that I have to start another life, or rather I should give up life and lead a desert state of existence – but where is it written that I necessarily have to be a scholar? Many are those called, but few are the chosen ones!”²⁶

In his last years, as his reputation grew, despite his continuous feeling of disdain, his health has worsened. Even though he was sick he didn’t give up working. He was not afraid of travelling to the capital, although he knew he would get sick from the modest life lead during his studies. In the last months of his life he only consumed bread and water, not because he lead the life of a pauper, but because he was very weak from the disease.

He came to know the joy of accomplishment, when he was invited to teach at the Turkish-Persian Department of the University of Budapest, in the place of Vámbéry. He knew about the opening because Vámbéry notified him that he was planning to leave, so he could turn to the Count. He died on 22nd May 1906 in Kiskunhalas.

Due to his efforts, Turkology gained numerous valuable studies, such as:

1. *A kasztamuni török nyelvjárás*. Bpest, 1885. (Értekezések a nyelv- és széptud. kör. XII. 7.).
2. *A Zrinyász*. U. ott, 1894. (Kül. ny. az Irodalomtörténeti Közleményekből).
3. *A magyarok eredete, őshazája és vándorlása*. 1896. (Különny. a Századokból).
4. *A székelyek eredete*. Kolozsvár, 1898. (Kül. ny. az erdélyi Múzeumból).
5. *A “Behdset-ül-Lygat” cz. csagataj szótár*. Bpest, 1903. (Értek. a nyelv.- és széptudományok köréből XVIII. 4.).
6. *Török nyelvemlékek a XIV. század végéig*. 1904. (Székfoglaló. Értek. a nyelv.- és széptud. kör. XVIII. 7.).
7. *A közép-ázsiai török irodalom*. Bpest, 1904. (értek. a nyelv- és széptud. kör. XIX. 3.).

és így majd az osztályülés május 2-án fog arról határozni, hogy mik olvastassanak fel jún 6-án és mik maradjanak későbbre.”

²⁶ County Department of National Archives, Branch Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun Family Fund, file no. 674, mss.2, p. 3. Csak az nyugtat meg, hogy egy embernek visszavonulása észre sem vehető a mi irodalmunkban; egy helyett elő áll tiz s ez még örvedetesebb. Fáj ugyan, hogy más életet kell kezdenem, vagy inkább az életből át kell lépnem a pusztá létezés állapotába,–de hát hol van az megírva, hogy nekem okvetetlenül tudósnak kell lennem? Sokan vannak a hivatottak, de kevesen a választottak!

8. A közép-ázsiai török nyelv ismertetése. 1906. (Előadások Kőrösi Csoma Sándor emlékezetére III.).
9. *A magyar vonatkozású török történetírók munkái.* 1893. 1896. Two volumes. (Török történetírók I. II.). etc.

Instead of a conclusion, I will underline two main ideas still true in our days: the first one is that of the true scholars fighting the windmills and often being lost on the way to affirmation and the second one is the lack of scientific collaboration between field specialists, due to personal egos and the rush for recognition, due to which the cultural heritage is not being enriched, not even with papers at the level of those at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, despite the fact that the access to resources wasn't as vast then as it is in our days. Regarding the relationship between the romantic Orientalists, especially those investigated, it was a real relationship, with significant results in the linguistic and historical heritage of Hungarian Orientalistics. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, supported scientific research widely to the extent of its possibilities at the time. Thus, the provincial teacher, moreover, a genuine Orientalist, could live his dream and do his research in the capital during the summer holidays, without having to definitively give up the world of sciences. To the classifications of first-hand and second-hand Orientalists, a "classification" that Thúry outlined in his correspondences, contributed undoubtedly and the long line of editorial duels lead, sustained and perpetuated by the members of the two ideational currents of the linguistics history of the time, the Finno-Ugrics and the Turkologists.

REGEST:

1. József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun, written in Ercsi, 9th August 1878.
He does not have some bibliographical sources that he wished to send to the Count. The letter contains the comparative analysis of some Hungarian and Turkish words. The problem he faces is that he cannot explain the situation of three Hungarian words naming body parts.
2. József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun, written in Budapest, 21st October 1885.
He thanks the Count for his kindness shown towards him, his attention towards his work and the spiritual support he offered, which gives him courage and strength to continue his research. He briefly describes his plan to draw up a Hungarian-Turkish Comparative Dictionary, to which he plans to dedicate the next years of his life. He presents a comparative analysis on Hungarian and Turkish verb stems, also using Mongolian for showing similarities. He believes that the examples of Hungarian words that cannot be proven to have a Turkish origin are not necessarily Ugric, to the delight of the Finnish theory supporters, but rather Mongolian, which would place the Hungarian language into the Mongolian Turkic language group.

3. Count Géza Kuun to József Thúry, written in Maros. Némethi. 14th October 1885.²⁷
Count Kuun also replies with the comparative analysis of some words in the Hungarian, Mongolian and Turkish languages, evidence of the ongoing collaboration within the group of Orientalists made up of Kuun Géza, Thúry József and Vámbéry Ármin.
4. József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun, written in Budapest, 17th November 1885.
He is happy about the next personal meeting with the Count. Excitedly he wishes to gather as much material from the Hungarian language thesaurus as possible to show it to the Count. He only wishes to tell the Count so far that at least half of Budenz' word-matches was created due to language whims contrary to general phonetic regulations.

Documents:

1.

József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun

Ercsi, 9th August 1878.²⁸

Milord!

I am very sorry not to be able to send you the detailed list of the pair-forms like odusta and adta, the reason for which is that I do not possess the resources mentioned. I am well aware of the fact that both from the old as well as the modern language many examples can be taken; but now I must confine myself to those few examples of which I am currently aware of. Such examples are: hívott and hitt (Csepel Sz., Kunság); ütötte and ütte, kötötte and kötte, sütöttem and süttem, akasztottam and akasztam, terítettük and terittük, láttam and látottam (Nyelvőr II: 175; III: 2, 51, 53; IV: 471).

We could consider the following examples as well: ettem, ettél, – but in the 3rd person evett; ittam, ittál, in the 3rd person ivott stb. I consider these factors absolutely necessary for the pronunciation; for why do Hungarians pronounce gereblye or dorong, if the words are actually grablje and drang? The fact that today we can pronounce: halált, aszt etc., does not mean that the Hungarians in the time of Árpád could also pronounce it, – after all, today we pronounce it like this as well, krajczár, drót, not only: karaiczár, dorót. We did atone for the pronunciation of “aszt” and “eszt” because we pronounce them: aszt and eszt!

As for the words ár, árad, I fathomed the mystery. The ér is namely = Yak. iärä (kleines Bachelchen, small stream) and Chag. eren (the Yak. iä diphthongue, ac-

²⁷ M. Tud. Akad. Könyvtára, Szilády Hagyaték, Ms 4455/57.

²⁸ County Department of the National Archives, branch of Cluj-Napoca, Gyulay-Kuun family holdings, folder 675, mss.1.

cording to several examples = Chag. e; cf. bér = Yak. biāri). As this verb er, which is contained in the word eren has a pair in the verb ir, which stems from the word irmak (river), the ár is also a pair of ér in the same way.

I cannot figure out the situation of the words alku etc. Chag. Algin. According to sheikh Suleiman: “assembly, society; collected; many, plentiful, rich”; – alut: “the foodstuff and money gathered from the people by the authorities = tax”. In the Hungarian language its basis is the verb alk!

The barrier of the accordance between the Hung. döl-ni and the Turk. töš-, tüş-, tüş- is not the difference between the sounds š : l (because cf. kömüş – Chuv. kümüš | altmüš – Chuv. otmüš | jetmüš – Chuv. sitmüš | tüş – Chuv. tüšük, Yak. tül = dream | beš – Chuv. pilik | kiš – Chuv. yl, etc.), but that the Hung. stem döj-, from which we get döjt and döl, as nyujt and nyúl-, gyujt and gyúl-, fojt and fúl-, fojl-, gyújt and gyül-, gyüvel – etc. the accordance would only hold in that töš-, tüş-, was originally tüt-, from which on the one hand tüş-, on the other hand tül were formed (as in the above examples) and from this the Hung. döj. I am not very certain about this.

It is a bigger problem, however, that I can't seem to figure out the situation of three words denoting body parts.

One is homlok (forehead), the fault of which is not only that it contains an l, but also that the real meaning of the Turk. kamak, kabak is “cover, lid” (cf. kapa-verb!) and originally only köz kabagi meant “szempilla” (eyelash) and “szemöldök” (eyebrow) (both are protecting the eyes), as in the Ott., Kaz. and Chuv. languages the word kabak standing alone does not mean that. Later on, the word kabak denoted the “area of the eyebrows, i.e. the forehead as well. The real Turkish word for the forehead is alin.

I am convinced that the könyök (elbow) is none other than the arm táhānāk, kojb. tiganak, szoj. tenāk, alt. čaganak, Chag. čignak and Yak. toĥonoχ. I don't know, however, which the relation between the Hung. k and the t', t, č at the beginning of the words is. Which could have been the original starting sound of these Turkish words? The kojb-kar. and szoj. t' beginning matches the köz Turk. j, but here it corresponds to the Chag., Alt. č.. Concerning the Yakut form I don't know for sure if it is toĥonoχ or soĥonoχ?

The third ambiguous word is has (abdomen), which I cannot associate with any Turk. words. Could it be: kaš (front part)? Or perhaps kojb. kas (Hügel. Berg), alt. kažat, kara-kirg. kašat (mount, hill, climb)?

Sending Milord my kindest regards and kissing the hand of the Countess,

Milord's humble servant
József Thúry

<Transliteration>

Méltóságos Uram!

Nagyon sajnálom, hogy az odusta és adta-féle páros alakoknak részletes lajstromát nem küldhetem meg, a minek oka az, hogy az illető források nincsenek kezemenél. Jól tudom ugyan, hogy mind a régi, mind a mai nyelvből szép számú példákat lehet összeállítani; de jelenleg kénytelen vagyok arra a néhány példára szorítkozni, melyekről hamarjában pozitív tudomásom van. Ilyenek: hívott és hitt (Csepel Sz., Kunság); ütötte és ütte, kötötte és kötte, sütöttem és süttem, akasztottam és akasztam, terítettük és terítettük, láltam és látottam (Nyelvőr II: 175; III: 2, 51, 53; IV: 471).

Bátran számba jöhetnek az ilyenek is: ettem, ettél, – de 3. sz. evett; ittam, ittál, 3. szm. ivott stb. Az ilyen hangot én a kiejtéshez okvetlenül szükséges tényezőnek fogom fel; mert hát miért ejt a magyar ember gereblyé-t vagy dorong-ot, mikor a szó voltaképen grablje és drang? Abból, hogy ma már ki tudjuk mondani: halált, azt stb., még nem következik, hogy az Árpád korabeli magyar is ki tudta ejteni, – hiszen ma már így is ejtjük krajczár, drót, nem csak: karajczár, dorót. Az „azt” kiejtésével meg is lakoltunk, mert ezt ejtjük helyette: aszt és eszt!

A mi az ár, árad-ot illeti, nyomára jöttem a rejtélynek. Az ér ugyanis = jak. iārā (kleines Bachelchen) és csag. eren (a jak. iā diphtongus, több példák szerint = csag. e; v.ö. bér = jak. biāri). A milyen párja ezen eren – beli er – igének az irmak (folyam) szóbeli ir – ige, olyan alhangú párja az ér-nek az ár is.

Az alku stb.-vel nem tudok tisztába jönni. Csag. algin, seikh Szulejmán szerint: „gyülekezet, társaság; összegyűjtött; számos, bőséges, gazdag”; – algut: „a hatóság részéről a néptől összegyűjtött élelmiszer és költség = adó”. Magyarban egy alk–ige az alap!

A magy. döl-ni és tör. töš-, tüš- tüš- egyezésének nem az š : l hang-beli eltérés az akadály (mert hiszen v.ö. köümüš – csuv. kümüš | altmiš – csuv. otmiš | jetmiš – csuv. sitmiš | tüš – csuv. tülük, jak. tül = álom | beš – csuv. pilik | kiš – csuv. γil stb), hanem az, hogy a magy. tö döj-, melyből döjt és döl, úgy mint nyujt és nyúl-, gyujt és gyúl, fojt és fül, fojl, gyújt és gyúl, gyüvel – stb. Az egyezés csak úgy állhatna meg, hogy a töš-, tüš-, eredetileg tüt- volt, melyből egyrészt tüš-, másrészt tül- fejlődött (mint a fentebbi példákban) s ebből magy. döj-. Ezért nem merném a kezemet tűzbe tenni.

Nagyobb baj ennél az, hogy három testrészt- szóval nem tudok boldogulni.

Egyik a homlok, melynek nemcsak az a bűne, hogy l van benne, hanem az is, hogy a tör. kamak, kabak igazi jelentése „boríték, fedő” (v.ö. kapa- ige!) s eredetileg csak köz kabagi jelentett „szempillát” és „szemöldököt” (mindkettő szem-védő levén), mint a hogy az oszm., kaz., és csuv.-ban ma sem jelenti azt az egyedül álló kabak. Később aztán jelölta a kabak szó a „szemöldök táját, v. a homlokot is. A homloknak igazi tör.szava alin.

Meg vagyok róla győződve, hogy a könyök nem más, mint a kar. tāhānak, kojib. tiganak, szoj. tenāk, alt. čaganak, csag. čignak és jak. toḥonoχ. De azt nem tudom, hogy milyen viszonyban áll e t', t, č, szókezdettel a magy. k? Mi lehetett e török szókból az eredeti kezdő hang? A kojib-kar. és szoj. t' kezdet köz. tör. j-nek mása, itt pedig csag., alt. č – nek felel meg. A jakut alakról nem tudom biztosan, hogy toḥonoχ -e, vagy soḥonoχ?

Harmadik kétes szó a has, melyet semmi tör. szóval nem tudok egyeztetni. Vajjon: kaš (előrészt)? Vagy kojib. kas (Hügel. Berg), alt. kažat, kara-kirg. kašat (halom, domb, emelkedés)?

Üdvözlémet küldve s a grófnő kezeit csókolva, maradok.

méltóságodnak kész szolgája
Thúry József

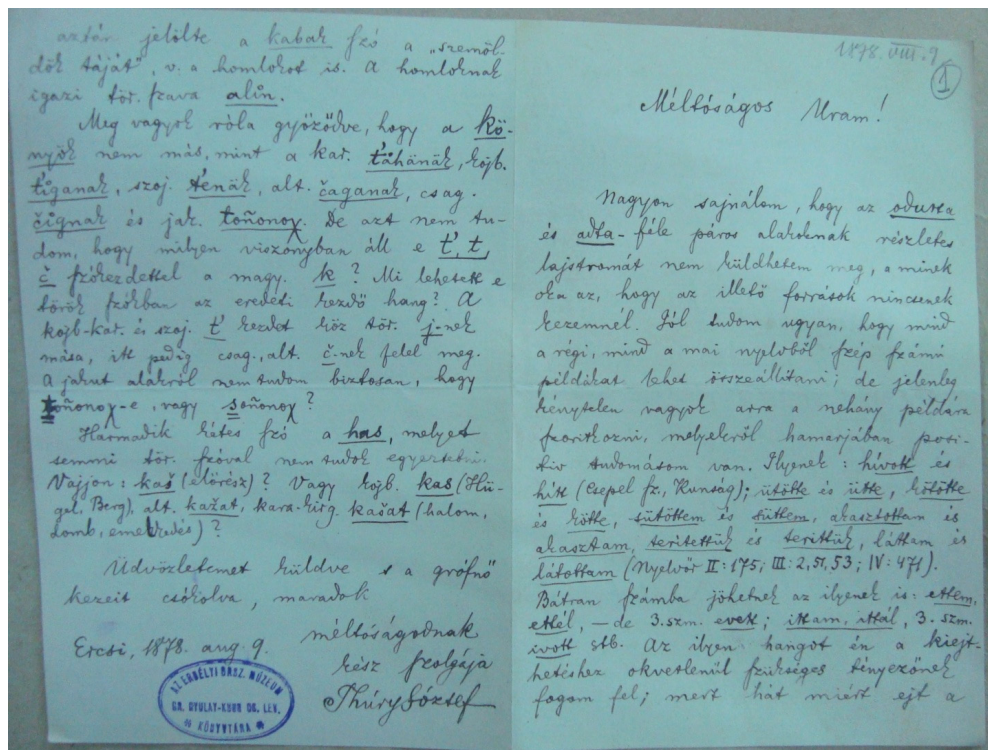


Photo no. 2.1. József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun, written in Ercsi, 9th August 1878
(Document no. 1)

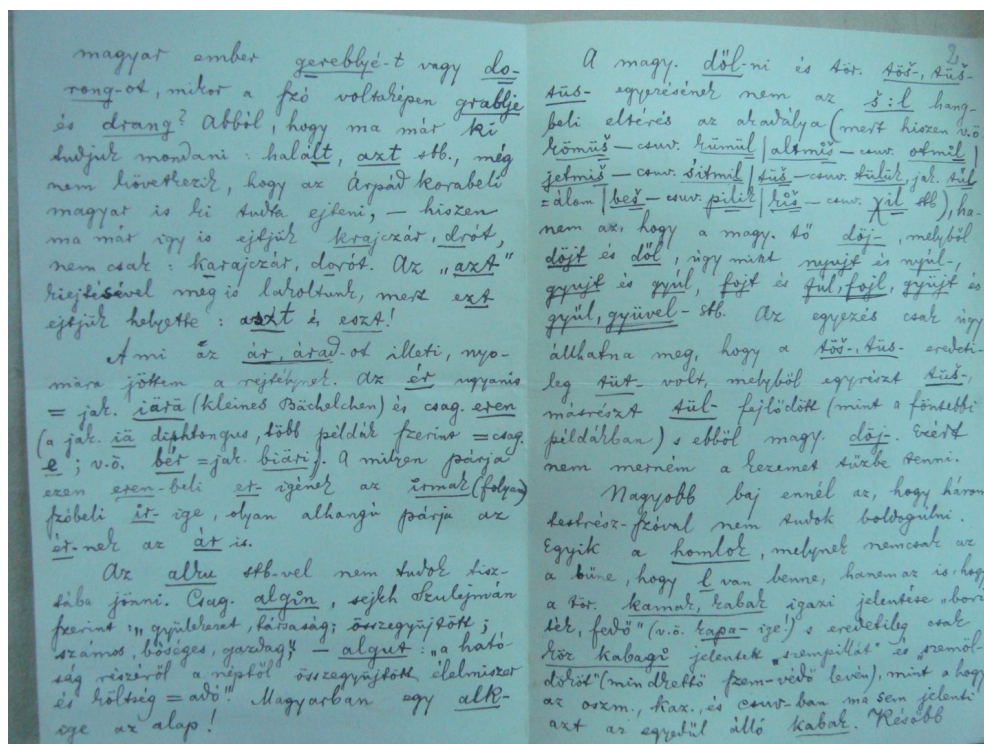


Photo no. 2.2. József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun, written in Ercsi, 9th August 1878
(Document no. 1)

2.

József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun

Budapest, 21st October 1885.²⁹

Milord!

I feel very indebted, having read your precious letter, which convinced me about Milord's benevolence concerning myself, and that Milord considers my work noteworthy. For this reason, I will dare to exploit the spiritual support received from Milord as much as possible.

First of all, I shall name the foundation upon which I will build my comparative dictionary. I have already laid this foundation as I gathered the phonetic laws of 1) the Hungarian language dialects, 2) all Turkish languages and 3) the undoubted Turkish-Hungarian word-matches acknowledged by the supporters of the Finnish

²⁹ D.J.A.N. filial Cluj-Napoca, Fond Familial Gyulay-Kuun, dosar 675, mss.4.

theory as well. I therefore consider only those matches correct, which must be considered correct according to this threefold Criteria. These phonetic laws will make up the introductory part of the dictionary. Frankly, I would like to have as many Turkish-Hungarian word-matches as possible, but I will not include in the dictionary those matches that are not confirmed by the aforementioned laws, as I have no ambition to compete with Budenz in creating monsters.

To Milord's suggestion that it would be effective to include the Mongolian language as well in my work, I can only reply that I also intended to do so.

However, as I do not wish to create a Hungarian-Turkish-Mongolian comparative dictionary, I consider it unnecessary to include the Mongolian words corresponding to the Turkish words in case of each dictionary article because this does not prove the correspondence between the Turkish and Hungarian words better. For example, in the case of the words ál, álság, áltat I will not write next to the Turkish al, alda-, aldat, etc. the Mongolian alda- verb, nor will I include next to erö and the Turkish erik, erüv etc. the Mongolian erxe. – May thus I, myself set the boundaries to the use of the Mongolian language.

I shall take the Mongolian vocabulary into account: 1) if it serves as a tool to the correct unriddling and analysis of the respective Turkish words, as can be expected from it, as it is a sister-language that preserved its originality better. I shall tell you an example in which I was guided by the Mongolian language. I cannot seem to be content with Vámbéry's explanation regarding the tátos, because, after all, the more complete form of the word is táltos (shaman), which cannot have been formed out of jajči, or žajši. There is, however in the sojong a tölgögyi „sorcerer” noun, which corresponds to the Chag. tölgüči, or kirgh. tölgüş forms, just like the sojong pälgägyi (priest) = bilgüči. – Thus, at first I analysed the words tölgögyi, resp. tölgüči in the following way: the gü nom. verb. képző (töl-gü), the či (= gyi): nom. possessoris (töl – gü- či = sorcerer). However, the kojb.-kar. tölkälä – (zaubern. spähen, to conjure. to peek) contradicts this explanation, which seems to be la-le denominative verb with the la-le suffix. And it is indeed so, as the Mongolian vocabulary solves the whole mystery. As tölge = ein. Wahrsagungszeichen, a prediction sign (Schmidt dict.), tölgeči = Wahrsager. Zenchendeuter (fortune teller, diviner), and the latter = soj. tölgögyi. In my view, the Hungarian táltos is none other than the pair of this tölgeči, tölgögyi, respectively the Kirghiz tölgüş (cf. leg – let superl., ismég – ismét, pedig – pegyit etc.)

2) In a case when the Mongolian word supports the matching of the Hungarian and Turkish words, e.g. it proves that the respective Turkish word is indeed of Mongolian-Turkish origin, other times it restores the form- or meaning-related difference between the Hungarian and the Turkish words. Thus, e.g. next to the Hungarian begy, bögy, apart from the Chag. bötege (Lug. Č.), or pötege (Vámb. Stud.) I mention the Mong. word betege (Kropf der Vögel, craw of birds) as well. Next to the Hungarian ige, igérni I mention the Uygh. üge- (redden, to speak) and

the Mong. üge, ögöle-, respectively, next to the Hung. telek I mention not only the Chag. telek (zaḡire gömežek mahal, ora, anbar zemini), but also the Mong. delekei (Erde, Erdoberfläche: Jussboden, earth, earth-surface: floor), Bury. delyei. In addition next to törül, törtöl, dörzsöl, dörgöl I can mention the Mong. türki, Bury. türxe- and not only Chag. dörsül-, resp. the Mong. ünié, ünije is closer to the Hung. ünő, than the Turk. inek.

3) In a case when there is no Turkish word to match the Hungarian one; I mention those Mongolian words, which are undeniably similar to the Hungarian words. E.g. the word kölcsön (loan) does not have a Turkish correspondent, to my knowledge. However, I can mention the Mongolian felhozom kölösön, Bury. γölhön words. For the Hungarian words üldeni, üldözni (to chase) I can – again – only find a Mongolian corresponding word: the verb ürde; in addition, I believe that the Hungarian andalog, andalit (dawdle) also match with the Mong. anda – andal.

In my view, therefore, this is how the Mongolian vocabulary can be taken into account in a Hungarian-Turkish comparative dictionary. But since the supporters of the Finnish theory were already shocked when Vámbéry mentioned a few Mongolian words in the *Magyarok Eredete* (The Origin of the Hungarians), and so they do not know whether the Hungarian language has Turkish or Mongolian origins?, in the preface of the dictionary I should explain that the Hungarian language, within the Altaic region, is primarily related to the Turkic languages, and as Turkish and Mongolian have again common roots, Hungarian is then secondly related to the Mongolian language. The supporters of the Finnish theory should not believe that the words we cannot find a match for in the Turkish language are *eo ipso* Ugric; because those words are not Ugric, but rather Mongolian. And thus, the Mongolian examples that cannot be found in Turkic languages show the Mongolian-Turkish heritage of the language.

You have asked if the word-stem jal exists with the meaning “fire”? Jal alone exists in the Chag., its meaning being not “fire”, but “shiny, bright” (Lug. Č. „parlak”) and “flame” (Leh.O. „zebane-i-ateš”).

Finally, I need to express my regret over not being able to pay my respects to Milord in the past summer, due to my current circumstances. In the Christmas holiday period, however, if Milord be at home, I hope to be able to pay Milord a visit.

In this letter I have barely written about the details (perception of some Turkish and Hungarian suffixes, formation of word-families etc.), for at first I wanted to show my position. I am therefore asking for Milord’s opinion on the views expressed here. Respectfully,

Milord’s humble servant
Thúry József

<Transliteration>

Méltóságos Uram!

Nagyon lekötve érzem magamat becses sorai következtében, melyek meggyőztek arról, hogy Gróf úr irányomban jó indulattal viseltetik és működésemet figyelemre méltatja. E meggyőződésem értelmében tehát bátorkodom azon szellemi támogatást, melylyel megajándékozni méltóztatott, minél inkább kizsákmányolni.

Mindenekelőtt kijelölöm azon alapot, melyre összehatolító szótáromat fogom építeni. Ezen alapon már leraktam, a mennyiben összegyűjtöttem 1) a magyar nyelv dialectusainak, 2) az összes törökségnek s 3) a finnstad által is elismert, kétségtelen török-magy. szóegyezéseknek hangtani törvényeit. Én tehát csak az olyan egyezést tekintem helyetnek, a minőt e hármasság Kriterion alapján okvetlenül helyesnek kell tartani. Ezer hangtörvények fogják képezni a szótár bevezető részét. Őszintén megvallva, szeretném, ha minél többre rúgna a török-magy. szóegyezések száma; de az olyan egyezéseket, melyeket a hangtörvények nem igazolnak, nem veszem föl a szótárba, mert semmi ambícióm nincs a monstrumok teremtésében Budenzzel versenyezni.

Gróf úrnak azon fölszólítására, hogy célravezető volna a mongolt is figyelembe venni, azt válaszolhatom, hogy ezt is bele szándékoztam vonni működésem körébe.

Azonban, mivel nem magyar – török – mongol összehasonlító szótárt akarok kidolgozni, fölszólításra volna minden egyezési cikknél a töröknek megfelelő mongol szót, is fölemlíteni, mert ez nem állapítja meg jobban az illető tör. és magy. szók egyezését. Pl. az ál, álság, áltat – szóknál a tör. al, alda-, aldat- stb. mellé nem hozom fel a mong. alda-a- igét, sem pedig az erü – vel szembe állított tör. erik, erüv stb. mellé a mong. erye – t. – Szabad legyen tehát kijelölnöm a mong. nyelvkincs felhasználásának határait.

Szándékom figyelembe venni a mongol szókinccset: 1) ha ez eszközül szolgálhat az illető török szók helyes megfejtéséhez, elemzéséhez, a mint ezt tőle, mint eredetiségét jobban megőrizett testvérvelvtől el lehet várni. Fölemlítek egy példát, melyben a mongol ny. volt útmutatóm. Vámbérynek a tátos – ról adott magyarázata engem sehogysem tud kielégíteni, mert végre is a teljesebb alak csak táltos, mely a jaiči, vagy žaiši-ből nem keletkezhetett. Van azonban a sojongban egy tölgyögi „varázsló” névszó, mely megfelel egy čag. tölgüči, vagy kirk. tölgüş alaknak, épen úgy mint az ugyancsak sojong pälgägyi (pap) = bilgüči. – A tölgögyi, ill. tölgüči szót tehát előbb így elemeztem: a gü nom. verb. képző (töl-gü), a či (= gyi): nom. possessoris (töl – gü- či = varázsoló). De a kojib.-kar. tölkälä – (zaubern. spähen) e magyarázatot megczásolja, mely la-le képzős denomin. igének látszik. S valóban az, a mint a mongol szókinccs megoldja az egész rejtélyt. Ugyanis tölge = ein. Wahrsagungszeichen (Schmidt szót.), tölgeči = Wahrsager. Zenchendeuter, s ez utóbbi = soj. tölgögyi. Nézetem szerint a magy. táltos nem más, mint e tölgeči,

tölgögyi, ill. kirgizes tölgüş alhangú párja (v.ö. leg – let superl., ismét g – ismét t, pedig – pegyit stb.)

2) olyan esetben, mikor a mong. szó a tör. magy. egyezésnek támogatására szolgálhat, pl. bizonyítja, hogy az illető tör. szó csakugyan mongol- török eredetű, máskor pedig a magy. és tör. szok közt az alaki, vagy jelentésbeli eltérést helyre állítja. Így pl. a begy, bögy, melle a čag. bötege (Lug. Č.), vagy pötege (Vámb. Stud.) szón kívül felhozom a mong. betege (Kropf der Vögel) szót is. A m. ige, igérni mellett az ujb. üge- (reden) en kívül helyet talál a mong. üge, ögöle-; valamint a telek mellett nemcsak a čag. telek (zaḡire gömežek mahal, ora, anbar zemini), hanem a mong. delekej (Erde, Erdoberfläche: Jussboden), burj. delyei is. Továbbá a törül, törztöl, dörzsöl, dörgöl mellé való a mong. türki-, burj. türye- s nem csupán čag. dörsül-; az ünö-hez pedig közelebb áll a mong. ünié, ünije, mint a tör. inek.

3) olyan esetben, mikor a magy. szók mellé nem állítható török szó; ekkor ugyanis felhozom az olyan mongol szókat, melynek a magyarral való azonosságát nem lehet elvitatni. Pl. a kölcsön- nek a törökségben – tudtommal – nincsen testvére, felhozom tehát a mong. kölösön, burj. χölhön szokat. Az üldeni, üldözni-nek szintén csak a mong. ürde – igében lelem párját; s az andalog, andalit – ról is azt hiszem, hogy a mong. anda – és andal szókkal egyezik.

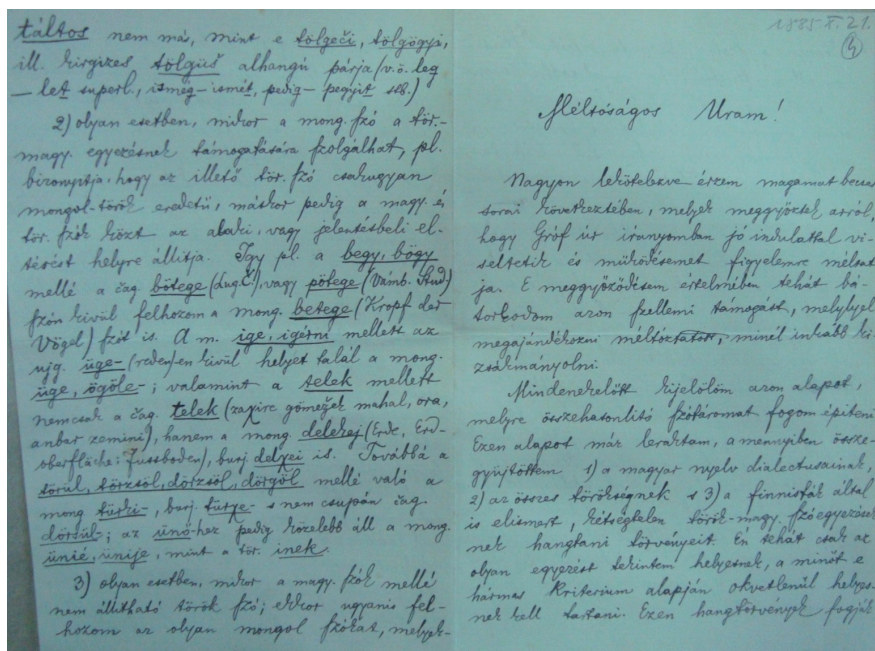
Nézetem szerint tehát ilyen szempontból vehető figyelembe a mongol szókincs egy magyar – török összehasonlító szótárban. De mivel a finnisták már azon is megütköztek, hogy Vámbéry néhány mongol szót említett föl a Magyarok Eredetében, s így nem tudják, hogy török, vagy mongol – e a magyar nyelv? a szótár előszavában ki kell fejtenem, hogy a magy. nyelv, az altaiség körén belül, első sorban a török nyelvekkel rokon s mivel a török és mongol ismét egy közös alaptól indultak ki, a másod rangi rokonság a mongolt illeti meg. Ne gondolják a finnis, hogy a mit a törökségből nem tudunk felmutatni, az már eo ipso ugor; mert mindamellett nem ugor, hanem inkább mongol. S így a törökségben föl nem mutatható mongol példák a magyar nyelvet a mongol-törökséghez vonják.

Méltóztatott kérdezni, hogy a jal szótó előfordul elő „tűz” jelentésben? A pusztá jal meg van a čag.-ban, nem ugyan „tűz”, hanem „ragyógó, fényes” (Lug. Č. „parlak”) és „láng” (Leh.O. „zebane-i-ateš”) jelentésben.

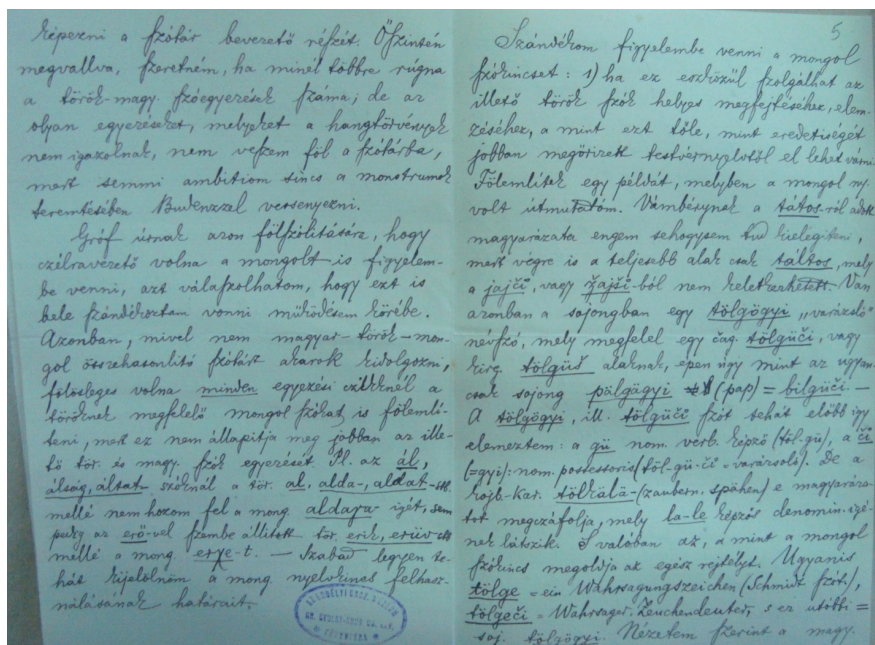
Végül a fölötti sajnálatomat kell kifejeznem, hogy az elmúlt nyáron körülményeim nem engedték tiszteletemet tehetni Gróf úrnál. A Karácsonyi szünidőben azonban, ha Gróf úr otthon fog lenni, remélem, hogy lesz szerencsém látogatást tenni.

E levelemben még alig érintettem a részleteket (bizonyos török és magy. képzők felfogása, szócsaládosítás stb.), mert előbb álláspontomat akartam jellemezni; de az itt kifejtett nézetekről is méltóságodnak nagybecsű véleményét kérve, maradok kiváló tisztelettel

méltóságodnak alázatos szolgája
Thúry József



**Photo no. 3.1. József Thüry to Count Géza Kuun,
written in Budapest, 21st October 1885 (Document no. 2).**



**Photo no. 3.2. József Thüry to Count Géza Kuun,
written in Budapest, 21st October 1885 (Document no. 2)**

nek a magyarral való axonosságát nem lehet elvitatni. Pl. a lődön-nek a tö-rősejében -tutómmal- minden testvére, fel-hozom tehát a mong lődön, buji. gölhön fő-lát. Az üldeni, üldöeni-nek minden csal a mong. üldé-jében lelem párját, s az anda-log, andalis ról is azt hiszem, hogy a mong. anda- is andal felelhal egyetük.

Nézetem szerint tehát ilyen szempontból
nehelys figyelembe a mongol feladás egy
magyar török összehasonlító próbatétel. De
mivel a finnistát már akon is megkülönböztet
hogy Vambéry néhány mongol törzsemleket
fő a Magyarok Országában, s így nem tudját,
hogy török, vagy mongol-e a magyar nyelv?
a próbatétel előzetében ki kell fejeznem, hogy
a magyar nyelv, az altaicug körön belül, első
törökben a török nyelvellel rokon s mivel a
török és mongol ismét egy török alaptól
indultak ki, a másod rangi rokonaság a mon-
gols illeti meg. Ne gondolját a finnistát, he-
gy a mit a törökösekből nem tudunk fel-
mutatni, az már az igazság, mert

Photo no. 3.3.

*József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun,
written in Budapest, 21st October 1885
(Document no. 2)*

mindamellett nem ugot, hanem inkább mon-
gol. Így a törökökhez fel nem mutatás
mongol példét a magyar nyelvű a mongol-
törökökhez vonja.

~~felvetődött~~ kérdés, hogy a jal "fő" előfordul-e "tűz" jelentésben? A puxta jal meg van a cág-ban, nem ugyan "tűz", hanem "ragyogó, fényes" (Láng. "parlók") és "láng" (Láng.). "cebane-i aké"-n) jelentésben.

Végül a felőti társulatokat kell meg-
nézni, hogy az elmaradt nyáron körülbelül
nem engedték ki a kistesteket szabadon.
A karakonyi felmérésben azonban, ha Gf. ut-
óbban fog lenni, nemcsak, hogy lesz fennem-
lategyár, hanem.

É levelemben még alig érintettem a rész-
leteket (bizonyos körök és nagy körök fel-
használhatósága stb.), most elbőg állapodtam a
társam jellemzésén; és az itt kifejtett nekem-
ről is méltóságodra! magyaráz: véleményem
ketve, maradjon kívül a képeken

Будapest, 1885. окт. 21.

méltóságokra
alacsony fozgaja
Thury öze.

Photo no. 3.4.

*József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun,
written in Budapest, 21st October 1885
(Document no. 2)*

3.

Count Géza Kuun to József Thúry

Maros. Némethi. 14th October 1885.³⁰

Honorable Professor,

I rejoiced upon reading your letter of 11th Oct. You are quite right with regard to the matters written in the introduction of your letter. We should have arisen earlier under the leadership of Vámbéry, however, it is not too late yet. I cannot doubt what I believe it's correct. What is true shall be sooner or later recognised as such. It was to my great pleasure and comfort to understand from your letter that you intend to draw up a systematic Hungarian-Turkish comparative dictionary. This is undoubtedly the kind of work that requires a lot of effort and time, nevertheless its rewards are plenty, and it is the kind of work that can hardly be put off any longer without the violation of the sensitive interests of our linguistics. I'm sorry I could not enjoy your visit during the summer; I was hoping that you can pay me a brief visit. It would have been a good opportunity to discuss a number of linguistic issues of interest to both of us. I kindly ask you to mail me your questions and I will be happy to write you my humble and in no way authoritative observations. Would it not be effective to also take the Mongolian vocabulary into account in developing this dictionary? The Eastern-Turkish <....> does not only mean flame, but also occurs within the meaning of fire, the stem is jal and <....> corresponds to this in the Mongolian language. I do not know whether there is such a Turkish dialect in which the bare stem occurs with the meaning of fire. The Mongolian galagu (gal-a-gu) "young" relates to ... as does our word dalia (hero) to the same jalau, jalas. The attribute of the "nyalka legény", good-looking young man somewhat reminds me of the Mongol galagu. The Turkish tili, deli means mad, however it originally meant fiery. Likewise, the Mongolian galcagu, which means mad, originally meant fiery (Mong. gal means fire). The flame is said to be the tongue of the fire (in Arabic <....>), perhaps because until it goes out, it devours any object that falls a victim to it in such a way that none of it remains intact. The tongue as well licks what is eatable, passing through the object in the area it occupied, digesting it. The Mongolian word gal is probably related to kel-en "tongue", the corresponding Turkish forms being tel, til, dil. The Turkish counterpart of gal. in my view the initial meaning of this stem is "licker" (ö. k. v. Lat. lambere, Gr<....>), which in the Mongolian language meant fire as gal and tongue as kel-en. In Turkish, as jalas it meant flame, as tel, tongue, but it could have meant fire as well, because the words teli, tili, deli

³⁰M. Tud. Akad. Könyvtára, Szilády Hagyaték, Ms 4455/57.

suggest this. In the Hungarian words nyalni, nyalka, nyalánk, nyelni, nyelv the ny corresponds to the Turkish j.

The family of the original stem kal, tal is perhaps the following:

<u>Kal : tal</u>		
Mongolian:	Turkish:	Hungarian:
<u>gal</u> “fire”, <u>kelen</u> “tongue”, <u>jalas</u> “fire”, <u>tel,(til)</u> “tongue”,		nyal, nyelv, <u>nyalka</u> ,
<u>galagu</u> “young”, <u>jalang</u> “good-looking”,		<u>dalia</u> , <u>deli</u>
<u>galcagu</u> “mad”	<u>teli</u> “mad”	

The Hungarian word dalia does not come from the Turkish teli, but can be traced back to a the form dal, tal, than most probably means fire, which means that also in Hungarian the word tűz (fire) is part of this word-family.- I believe the Mongol vocabulary could often be useful when comparing the Hungarian and Turkish languages. Perhaps in the Finnish language (and other related languages) tuli “fire” and niele “tongue” are also related.

I will now end my letter that turned out so long due to my village-solitude.

Kind regards.
Count Kuun Géza

<Transliteration>

Maros. Némethi, 1885, oct. 14.dikén.³¹

Tisztelt tanár Úr!

Oct. 11-dikéről kelt soraival igen megörvendeztetett. Teljesen igaza van azokban, a melyeket levelének bevezetéseül irt. Vámbéry vezérlete alatt elébb kellett volna ébrednünk, de azért most sem késő. Annak sorsa felett, a mit igaznak tartok, kételkedni nem tudok. Az igaz – előbb utóbb- annak, a mi valósággal, elismertetik. Nagy örömemre és vigasztalásomra van hozzám intézett becses soraiból megérteni azon elhatározott szándékát egy rendszeres magyar- török összehasonlító szótárt kidolgozni. Kétségkívül sok fáradságot és időt igénylő munka ez, de bőven jutalmazó s olyan munka, a melyet nyelvészetünk érdekének érzékeny megsértése nélkül tovább halogatni alig lehet. Sajnálom, hogy a nyár folytán látogatásával nem örvendeztetett meg, reméltem, hogy bár rövid időre, látogatásomra jöhet s ez jó alkalom lett volna számos mindkettőnket érdeklő nyelvészeti kérdés megvitatására. Kérem levélben feltenni kérdéseit s én igen szívesen fogom reájok megtenni egyáltalában nem mérték adó, szerény észrevételeimet. Nem volna e célravezető a

³¹ M. Tud. Akad. Könyvtára, Szilády Hagyaték, Ms 4455/57.

szótárban a mongol nyelvkincre is tekintettel lenni? A kel. Török <.....> nemcsak láng, hanem tűz értelmében is előfordul, a szótó jal s ennek a mongolban <...> felel meg. Nem tudom, van e oly török nyelvjárás melyben a pusztá szótó jal tűz értelmében előfordulna? A mongol galagu (gal-a-gu) „fiatal” úgy viszonylik a <...> mint dalia szavunk viszonylik ugyanezen jalau, jalas szóhoz. A nyalka legény jelzője, némileg emlékeztet a mongol galagu-ra. A török tili, deli örültet jelent, eredetileg azonban tüzest jelentett. Hasonlókép a mongol galcagu a. m. örült s ez is eredetileg a tüzest fejezte ki (mong. gal a. m. tűz). A láng a tűz nyelvének mondatik (arabul <.....>) talán azért, mert a meddig el nem alszik, a martalékául eső tárgyat úgy emésztí meg, hogy ép részek nem maradnak meg belőle, hanem mint a nyelv, a mely a megehető helyéről lenyalja, végig halad az általa elfoglalt területben létező tárgyon, azt megemészte. A mongol gal szó talán a kel-en „nyelv” felhangú társalakja, melynek a törökben tel, til, dil felel meg. A gal-nak török megfelelője. Ezen gyök első jelentése nézésem szerint „nyaló” (ö. k. v. lat. lambere, gör.), a mely a mongolban, mint gal a tüzet, mint kel-en a nyelvet jelentette, a törökben mint jalas lángot, mint tel nyelvet jelent, de jelenthetett tüzet is, mert a teli, tili, deli szó arra vall. A magyar nyalni, nyalka, nyalánk, nyelni, nyelv szavakban a tör. j-nek ny felel meg.

³²Az eredeti kal, tal szógyök családja talán így következik:

<u>Kal : tal</u>		
mongol:	török:	magyar:
<u>gal</u> „tűz”, <u>kelen</u> „nyelv”, <u>galagu</u> „fiatal”, <u>galcagu</u> „örült”	<u>jalas</u> „tűz”, <u>tel</u> (<u>til</u>) „nyelv”, <u>jalang</u> „nyulka”, <u>teli</u> „örült”	nyal, nyelv, <u>nyalka</u> , <u>dalia</u> , <u>deli</u>

A m. dalia szó nem a török teli-ből lett, hanem egy dal, tal alakra viendő vissza, mely bizonyára tűz jelentésében fordul elő, tehát a magyarban is ezen szócsalád alhangú alakja a. m. tűz.- Azt hiszem a mongol szókincre sokszor lehetne hasznát venni a magyar és török nyelvanyag összehasonlításánál. Talán a finnben is (és a vele rokon nyelvekkel) tuli „tűz” és niele „nyelv” összetartóznak.

De már végzem is a falusi magányban hosszúra nyúlt levelem.

Szives üdvözléssel.
gr. Kuun Géza

³²M. Tud. Akad. Könyvtára, Szilády Hagyaték, Ms 4455/57.

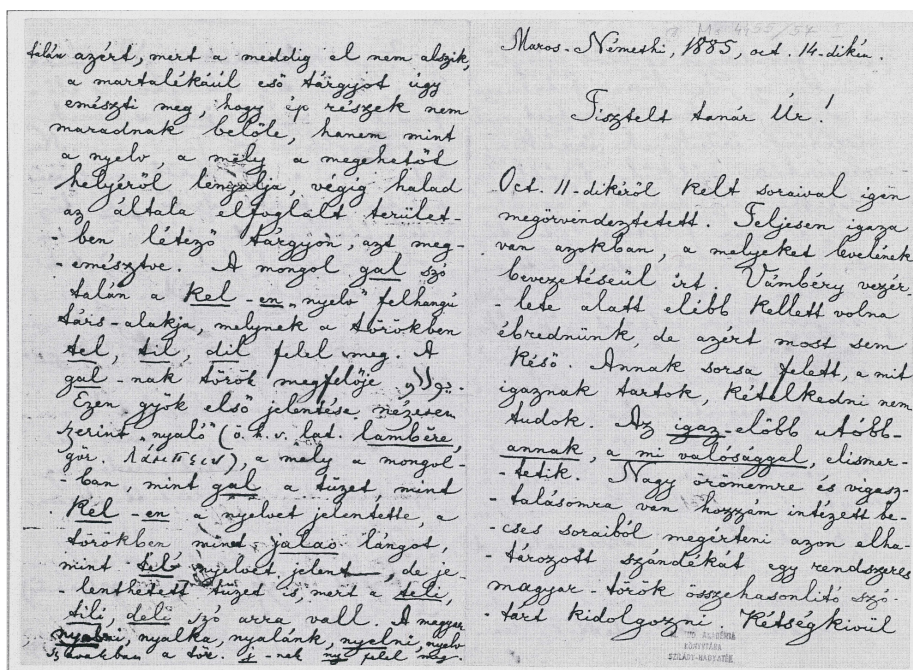


Photo no. 4: Count Géza Kuun to József Thúry,
written in Maros. Némethi. 14th October 1885 (Document no. 3)

4.

József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun

Budapest, 17th November 1885.³³

Milord

As I had the great honour to read in Milord's letter, we will soon meet personally. I was and I am thus in a hurry to collect all the materials in order to show Milord how much of the Hungarian vocabulary I can clarify with the help of the Turkish and the Mongolian language and to then discuss the unclear situations directly. I have collected the special Mongolian matching words and such Mongolian analogies, which will be mentioned together with Turkish examples, for they are needed with regard to the form or meaning – as well as the vast majority of the purely Turkish material. I believe that upon the Milord's arrival in the capital all the comparable material will be gathered.

I have much more to tell about the whims of the language, i.e. the examples contrary to general phonetic laws than I could express in writing; therefore, I wish

³³ D.J.A.N. filial Cluj-Napoca, Fond Familial Gyulay-Kuun, dosar 675, mss.8.

to tackle this subject personally with Milord, – so far I only wish to express my opinion that at least half of Budenz’ word-matches was created due to these whims contrary to general phonetic regulations.

I wish to express my gratitude to Milord for your priceless teachings of your letter and reflect upon the name of the csalán (nettle). It is quite clear that the Mong. ɣala,aj derives from the verb ɣala. However – as seen in the Turkish language – the designation of this plant may be based on another perception. The Turkish çalagan (=isirgan oti, Leh O.), which matches the Hungarian csalán, is none other than the noun derived from the verb čal- (punch, cut, possibly: stab, sting | isir- = dišle-, jarala-, inžit-, diš-le tut, japiš-). It is interesting that the second meaning of čalagan is: “wild dog” (=“vicious”).

With regard to defining the original meaning of the etymon, I follow Ural-Altaic examples, respectively Turkish and Mongolian examples, not árja példák <examples> as Budenz did. Because if the Hungarian language has Altaic origins, then it really should have such origins, and the mentality and perceptions manifesting in the language should be Altaic as well. Thus I cannot believe that the basic meaning of the “fly” is “volans”, as Budenz explains it, in spite of the German Fliege and fliegen word-explanations. The “fly” may be “a flyer” for the Germans, but for the Altaic and for the Turkish and the Mongolians it is a “stinger, biter” (cf. sin-ek and čibin, čemen, Mong. ila,a from the verb ira – mit dem Messer Schneiden, to cut with a knife, as ir [Scharfe, Schneide], ildö = sword, like „él – es”, sharp); while “a flyer” is a bird according to him (vo uč-ar).

In my last letter I probably didn’t explain the word táltos (shaman) thoroughly enough; I can now explain it in a more appropriate manner. The Mong. tai – (opfern, to sacrifice), tail – (öffnen, eröffnen, lösen, erklären, to open, to solve, to explain); tail,a (das Opfer, the sacrifice). From this, the nom. Possessoris <possessive noun>: tail,a-či “sacrificer”, ad analogiam: dalo-či (dalo = Schulterblatt, shoulder blade), jilvi-či (jilvi = Zauberei, sorcery), zada-či, tolge-či, Chag. zaurum-ži (he, who foretells from the shoulder blade). This is the tail,ači [tal,ači, Kirgh.: tāl,aš] consequently = táltos („priest performing sacrifices”).

Before closing my letter I humbly ask Milord to inform me about your accommodation in the capital.

Milord’s humble servant
Thúry József

<Transliteration>

Méltóságos Uram!

Mint nagybecsü soraiból értesültem, nem sokára szerencsém lesz személyesen érintkezni Gróf úrnál. Én tehát siettem és sietek összegyűjteni az egész anyagot,

hogy felmutathassam Gróf úrnak, a magyar szókinsnek mekkora részét tudom a törökség és mongolság segélyével megvilágosítani s hogy a kétes eseteket közvetlenül megbeszélhessük. Összegyűjtöttem már a speciális mongol egyréseket és az olyan mongol analogokat is, melyek török példákkal együtt lesznek főlemlítve minthogy alaki, vagy jelentésbeli tekintetből szükség van rájuk – , valamint a tisztán török nyelvyagnak tulnyomó részét is. Úgy hiszem, hogy Gróf úrnak a fővárosba érkeztek az összes hasonlítható anyag rendjében lesz.

A nyelvszeszélyeiről, vagyis az általános hangtörvényekkel ellenkező példákról sokkal több mondani valóm van, mintsem írásban ki tudnám fejezni; ezért tehát e tárgyról szabad legyen személyesen nyilatkoznom Gróf úr előtt, – egyelőre csak azon véleményemet nyilvánítván, hogy Budenz szóegyeztéseinek legalább is fele az általános hangtörvényekkel ellenkező szeszélyességnek köszönheti létrejöttét.

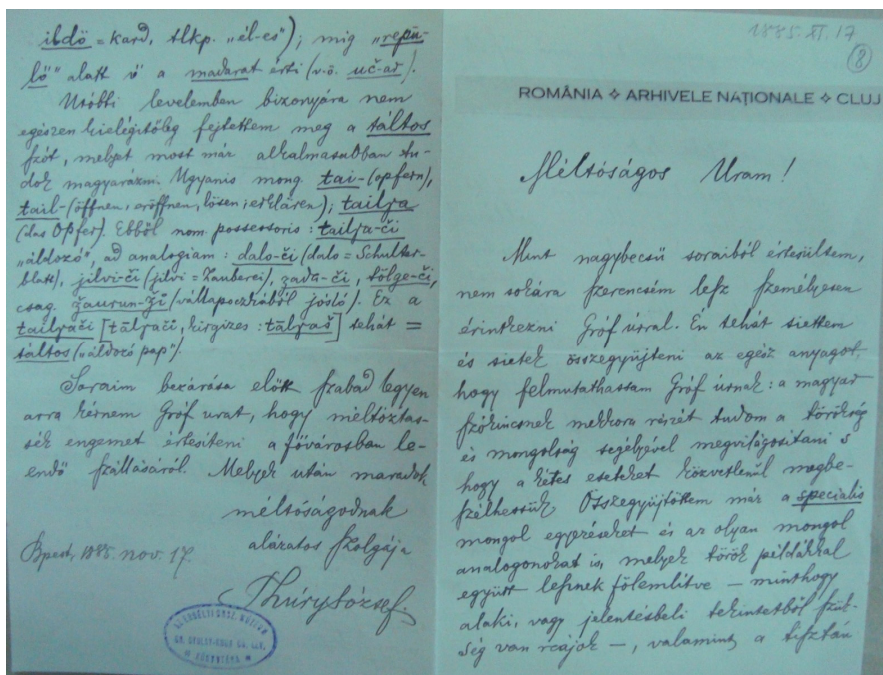
Köszönetemet fejezve ki Gróf úrnak becses leveléből merített tanulságokért, a csalán elnevezésére akarok reflectálni. A mong. χala,aj-nak a χala- igéből való származása egészen világos. Azonban – mint a törökségből meggyőződhetünk – e növény elnevezése más felfogáson is alapulhat. Ugyanis a magy. csalán-nal azonos tör. čalagan (=isirgan oti, Leh O.) nem egyéb mint a čal- (ütni, vágni, esetleg: szúrni, csípni | isir- = dišle-, jarala-, inžit-, diš-le tut, japiš-) igének nom. agentise. Érdekes, hogy e čalagan jelentése ezenkívül: „veszett kutya” (=“harapós”).

A mi az etynom eredeti jelentésének meghatározását illeti, e dologban uraltaji, illetőleg török és mongol példák után megyek, nem pedig – mint Budenz – árja példák után. Mert ha a magyar nyelv altaji, hát legyen altaji s benne nyilvánuló észjárás, felfogás-mód is altaji. Így pl. nem hiszem el, hogy a „légy” alapjelentése „volans”, mint Budenz magyarázza, dacára a ném. Fliege és fliegen útmutatásának. A németnek lehet a „légy”: „repülő”, de a altajinak, ill. a töröknek és mongolnak „csipő, szúró” (v.ö. sin-ek és čibin, čemen, mong. ila,a az ira – mit dem Messer Schneiden, igéből, úgy, mint ir [Scharfe, Schneide] mellett ildö = kard, tlkp. „él – es”); míg „repülő” alatt ő a madarat érti (vo uč-ar).

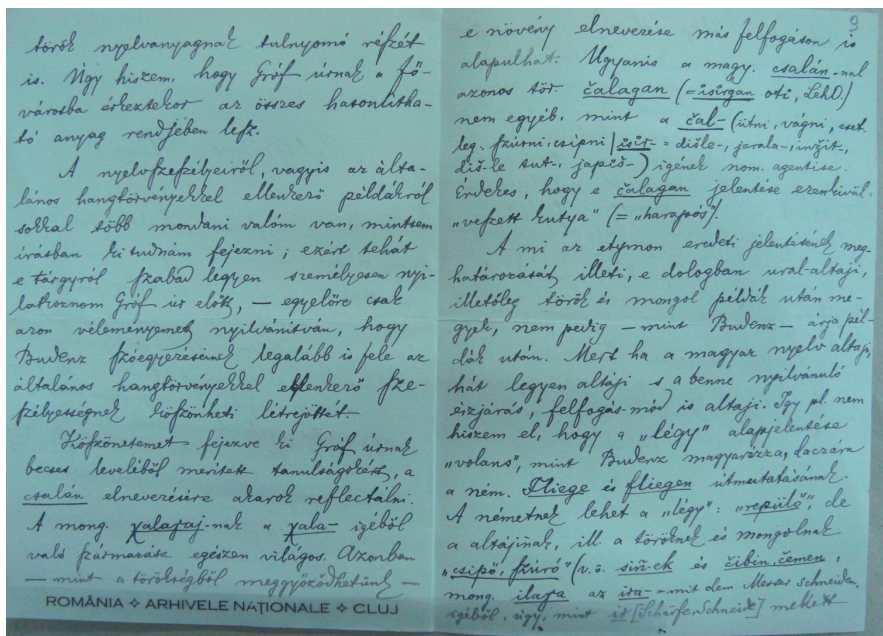
Utóbbi levelemben bizonyára nem egészen kielégítőleg fejtettem meg a táltos szót, melyet most már alkalmasabban tudok magyarázni. Ugyanis mong. tai – (opfern), tail – (offnen, eröffnen, lösen, erklären); tail,a (das Opfer). Ebből nom. Possessoris: tail,a-či „áldozó”, ad analogiam: dalo-či (dalo = Schulterblatt), jilvi-či (jilvi = Zamberei), zada- či, tolge-či, csag. zaurum-ži (vállapoczkából jósló). Ez a tail,ači [tal,ači, kirgizes: tāl,aš] tehát = táltos („áldozó pap”).

Soraim bezárása előtt szabad legyen arra kérnem Gróf urat, hogy méltóztassék engemet értesíteni a fővárosban leendő szállásáról. Melyek után maradok

méltóságodnak alázatos szolgája
Thúry József



**Photo no. 5.1. József Thüry to Count Géza Kuun,
written in Budapest, 17th November 1885 (Document no. 4)**



**Photo no. 5.2. József Thúry to Count Géza Kuun,
written in Budapest, 17th November 1885 (Document no. 4)**

**COMMUNITIES,
ETHNICAL IDENTITIES AND HERITAGES –
APPROACHES, ANALYSIS AND TRADITIONS**

Present-day Identity Issues in the Tatar Community from Dobrudja

Tasin GEMIL

Tatar presence in Romania is known for nearly a millennium, firstly as their ancestors who were the Kipchaks (Cumans), afterwards under their own name as Tatars. The Tatars were the result of Kipchaks' mixing with other people and represented the fundamental ethnic piece in the great state of the Golden Horde, also known as the "Kipchak Khanate". Under the long Ottoman rule, the Tatars represented the main ethnic element in Dobrudja. According to the first Romanian census (apparently secret and methodologically correct), carried out in 1878, the total population of northern Dobrudja, which was incorporated in Romania, was 225,753 persons, out of which 71,146 were Tatars, 48,784 Turks, 46,504 Romanians, 30,237 Bulgarians, the rest consisting of Greeks, Jews, Circassians, Armenians, Russians, Germans and Gypsies¹. The massive migrations to Turkey, which were repeated over time, removed the Turkish-Tatar element from Dobrudja. According to the 2011 census, the number of Tatars in Romania is 20,282 persons, while the Turks number 27,698 persons². In truth, the number of Tatars must be greater still because around 20–25% continue to declare themselves as Turks. This is a continuation of the fears inoculated for centuries in the Tatar population by the Tsarist and, later, Soviet occupation of their ancestral country Crimea. Even today Crimean (and Dobrudjan) Tatars consider Turkey as the "Fatherland" (*Ata yurt*) and "blessed land" (*Aktoprak*). And Turkey officially accepts Crimean Tatars as "Crimean Turks" (*Kırım Türkleri*). Turkey assumed the role of moral, cultural, religious, political, diplomatic and, as much as possible, economic protector of all Tatars, no matter where they are. Still, Crimean Tatars, including those in Romania, are affected by the lack of their own national state.

¹ Kemal Karpat, „Urbanismul otoman: Emigrația din Crimeea spre Dobrogea și întemeierea orașului Medgidia (1857–1878)”, *Tătarii în istorie și în lume*, Tasin Gemil (ed.), Kriterion Printing House, Bucharest, 2003, p.228.

² Stoica Lascu, "Aspects of Spiritual Life of the Turkish-Tatar Community in Dobrudja (1913–15) (With Two Appendices: The Turks and Tatars in Romania according to the Census from 1899 to 2011)", in Stoica Lascu, Melek Fetisleam (eds.), *Contemporary Research in Turkology and Eurasian Studies. A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Tasin Gemil on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013, p. 809.

The Tatars in Romania have been supported by the Romanian state in their efforts to modernize and integrate in the Romanian society. Today, I believe that the Tatar community from Romania is fully integrated, which does not mean however that it renounced its national and specific traits. A harmonious combination is needed between the conservative character of rural cultures, such as that of the Tatars in Romania, and the demands of modern life. Unfortunately, the way in which the Tatar community evolved in the last decades is not encouraging. It does not have the resources necessary to resist the assault of external factors; the problem is even more severe since, at the moment, the community lacks devoted leaders who can understand the situation.

It is a truism to say we are facing globalisation, that it is impossible to avoid it and that it is approaching faster and faster. The situation of the countries, peoples and communities is constantly changing. Country leaders and those who steer national, local or professional communities are firstly preoccupied by adapting to the internal and international conditions, which are permanently shifting. The world of tomorrow will be different than the one we see today. *Are the Tatars in Romania ready to face these fundamental shifts?* It is essential to keep up with the general evolution of the world. *Are the Tatars in Romania able to keep up this rhythm?*

Everyone notes that after our country was integrated in the EU different conditions of life and work started appearing, which means constant adaptation is required from everyone. *What must the Tatars in Romania do in order to benefit the most from the country's new international statute?!*

One of the main consequences of globalisation is the possible elimination of political and national boundaries. As stated, Europe is on the path to federalisation. The current national states will probably become the components of a great European state. *What will be the future of present-day people?! What will be the destiny of national minorities?!*

These are questions asked daily by those who think with honour and duty about the people and communities they lead. I am among those worried about the possible disappearance of national identities. The Tatars – who have lacked for centuries the protection of a national state and are spread around the entire world – are among those most vulnerable to the negative effects of globalisation. I consider the situation to be more serious in the case of the Tatar community in Romania, which started to feel some unfavourable effects of the EU integration.

I dare ask myself: *are the present-day leaders of the Tatars living in Romania preoccupied by these vital problems?!* I fear that they are not. But no matter whether they are aware of it or not, the present-day leaders of the Tatar community in Romania bear the responsibility of this community's future. It is of paramount importance to

adopt measures which can prepare the Tatars from Romania for the changes happening in the world so that losses are not greater than the benefits.

I do not want to be misunderstood! That is why I declare categorically: in my opinion, globalisation is an objective historical process able to lead to the progress of mankind; the integration of our country in NATO and EU represent two historical successes. If these two opportunities would have been lost Romania, with everything it encompasses (i.e. including the Tatar community) would have been pushed to the edge of the world and history. It is also true however that these processes have collateral negative effects, affecting especially national identities.

The great English historian Arnold J. Toynbee (1889–1975) wrote that the nations, better yet their leaders, have the essential duty to be prepared for the future. In this sense he divided the nations in three categories: 1 – those who have development strategies and apply them; 2 – those who have strategies and do not follow them; 3 – those who do not have strategies. The nations in the first category know what they must do and, thus, promote their interests and develop, those from the second category face problems and those who do not think or are unable to create development strategies *are condemned to disappear*. I fear that the Tatars from Dobrudja, better yet their actual leadership, falls within this last category.

History confirms A. Toynbee's thesis. Western nations developed, reaching current standards because they knew how to adapt timely to historic changes, while those from the east fell behind because they did not try or could not manage the changes required by troubled periods. Meanwhile a lot of nations and ethnic communities have disappeared for they failed to understand the course of history and could not keep up with the general evolution of the world. Around the year 1500 there were more than 14,500 peoples and ethnic communities in the world, their number today being reduced to less than half (around 7,000); most of the losses occurred in Asia (33%) and Africa (30%). The tendency is still that of drastic and rather quick loss. It is up to each nation or national community whether it manages to understand historic evolution and is capable of mobilising its resources to defend its identity values.

The situation is more complicated in the case of the Tatars as a whole and for the Tatars in Romania in particular, because their historical and national coordinates are not yet established. In my opinion, the Tatars, particularly those with origins in Crimea, first of all need to know their true national history, cleared from the falsities of others and their own exaggerations. The Tatars no longer have time to embellish their past like many other nations did with their own histories while those national states were created and consolidated.

The Tatars, especially those from Crimea, thus also those from Romania – given their Crimean origin – have lost not only their state (annexed by Russia in 1783), but also their ancient country, methodically removed by the Tsarist, later on Soviet, authorities. In less than a century (1783–1878) about 1,800,000 Tatars were forced to leave their households from Crimea, seeking refuge within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, including Dobrudja. The Russian, Tsarist and Soviet power confiscated not only their country but also the history, culture, civilisation, names of localities and foods of the Tatars; the monuments, including and particularly cemeteries and religious buildings, historical documents and manuscripts, Tatar myths have been systematically destroyed for more than 200 years³.

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 the Crimean Tatars have faced and are still facing another unjust and frustrating phenomenon. The Central-Asian kin of the Crimean Tatars, the Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, Turkmen and especially the Uzbeks, who managed to create their own independent national states, take advantage of the political weakness of the Crimean Tatars in order to exclude them from their forbearers' heritage. The Golden Horde (1242–1502) was a great Eurasian Tatar state, having not only a flourishing economy and formidable political and military power, but also a brilliant urban culture of imperial inspiration which is only now discovered. This state was created and led by Tatars and the Kipchak-Tatar language was a truly universal language (*lingua franca*) in the huge territory and ethnic conglomerate that was the Golden Horde. Even today the Tatars can understand all languages and dialects spoken by the Turkish people and communities formed on the ruins of the Golden Horde. After its disappearance in 1502, the Tatar Khanate of Crimea was its sole *de facto* inheritor. Still, the above-mentioned relatives of the Tatars have confiscated not only the history of the Golden Horde (destroyed in fact by Timur Lenk (Tamerlan), who is now Uzbekistan's national hero) but also the great centuries-old Tatar culture. Everything that was created by the Tatars and in the old Tatar language is now abusively included in the national Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh and Kyrgyz patrimony⁴.

As if this was not enough, the Russian armies have again encroached on Crimea and the Tatars living there. I fear that Vladimir Putin plans to finish what his predecessors from Sankt Petersburg and Kremlin failed to achieve, namely the social-cultural and even physical elimination of the Crimean Tatars. Russia never renounced its old imperial program to expand its rule across the entire Black Sea

³ See Brian Glyn Williams, *The Crimean Tatars. From Soviet Genocide to Putin's Conquest*, Hurst & Company, London, 2015, pp. 19–116.

⁴ See Marie Favereau, Jacques Raymond, *La Horde d'Or. Les héritiers de Gengis Khan*, Editions de La Flandonnière, Lascelles, 2014.

basin, particularly on the shore of the Bosphorus. Given that Crimea is an important base for attack against Turkey, the Tatars living there have been and are considered dangerous for Russia's expansion plans. But unlike the tsars and Stalin, V. Putin has an insidious plan to eliminate the Crimean Tatars. He plans to estrange the Tatars from their ancient homeland one by one or in small groups. In order to achieve this, the Russians use the well-known method of fear and division in parallel with spreading promises about a better life outside Crimea in the vast Russian territories. Any hopes for help from the democratic, liberal and powerful Occident prove to be more and more painful disappointments for the Crimean Tatars.

These geopolitical conditions are aggravating factors for the situation of the Tatars from Romania. Their national identity is now highly questioned, not by the Romanian authorities but by the international context in which the Crimean problem evolves and especially the fate of the Tatars living there. I wish to mention that after the 1989 Revolution, the Tatars from Romania enjoy rights and liberties they never enjoyed before. The current Romanian legislation is extremely permissive towards all the ethnic minorities from Romania, including Tatars, so they can promote their national identity without restriction. Moreover, the Romanian state gives on yearly basis a monetary stipend to each national minority under its protection. Therefore, the Tatars themselves and their present-day leaders are responsible if this community will choose salvation or disappearance. I have countless times drawn attention, both verbally and in writing, especially since 2007, to this grave danger. There was no reaction from the leaders of the Tatar minority. Regrettably, the current leaders of the Tatars living in Romania act as if they are strangers to this severe danger. They seem not to understand it, they do not know (they do not want to know!) what they must do and thus they ignore it!

The great danger, namely the loss of the Tatar language, present since the 1960s, especially 1970, when the semi-closed way of living of the communities in traditional neighbourhoods in cities and villages started being abandoned. More and more Tatar families decided to move in blocks of flats located in other neighbourhoods than the Tatar ones. Many of the Tatar children born in those years (and afterwards) grew up, like many others, with the key of their home hanging around their necks, went exclusively to Romanian schools (in 1958 all schools with teaching in Tatar and Turkish language were closed), while at the same time they were bombarded by the press, television and radio, which were all in Romanian. So, starting from those years, more and more Romanian was spoken in the young Tatar families, a phenomenon which today is almost generalised⁵.

⁵ See L.P.Marcu, "Some Aspects of Laicization of Moslem Family in Dobrudja (End of the 19th century–First Decades of the 20th century)", *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes – Bucarest*,

It is true that after 1990, some attempts were made to invigorate the Tatar language with the support of Crimean Tatar linguists. But local vanities (a certain person who had certain particular claims obstinately supported a separate alphabet for the Dobrudja Tatar idiom) finally prevented the accomplishment of this project. The several groups and classes with Tatar language teaching did not solve the problem. Practically, in almost all young Tatar families (under the age of 40–45 years) from Romania, only Romanian is spoken now. More so, a large number of these parents refuse to send their children to the Tatar language lessons conducted after hours, preferring English, German or French. What can we ask from the parents when even the meetings from the Democratic Union of the Turkish-Muslim Tatars from Romania (UDTTMR) are exclusively conducted in Romanian, particularly after 2012, when the presidency of the organisation was taken by a former leading member and MP of the... ultra-nationalist România Mare Party!*

I am certain that the Tatars living in Romania must immediately start seeking answer to questions that can no longer be ignored without the direst of consequences: *Who am I? Who are we? Who resembles us? What path do we choose so we remain ourselves without losing or isolating ourselves?*

So far I allow myself to give a concise answer only to the last question which seems very pressing to me. Presently, in my opinion, the Tatars in Dobruja are faced with three options:

1. Becoming Romanians
 2. Turkification
 3. Westernisation
1. Given the Islamic religion of the Tatars, it is unlikely that their transformation into Romanians will increase. Without changing religion I do not believe that a Tatar can become Romanian. Although mixed marriages increase in numbers, very few Tatars in Romania become Christians. Still, it is possible that at least some of the descendants of these families will become Christians and Romanians as time passes.
 2. Turkification also does not have great chances because the Tatars in Romania do not live in a Turkish environment. There is an old and powerful connection between Turks and Tatars. In fact, until 1990, the Tatars living in Romania were known as Turks to the majority. Officially Turkey makes no distinction between

Tome III (1965), no.1–2, pp.198–228; idem, “The Tartar Patriarchal Community in the Dobrudja and Its Disintegration (First Half of 20th century), *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes – Bucarest*, Tome V(1967), no.3–4, pp.501–542.

the Turks and Tatars living in Romania. A lot of Tatar parents prefer to send their children to Turkish rather than Tatar classes. Even in Turkey, where more than five million Tatars have been living for a long time, their Turkification has not ended. Most of them do not speak Tatar, but they have not forgotten their Tatar origin and are proud of it, including those holding important offices (ministers, generals, ambassadors, etc.) or are known in the fields of science and culture or are renowned artists, sportsmen, businessmen. The Turkification of a number of the Tatars living in Romania cannot be excluded, particularly in the case of those declaring themselves Turks but solely if they speak only Turkish in their families.

3. I believe that the only viable option for the Tatars all around world, not only those from Dobrudja, is Westernisation. The Western model of Jewish integration seems fit enough for the Tatars. In fact, in the 18th–19th centuries, the Tatars from Kazan first and then those from Crimea – at the end of the 19th century – have made efforts to reform religion, education and mentality, following the Western model. The Tatars were the first and, in so far as I know, the only ones who wanted to practice a national Islam, reformed after the Lutheran model. An important German protestant community was living at the time in Kazan and apparently they influenced the Tatar elite of that period⁶. The Quran was translated in Tatar, the religious ceremonies were held in Tatar language, the woman was considered equal to the man, etc. The Tatar reform was blocked by the tsarist authorities. Even though the same Russian power prevented the reform initiated by the Tatars of Crimea, the renewal (*djadidism*) following the Western model (Komensky, Pestalozzi) initiated by the great Tatar reformer of Crimea, Ismail Gasprinski (1851–1914), in the educational system has long-lasting beneficial effects for the whole Turkic-Islamic space from the Russian Empire. After 1991, the old reforms were updated by the Kazan Tatar intellectual elite under the concept of Euroislam⁷.

It is widely admitted in the Turkish world that Tatars are particularly resilient to assimilation, while also being the most open to reforms, particularly those of Western influence**. In fact, since they lack for a long time the protection of their own state, the Tatars have been forced to prove survival abilities which brings them close to Jews and Palestinians. Given these qualities and history case, I am certain

⁶ See M.A.Usmanov, „Uchenye iz Germanii v Kazanskom universitete i ikh vklad v razvitie nauki, kultury (pervaja polovina 19 v.)”, in *Das mittlere Wolgagebiet in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Edit. Klaus Heller/Herbert Lellite, Frankfurt im Main, 1994, pp. 177–203; idem, „O sudbe Kazanskogo Vostokovedeniia”, *Nauchnyi Tatarstan*, no.2/2010, pp. 176–192.

⁷ See Tasin Gemil, „O nouă inițiativă tătărească de reformă – Euroislamul”, Tasin Gemil, Nagy Pienaru (eds.), *Moștenirea istorică a tătarilor*, vol.I, Bucharest, 2010, pp.71–78; idem, „Euroislamul – Cum vor tătarii să se integreze valorilor occidentale”, *Sinteza*, no.16/May 2015, Cluj-Napoca, pp. 141–147.

that the Tatars will continue to exist for a long time. It is possible that, at the least, the Tatars in Dobrudja will lose their mother tongue in a few decades. I hope they will not disappear as Tatars, provided that the badly needed rescue measures are taken. They will probably have a similar situation to that of the Lipka Tatars from Lithuania, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Belarus, who have been living there for the past 600 years. They have long lost their language but not their Tatar name, nor their cultural and historical traditions or their Islamic religion (modernized), meaning they have not lost their national identity.

The Westernisation of the Tatars, more explicitly the integration of Western values, is in my opinion, the only way to save them as a people, and as a historic and cultural entity. The fact that Romania joined the great Western structures, NATO and EU, helps the Tatars in Dobrudja to achieve this objective. They have become, at least formally, a “European community”. But in order for this to truly become a European community, it must be anchored in the realities of the EU without losing however its cultural identity (including the national and religious ones). The first condition to achieve this is for the young people to strongly accept the Western model of efficient activity and what they call lifelong learning. Then, it is necessary that changes be performed in the Tatar mentality, meaning to adapt it to current demands. This does mean losing the national identity. On the contrary, by keeping what is valuable and significant from the traditional culture, one must renounce those outdated, even harmful, practices and customs that keep the community backward or lead it along treacherous and even wrong paths. The drastic revision of intra-community and outside-community behaviour is no less important. The West greatly prizes a correct and responsible attitude, understanding and tolerance, mutual respect and freedom of opinion.

Next to the native language and religious belief, knowing one’s history and culture are the pillars supporting ethnic identity. As already mentioned, I fear that the Tatar language, at least the idiom in Dobrudja, will be lost in a few decades. It follows that the national identity of the Tatars in Dobrudja will rest on the other remaining support columns: Muslim religion, history and culture. The Tatars in Dobrudja are strongly attached to Islam, without being bigots and least of all extremists. But, unfortunately, they do not know their national history and culture. Until recently, Tatar history was written mostly by non-Tatar historians who dealt with the Tatar past based on how it was reflected in the historiography of different countries. A long propaganda directed against the Tatars, supported especially by the Catholic Church, but also by the Russian historiography, intentionally distorted Tatar history and turned them into scapegoats for the failure of many peoples. Because they lack state structures the Tatars could not defend themselves against

these systematic attacks repeated throughout the ages and could not promote their own history. It is only in the last decades that Tatar historians, particularly those from the Republic of Tatarstan (within the Russian Federation) started to research thoroughly the Tatar history and to publish important work, including a massive 7 volume treatises with a total number of 6,860 pages concerning Tatar history⁸. It is for the first time when such an important book concerning Tatar history is published. I hope that from this point forward no one can so grossly falsify Tatar culture and history, as was until now the case in many countries.

The old Tatar culture has not only been systematically attacked and ignored by the Tsarist and Soviet power, but is now confiscated – as mentioned above – by greedy relatives. The books edited in the last years, including the West and the East, present a different Tatar history than the one known until now and reveal a flourishing medieval Tatar culture, connected with the great spiritual centres of that time. All of these truths must be revealed to the Tatars in Dobrudja, particularly the youth. Culture is not only folklore however. The cultivation of popular tradition is necessary, but it must in no way replace culture and knowing one's national culture.

Starting with 2012, I have initiated a series of conferences concerning "Tatar history and culture" for a young group of Tatars in Bucharest as well as within the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. In 2014, such conferences started being held at "Ovidius" University in Constanța. I believe it is the first and foremost duty for the current Tatar leadership in Romania to extend these actions so that all Tatar children and young men, including those from villages, are attracted to the lessons or conferences and debates concerning the Tatar history and culture. The Romanian legislation is very permissive in this respect also. The problem is represented by how prepared are those who give these lessons or lectures. There are already published materials, including in the Romanian language at an accessible level, concerning the real Tatar history⁹. It is somewhat more difficult to learn about Tatar culture given that the works discussing this topic are published in foreign countries and, of course, in foreign languages, particularly Russian. The timely translation in Romanian and the publishing of basic books

⁸ *Istoriya Tatar s Drevneishikh Vremen ve Semi Tomakh*, vol.I-VII, Istitut Istorii Ș. Mardzani, Akademija Nauk Respubliki Tatarstan, Kazan, 2002–2014. To my understanding, the English version is to appear shortly.

⁹ See Tasin Gemil (ed.), *Originea Tătarilor. Locul lor în România și în Lumea Turcă*, Kriterion Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, 371 p.; *idem*, *Tătarii în Istorie și în Lume*, Kriterion Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, 324 p.; Tasin Gemil, Nagy Pienaru (eds.), *Moștenirea Istorică a Tătarilor*, vol. I–II, Academia Română Publishing House Bucharest, 2010–2012, 250+804 p.; Tasin Gemil, „Hanatul Tătar din Crimeea”, *Magazin Istoric*, no.5/May 2014, pp.10–14; no.6/June 2014, pp.33–37; no.7/2014, pp.66–70; Ion Bistreanu, „Crimeea o perla însăngerată”, *Magazin Istoric*, no.8/August 2014, pp.37–40; no.9/September 2014, pp. 39–43.

concerning Tatar history and culture would be welcome. Also it is mandatory to organise periodical training courses for these teachers and to invite foreign specialists. We must find the most attractive ways to organise and hold these lessons (power-point, documentaries, trips, camps, historical meetings, etc.) The creation of a *Museum of Tatar History and Civilisation* has long been delayed. This is an essential condition for defending and promoting the Tatar identity. Such an objective was included in the program of the Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslims Tatars of Romania, approved at the Conference held on 24 March 1990. I wish to recall that the “Tatar National Museum of History and Civilisation” was created on 21 October/3 November 1917 in Bakchisaray, one month before the opening of the first Tatar Parliament (*Qurultay*) (26 November/ 9 December 1917) and the proclamation of the Crimean People's Republic (13/26 December 1917); it was the first republic in the Islamic world. The national Tatar hero Noman Celebi Cihan (killed by Bolsheviki on 23 February 1918), president of the Tatar democratic government of Crimea explained this primacy awarded to the museum: “the living are alive because of the deads”, meaning that those living must ensure the survival of the historical legacy and fulfil the mission given to them by their forbearers¹⁰.

In my opinion, the leadership of the Tatar organisation in Romania (Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslims Tatars of Romania) is forced to initiate, coordinate and support (including and especially with money) all of these actions which are priorities and of maximum importance. I hope that these leaders will understand – even in this last hour – that their fundamental duty is to ensure the survival and progress of the Tatars in Dobrudja.

* The current president of the Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslims Tatars of Romania (UDTTMR), Mr. Gelil Eserghep (definitively convicted in 2014) was formed as a politician in the România Mare Party (PRM), which is an ultra-nationalist organization, similar to the one led by Vladimir Jirinovski in Russia. In fact, there exists a cooperation agreement between the two parties. G. Eserghep remembered he was a Tatar only after 2010, when he understood that he has no political future in other parties. He assimilated the political thinking and leadership methods of his mentor Corneliu Vadim Tudor, founder and president of PRM (until his death in 2015). Following his example, G. Eserghep created a dictatorial regime in the UDTTMR. Through intimidation, blackmail and bribery he managed to impose his own men in the leadership of the UDTTMR. I believe that this G. Eserghep lacks basic knowledge of Tatar history and culture. I fear that he and those around him are not preoccupied by the fate of the Tatar community in Romania! Personally, I am worried that G. Eserghep and those around him hasten, deliberately or not, the destruction of the Tatar community living in Romania. The intentional deterioration conducted by these leaders in the last 2–3 years of the old and close connections between the Tatar community in Dobrudja and Turkey, including the Tatars living there, on the one hand, and on the other the electoral bribe offered by G. Eserghep and

¹⁰ Cafer Seydamet Kırmırcı, *Bazı Hatıralar*, Emel Türk Kültürünü Araştırma ve Tanıtma Vakfı, İstanbul, 1993, pp.226–229.

his men (many trips inside and outside the country, restaurant dinners for hundreds and thousands of people instead of cultural actions) funded with money from the Romanian state, clearly affect the dignity and national identity of the Tatars in Dobrudja.

- ** In the former Soviet republics from Central Asia where about 1 million Tatars live there is a popular saying: “If a man wants to build himself a career and wants his children to succeed in life, then he must marry a Tatar woman”. They are well-known as the most emancipated Muslim women from that area. Many examples can be offered in support of this claim, among them the fact that the mother of the famous Kirghiz writer Cinghiz Aytmatov was Tatar.

The Problems of Development and Revival of the Turkic-Speaking Cultures in the 21st Century [1]

Esma EMIR-ILYASOVA

The making of global world economy overstepping the frontiers of the national states, linking them by the firm political, commercial and economic, scientific-technical and socio-cultural relations is the most pronounced process that has determined the face of the world civilization at the boundary of the 20th–21st centuries.

The necessity of this kind of measures has become more apparent since the end of the '90s of the 20th century, when as a result of the complicated geopolitical changes in the world there occurred the breakdown of the socialist system and the whole of its camp, the falling of the Berlin wall and unification of Germany, disintegration of the Union of SSR, Organization of Warsaw Pact (OWP), IFRY, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, SEMA, leaving it by the CEE countries, post-Soviet countries and Baltic countries – now already the new independent states (NIS).

The cardinal market reorganizations carried out in NIS couldn't but touch the socio-cultural links and an entire system of international relations and international law. It is conditioned by the state of development and interaction of science, education and culture is in a close dialectical interaction with internal and world civilization and their institutes¹.

To preserve ethno-cultural values of all the peoples they should build and develop international relations on a level of states, recognizing the existence of substantial ethno-cultural (ethnic, linguistic, confessional) differences between them, as well their individual regions and peoples.

The necessity of an intent look at the restoration of the historical monument and ethnoses on the territory of ex-USSR as well in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is conditioned and lies in a state of the issue in historical past when in the years of tsarism and then also in recent period (within 70 years of ruling Soviet power) all these peoples were particularly zealously implanted a unite standard of life on side of partocracy and state structures, wielding undivided power not ly in a sphere of ideology but in economics and culture as well. As a result, all this was directed

¹ I. Efendiyeva, "The 2nd International Music Festival: "Silk Road"-markeable event in the cultural life of the Republic", in *Mirror*, 09.07.2011, Fund IPHL, NASA, p.26.

towards creation of unite community of men and a particular type of “Soviet man”. Under this slogan there were carried out, in essence, all transformations vertically and horizontally. In them there was proclaimed in public the domination of social property on production means excluding from the beginning the antagonism between classes; thirdly there was admitted on a whole an average level of development and life standard expenditure-distributive planned economics with a low level of social privileges and allowances, with optimistic hope of transition into developed socialism, and then communism.

As notes G.Mirsky, forcibly attaching ethnoses and languages to the definite union and antonomons republics, okrugs (regions) and oblasts (provinces) Stalinist authorities pursued the aim of creating the title and loyal to Kremlin “national elites”².

By this the delayed-action mines were laid into the basic of federal structure of the Russian Empire, leading gradually to the formation of “The Soviet” people deprived of individuality. Strange as it may seem, these mines still explode up to present in all places from Central Asia to the western frontiers all these phenomena are conditioned by that the rights of the peoples to self-determination, development of cultures and language, recorded in the Constitution of Russian Federation, are not realized in practice. In almost all autonomous republics, okrugs and oblasts the official language was and remains the Russian language. As a result, a number of not numerous nations and ethnoses either disappear completely or are on the verge of disappearance. These processes are observed and repeated both on the territory of ex-USSR and in a number of the regions of the world, where political and legal background lacks and therefore unprotectedness and infringement of rights of man and citizen both as a whole and by the national sign.

These processes are observed and continue both in the pointed regions and in a series of other regions of the world, where established political-law background lacks, and hence follow unprotectedness and infringes the human rights of the citizen, as a whole and by the national sign.

The standards of law corresponding to the international requirements are realized in many respects in the advanced countries of the West and a number of new industrial countries with established democratic institutes. Besides, and it should be noted, there is a need in revision of the existing and working out the unified international legal regulations providing for the gradual formation of legal background to solve emerging quite often the actual problems concerning both rights of a man and human rights by the national sign.

² G. Mirskiy, *Nation, ethnos, religion, in Central-Asian context*, Fund IPHL, NASA, p.6.

As it is known, for a long time the countries of the socialist territory – the ex-USSR, countries of Central and Eastern Europe, GDR (after World War II), South-Eastern Asia – China, CPDR, Vietnam, as well as Cuba (from the end of the '50s) were considered by the world community basically from position of “three views”: first, as a camp with a supremacy of state form of property on means of production, non-market form of economy and collective bases pressing over individual, and personified values.

For more than 70 years there was also formed an isolationist approach to integration into world economy, secondly, this group of countries was considered “a zone of political stability” and relative safety for its citizens, within the limits of command methods of administration, ruling in all spheres of life of partocracy. The historical monuments of culture were purposefully destroyed, names of settlements changed, the whole of villages were torn down, the museums and temples were used as stores, clubs, theatre scenes, dance pavilions and so on. A private ban was imposed on entry of the Turkic peoples, deported from their native places, to historical and juridical faculties of higher educational institutions, etc. It is quite obvious that all this was made in order the people would deviate from their history and could not defend their rights and dignities with account for achievements of international law.

Criticism of these foundations and principles of the socialist system began, as is known, long ago, however in Gorbachev's period – the period of the “perestroika” (reconstruction) and “glasnost” (publicity) and the subsequent years it has come to light and surpassed all expectations.

Only on the territory of the former Union there occurred 17 big local conflicts (Azerbaijan-Armenia, Russia, Bashkiria, Tatarstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Baltic countries, Moldova, Georgia, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Adzharia), “Tadjik knot”, Kirghizia, “North-Caucasus knot” (the Chechens, Ingushetia, Ossetia, the Cabardino-Balkariya, the Crimea, Pridnestrovie, etc).

The whole of this political background was unavoidably reflected on both general geopolitical situation and balance of world forces, and on inner reforms. It at the beginning of “perestroika” and “glasnost” in EE there were heard the declarations of a number of state figures on “making of a new world order”, then consequently a minister of foreign affairs of one of the advanced countries of the West will estimate this phrase as Utopia, myth, “because it contains” promise of much more than we may reach some time.

The best we may count on understanding the measures for ceasing the continued rolling up to chaos³. In many respects the source of this chaos-real and potential, as

³ *Ibidem.*

General Secretary of ECOSOS states, is former communist orientation of Europe and USSR countries⁴. These utterances are not quite optimistic, but full of realism, characterize to the best a scale and complexity of the problems facing NIS.

With the formation and restoration of independence of IS on post-Soviet area and in CWE, the national culture has been reviving, all the people reached out their roots and origins. It was, in essence revolution in the people's consciousness, in particular, of old and average generations, formed for decades. It was, in essence a value, endured through much suffering and comprehended by them – the dream that peoples preserved and nurtured in their minds and hearts.

The political factors began to play a more noticeable role on the boundary of the 20th–21st centuries (escaping terror in connection with changing the ruling regimes, race and religious discrimination, repatriation because of reserving state frontiers) and the military ones (evacuation, re-evacuation), as well other factors of population movement.

The countries of EE and CIS have been gradually drawing in these processes. The well-known politician R.F. Mustafayev, in connection with this, notes that policy of the USA and EE exerts quite essential influence on socio-democratic and economic transformations of the Turkic-speaking states and peoples in NIS. In the context of American foreign policy the role of a whole of the Turkic-speaking region is being increased and by that history, morals and geopolitical closeness of a whole Moslem world is taken into account⁵.

But, undoubtedly, we have to emphasize in particular that solution of this kind problems demands time for their coordination and great expenses that at times are beyond powers of individual peoples and states. The more so, NIS for more than 70 years guarded by “iron curtain” from the rest of world, i.e. been in a complete isolation from the achievements of the world civilization. Here should be added the global challenges to the mankind in the 21st century, when possibilities of a state taken separately turn to be insufficient facing these challenges. All this requires joining the efforts of many states to solve the problems with a planetary, regional or local character. We are the eye-witnesses of that resources of the greater powers of the field very often are not sufficient for successful decision of a series of civilization tasks directed at protection of natural landscape, guarantee of safety against climatic changes, abolition of consequences of the natural and technical catastrophes, carrying out archeological excavations, restoration, protection and exploitation of the monuments

⁴ “Education in the countries with transitional economy”, in *W.B. Europe and Central Asia. Sector of social development*, Ves mir Publishing House, Moscow, 2001, p.183.

⁵ O.M. Karmadonov, “The Effect of Absence: Culture-civilization specifics”, in *Issues of Philosophy*, no. 2, 2008, pp.29–31, Fund IPHL, NASA.

of culture, guarantee of food security, as well struggle against poverty, soon and so forth⁶.

To build international ties on a level of states they have to recognize the existence of essential ethnocultural (ethnic, linguistic, confessional) differences between the individual peoples and regions. In more globalizing world influence on all the sides of life in all spheres takes place through standardization and unification of the industrial processes, financial flows, scientific methods of regulation, educational reforms and legal regularities. As to specificity of development and interaction of sphere of culture and art, in contrast to other spheres, it is development, preservation and multiplying differences, established for ages.

If the processes of integration in world economics have enveloped all the continents and poles leading to the formation of tens and hundreds world, regional and field international institutes, different kinds of blocks and other unions of states, then in a sphere of culture and art such structures make up no more than dozen.

The international-legal sources that lie in the basis of collaboration in a field of culture, are international treaties on friendship and cooperation, legal assistance, cultural and scientific collaboration, programs of cultural and scientific cooperation, agreement on creation and activities of cultural centres, plans of cultural and scientific exchanges, international conventions, as well as forums and meetings.

The boundaries of the system, as if washed out, i.e. the point is an influence of geopolitical factors, arguments, dialectical interconnections, influencing on the national and world politics in a sphere of culture, ties between individual states, and international institutes in this sphere. And this means that science on world socio-cultural environment, in its current state and appearance, moreover working within the frames of own subject field, separately from policy and WO, has not mechanism of verification. This, in its turn, requires study and exposing links characteristic for a sphere of science, culture of states for their identification.

International specialization of states is determined, to a great extent, by not volume and increase in and other macro indices, but volume and quality of investigations and elaborations, scientific-technical potential and composition of Engineer Technical Workers, in industry and export of potent applications for inventions and commercial applications, volume and share of ready makes and production of the branches of science capacity. At the same time the determining factor becomes capability of dynamic generating and mastering novelties and the whole of world culture, emphasizing

⁶ A.Skachkov, "Dialogue between cultures and civilizations. Alternative to power scenario", in *International Life*, 2007, no. 7–8, Fund IPHL, NASA, pp.144–151.

reforming the system of science and education, restoring the supporting interaction of different multicultural of different times, peoples and nations⁷.

The Turkic-speaking peoples which inhabit the crossing ways of Europe and Asia and been the bridge between them try to accumulate in them all the best sides of two continents and two world civilizations. Of course, to all these peoples, by their essence and principle, the eastern (in particular Moslem) values are close. Although, it should be taken into account, for past decades they have assimilated for their good a number of the signs of West European culture. But if to estimate on a whole it is possible to note that they have not stepped aside from own multicultural. These processes continue to take place, at our vision, on the whole of CIS area, as well. Azerbaijan also is not exception in this respect. Thus, to implement their intents the countries-participants of the Commonwealth still in 1992 signed a series of agreements on collaboration and other. Azerbaijan joined them since 1993. Collaboration in a field of culture of the countries of CIS is an important moment on preservation first of all of the monuments of culture, been the property of historical community of the peoples of former union republics entering the USSR. For years past they have signed agreements on cultural and scientific collaboration with Russia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belarus and other.

The General Conference of UNESCO (16.11.1972) approved the Convention “On maintenance of world cultural and natural heritage”. Its participants are 140 states, including Azerbaijan and other Turkic-speaking countries.

At the source of the formation of political-law foundations of collaboration of the Azerbaijan Republic, literally, in all fields and spheres including culture, science and education, undoubtedly its President H.A. Aliyev was. He, as an experienced politician, became the main architect of young Azerbaijani diplomacy. For years of the restored independence there was made by him maximum of efforts on stabilization of home policy situation in the republic, put in order and enhanced the scientific and literary links with all countries, as well restored a number of monuments of culture and art. His successor – the present President of Azerbaijan I.H.Aliyev demonstrates to the world the necessity of active participation of state in all spheres of economics and culture and power⁸.

⁷ A.G. Vishnevskiy, “Civilization, culture and demography. Social sciences and contemporaneity”, in *R4S*, no.2, Fund IPhL, NASA, pp. 57–76.

⁸ I.H. Aliyev, “The new gains of development of Azerbaijani culture” in *Baku Worker*, 21.12.2011, Fund IPhL, NASA, pp. 3–5. In Baku a solemn ceremony was held on the opening of the 2nd International Festival of Mugam “World of Mugam”, in *Baku Worker*, 15.03.2011, Fund IPhL, NASA, p.4.

In realization of all-planetary intercultural interaction the role of President of H.A. Aliyev's Fund, the Ambassador of the good will of UNESCO and ESESCO and Deputy of Milli Mejlis M.A. Aliyeva is of particular importance⁹.

The made analysis displayed that Azerbaijan on a whole reached quite enough level of the functional and institutional openness. For more than 20 years of its revived independence (1991–2011) Azerbaijan used the various diplomatic channels both on many literal and bilateral basis at solving peaceful and decision of a number of the territorial and other problems: Summits of the Heads of states, conferences of government Heads, meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs, international forums, symposia, conferences, etc.¹⁰

The total number of treaties, agreements and international Conventions signed by Azerbaijan Republic for 1992–2011 exceeds 25 thus, about 48.0% of which falls on a share of CIS, countries of EE and Baltiya, including bilateral 1930. From pointed in a sphere of culture and art there were signed 118, in a sphere of tourism, sport, labor migration – 34.

Quite considerable is their number with Russia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and other. Their increase took place intensively in a political sphere, including friendship and collaboration about 170, in a field of training scientific and pedagogic personnel, science, education and recognition of equivalence of diplomas, communication, television, reclaims and exchange of information – 35 (4.7%) agreement. A number of treaties ratified on many lateral basis within the frames of CIS in all spheres of collaboration for 1992–2011 made up 240, among them over 40 (21.5%) in political sphere, in humanitarian sphere of culture and art, literature, editorship and library – 75 (15.1%), 41 (14.7%) agreement is ratified in a field of human rights and basic freedoms, labor migration, restoration of rights of the deported persons, national minorities, visa regime and so on.

The limits of Azerbaijan have increased substantially and, correspondingly, a number of bilateral treaties with the advanced, developing countries and countries of CEE, China, CPDR, Mongolia, etc. these treaties have been concluded since 1994 and to the end of 2010 their number exceeded 830, among them 30.7% in a political sphere, sphere of science, education and training the scientific personnel, social sphere, culture and art taken together – 17.5, in a sphere of commercial-economic, scientific-technical cooperation, industry – 41.0, in a sphere of tourism, sport and labor migration – 4.5% and so on. The scientific links with the research centre's of

⁹ E. Aliyeva, "Mugam wins the world", in *Baku Worker Newspaper*, 13.04, 2010, Fund IPHL, NASA, pp. 5–7,9.

¹⁰ "Decrees of Azerbaijan Republic H.A. Aliyev for 1992–2003, official edition of MM Azerbaijan Republic", Fundamental fund library, NASA.

the advanced countries – Canada, Great Britain, Japan, Russia, Turkey and other were put right¹¹.

Azerbaijan started to take part, on a whole, in a number of interstate, inter-parliament unions, non-governmental organizations, private formal, informal associations, political parties and so forth. No doubt, as a result all this attaches stability and regularity to it ties and finally promotes the achievement of institutional completeness in accordance with new unified international law regularities, customs and democratic principles.

One of the most important moves in this direction has become signing by Azerbaijan of the multilateral agreements with a number of world, regional, branch structures and joining the corresponding, international Conventions. Under the influence of successful integration of the states of EE, Baltic and overall striving of CIS countries to enter soon WTD, GGATS, EU, IMT, WB, IDEA and other structures much is being done in this direction in Azerbaijan. Thus, partnership of Azerbaijan with WB and EU (EPN) is realized through the political, economic, socio-cultural, ecological and other spheres.

In the cause of developing culture and preservation of cultural values signing the Convention of the International Institute on Specific Unified rights (UNIDRUA) “On stolen and exported cultural values” (The Law of AR No 845-IQ), Agreement in a social sphere adopted jointly with European Social Charter (17.04.1998), is quite weighty. Of no less importance for Azerbaijan is joining the world Convention “On compensation for damage caused to nature by oil and other pollutions”.

It should be noted that creation of political and legal foundation is not so simple, as a general system includes norms referred to different branches of law, which, in addition, have national unlikeness. As is known, the formation of political-law foundations takes place both through implementation of the international standards in practice of economy activities and transformation of inner legislative norms and adoption of new ones.

In geostrategic understanding of this word it has completed the existing and adopted dozens of new home law, regulating the international ties. A system of this kind of regulating is not specificity of Azerbaijan and other countries of CIS. It exists in all developed countries of the West and Japan, as well in the countries Central and South-Eastern Asia including China and India and other developing countries.

Through adoption of the legislative standards and other measures of influence are realized geopolitical interests in outward and home strategically interests of state. It is conditional by that only the state itself is able to regulate and form the

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

necessary ratios and foreign relations in such spheres as culture, science, education and so on.

In interaction of cultures the representatives of science and cultures, joint fellowships under the embassies and representations of the foreign states, credited in a country of stay played and do play an important role. They organize the days of literature of their countries, jubilee parties and exhibitions of the works by the famous artist, speeches of writers and poets, literary and musical parties, concerts of classical and folk music, exhibitions of works of the people artistic handicraft and artisan industry (carpets, goblins, tapestry, canvas, laces, knitting, ancient musical instruments, jewelry, household utensils and so on and so forth.

For reference, we'll note that a total number of culture objects in Azerbaijan make up almost 14.0 tons (libraries, clubs, museums, theatres, parks, historical and cultural monument, concert halls, and children musical, artistic schools of art, circuses, zoological gardens and others)¹².

The international symposia and scientific-practical conferences play not a less important role in spreading interaction of culture in the programmes of which besides scientific reports and exhibitions of scientists' work, as a rule, visitation of picture galleries, show-rooms, theatres, museums, photo-exhibitions, creation houses are included.

It should be noted that all the countries dealing with international exchange in a sphere of culture try to improve the national background and reach an efficient exchange both by volume and structure and the design, quality of the works and by other parameters. The scientific-technical basis of solving the current and long-term problems of the development of a sphere of culture are such conjuncture indices as: working out the strategically Projects of collaboration, development of fundamental and applied science in priority directions, increase in expenditures for the development of science, education in this sphere, rise of their share in GDP, unification of legal regulations. In overcoming the retained lag of expenses yet, as well in provision of the legislative norms for these spheres and other aspects an existence of solving the problems of the Turkic-speaking peoples, on the whole, lies.

Working out the white strategy of actual problems of development of culture and education with regard for the level of state system (independent state, autonomy, okrug, oblast, nationality and other), with an account for preservation of cultural heritage, legal guaranteeing, established scientific and technical potential, existence of scientists and other professionals able to revive this sphere will promote development and interaction of culture in modern conditions. The wide use for these purposes of:

¹² *Statistical Yearbook of Azerbaijan*, State Statistical Committee Fund of the Republic of Azerbaijan, DSK, Baku, 2011, p. 597.

- Information-communication and nanotechnologies;
- Tourism in diverse forms (scientific, cultural, sports);
- International forums, symposia, conferences, etc;
- Preservation of links between generations of scientists, actors, artists, workers of culture, art, musicians, poets and other;
- Necessity of attracting the banks for this, creating corresponding funds in them.

In first turn it is necessary to render assistance to those peoples, who have no own statehood or base culture of which for ages, is on a stage of disappearance. In particular it concerns the deported and other peoples, undergone the repressions by national sign. A number of them forced to live outside from the ancestors' lands, areal of their historical motherland and they are prohibited to overstep their frontiers.

The problems of revival and transformations are in particular, actual for a number of such Turkic peoples as Turks-Meshed's, Crimean Tatars, Kabardino-Balkars, Karachi-Circassians, Chechens. It is generally known that at the end of World War II (in 1944) they were deported in mass from their native lands to Siberia, Ural, uninhabited steppes of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and other. As a result for more than 50 year period of expatriation their ethnos (language, culture, art, education, science, mode of life, customs, literature, oral folk arts, artistic industry, handicraft, etc.) as well as demographic structure were caused a severe damage. To restore all these values and indices won't be so simple and at times they have to collect them by grains.

There is no doubt in reestablishing the ties between generations, i.e. between old age groups and youth will be of importance. The basic tendencies of restoration and development of national language, culture, education and art of these peoples will be determined not only by factors, bound with new solutions on international level, but following the basic rights and freedoms of man, using the Code of rules and democratic principles functioning in all world, regional and specialized structures in this sphere. In particular there can be referred UNESCO, EU. Assemblies of the Turkic peoples (status and rights of which should be considerably extended), the Institute of the Turkic peoples and Central-Asian Studio and other.

If to take into account also a particular geographical situation of the Turkic peoples on junction of the interests of the countries of the North and South, west and East and nearness of the potential zones of instability, then it becomes apparent that new conditions, by no means, promote creation of favorable conditions for revival and realization of cultural needs of these peoples.

In the first place it is necessary to solve their political-law problems on the occasion of social adaptation on their historical motherland through strengthening status of their mother tongue, possibilities of having education on it, restoration of

the monument of culture, ethnos and toponymy, providing access to the archives data. It is connected with that their lands after their exile, as well mostly in the end of the '80s and beginning of the '90s of the 20th century were urgently populated by the representatives of Russian and other ethnos.

Therefore at return to the native places they experience a great pressing. Taking into account the peculiarities mentioned there should be also adopted corresponding inner laws, worked out the Projects and Programs on resolving of a whole historical heritage of these peoples through an access to the archives, training the specialists on pointed and other necessary profiles in higher educational institutions both in their countries and abroad.

Quite positive looks more active involvement into law-making process of the institutes representing the interests of native Turkic peoples and underling them financial, organizational and other kinds of support at first. In particular, it refers to activities of the Assembly of the Turkic peoples that may turn into the efficient international forum, promoting harmonics development of the Turkic peoples, increase in quality of their life, revival of their ethnos, as well solution of other urgent socio-economic problems.

On the whole, it is necessary to think over uncontrollable urbanization led as a result to destroying historical monuments of culture, disappearance of villages and whole specific for a region a number of cultural traditions. In this case the matter is a notion of origin of culture of the peoples as an aggregation of traditions, skills, norms of education and behavior, i.e. the all that can be characterized by such common term as ethnos and other.

We'd like also to note particularly the necessity of revival of the mountainous villages and mountainous pastures in Crimea differed by a specific coloring, as well as rural culture on a whole, building houses convenient for residence, restoration of appearance of the old still kept objects of culture. This concerns in particular remote houses and mountainous settlements, destroyed already in the period of sovietization and exile of local native people, provision of the farm economics with new techniques and equipment. It is not idle talk, but demand of time. To elevate our common culture all the peoples have to gaze at own origins-springs in order to comprehend where we came, sweeping aside and destroyed the monuments we inherited from the ancestors past civilizations, going from one extreme to another.

In connection with established situation there emerges the necessity of working out the fundamental theoretical foundations of development and revival of multi-cultures of the peoples including the Turkic ones, in particular ethnos of those who are on stage of disappearance. This right of peoples is generally recognized norm of UNO long ago.

We have to use all the possible sources for restoration of the monument of cultural ethnos, preserving them for future generations. To realize the Projects mentioned above, no doubt, there will be required the considerable investments that may be found through financial and state institutes and other channels. In particular there might be directed the means which are expended for different kind of – expensive entertainment “Show”. The population and private sector, NGO and other statuses may be attracted to this noble mission, by propagating, in every possible way, patronage of art and other forms.

Taking into account that the Tatars were forcibly moved from their general dwelling-place (homeland), all the problems concerning the political status of Crimea should be solved with their participation independently of the place of their living. It refers also to the issues of their planned return, domicile creation of a working place and other socioeconomic measures. At present in solving the pointed problems disorder appears. The natives, deported from the historical homeland and lost touch with own ethnos for more than 70 years, suffer. Assimilation of the people is being continued just by this. Nothing threatens their language and ethnos. They have their own statehood and all their problems are solved immediately.

Les Bibliothèques des organisations publiques Tatars dans le reseau d'information national

Zavdat MINNULLIN

L'état et le développement des bibliothèques dans chaque pays dépendent toujours des processus socio-culturels, politiques, idéologiques et économiques. Cela se confirme dans l'exemple de l'histoire du développement des bibliothèques chez les Tatars pendant la période antérieure à la Révolution d'Octobre 1917.

Les chercheurs attribuent le début du développement du réseau national d'information à l'industrie de l'imprimerie et au système confessionnel s'étant formé au début du XIX^{ème} siècle. Au fur et à mesure que des relations publiques, des processus économiques et socio-culturels se développent et se compliquent, ce système devint plus ou moins fiable pour répondre aux exigences d'une nouvelle ère autant que cela soit possible dans les conditions de la Russie d'empire; les autorités de celle-ci suivant la politique systématiquement chauvine par rapport au peuple tatar.¹

Vers 1917 le réseau d'information national chez les tatars comprend les composantes suivantes: l'imprimerie, le système de la formation religieuse, les journaux périodiques. Chacun de ces composants passèrent leur chemin long et contradictoire de développement, ce qui exige encore une recherche détaillée.²

Dans cet article on n'abordera que le processus d'émergence de la composante des bibliothèques dans le réseau national d'information.

Cette composante a été construite de plusieurs types de bibliothèques:

1. Bibliothèques privées. Chronologiquement se sont des bibliothèques les plus anciennes et les plus nombreuses. Certains chercheurs, par exemple I. Georgi, ayant vécu à la deuxième moitié de XVII^{ème} siècle souligna comme quelque-chose d'habituel l'existence d'œuvres historiques chez les tatars³. Ainsi les sources d'archives confirment l'expansion de bibliothèques privées chez les tatars.

¹ D.M. Iskhakov, *Le phénomène de jadidisme chez les tatars : l'introduction à la compréhension socio-culturelle*, Kazan, 1997, p.7.

² I.G. Georgi, *La description de tous les peuples habitant en Russie. A propos des tribus tatares*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1799, Partie.2, pp. 9–10.
Archive nationale de République de Tatarstan, f.12, Inv.30, p.61, f.10–14; f.22, Inv.2, p.753, f.125–12 ; p.755, f.48; f.139, Inv. 1, p.123, f.13–15.

³ I.G. Georgi, *La description de tous les peuples habitant en Russie. A propos des tribus tatares*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1799, Partie.2, pp. 9–10.

2. Bibliothèques des institutions d'enseignement (medersa et méctébé).
3. Filiales de libraires publiques. Ces filiales ont été ouvertes à Kazan, Perm, Ufa, Bougourslan et dans d'autres villes.
4. Bibliothèques de zemstvo (assemblées locales et provinciales élues par la noblesse et les classes possédantes en Russie tsariste). Des institutions de zemstvo des provinces d'Ufa et d'Orenbourg ont mené un travail actif dans ce domaine. G. Teregulov et I. Bikchantaev ont travaillé là-bas en tant que chefs des sections périscolaires.
5. Bibliothèques publiques. Elles pourraient être fondées, en fonction de la position la plus haute par rapport aux bibliothèques publiques et municipales de 12 juin 1867, comme par des particuliers, tant par des sociétés créées spécialement. Bien que la première institution de bienfaisance ait été organisée par les Tatars de Kasimov déjà en 1867 à Saint-Petersbourg⁴, les bibliothèques publiques ne commencèrent à surgir qu'à la période de la première révolution russe. Cela est lié à certaine démocratisation de la société russe après le manifeste tsariste du 17 octobre 1906, ainsi qu'à la croissance de la culture générale dans la société tatare et le renforcement de la situation économique des fondations de bienfaisance.

Les bibliothèques publiques ont été ouvertes par les sociétés de bienfaisance tatars dans les villes suivantes: Kasimov, Orenbourg, Orsk, Troitsk, Moscou, Samara, Tomsk, Sterlitamak, Kharkov, Sol-Iletzk, Ekaterinbourg, Astrakhan, Seitova Sloboda, Ufa. Puis avec l'émergence et le renforcement de colonies tatars sur le territoire actuel d'Azerbaïdjan, Kazakhstan, Ouzbékistan, Turkménistan, Kirghizstan, Sibérie, ainsi qu'en l'Extrême orient. Les bibliothèques et les salles de lecture sont apparues par l'initiative de sociétés de bienfaisance tatars aussi dans les villes suivantes : Baku, Alma-ata, Tachkent, Kokanda, Namangan, Andizhan, Petropavlovsk, Sergiopol, Przhevalsk, Kazalinsk, Kapal, Kerk, Omsk, Tomsk, Irkoutsk, Blagoveshensk.

En effet, pendant la période de la révolution de 1905–1907, dans les villes de l'Orient Islamique comme Kair, Stambul, Mekka, Medina, Bierut et au beaulieu Deabend de la ville indienne Saharanpur, prirent naissance plusieurs organisations de bienfaisance qui voyaient leur mission de venir en aide aux jeunes étudiants tatars. C'est en commençant par la fondation des bibliothèques que les associations de bienfaisance organisèrent leur travail⁵.

On va illustrer l'activité des organisations tatars de bienfaisance sous l'exemple du travail de la bibliothèque de la société musulmane d'Orenbourg. Sa salle de la

⁴ *La charte de la société de bienfaisance mutuelle de Bekbulat chez les tatars de Kasimov*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1882.

⁵ Z.S. Minnullin, « Les amicales (sociétés de secours mutuel entre gens de la même région) et les organisations de bienfaisance des étudiants tatars aux pays musulman (au début de 20ème siècle) » dans *Le monde d'Islam*, 1999, no.1, pp.135–144.

lecture gratuite a été gérée par la commission bibliothécaire composée de six personnes, avec Z. Khairullin en tête. Les fonds de la bibliothèque ont augmenté de manière constante: si en 1912 il n'y avait que 2 837 livres, déjà en 1914 en avait 3 225. Dans la même année 10 440 personnes ont visité la bibliothèque, ont emprunté 4 046 livres, magazines et journaux. 132 livres et 272 numéros de magazines des donateurs, ainsi que des magazines russes (« La nature et les individus », « L'affaire commercial ») ont été empruntés. Pendant la même année 425 numéros de magazines avec 113 annexes ont été achetés et on s'abonnait aux 10 journaux en langue tatar, 7 en russe⁶. Excepté le service ordinaire des lecteurs, la bibliothèque organisa les lectures gratuites pour la population.⁷

Par exemple, le 24 janvier 1910 sur une de ces soirées le fameux théologien M. Bigiev et les enseignants de médersa « Khusainiya » H. Aydarov, I. Bikchentaev présentèrent leurs exposés⁸. De telles lectures se firent régulièrement. Pendant ces soirées-lectures ont été menées les discussions de divers sujets, où, par conséquent se heurtaient les intérêts des divers groupes de la population tatar d'Orenbourg. Le 31 janvier de 1910 pendant la réunion, on a pris décision de mener ces soirées de lecture dans cadre religieux et en appliquant la charia⁹. Mais l'époque a changé. En 1913 les jeunes progressistes sont venus à la direction de la commission des bibliothèques. Ils organisèrent la lecture collective des journaux pendant les prières durant le mois sacré de ramadan provoquant le mécontentement aigu de certains musulmans-kadimistes orthodoxes¹⁰.

L'analyse des catalogues de bibliothèques publiques tatars nous montre que les belles-lettres composèrent la partie fondamentale de fonds des bibliothèques. Des livres de vulgarisation scientifique, historique, géographique et philosophique furent en deuxième place. Le pourcentage de littérature religieuse était insignifiant. Presque un tiers des livres étaient en russe dans les bibliothèques municipales. Quelques traductions en langues anglaises, françaises existaient parmi toutes les branches de connaissances.

Une grande importance fut accordée au complément des bibliothèques par des journaux périodiques, qui informaient les lecteurs non seulement des faits et des événements dans la société tatar, mais aussi à l'échelle du pays et du monde.

⁶ *Le rapport pour l'année 1912 de la société musulmane d'Orenbourg*, Orenbourg, 1913, pp. 4, 34–37.

⁷ A. Maksudi, « La bibliothèque musulmane » dans *Correspondant de Kazan*, 10 novembre 1905; « Filiale musulmane de la bibliothèque étant ouverte au nom d'écrivain russe S.Aksakov » dans *La vie*, 20 mai 1916; V. Verkholantsev, *Ville de Perm, passé et présent. (Essai historico-statistique)*, Perm, 1913, p. 96; A. Bakayski, « Bougourslan... » dans *La vie*, 22 avril 1915.

⁸ « Individu dans la société. Fête de la lecture à la maison publique » dans *Religion et vie*, 1910, no. 5, pp. 81–82.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

Notamment en tenant compte de l'importance des périodiques, la bibliothèque de Club oriental à Kazan en 1914 s'abonnait aux 43 magazines et journaux en langues tatar, azerbaidjanais, turc, kazakh et russe¹¹.

Dans les premières décennies de XXe siècle les bibliothèques des sociétés publiques (principalement des sociétés de bienfaisance) occupèrent la position dominante dans le système de bibliothèques tatares. Les autres catégories des bibliothèques n'ont pas pu rivaliser avec eux ni selon la richesse des fonds, ni par le nombre de visites.

Avec le temps, la présence de la société de bienfaisance, ainsi que la bibliothèque publique dans certain localité devint aux yeux de peuple le coefficient de développement de la population tatar. Par exemple, correspondant de journal « Yoldiz » H. Yarullin, en caractérisant la vie sociale de tatares dans la ville Tetyouchi, écria: « il n'existe des institutions plus utiles au peuple que la société de bienfaisance et la bibliothèque avec sa salle de lecture.¹² »

De telle façon, les sociétés de bienfaisance, ainsi que les bibliothèques publiques, dans les conditions d'absence d'organisations politiques deviennent ces structures qui portaient non seulement un aide sociale et contribuait à la croissance de niveau de la culture générale, mais servirent la consolidation de la société tatar en général. Les autorités et les missionnaires orthodoxes ont eu pleine connaissance de cela.

La convocation et les décisions « de la réunion spéciale interdépartementale sur la production des mesures de la résistance à l'influence tatar-musulmane dans le région de Volga » (12–19 janvier 1910) furent l'étape importante dans le renforcement de la surveillance et un arbitraire par rapport aux organisations publiques tatares, y compris les bibliothèques. Dans certains cas les autorités ont simplement interdit l'organisation des bibliothèques publiques. Par exemple, les données de l'archive historique national russe confirment qu'en année 1914 le gouverneur de Semipalatinsk refusa aux petits bourgeois et marchands ayant sollicités d'affirmation du statut de la « Société pour l'entretien de la bibliothèque municipale musulmane et sa salle de lecture, qui se trouva dans la région de Semipalatinsk, ville de Pavlodar »¹³. Le gouverneur motiva son refus de l'impossibilité de surveillance constante dans la bibliothèque n'ayant que des livres tatares.

Le gouverneur général dans sa lettre secrète adressée au Ministre des affaires intérieures motiva son refus de telle façon : « Je considère l'union de la population musulmane dans n'importe quelle société comme un fait inadmissible. Jusqu'à l'achèvement de colonisation des régions steppiques par les paysans russes, il est inutile d'admettre aux tatares de diffuser librement ces publications dans cette région

¹¹ G Sharaf, « Le club oriental » dans *L'Etoile*, 7 mai 1914.

¹² Kh. Yarullin, « Les musulmans de la ville de Tetyushi » dans *L'Etoile*, 13 février 1915.

¹³ Archive historique nationale russe à Saint-Petersbourg, f.821, Inv.133, p.474, f.255.

composée dans sa grande partie en musulmans, mais les kirghizes (kazakh Z.M) – nomades, qui sont très loin de n’importe quelle culture »¹⁴.

On peut voir le retard sous l'exemple de l'ouverture de la bibliothèque de la société musulmane de bienfaisance de Kharkov. Après que le président de cette société R.Uzbyakov ait reçu l'admission pour l'ouverture de la bibliothèque, mais à la condition d'avoir des livres seulement de contenu spirituel-moral, scientifique, économique, et qu'en langue russe, au fond, le refus, il adressa au ministre des affaires intérieures sa sollicitation d'ouverture de la bibliothèque et salle de lecture où on pourrait avoir des livres tatars également. Le 13 août de 1914 le département de la police transféra l'information confidentielle au département de Ministère des affaires intérieures: « reconnaître l'impossibilité de satisfaction »¹⁵. Après quoi la correspondance cessa.

En 1911, après la disposition du Sénat, on a fermé des sociétés tatars de bienfaisance à Astrakhan, Simbirsk, Stavropol, ainsi que la société musulmane de bienfaisance sur la foire de Nizhniy Novgorod et la société civilisatrice de Koustanai¹⁶. Les écoles et les bibliothèques se trouvant sous le soin de ces sociétés ont été victimes. En 1912, les autorités, en se référant à l'absence de paragraphes correspondants dans la charte de la société, n'ont pas admis l'ouverture de la bibliothèque et l'organisation des soirées de lecture dans la société musulmane de bienfaisance « Tarakkiyune Islam » de Tomsk¹⁷. Les autorités, étant inquiets de l'influence tatar sur la population musulmane de l'Empire, ont interdit les visites à la bibliothèque aux élèves de l'école kirghize (kazakh – Z.M) de la société de bienfaisance d'Orenbourg¹⁸.

De cette façon, vers 1917 les tatars obtinrent graduellement leur réseau d'information national, où les bibliothèques de sociétés de bienfaisance prirent la position essentielle.

¹⁴ *Idem*, p.474, f.253–253.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *La Douma Russe. La troisième convocation. Les rapports sténographiques de 1912. Cinquième session. Troisième partie*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1912, colonne 79.

¹⁷ *La vie culturelle de musulmans de Tomsk en 1912, Sibiriya*, 15 février 1913.

¹⁸ A. Tsalikov, *Le Caucase et la région de Volga*, A. Tsalikov, Moscou, 1913, p. 179.

Pax Khazarica: A View from the 21st Century

B.L. KHAMIDULLIN

There is no doubt that the Khazars and the Khazar Khanate had a great role in the lives of many states and peoples of Eurasia in 7th–10th centuries. Natives from the “depths of Berzilia” they played a dominant role in the early history of the Eastern Slavs and Hungarians, a significant role in the development of their subordinates Volga Bulgaria and the Caucasion Alania and Kievan Rus and a major role in the history of the Byzantine Empire, the Abbasid Caliphate and the Khorezm. Military confrontation between the Khazars and the Umayyad Caliphate, the power of the Khazars as a state which capable to resist the invasion of any of numerous enemy troops in the VIII century saved Central Europe from imminent expansion from the east by the Muslim Arabs who tried to narrow living space Christian countries with the help of huge “vise” through the Pyrenees and the Caucasus. At the same time the progressive development of trade and crafts, livestock and farming, viticulture and fishing of the population of Khazaria led to an unprecedented flourishing of trade and economical relations not only in the Caspian Sea Region and the Northern Caucasus, in the Volga and Ural Regions, Don Region and Crimea, but also throughout the vast territory from Siberia and China to the Southwest Asia and Africa, Western Europe and Scandinavia. Social and political traditions of Pax Khazarica largely contributed to the fact that Volga Bulgaria and the Caucasion Alania, Kievan Rus and Hungary became an important political, military and economic power in Eastern Europe from the 10th century till the arrival of the Mongol-Tatars in the first half of the 13th century. It should be noted that some modern historians, whose opinion is highly regarded in the scientific community called Golden Horde which formed in the second half of the 13th century as “the heir of the Khazaria”¹...

So, what kinds of evaluations have received the Khazars in historiography?

V. V. Grigorev, who was the author of “The Mongols’ History” (St. Petersburg, 1834), wrote about “Khazars’ form of government” in his article in 1834: “Khazar people were an extraordinary phenomenon in the Middle Ages. Being surrounded by wild and nomadic tribes, they had all the advantages of the educated countries

¹ V. Petrukhin, “Khazarskiy kaganat i yego sosedi” in *Istoriya tatar s drevneyshikh vremen*, vol. V, 7 t., Kazan, 2002, T.1, p. 313.

like: established form of government, extensive and thriving trade as well as regular troops. When anarchy, bigotry and profound ignorance contended for their dominion over Western Europe, the Khazar Khanate was famous for its justice and religious tolerance, therefore all those who were persecuted for their believe systems flocked there from everywhere. The Khazar Khanate shone on a dark horizon of Europe as a vivid example...”².

Compiler of the book “Collection of Traveling to the Tatars and other Eastern Peoples in 13th, 14th and 15th centuries” (St. Petersburg, 1825), D.I. Yazykov paid more serious consideration to the history of the Khazars. In 1840, in the great article “Experience in the History of the Khazars”, he noted that the Khazars, whose origins “will remain in darkness forever”³, who “spoke the same language” with the Volga-Kama Bulgars⁴ and partially accepted “Mohammedan”⁵, and partly Jewish⁶ faith – “people which once strong, conquered by the power many other nations, disappeared God knows how, and left a memory about itself only passages in the history and in some geographical names, we know extremely small”⁷. He noted the “patience” of the Khazars “in relation to the faith”⁸, in particular, the presence in Khanate the serious amount of “Idolaters” and Christians; considering “the form of Khazars’ government”⁹, their military force the “core” of which were “Mohammedans”¹⁰; numerous Khazar cities¹¹; the history of the appearance of the Khazars in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe and the history of their military and diplomatic relations with neighboring peoples and states, in particular – with the Slavs, the Byzantine Empire and the Roman Church¹², etc.

Following V.V. Grigorev and D.I. Yazykov, the history of Khazars was considered by P.V. Golubovskiy the author of the book “Pechenegs, Torqs and Cumans before the Tatar Invasion” (Kyiv, 1884). In 1886, in his historical and ethnographic essay “Bulgarians and Khazars, Eastern Neighbors of Russia under Saint Vladimir” he wrote: “Having facts that Khazar government had high religious and national tolerance,

² V.V. Grigoryev, “O dvoystvennosti verkhovnoy vlasti u khazarov” in Grigor'yev V.V., *Rossiia i Aziya. Sbornik issledovaniy i statey po istorii, etnografii i geografii, napisannykh v raznoye vremya*, St Petersburg, 1876, p. 66.

³ D. Yazykov, *Opyt v istorii khazarov in Trudy*, Imperatorskoy Rossiyskoy Akademii, St Petersburg, 1840, Ch.I, p. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171–177.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 177–178.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 187–194.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 194–225.

we cannot assume that our ancestors suffered under the sway of Khazars. There was not a single indication of any hostile attitude on the behalf of Russian Slavs towards the Khazar Empire... Except for a civilizing influence on the Russian-Slavic tribes and except for the protection of their eastern trade, the latter was of great importance to the whole Europe, the Khazar Empire made a great favor during the time of its highest development and appeared as a great bulwark of Europe protecting it against numerous nomadic Asian masses from the east and Arabs' aggressive aspirations from the south.”¹³

Ukrainian historian M. S. Grushevskiy the author of the 4-volume “History of Ukraine-Rus” (Lviv, 1904–1907) has paid special attention to the “Khazar issue”. He gave a description of the Khazar Khanate, its territory, political system; noted a strong influence of the Khazars in the Slavic culture and claimed that the statehood of Kievan Rus' has its roots in period when the Slavs were subordinated to the Khazars in the second half of the 7th – first half of the 8th century; more than precursors highlighted Khazar-Russian political and economical ties, etc.¹⁴. The researcher pointed out the special role of the Khazars as a barrier of Europe against new nomadic Asian hordes until the tenth century. He rightly believed that the Khazar State was the most powerful state in Eastern Europe in the 8th–9th centuries¹⁵.

In 1925 during the Soviet period of Russian history Yu.V. Gote, the author of “Essays on East European Material Culture History before the Foundation of the first Russian State” (L., 1925), wrote an interesting and full of archaeological information article about Khazar culture¹⁶; and in 1927 he singled out a unique archaeological Saltovo-Mayak culture, the culture that was developed during the domination of Khazar Khanate in Eastern Europe¹⁷. In 1930 while summing up his thoughts Gote stated that Khazars' role on the historical arena was “not as much conquering as unifying and pacifying”, he pointed out that that role was expressed in being a stronghold protecting from aggression of Asian nomads westwards and introducing proper order along with religious tolerance to bring to the economical prosperity over vast territories¹⁸.

¹³ P. Golubovskiy, “Bolgari i khazary, vostochnyye sosedi Rusi pri Vladimire Svyatom (Istoriko-etnograficheskiy ocherk)”, in *Otdel'nyy ottisk iz «Kiyevskoy stariny»*, 1886, t. 22, no. 7, Kiyv, 1888, p. 43.

¹⁴ M.S. Grushevskiy, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi*, Kiyv, 1913, T.I., pp. 226–232.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 230, See *Ibid.*: M.S. Grushevskiy, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda / [1-ye izdaniye]*, St Petersburg, 1904, 380 p.

¹⁶ YU.V. Got'ye, “Khazarskaya kul'tura”, in *Novyy Vostok*, 1925, no. 8–9, pp. 277–294.

¹⁷ YU.V. Got'ye, “Kto byli obitateli Verkhnego Saltova?”, in *Izvestiya Gosudarstvennoy Akademii istorii material'noy kul'tury*, 1927, tome V, pp.65–84.

¹⁸ YU.V. Got'ye, *Zheleznyy vek v Vostochnoy Yevrope*, M.-L., 1930, p. 70, pp. 88–89.

However, J. Stalin reconsidered the History of the USSR peoples during the last years of the II World War and it underwent some fundamental changes. August 9, 1944 the Decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) was published it instructed to “pay particular attention to the study and interpretation of the historical events such as joint struggle... against foreign invaders” and the Golden Horde was declared to be a “state organization of a parasitic origin”¹⁹. December 25, 1951 after that attack on the objective examination of the Golden Horde and the Tatar khanate period it was the Khazar Khanate’s turn. That very day, a short article under the title “About a misconception”²⁰ written by a certain P. Ivanov (B.A. Rybakov?) was published in the “Pravda” newspaper which represented itself a mouthpiece of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b); that article criticized a scientific hypothesis stated by Ukrainian Professor V.A. Parhomenko on Khazars’ role in forming Kievan Rus²¹, also “representation of Khazars as progressive people”, “strange admiration of Khazar culture” and “exalted Khazar heritage” were subjected to criticism as well as “a wrong assessment of the historical role of the Khazar Khanate” in Professor M.I. Artamonov’s works²². The Khazar Khanate was named a “primitive and state formation” that “represented a combination of various primitive tribes”. Two years later, a scientific article by B.A. Rybakov was released, by that time he had already published three monographs on Radzimichy, Antient Rus’ crafts and Chernigov’s antiquities; Rybakov in accordance with “P. Ivanov” described the Khazar Khanate as a small “primitive and predatory nomadic state” which existence was possible only due to its “parasitic” way of living on Rus’ trade with the East²³.

The definition “primitive parasitic and predatory nomadic state” (for some reason that definition was not applied to the Tengri or Christian Turks living in the area of Great and Danube Bulgaria) was applied to the Turkic-Jewish Khazar Khanate, to Tengri and Christian Pechenegs and Kipchaks, to Chingizid – Borjigins reigning Turkic-Muslim states up to September 2, 1920 (the day when Alim Khan of Bukhara was dethroned), was widely used by the historians of the country, by the way, who proved the exact opposite by the actual information presented in their scientific publications.

Nowadays we can fearlessly assert that an important role of Khazars and the Khazar Khanate in the lives of many peoples and nations of Eurasia in the 7th–10th

¹⁹ *Partiynoye stroitel'stvo*, 1944, no. 15–16, pp. 29–32.

²⁰ P. Ivanov, “Ob odnoy oshibochnoy kontseptsii”, in *Pravda*, 1951, no. 359, p. 3.

²¹ V.A. Parkhomenko, *U istokov russkoy gosudarstvennosti (VIII–XI vv.)*, M., 1924, 116 p.

²² M.I. Artamonov, *Ocherki drevneyshyey istorii khazar*, L., 1937 (na titule: L., 1936), VIII+140 p.

²³ B.A. Rybakov, “K voprosu o roli khazarского kaganata v istorii Rusi”, in *Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, 1953, tome XVIII, pp. 128–150.

centuries were clearly stated in historical sources²⁴. That role was described in details and “stated” in domestic and foreign historiography²⁵.

One of the “Hun-Bulgarian tribes”²⁶, “Turks from the east that were called Khazars”²⁷, played a prevailing part in the early history of Eastern Slavs and Hungarians and an essential role in formation and development Volga Bulgaria and Caucasus Alanya which were subjected to it, as well as Kievan Rus, and a serious role in the history of Khorezm, the Abbasid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire²⁸.

²⁴ B.L. Khamidullin, *Khazary i ikh vassaly glazami sovremennikov*, Kazan, 2014, 280 p.

²⁵ D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954, 293 p.; P. Szyszman, “Les Khazars. Problèmes et controverses”, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1957, tome 152, no. 2, pp. 174–221; B.N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiyskiy svod svedeniy o Vostochnoy Yevrope. [T. I] Gorgan i Povolzh'ye v IX–X vv. [khazary i burtasy]*, M., 1962, 281 p.; Z.A. Velidi Togan, “Hazarlar”, in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1964, Vol. 5, pp. 397–408; P.A. Pletneva, “Ot kocheviy k gorodam: saltovo-mayatskaya kul'tura” in *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkhologii SSSR*, M., 1967, no. 142, 198 p.; P.A. Pletneva, *Khazary*, M., 1976, 93 p.; A.H. Posselt, *Geschichte des chazarisch-jüdischen Staates*, Vienna, 1982, 293 p.; A. Zhukovsky “Khazars”, in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Toronto, 1988, Vol. II, pp. 462–463; A. Frenkel, “The Jewish Empire in the Land of Future Russia”, in *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1995, Vol. IX, no. 1–2, pp. 142–170; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria* / [1st edition], Northvale, NJ, 1999, 352 p.; K.N. Akopdzhanova, *Khazarskiy kaganat VII–VIII vv.: istoriya voprosa, problemy / Diss... kand. ist. Nauk*, Makhachkala, 2002, 152 p.; R.K. Kovalev, “Khazars”, in *Encyclopedia of Russian History*, NY, 2004, Vol. II, pp. 739–740; V. YA. Petrukhin, D.S. Rayevskiy, *Ocherki istorii narodov Rossii v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'ye*, M., 2004, 416 p.; K.A. Brook, *Bir Türk İmparatorluğu: Hazar Yahudileri* / [1. Basım], Istanbul, 2005, 480 p.; P. Golden, “Dostizheniya i perspektivy khazarskikh issledovaniy”, in *Yevrei i slavyane*, tome 16. *Khazary*, Jerusalem–M., 2005, pp. 27–68; A. Roth, *Chasaren: Das vergessene Großreich der Juden*, Neu Isenburg, 2006, 224 p.; B.L. Khamidullin, “Khazars’ Participation in Creation of an Independent Kingdom: Abazgsk (Abkhazia)”, in Stoica Lascu, Melek Fetisleam (eds.), *Contemporary Research in Turkology and Eurasian Studies. A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Tasin Gemil on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, pp. 49–56; O.Ivik, Klyuchnikov V. *Khazary*, M., 2013, 336 p.

²⁶ M.I. Artamonov, *Ocherki drevneyshyey istorii khazar*, L., 1937, p. 134.

²⁷ I.S. Chichurov, “Vizantiyskiye istoricheskiye sochineniya: «Khronografiya Feofana»”, in *Breviariy Nikifora*, M., 1980, p. 34. See: KH.-G. Gabashi, *Vseobshchaya istoriya tyurkskikh narodov*, Kazan, 2009, pp. 121–128; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies / A Historic-philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, Budapest, 1980, Vol. 1–2, pp. 57–58; M.G. Magomedov, *Obrazovaniye Khazarskogo kaganata: Po materialam arkhologicheskikh issledovaniy i pis'mennym dannym*, M., 1983, 224 p.; L. Gmyrya, “Khazary na Kavkaze”, in *Istoriya tatar s drevneyshikh vremen*, V, 7, Kazan, 2002, tome 1, pp. 227–295; V. Ye. Naumenko, “K voprosu o vremeni i obstatyatel'stvakh obrazovaniya Khazarskogo kaganata”, in *Khazarskiy al'manakh*, Kiyev–Khar'kov–M., 2004, Vyp. 2, pp. 52–76; A.K. Alikberov, “Ranniye khazary (do 652/3 g.), tyurki i Khazarskiy kaganat”, in *Khazary: mif i istoriya*, M.–Iyerusalim, 2010, pp. 42–65; P.B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History*, NY, 2011, pp. 35–49.

²⁸ M.I. Artamonov, *Istoriya khazar*, L., 1962, 523 p.; A.V. Gadlo, *Etnicheskaya istoriya Severnogo Kavkaza IV–X vv*, L., 1979, 216 p.; M. Hrushevskiy, O.Pritsak, J.S. Reshetar, *From Kievan Rus' to Modern Ukraine: Formation of the Ukrainian Nation*, Cambridge–Mass., 1984, 20 p.; A.P. Novoseltsev, *Khazarskoye gosudarstvo i yego rol' v istorii Vostochnoy Yevropy i Kavkaza*, M., 1990, 261 p.; V. YA. Petrukhin, “Varyagi i khazary v istorii Rusi”, in *Etnograficheskoye obozreniye*, 1993, no. 3, pp. 68–82; A.V. Gadlo, *Etnicheskaya istoriya Severnogo Kavkaza X–XIII vv*, St Petersburg, 1994, 238 p.; V.YA. Petrukhin, *Nachalo etnokul'turnoy istorii Rusi IX–XI vv*, Smolensk–M., 1995, 317 p.; K. Tsukerman, “Vengry v strane Levedii: novaya derzhava na granitsakh Vizantii i Khazarii ok.

Military confrontation between Khazars and the Umayyad Caliphate, the power of the Khazars' Khanate as a state that could give a rebuff to numerous enemy troops saved Central Europe from Arabic Muslims' inevitable expansion to the east who tried to grip in an enormous "vice" and to narrow living space of Christian countries through the Pyrenees and the Caucasus in the 8th century²⁹. At the same time, the progressive development of the Khazar Khanate led to a hereto unprecedented trade and economic relationships not only in the Caspian region and the Northern Caucasus, in the Volga region and the Urals, the Don region and the Crimea, but also all through the vast territory from Siberia and China to Arabia, Africa, Western Europe and Scandinavia³⁰, up to the 20th century the same situation was only during the Golden Horde times.

All those mentioned above "allow us to stress out that the Khazar Khanate had a particular productive role in unifying and consolidating powers not only for those nations who were part of it, but also for those who lived in neighboring areas"³¹. And not without any reason, distinguished archaeologist S.A. Pletneva wrote in 2005 that "the death of a strong and developed both economically and culturally [Khazar] state did not yield any positive results to any of those surrounded or paid to it tribute peoples and neighboring countries"³².

Pax Khazarica's social and political traditions contributed mainly to the fact that Bulgaria and Alania, Russia and Hungary became important political and economic forces in Eastern Europe up to first third of the 13th century included. Even the

836–889 gg.", in *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii*, Simferopol, 1998, Vyp. VI, pp. 671–672; V. Petrukhin, "Khazarskiy kaganat i yego sosedi", in *Istoriya tatar s drevneyshikh vremen: V 7 t*, Kazan, 2002, pp. 296–315; A. Rona-Tash, "Khazary i mad'yary" in *Yevrei i slavyane*, T. 16. Khazary, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, pp. 111–124 (per. s angl. yaz. M. Gol'del'man); A.A. Glashev, *Ocherki istorii khazar*, M., 2009, 496 p.

²⁹ A.P. Novosel'tsev, "Khazariya v sisteme mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy VII–IX vv.", in *Voprosy istorii*, 1987, no 2, pp. 20–32; Ye.S. Galkina, "Kavkazskie voyny VII–VIII vv. i vozvysheniye Khazarii" in *Vostok*, 2006, no. 4, pp. 15–19; I.G. Semenov, "Khazaro-arabskiye voyenno-politicheskiye vzaimootnosheniya vo vtoroy polovine VII – nachale VIII v.", in *Voprosy istorii Dagestana*, 2009, Vyp. V., pp. 26–49; I.G. Semenov, "Vneshnyaya politika Khazarskogo kaganata vo vtoroy polovine VIII v.", in *Nauchnyye vedomosti BelGU. Seriya «Istoriya. Politologiya. Ekonomika. Informatika»*, 2009, no. 1, Vyp. 9, pp. 140–146.

³⁰ T.M. Kalinina, "Zametki o torgovle v Vostochnoy Yevrope po dannym arabskikh uchenykh IX–X vv.", in *Drevneyshiye gosudarstva Vostochnoy Yevropy*, 1998, M., 2000, pp. 106–119; Th.S. Noonan, "Khazaria as an Intermediary between Islam and Eastern Europe in the Second Half of the Ninth Century: the Numismatic Perspective", in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 1987, Vol. V., pp. 179–204; Th.S. Noonan, "Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar Khaganate", in *The World of the Khazars*, Leiden–Boston, 2007, pp. 207–244; P.A. Pletneva, Sarkel i «sholkovyy» put', Voronezh, 1996, 170 p.

³¹ V.V. Koloda, "K voprosu o nasledii Khazarskogo kaganata i yego roli v istorii vostochnykh slavyan", in *Yevrei i slavyane. T. 16. Khazary*, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, p. 343.

³² P.A. Pletneva, "Khazary i Khazarskiy kaganat", in *Yevrei i slavyane. T. 16. Khazary*, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, p. 24.

Golden Horde could be quite convincingly referred to as “the Khazars Khanate’s heir”³³.

All that entitled P.B. Golden to call the Khazar Khanate “one of the most important powers of that era”, “one of the colossuses of medieval Eurasia” with its 300 years old history³⁴, while A.V. Komar called it “the most stable form of Eurasian nomadic statehood in an early period of the Middle Ages”³⁵.

Ethno-cultural heritage of the Khazar Khanate is also of a great importance, it was monitored in the Middle Ages and still spread over wide geographic areas (it included numerous Jewish communities of the Caucasus, the Volga region and the Crimea, also Turkic peoples – in the first place Khazars themselves, Bulgars, Barsils, Savir/Suvars and others, Iranian, Finno-Ugric, Slavic and Caucasian). A. Polyak the author of the monograph “the Khazar Khanate” that was written in Hebrew in 1942³⁶, noted that European Jews were Khazars’ descendants, “and those who emigrated to the United States and to other countries, and those who went to Israel – constitute now the large majority of world Jewry”³⁷. Later on A. Kestler wrote on the same topic³⁸. In 1990–2010³⁹ researches proved and in a way developed in their works

³³ V. Petrukhin, “Khazarskiy kaganat i yego sosedi”, in *Istoriya tatar s drevneyshikh vremen: V 7 t*, Kazan, 2002, T.1., p. 313.

³⁴ P. Golden, “Dostizheniya i perspektivy khazarskikh issledovaniy”, in *Yevrei i slavyane*, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, T. 16, pp. 27–28.

³⁵ A.V. Komar, “Pereshchepinskiy kompleks v kontekste osnovnykh problem istorii i kul'tury kochevnikov Vostochnoy Yevropy VII – nach.VIII v.”, in *Stepi Yevropy v epokhu Srednevekov'ya*, Donetsk, 2006, T. 5, p. 154.

³⁶ A.N. Poliak, *Kazariyyah. Toldot mamlakha yehudit be-Eiropa*, Tel-Aviv, 1942/1944/1951, 420 p.

³⁷ Quoted by A. Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage*, London, 1976, pp. 2–3.

³⁸ A. Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage*, London, 1976, 255 p.; A. Kostler, *Trinadsatoye koleno. Krusheniye imperii khazar i yeye naslediye*, St Petersburg, 2001, 320 p.

³⁹ A.P. Novosel'tsev, *Khazarskoye gosudarstvo i yego rol' v istorii Vostochnoy Yevropy i Kavkaza*, M., 1990, 261 p.; V.N. Toporov, “Yevreyskiy element v Kiyevskoy Rusi” in *Slavyane i ikh sosedi. Yevreyskoye naseleniye Tsentral'noy, Vostochnoy i Yugo-Vostochnoy Yevropy: sredniye veka – nachalo novogo vremeni*, M., 1993, pp. 28–43; P. Wexler, *The Ashkenazic Jews: A Slavo-Turkic People in Search of a Jewish Identity*, Columbus, Oh., 1993, X+306 p.; A.V. Gadlo, *Etmicheskaya istoriya Severnogo Kavkaza X–XIII vv*, St Petersburg, 1994, 238 p.; A.P. Novosel'tsev, “Khristianstvo, islam i iudaizm v stranakh Vostochnoy Yevropy i Kavkaza v sredniye veka” in *Slavyane i ikh sosedi*, M., 2001, Vyp. X, pp.434–453; O.B. Bubenok, *Dannyye pis'mennykh istochnikov o rasprostraneni i iudaizma sredi alanov vo vremena srednevekov'ya in Khazary. Vtoroy Mezhdunarodnyy kollokvium*, thesis, M., 2002, pp. 17–19; B.I. Vaynberg, *Turkestanskiye khazary in Khazary. Vtoroy mezhdunarodnyy kollokvium*, thesis, M., 2002, p. 21–25; R. Wexler, “What Yiddish teaches us about the role of the Khazars in the Ashkenazic ethnogenesis” in *Khazarskiy al'manakh*, Kiyv–Khar'kov–M., 2004, Vyp. 2, pp. 117–134; R.T. Khatuyev, *Yevrei v Karachaye*, Cherkessk, 2005, 195 p.; Stou Kennet. *Otchuzhdennoye men'shinstvo: Yevrei v srednevekovoy Latinskoy Yevrope*, M., 2007, 430 p.; *History and Culture of Mountain Jews of Caucasus*, Jerusalem, 2009, 223 p.; *Istoriya yevreyskogo naroda v Rossii. Ot drevnosti do rannego Novogo vremeni*, Iyerusalim–M., 2010, T. I, 488 p.; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, 2nd ed, Lanham, Md., 2010, XII+315 p.; M.B. Kizilov, *Krymskaya*

the ideas of Khazars' ethno-cultural heritage and its impact, even though a hypothesis of Khazars being forefathers of modern Jewry didn't find any severe support. In this regard, the point of view that was presented by V.S. Flerov and V.E. Flerova seems to be logical, "Khazar heritage"⁴⁰ needs "strictly scientific and unbiased analysis".

Khazars' History is introduced in various written sources, most of them were written by the representatives of other nations⁴¹ that were common for the history of ancient and early Middle Ages Turks.

In the middle of the 6th century Syrian chronicler Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor mentioned the ethnonym "Khazars" for the first time while listing the tribes "living in tents"⁴² Talking about the 7th century, the prevailing information was about the expansion of the Khazars' range of settlement, that the Great Bulgaria was defeated by them that took place and almost simultaneously with Arabs' aggression in the Caucasus and the Chinese Tang Empire's aggression against the Western Turkic Khanate, early Khazars were part of the latter as one of the Hun tribes. The information about the 7th–9th centuries reflects the history of Arab-Khazar wars, relationships between the Khazar Khanate and Greeks, the spread of Islam⁴³ among Tengri Khazars in 737 and Judaism⁴⁴ in 740 if not even earlier. The 10th century was depicted by several extensional and informative texts – first of all, the letter of the Khazars' King to the Córdoba Caliphate, that is Spain, and secondly, a detailed report of the Baghdad embassy to Bulgars, and thirdly, a hand-book on how to rule Byzantium that was written with Emperor's own hand. About the 10th century the dominated information was on Khazars' relationship with vassal nations, Asian Turks, as well as with Russia.

Scientists' surveys show that the largest in number and the most varied in qualitative range information about Khazars was presented in Arab-Persian written

Iudeya: Ocherki istorii yevreyev, khazar, karaimov i krymchakov v Krymu s antichnykh vremen do nashikh dnei, Simferopol, 2011, 336 p.

⁴⁰ V.S. Flerov, V.Ye. Flerova, "Iudaizm v stepnoy i lesostepnoy Khazarii: problema identifikatsii arkhologicheskikh istochnikov" in *Yevrei i slavyane. T. 16. Khazary*, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, p. 202.

⁴¹ *Iz glubiny stoletiy*, compiled by B.L. Khamidullin, Kazan', 2000/2004, 271 p.; *Istoriya «skifov» glazami sovremennikov*, compiled by B. Khamidullin, Kazan', 2001, 175 p.

⁴² P.G. Klyashtorny, "Aziatskiy aspekt ranney istorii khazar" in *Yevrei i slavyane. T. 16. Khazary*, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, p. 259.

⁴³ D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954, pp 41–87.

⁴⁴ D.M. Dunlop, *op.cit.*, pp. 177 sq.; O. Pritsak, "The Khazar Kingdom's conversion to Judaism", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1978, Vol. II, no. 3, pp. 261–281; P.B. Golden, "Khazaria and Judaism", in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 1983, Vol. III, pp. 127–156; A.YA. Nayman, "Yevrei v Khazar'skom kaganate" in *Khazar'skiy al'manakh, Khar'kov*, 2002, Vyp. 1, pp. 94–109; B.Ye. Rashkovskiy, "Khazariya: problema vybora etnokontsional'noy oriyentatsii", in *Vostok*, 2010, no. 1, pp. 25–39.

sources, they are presented by works of such encyclopedic educated “writers” as al-Balazuri, al-Yaqubi, al-Tabari, al-Kufi, Ibn Khordadbeh, Ibn Ruste, Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, al-Muqaddasi, Ibn Fadlan, al-Masudi, unknown authors of so-called “Anonymous note about Eastern European peoples” and “Hudud al-Alam” and many, many others⁴⁵. For example, here is what we can read in al-Masudi about Judaism among Khazars: “Jews are believed to be: the king, his milieu and Khazars of his kind. The king became Jewish during Caliph Harun al-Rashid’s reign [786–814]. A number of other Jews joined him from other Muslim countries and from the Byzantine Empire [this information is confirmed, in particular, by al-Dimask and a “Cambridge Document”] ... and a large number of Jews fled from Rum into Khazars’ country ...”⁴⁶. An interesting fixation of Bukhara Jews (descendants of Iranian Jews and Khazars, who took an active part in the life of Central Asia up to 1990) was described in “Hudud al-Alam”⁴⁷.

Works of Ananias Shirakatsi, Movses Kaghankatvatsi, Ghevond⁴⁸ and anonymous “Chronicles of Kartli” could be treated as informative sources on the history of Khazars. For example, the Georgian chronicle provides us with a very interesting information which was proved by Byzantine written sources as well, due to the chronicle we know that the ruler of Abkhazians Leon II was Khazar by origin and that Khazars took an active part in establishing an independent Abkhazian kingdom: “With Greeks weakness Abkhazian eristav named Leon rebelled against them... [He] being the son of the Khazars’s kings’ daughter he rebelled against Greeks with their help, he conquered Abkhazia and Egrisi and proclaimed himself the king of Abkhazians”⁴⁹.

Greek written sources about Khazars and their vassals are few. First of all, they are represented by works of Theophane, Nicephorus and Emperor Constantine VII⁵⁰.

⁴⁵ T.M. Kalinina, “Strana Khazariya, kakoy ona predstavlyayetsya po arabo-persidskim istochnikam” in *Vostochnaya kollektsiya*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 29–40.

⁴⁶ V.F. Minorskiy, *Istoriya Shirvana i Derbenda*, M., 1963, p. 192.

⁴⁷ Hudud al-Alam, *The Regions of the World. A Persian Geography, 372 A.H-982 A.D.*, tr. by V. Minorsky, London, 1937, p. 121.

⁴⁸ *Armianskaya geografiya VII veka po R.KH. (pripisvavshayasya Moiseyu Khorenskomu)*, Per. s dr.-arm. K.P. Patkanov, St Petersburg, 1877, XXVIII+84+26 p.; *Istoriya Agvan Moyseya Kagankatvatsi, pisatelya X v.*, Per. s arm. K.Patkan'yan, St Petersburg, 1861, 374 p.; *Istoriya khalifov vardapeta Gevonda, pisatelya VIII v.*, Per. s arm. K.Patkan'yan, St Petersburg, 1862, XI+165 p.

⁴⁹ *Soobshcheniya srednevekovykh gruzinskikh pis'mennykh istochnikov ob Abkhazii*, Per. G.A. Amichba, Sukhumi, 1986, p.25.

⁵⁰ I.S. Chichurov, “Feofan Ispovednik – kompilyator Prokopiya”, in *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, 1976, no. 37, pp. 62–73; I.S. Chichurov, “Ekskurs Feofana o protobolgarakh”, in *Drevneyshiye gosudarstva na territorii SSSR. Materialy i issledovaniya*. 1975 g, M., 1976, pp. 65–80; P.G. Zeteyshvili, “Svedeniya ob alanakh v «Khronografii» Feofana”, in *Drevneyshiye gosudarstva na territorii SSSR. Materialy i issledovaniya*. 1975 g, M., 1976, pp. 81–86; Ye.E. Lipshits, “Nikifor i yego istoricheskiy trud”, in

According to Constantine VII Kawara, “so-called Kawara originated from Khazars. Once when there was a strike against their authorities and a civil war was waged but those at power still managed to win it. Some of the rebellions were killed, others fled and settled down together with Turks [Magyars/Hungarians] on Pachinakity’s land, they became friends and called themselves Kawara. Therefore, they taught Turkish people the Khazar language and up to the present they speak the same language, but they also speak another language that is Turkish...”⁵¹.

There are almost no written evidences about Khazars’ ancient origin⁵². “The Tale of Bygone Years” is the main source that was reconstructed by researchers (as well as “Anonymous note about Eastern European peoples”) one of the most important messages that was saved in Lawrence and Ipatius’ chronicles is the following: “In 6473 [965]. Svyatoslav was on the offensive against Khazars. When Khazars heard of Svyatoslav’s idea they got into a fiery fight under the guidance of their Khan, they defeated Svyatoslav and occupied his Belo Vezhyu city”⁵³.

Actually Khazar sources are introduced by two letters in Hebrew one of which was written by Joseph the king of Khazars in 961, while the other one (“Cambridge Document” or “Schachter’s text”) in 949 by his anonymous servant. Both documents provide the information on Khazars’ origin, that they became Jews and their kings’ activity as well as ethno-political geography of the khanate⁵⁴. It is essential to pay attention to “Iosippon Book” what represents a Jewish chronograph what was composed in Italy in the middle of the 10th century, it is stated there: “Togarma consists of ten genera among them Kozar, Petsinak, Alan, Bulgar, Kanbina, Turk, Booze, Zahuk, Ugr and Tolmats. All of them live in the north, and their countries are named after their names ...”⁵⁵.

“The Khazar book” by Yehuda Halevi (1074–1140), who is treated like the most outstanding representative of the “golden age” of Jewish culture in Muslim Spain,

Vizantiyskiy vremennik, 1950, pp. 85–105; B. Khamidullin, “Konstantin Bagryanorodnyy o «severnnykh skifakh»”, in *Idel*, 1998, no. 9, pp. 72–75.

⁵¹ *Iz glubiny stoletiy*, Kazan', 2000/2004, p. 97.

⁵² See also: B. Khamidullin, “Nikonovskaya letopis' o zapadnykh tyurkakh – volzhskikh bulgarakh, khazarakh, pechenegakh, polovtsakh i dr.”, in *Istoriya «skifov» glazami sovremennikov*, Kazan, 2001, pp. 75–84.

⁵³ Lavrent'yevskaya letopis'. URL: http://inexpositions.nl.ru/LaurentianCodex/_Project/page_Show.php?list=43&n=51 (accessed on: 8.01.2013).

⁵⁴ P. Schechter, “An Unknown Khazar Document”, in *Jewish quarterly review. New series*, Philadelphia, 1912, V. 3, no. 2, pp. 181–219; P.K. Kokovtsov, *Yevreysko-khazarская perepiska v X veke*, L., 1932, 134 p.; B.L. Khamidullin, “Pis'mo Iosifa” in *Istoriya tatar s drevneyshikh vremen: V 7 t*, Kazan: RukhIL, 2006, T. II, pp. 660–669; Ye.S. Galkina, “Danniki Khazarского kaganata v pis'me tsarya Iosifa” in *Sbornik Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, M., 2006, T. 10, pp. 376–390; Ye.S. Galkina, “Territoriya Khazarского kaganata IX – pervoy poloviny X v. v pis'mennykh istochnikakh”, in *Voprosy istorii*, 2006, no. 9, pp. 132–145.

⁵⁵ V.YA. Petrukhin, *Nachalo etnokul'turnoy istorii Rusi IX–XI vv*, Smolensk–M., 1995, pp. 36–38.

belongs to more recent sources, the plot of the book is about how the king of the Khazars Bulan became Jew and so did “all Khazar people”⁵⁶, that book became the most important essay since the birth of Judaism⁵⁷.

In 1962 a “unique event”⁵⁸ took place Hebraist Norman Golb (he turned 85 in 2013) found so-called “Kiev letter” in the Cambridge University Library, that letter is a guidance note dated back to the 10th century and it was given by Kiev Khazar community to Jacob ben Chanukah to be shown other Jewish communities. That letter is the third found written source until nowadays composed by Khazars, it included a request to all other Jewish settlements to support Jacob financially. The letter was written in Hebrew and signed by 11 people, among those one can find mainly Jewish and Turkish⁵⁹ names, as well as large runic inscription which could be interpreted in three different ways⁶⁰.

In 1982 N. Golb published “Kiev letter”⁶¹. (The same year, what a “coincidence”, the Soviet Union celebrated the 500th anniversary of Kiev. The anniversary date of the foundation of the city was chosen de bene esse according to chronicles stated that in 882 Prince Oleg seized Kiev and announced it the “mother of Russian cities”. P.P. Tolochko, the head of the Archaeological of Kiev Institute of Archaeology, was a scientific mastermind of the event⁶².) In December 1984, P. Golden wrote the following in the regard of the event: “The publication of a new and important source, a tenth-century Khazarian Hebrew document from Kiev, is a truly important event.... Golb and Pritsak have rendered an invaluable service to Khazar and Rus' studies in not only preparing excellent editions and translations of two important sources [second source is “Cambridge document”], but also in providing commentaries to the texts

⁵⁶ E. Shvayd, “Khazarskaya tema v «Knige Kuzari» r. Iyegudy Galevi”, in *Yevrei i slavyane. T. 16. Khazary*, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, pp. 140–152.

⁵⁷ *Kratkaya yevreyskaya entsiklopediya: V 11 t*, Iyerusalim, 1982, T. 2, Kol. 775–779; Iyeguda Galevi, *Kuzari*, Iyerusalim, 1990, 336 p.; J. Hames Harvey, “Ramón Llull y su obra polémica contra los judíos”, in *La controversia judeocristiana en España. Homenaje a Domingo Muñoz León*, Madrid, 1998, p. 335; “Karlos del' Val'ye Rodrigues. Obrashcheniye Khazarii v iudaizm i literaturnyy motiv vybora very”, in *Pogranichnyye kul'tury mezhdru Vostokom i Zapadom (Rossiya i Ispaniya)*, St Petersburg, 2001, pp. 70–79; B.Ye. Rashkovskiy, «Výbor very» v srednevekovom iudaizme: Khazariya v yevreyskikh istochnikakh X–XVI vv. / AKD, M., 2011, pp. 9–20.

⁵⁸ A.P. Novoseltsev, *Khazarskoye gosudarstvo i yego rol' v istorii Vostochnoy Yevropy i Kavkaza*, M., 1990, p. 8.

⁵⁹ A.L. Torpusman, “Antroponimiya i etnicheskiye kontakty narodov Vostochnoy Yevropy v sredniye veka” in *Imya-etnos-istoriya*, M., 1989, pp. 48–53.

⁶⁰ M. Erdal, “Khazarskiy yazyk” in *Yevrei i slavyane. T. 16. Khazary*, Iyerusalim–M., 2005, p. 132.

⁶¹ Norman Golb, *Pritsak Omeljan. Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*, Ithaca–London, 1982, 434 p.

⁶² P.P. Tolochko, *Drevniy Kiyev*, Kiyv, 1983, 317 p.

that are both richly informative and thought-provoking. Even when disagreeing, one is compelled to rethink many problems and this is all to the good... In any event, the work stands as a landmark in Khazar, early Rus', and East European Jewish studies"⁶³.

In my opinion, "Kiev letter" could be treated as a "bar code" while studying ethno-political history of Khazars and early Rus and at the same time proves that, being precisely accurate expressing ourselves, Khazar-Jews occupied at least vast territories during the 10th century; while O.Y. Pritsak was much more radical in his statements, saying that "Kiev letter" was composed during the times when Kiev was still under the power of Khazars"⁶⁴. And that led to a developed later historiographical tradition to believe that Kiev was founded by Jewish Turks in about 830 as a major trade center where two directions East-West and "from Vikings to Greeks"⁶⁵ crossed. O.Y. Pritsak's point of view was constantly subjected to criticism by professional historians⁶⁶. In the article under the name "Khazar Jews' "Kiev letter": back to the problem of criticism the content of the source" first published in 2002 A.A. Tortika wrote: "Even though if in a certain period of time Kiev was depended on Khazars, and more over that is the way it was, but by the time [Kiev] letter was written, and it is clear from its context, that period was already over... [In the middle of the 10th century] the influence of the Khazar Khanate came to its end on the left bank of Dnieper. Kiev was ruled by Ruses"⁶⁷.

However, speaking about the possibility that Kiev was founded by Khazars as well as their role in Kiev Rus' organization, we can resort to Ukrainian archaeologist A.V. Komar's convincing point of view, according to him, Khazars inhabited the Northern part of Black Sea during the "Turcut-Khazar symbiosis" period at an early stage of the Khazar Khanate formation⁶⁸, that was supported by a rigid source based on the concept of French scientist K. Tsukerman; the idea was about Russ and

⁶³ P.B. Golden, "A New Discovery: Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1984, Vol. VIII, no. 3–4, pp. 474–486.

⁶⁴ N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarsko-yevreyskiye dokumenty X veka / Per. V.L. Vikhnovich*, M.–Iyerusalim, 1997, p. 64.

⁶⁵ About trade routes see: A.V. Nazarenko, *Drevnyaya Rus' na mezhdunarodnykh putyakh: Mezhdistsiplinarnyye ocherki kul'turnykh, torgovykh, politicheskikh otnosheniy IX–XII vekov*, M., 2001, 784 p.

⁶⁶ Ye.A. Mel'nikova, "Istorizatsiya mifa ili mifologizatsiya istorii?", in *Istoriya SSSR*, 1984, no. 4, pp. 201–209; P.P. Tolochko, "Spornyye voprosy ranney istorii Kiyevskoy Rusi" in *Slavyane i Rus' (v zarubezhnoy istoriografii)*, Kiyev, 1990, pp. 99–121.

⁶⁷ A.A. Tortika, *Severo-zapadnaya Khazariya v kontekste istorii Vostochnoy Yevropy (vtoraya polovina VII – tret'ya chetvert' X vv)*, Khar'kov, 2006, pp. 180–181.

⁶⁸ A.V. Komar, "Ranniye khazary v Severnom Prichernomor'ye (postanovka problemy)", in *Vostochno-yevropeyskiy arkhologicheskii zhurnal*, 2000. no. 3(4), May–June, URL: <http://inarchaeology.kiev.ua/journal/030500/komar.htm> (accessed on: 25.02.2013); A.V. Komar, "Pereshchepinskiy kompleks v kontekste osnovnykh problem istorii i kul'tury kochevnikov Vostochnoy Yevropy VII – nach. VIII v.", in *Stepi Yevropy v epokhu Srednevekov'ya*, Donetsk, 2006, T. 5, pp. 237–238.

Rurik late entry into Kiev⁶⁹, as well as the quotation stated by famous Russian scientist V.Ya. Petruhin was proved by many facts; in 2006 he wrote: “In the historical retrospective Khazaria was not only the forefather of Ancient Rus, but also of the Russian State as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious establishment. The cornerstone of statehood, ethnic and religious development, which was laid by Khazars have been preserved up to the present in Eastern Europe”⁷⁰.

There is almost nothing to add to the generalized conclusions drawn by V.V. Grigorev, M.S. Grushevskiy and Yu.V. Gote, whom I have mentioned in the very beginning of this article, as well as to scientific findings of contemporary professional historians such as A.V. Komar and V.Ya. Petruhin.

⁶⁹ K. Tsukerman, “Dva etapa formirovaniya Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva”, in *Slavyanovedeniye*, 2001, no. 4, pp. 55–77.

⁷⁰ V. Petrukhin, “«Otmstit' nerazumnym khazaram...»: Khazarskiy kaganat i yevraziyskiy aspekt nachala rossiyskoy istorii”, in *Vostochnaya kolleksiya*, 2006, no. 2, p. 28.

The Ceremony of Calling the Rain in Turkmen Traditions

Serdar ATDAYEV

Turkmenistan is the territory with sharply continental arid climate and as a result, it has ever-lasting problem with a shortage of water. The desert regions occupy the main territory of our country, but there are not numerous rivers and mountains brooks, which could completely solve the problem with the deficiency of water. Along many centuries the mankind takes up a question of building the canals and lining of the underground drains – *kyariz*, the erection of overflow dams and setting up the wide irrigation net, but we need more water for drinking and economic needs according to natural laws, the life-giving moisture which, irrigating fields and gardens, generally, comes from the heaven. Turning their eyes up, the people had appealed to the power of the heaven and begged for the rain.

Since the beginning of time, water was considered by Turkmen people as the greatest wealth. There was a whole collection of interdictions, which had to ensure the protection of springs. The breach of such interdiction triggered the inevitable punishment. Since then the reverence of water has carried into effect the formation of whole tradition in a system of religions beliefs. One of these was the rain calling ceremony. Even the greatest Turkmen poet Magtymguly wrote about calling the rain.

Appealing to natural elements found its reflection in the Turkmen material culture. Turkmen wood and cloth-made dolls were not given only for child's play, but they were destined for some ritual purposes too. An appropriate group of dolls was made especially for conducting the ceremony of calling the rain. In ritual dances and songs called *suiyt-gazan* the Turkmen ancestors call to God to be granted rain. With the help of some influence on supernatural energies the shamans called rain.

Thirty kilometers from Ashgabat there is the Neolithic relic of the past, named Jeytun, which was given the name of one of the most ancient cultures in the world. The tribes of this culture started the agricultural assimilation of foothill plains below the mountain Kopet Dag. The main role of water in requiring irrigation agriculture had an effect on ornamental motives of paintings, which were discovered in Jeytun on the ceramic vessels. Such magical effects were connected with the world's outlook on the ancient agricultural tribes of Jeyhun culture. The drawing of wavy ornaments might

mean the symbolic image of water's stream and the large points might mean the falling rain or snow¹.

The archeological materials from the period of later bronze – the Ancient Margush have also got significant interest. There is a picture of a man on one of the numerous vessels, which was found in the temple's part of an ancient town. There is an axe in his sash. It symbolizes thunder in ancient mythology. We can suppose that this picture contains the image of the God of Thunder².

As a result, the worship of the elements of nature has resulted in the formation of an integral system of religious beliefs and world outlook. St. Burkut Baba was the rain's sovereign of the Turkmen people. In dry years the Turkmen appealed to him for helping and for granting life-giving moisture. According to the Turkmen legends, this saint person used to live in heaven and it depended on him whether there would be rain or not. It was considered that Burkut Baba was engaged in first-hand distribution among the clouds. If the clouds did not show their quickness, Burkut Baba would begin to beat them with a whip. Under such action track it appears lightning was formed and one could hear shouts and groans, realizing that it was thunder. Simultaneously there was another popular cult of the Mamaka old woman. She was the patroness of the rain clouds. According to this cult, Mamaka is striking on a big sack, calling out "*sanach*" and in that way she is shaking out the rain. The parents often had intimidated children and said: "Let's hide inside the house or Mamaka will take you away in her sack and take you on to heaven". In the opinion of numerous researchers, the worship of Mamaka can be identified with an old Turk deity named Umay³.

Burkut Baba was very popular among the Turkmen, because he was many-sided and performed many duties. In that way, Burkut Baba might be pretender to the role of main deity. In all probabilities he is a prototype of the main Turk deity – Tengri (Tangry). The supreme Tengri began to forget his rights after the accession to the power of Islam and quite possibly his divine power passed to Burkut Baba. According to the Movres Kagankatvatsy's information, the Albanian's author of 10th century, Tengri could rule over the precipitations⁴. In his work, called "The Agvan's History" he tells the story of two deities, sacred by Caucasus' Guns: the first one was Kuar, the deity of "lightning and essential oils"; and the second one – was Tengri khan, "the monstrous and huge hero". Since then, these two images had been combined together, and an entity deity has appeared, which began to be called as "Tengri khan

¹ О. Бердыев, *Древнейшие земледельцы Южного Туркменистана*, Ашхабад, 1969, p. 95.

² В. Сариниди, *Древневосточное царство в старой дельте реки Мургаб*, Ашгабат, 2002, p. 302.

³ А. Джикиев, *Традиционные туркменские праздники, развлечения и игры*, Ашхабад, 1983, p. 42.

⁴ *Мовсес Каланкатуаци*, 1984, p. 126.

the Thunderer”⁵. In the honor of Tengri the ceremonies were performed in the pagan’s temples and sacred groves. The Tengri prototype could be the idols and the high trees.

There is a custom to beg for the rain from Burkut Baba in some regions of Turkmenistan right up to present days. It happens in the following way: people dry a wedge on the hill and had tether a goat. So the goat is left alone for a long time without any water. The animal, suffering from burning sunrays, impresses Burkut Baba by its shouts and thus causes him to give the rain. If there are precipitations within the next few days after this ceremony the animal is killed. The people give a collective meal in the honor of Burkut Baba. Attempting to explain why a kid is brought for sacrifice instead of the ram says: “When cut, the kid shouts, and the saint hears better. But the ram does not shout”⁶.

There were other ceremonies. The people have the cruelest and most hot-tempered person, then threw him into cold water or pushed him in the water. By another version, the skull of some animal or a list with the names of forty balding people was hanged in the water. In any case, only one purpose was pursued, namely to provoke the anger of Burkut. For such defiling (profanation) of water, he will punish the people by falling rain. On such scenario another action was formed: the leaven from a shrew woman was stolen and was thrown in the water. During some period of time the neighbors came to an agreement not to lend her any the leaven, and, thus, they can call the fury and irritation of the precipitation’s sovereign⁷.

There were other functional ceremonies. For example, sometimes, in another way, the amusing douche of each other had taken place or also the immersion of rich people or managers in the water – “mirabs” took place. The children went along the houses and sang songs. The owners of the houses should douche them and treat them with meals. After such entertainment all food was piled on the roof of one of the houses and was used right away after the first raindrops fell on the ground. This ceremony was called “tutatyn”. Sometimes the handful of flour was gathered from entire villages and put in tureen on somebody’s house roof. If it rained, pancakes were baked from that flour and a thanksgiving meal was accomplished. There was also another ceremony: the sprout wheat was pound in a tureen, and then wheat’s juice was poured out into the flowing water. The pancakes have been done from the pressed skins with adding of flour. The main purpose of such ceremony was calling the rain.

⁵ С. Кляшторный, Г.И. Султанов, *Государства и народы Евразийских степей, Древность и средневековье*, Спб., 2000, р. 160.

⁶ В. Башилов, *Культовые святыни в исламе*, М., 1970, р. 40.

⁷ С.М. Демидов, “Обряды и обычаи туркмен, связанные с земледелием и скотоводством (конец XIX – первая четверть XX в.)” in *Материалы по исторической этнографии туркмен*, Ашхабад, 1987, р. 18.

Until nowadays there is a very rare category of such kind people, the men who can call rain – “the rain men”. It is supposed that they were successful in passing to heaven the requests of people about the rain. As an example, we can say about one of these famous people, named Egedjan Hadjy, who lived in the last third of the 19th century to the first quarter of 20th century in the North-Atreck steppe. He made the players cover the oriental robe and also he used something called “hasa”. The popularity of Egedjan Hadjy was so big that after his death people used to come to his grave and appeal with request to call the rain⁸.

There are some descriptions of different effects, connecting with the calling of a rain in the works of medieval authors. There is an interesting account from Yahya ibn Muhammet. The author wrote it from the words of his contemporary Tifashy. In accord with this narration, there was some Turk in the sultan Muhammet Khorezmshah’s army, who practiced the ceremony of rain calling every spring. It took place in the following way: he took a deep vessel with water; lowered there two reeds and he hung it up high between two arshins. Then the Turk had dipped into the water two rain stones and after a while he began to rub them against each other. That process was repeated seven times. With the present course of events suddenly he began to repeat aloud invocations and dashed around the sides. Such an act lasted for two hours and then the first clouds appeared on the sky⁹.

The same legend was connected with Khorezm. According to the Turkmen legend when the Mongolian troops came up to Kunya Urgench, the inhabitants applied to the influential ecclesiastical leader Nedjmeddin Kubra with petition. The latter called nature’s power for help. Sitting on the town’s gates with dangling legs, that person provoked heavy clouds and fog with the help of magic spells. The enemy was in low and panic spirits, because they were confused. So, the enemy retreated soon. But the ruler of the town decided to improve their success and ordered to take their own troops out of fortifications. However, as soon as the miracle man put out his legs in order to open the way for the shah’s fighting men, the fog had gone away. Thus the panorama of the town was opened up for the view of the enemy. Mongols launched the second attack which was successful. After this they exposed the town for complete destruction¹⁰.

An interesting Oguz-Turk ceremony of calling of the rain was depicted in different medieval writing “The book of stories about countries” (“Kitab ahbar al-buldan”) by Ibn al Fakih, which was written in 902–903. The narration about the events was told from the name of the Oguz’s tzarevitch Balkuk. The narration was telling about how

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁹ Ýahýa ibn Muhammet, “Ýagmyr daşy”, in *Türkmen dünýasy*, no. 19, 2007.

¹⁰ Н. Байрамсахатов, “Неджмеддин Кубра” in *Ауғабат*, no. 6, 1995, p. 132.

the tsarevitch's grandfather had separated from his own father and had set out to the east of the country. His companions were the brigands¹¹. Madjib Hamady obtains more specific information that Balkik was the son of Djabgu and was "Malik of the Turk"¹². The words "djabuya" or "djabgu" ("yabgu") mean the title of supreme Oguz ruler.

Ibn al-Fakih writes that Balkik's forefather had reached the country where the magic mountain was situated. The Sun was so burning and unmerciful, that it had incinerated every living thing around. The native indigenes had sheltered from the burning rays of the heavenly body in the deep undergrounds and caves. The wild animals had found salvation with the help of "rain's" stones. They took them in the mouth, lifted the head to the heaven and there were the life-saving rain's clouds on the sky, like magic. Not long after Balkuk's grandfather could pick up these miraculous stones with his friends. They have directed the stones against the sun after that the sky was covered with clouds, and this fact also saved the men from the scorching sunrays. Another author, Amin Rasi, has narrated the same in his work, called "Haft iklim". He told about the tsarevitch who had grabbed the fragment of "rain's" stones for himself and had delivered them to his own country¹³. According to some information there was a need in falling out of the precipitations; the idol was made from the stones, rubbed against each other. Later, the idol was made from those stones, and people had called the rain or snow praying in Turk language.

The Turks called this stone "ede" or "djede tash". In another version, this sacred stone is called "djada" or "yada tashy". In Oyrat's exposes of Hercules, the athlete Hongor had possessed such "rain's" stone – "zada". According to Nadjib Hamadany's descriptions it was called also "tokuz-guzskiy" stone. Tamim ibn Bahr has supplemented that only the tokuz-guz's king had the stone with the help of which he could call the rain, cold or snow¹⁴. Yahya ibn Muhammet has informed that the "rain's" stone represented the natural ore and was found in three varieties. The first one had the dark colour and there was one little white spot. The second one had the black colour or this colour could alternate with white striped making original "zebra". The third one could be multicoloured. There was one more stone, which had the stamp form. It was called sentegrek and was used to call the hail. According to the legend all these stones could be found in the wild-boar's maw or not far from the laying of the eggs of a large bird with red plumage¹⁵.

Gardiri, telling the legend about the extraction of Turks, has informed that the prophet Noy had three sons. One of them was Yaphet, who had inscribed the name

¹¹ Материалы, по истории туркмен и Туркмении, М.-Л., tome I, 1939, p. 153.

¹² С. Агаджанов, *Очерки истории огузов и туркмен Средней Азии IX-XIII вв.*, Ашхабад, 1969, p. 123.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 124.

¹⁵ Yahya ibn Muhammet, *op.cit.*

of God on the stone, with the help of which it could call the rain. After Yaphet's death this magic stone turned out to be in oguzs' hands. Yaphets' descendants began to claim possession of the rain's stone. It was decided to throw lot after which Halluh had had the magic stone. However, the Oguz's satellite was given to Halluh a false stone-talisman, and kept the real stone for himself. There is another version of this legend in "Mudjamal at-tavarih"¹⁶. According to that work, the stone has received by a lot to Turk – the Guz ibn Mansaka's uncle. But Guz had given a false "rain's" stone for him. In both sides the stories about the substitution of the stones have become the initial cause of discords and wars.

It is interesting story of the Samanid ruler – Ismail ibn Ahmed (892–907), who informed that when the Turks were fighting against him, they appealed to a priest for help. The priest had threatened to call a hail and when the next day had come, the samanid's army was terror-stricken, because the big and terrible cloud had risen. It was calamity¹⁷.

The ceremony of calling the rain was practiced by Caspians guns in 7th century. There is an interesting material in the works of medieval Arabian scientists, which concerned the life of the Turk population of the North Caucasus. The crushing of Arabian army was described in that work by Balandjar in 653 year. Ibn Djumans' poems are narrated about some grave of Arabian military leader. During the time that grave has become the saint place. The inhabitants have been praying there and made a ceremony of calling of the rain¹⁸. More than once Ibn al-Fakih has informed about the same things¹⁹.

The ceremony was not limited only by praying, but also included usage of the saints' relics or fragments. Such practice lasted for a long time. It was described by travelers of the 9th century and later times. Ibn Kuteyba has pointed out that abovementioned military leader "was killed in the land of Turks and his bones were buried in Balandjar's grave. The author also narrated that if there wasn't rain they took the bones into the street and called the rain with that way". The Arabian historian at-Tabari also wrote about such ceremony. We can find a record of this in another at-Tabari's work, where it was told about the body in the big vessel and with its help it was possible to call the rain or drought and win the war²⁰.

Ibn al-Asir confirmed these facts. The complementary details are given from Arabians geographer Yakut. He has pointed a great light above the place where Turks

¹⁶ С. Агаджанов, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁷ Материалы, *op.cit.*, p. 154.

¹⁸ Л. Гмыря, "Обряд вызова дождя в стране гуннов Прикаспия в VII в. н.э. по данным армянских и арабских источников" in *Древнетюркский мир: история и традиции*, Казань, 2002, p. 37.

¹⁹ Материалы, *op.cit.*, p. 153.

²⁰ Л. Гмыря, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

or Hazars killed the leader and there was a drought and people had suffered from it. They took out the grave, took off the hearse-cloth and got rain²¹.

An interesting material about a local ceremony of calling the rain is represented in Armenians' works, in well-known historical work "The History of Alban's Country" described the Christian mission of Albanian's bishop Israel in the Caspian's country of guns in the year 682²². His words meant censure for their pagan's delusions in worship to lighting and thunder. The gun's priests assumed the abilities to call the rain with the help of saint oaks during the drought²³. The worship for saint trees was fulfilled by the use of sacrifice.

The worship for saint groves and appear to them in order to beg the rain has more ancient sources. The ancient Turks had had an idea about universe consisting from 3 parts: the earth, the heaven and underground kingdom. The image of "life's tree" occupies special place in this construction. It connected the heaven and the earth; it was a support for heaven and a world's axis.

The ceremony of rain calling by means of appeal to the saint trees has been kept up to present days and it exists in many people's traditions. For example, the countrymen from Tundjeli, the Turkish region, attach the saint empires groves the ability for the prevention of drought. They came to the saint grove, begged and brought the worships. The saint oaks also were the places of pilgrimage. People believed that with their help they could save the man during the storm. The Bagyr Baba's local mountain rules the storms. For local superstition, the brave countrymen can call the rain if they will swim across the rivers Efrat or Murad Su for several times.

Also they have to appeal to water-sprite. When the first lighting has happened, the Karachais and the Crimea's Tatars had a fire and leaped over it. The Azerbaijani performed the Hydyr-Ilyas's ceremony. The special ceremony of calling the rain had the barker's people. They sang songs, danced and applied to Tengri for help. Also the swooden spade was dressed up in women's clothes (it may be the symbol of the goddess of fertility) this scare was named "Curek biyche", which means the princess-spade. Then two teen-agers took it and began a procession. During this procession they sang songs and asked for rain (Тюркские традиции).

The Tatars bought with common money and then killed a sheep as worship. According to a local legend, the ghosts of ancestors fly in that place. Later, meat was eaten, but the bones, head and skin of that sheep were buried in a clean place.

²¹ *Idem*, p. 36.

²² Мовсес Каланкатуаци, "История страны алуанк" in *Пер. Г. Смбатяна*, Ереван, 1984, p. 126.

²³ *Ibidem*.

After that, all people went to the river and began to pour water on themselves. It meant that people needed rain²⁴.

The facts mentioned in article show us all original palette of a ceremony of calling of a rain at the Turkmen. The data taken from descriptions of similar actions at the next people, allow us to understand and interpret this ancient ritual more deeply. Sometimes religious rite has been directed directly to water and water sources. In other cases addressed to sacred trees or groves, and even to remains of sacred persons. Their general uniting moment was that for revival reception they turned the entreaties to heavenly forces and the Supreme Creator, with obligatory sacrifice of a sacrificial animal. Being an integral part of the spiritual and material culture, the ceremony of calling the rain practiced by Turkmen from time immemorial occurs up to recent time.

²⁴ А. Абрамова, “Элементы обряда вызывания дождя тарских татар”, in *Интеграция археологических и этнографических исследований*, Нальчик-Омск, 2001, p. 192.

Urbanistic, Demographic and Religious Realities of the Muslim Community in Giurgiu under the Ottoman Administration

Gabriel-Felician CROITORU

Given its position on the Danube's bank and the favourable conditions for the good custom in river crossing, we can consider that Giurgiu had a capital urban role since its beginning. Consequently, at the end of the 14th century and mostly at the beginning of the following one, its importance was enhanced due to the military and economic roles it had in Wallachia and after 1420 in the Ottoman state.

Most likely, Giurgiu was initially a village¹ that extended, particularly after the institution of the customs and the construction of the fortress in direct relation to the customs, gradually became a settlement with urban features, corresponding to a specific town of the debut period in Wallachia. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the 15th century, the civil settlement here was quite developed, seen that the letter of 17th May 1411 in which Mircea the Elder was reinforcing the alliance with Władysław, the King of Poland, was written "in civitate nostra Yoriow, die domenica Vocem iocunditatis"².

Even if until 1420 there are clues that attest a certain incipient urban structure in Giurgiu, the real evolution from this point of view took place under the Ottoman administration.

Generally, the town represents a system of a particular content, structure and spatial organization, concretely manifesting the effects of the interaction through times of the demographical, social and economic spaces in a certain area³. All these conditions were met after the first two decades of the 15th century, when Giurgiu was transformed from a medium-size, rural state, underdeveloped from a general point

¹ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători, II (până la jumătatea veacului al XVII-lea)*, 2nd edition annotated, Casei Școalelor Publishing House, Bucharest, 1928.

² *Documenta Romaniae Historica. Seria D. Relații între Țările Române. Volumul I (1222–1456)*, volume elaborated and edited by Ștefan Pascu, Constantin Cihodaru, Konrad G. Gündisch, Damaschin Mioc, Viorica Pervain, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1977, doc. 115, pp. 186–187.

³ Ioan Ianoș, *Orașele și organizarea spațiului geografic (Studiu de geografie economică asupra teritoriului României)*, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1987, p. 28.

of view, and economically, as well⁴, in one with geographical links to more continents, in continuous expansion. Moreover, Giurgiu was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, being included in the “House of Peace” or the “House of Islam” (*dâr al-Islam*), which brought along the stability and dynamics of the economic activities. Otherwise, including from an urban perspective, the Ottomans had not changed substantially the economic structure of the town and its hinterland, but adapted it to their own interests⁵.

From the Ottomans’ perspective, Giurgiu was considered a genuine outpost meant to secure a segment of the Danube frontier by controlling the passage flow, to supervise the scaffolds and the produce coming from Wallachia. In addition, as the recent research of the medieval frontiers of Wallachia shows⁶, the special focus on Giurgiu of the Ottomans was initially determined by factors related to strategy. This was a result of the fact that the fortress, well protected by aits varying in size and by the Danube’s distributary channels, also very close to the left bank of the river, could be an excellent military and strategic bridgehead for the future conquering campaigns of the northern-Danubian territories, for the plunder expeditions of the *akıncı* bands.

Considering all the above mentioned factors, the Ottomans were highly interested in Giurgiu’s direct subordination, and subsequently in the surrounding infield, imposing a very strict administrative apparatus specific to the entire Empire, marked by its tolerance towards the “unfaithful”, with a view to order, good management and financial lucrativeness⁷.

By creating the Giurgiu kaza, consisting of the town and its hinterland, the Ottomans did no more than combine the two subsystems and basic components of an urban settlement: the town itself and its area of influence, where the former ensured the drainage of goods from the immediately neighbouring area.

We can consider that at the basis of Giurgiu’s urban development and evolution laid a sum of favouring factors that were closely connected: the position on the bank of the Danube, the existence of the customs and a crossing point of the river, and the fact that it was an important junction on the way of significant commercial routes

⁴ Bogdan Murgescu, “Economiiile sud-estului Europei în epoca modernă timpurie: între Istanbul și Occident”, in *Studia varia in honorem professoris Ștefan Ștefănescu Octogenarii*, Cristian Luca and Ionel Cîdea (eds.), Publishing House of the Romanian Academy and Istros Publishing House of the Museum of Brăila, Bucharest- Brăila 2009, p. 353.

⁵ Tasin Gemil, *Românii și otomanii în secolele XIV–XVI*, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1991, p. 197.

⁶ Marian Coman, *Frontierele medievale ale Țării Românești*, summary of the doctoral thesis, University of Bucharest, 2011, p. 27.

⁷ Nicolas Vatin, “Ascensiunea otomanilor (1362–1451)”, in *Istoria Imperiului Otoman*, Robert Mantran (ed.), All, Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, p. 40.

that linked the Romanian Principalities and the Balkan peninsula. Last but not least, the function of warehouse assigned by the Ottomans for the produce coming from Wallachia constituted a new element that favoured the amplitude of the urban development of the settlement.

Among all these factors, the greatest impact on the urban development of Giurgiu was given by the economic factor because in the Ottoman Empire, where trade played a first-hand role, the right to trading was associated with the right to free circulation, the right to resistance and mainly the right to protect the merchants, be they Muslims, non-Muslims or foreigners. The state had among its responsibilities the public activities, such as the construction and maintenance of the canals, dams, roads, bridges, and karvansaray-s, since the promotion of trade triggered definite benefits for the central treasury⁸.

From a functional point of view, as in the case of other Ottoman towns, in Giurgiu, too, the civil administration was confounded with the military one. The kadi, who had the decisive role in the administration of the kaza, had the same powers over the town, being supported by an aian, with the specific attributions of a mayor.

Afterwards, starting with the 15th–16th centuries, Giurgiu became a classical Ottoman town, with a specificity determined by its role as a marginal urban settlement, with a pronounced strategic, military and economic character; the vakıf was its central model element in Istanbul or other Ottoman towns.

The testimonials recorded during the four centuries of Ottoman administration in Giurgiu outline the image of the town only at a general level, their descriptions coming from different sources and viewpoints. People coming from the Ottoman Empire or the East, or those accustomed to the eastern civilization generally made favourable depictions. On the other hand, there are the descriptions of the people coming from Eastern Europe, who, with very few exceptions, were influenced by factors related to a certain amount of subjectivism triggered by the origin or birthplace, level of education or social status.

From the outlook of the civil settlement, the testimonials of two Ottoman chroniclers are very interesting. In 1648, Kiatip Çelebi noted that “Giurgiu is a borough and a kadiat (...). Its outskirts are on the banks of a river, and can be reached by crossing the river. It has a great mosque (cami) and a public bath^{9,10}. Completing this image,

⁸ Halil İnalcık, *Imperiul Otoman. Epoca clasică (1300–1600)*, Enciclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996, p. 283.

⁹ Most likely this refers to the public bath of Giurgiu, built in 1645, by Matei Basarab, the ruler of Wallachia (1632–1654) (Nicolae Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1988, p. 98).

¹⁰ *Cronici turcești privind Țările Române. Extrase, II (sec. XVII – începutul sec. XVIII)*, edited by Mihail Guboglu, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1974, p. 114.

Evliya Çelebi would write about a “flourishing town, with gardens, with vineyards and 600 beautiful, shingly houses. The town has a public bath and seventy-eighty small booths. It is at the border of the country”¹¹. Evliya Çelebi also mentioned the existence of a wooden construction, resembling a kiosk (kasr), in the vicinity of the Danube and the town (varoş) that served as a “stop-over for those coming and going”¹².

Evliya Çelebi’s notes are the only ones attesting the existence of a pious foundation (vakıf) which built the above-mentioned kiosk. Real institutions in the Ottoman Empire, the pious foundations that usually had their activity around a mosque were present in all towns, particularly in the commercial ones, contributing to the good deployment of the social, economic and religious activities.

Moreover, the Ottoman chronicler recalls in broad terms the districts (mahalle) of the town, not specifying clearly their delimitation. It is certain that if the Muslim districts or neighbourhoods were designated nominally after the great mosque (cami) or mosque in the region, the Christian ones were named and recorded officially in the Ottoman documents after the name of the priest (in Turkish, *pāpāz*) of the local church¹³. At the end of the 17th century, shortly after the recorded testimonials of Evliya Çelebi, it is known that in Giurgiu there were three districts or mahalla-s, which were joined by a “village of the Varoş mahalla”¹⁴. (*Kariye-i mahalle-i Varoş*)¹⁵.

Evliya Çelebi wrote a few lines on one of the most remarkable personalities of the town and the “pilgrimage places in Giurgiu”, about the conditions in which used to live, died and was buried “the poor sheik Mehmed Dede, a traveller who appeared in Giurgiu, a master in mesnevi”¹⁶. The scribe Amani Çelebi in Rusciuc marked the date of his death with the verse: “The Pole star of Giurgiu died”, where the letters indicate the date of his death. He is buried inside the fortress of Giurgiu”¹⁷.

It is remarkable that the two Ottoman chronicles make no reference of the urbanistic elements of the town, which leads us to believe that it was naturally consistent with the characteristic lines of the Ottoman towns by the Danube or in the Balkans. The aspects that presented relevance for an Ottoman from the point of view of the landscaping architecture, such as the vineyards or gardens, were the guidelines

¹¹ Evliya Celebi, “[Călătoria noastră în eialetul Oceakov și începutul călătoriei noastre în Rumelia, împreună cu Melek Ahmed paşa, care a fost mazilit din postul de Mare vizir]” in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, VI, edition curated by Aurel Decei, Maria Matilda Alexandrescu Dersca-Bulgaru and Mustafa Ali Mehmed, Scientific Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p. 358–359.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 358.

¹³ Mihai Maxim, *O istorie a relațiilor româno-otomane, cu documente noi din arhivele turcești. I – Perioada clasică (1400–1600)*, Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 2012, p. 338.

¹⁴ *varoş* – town; in fact, it refers to the inhabited part in the immediate vicinity of the Giurgiu fortress.

¹⁵ Valeriu Veliman, “O condică turcească referitoare la populația nemusulmană din orașul Giurgiu și împrejurimile sale, la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea”, in *Ilfov, file de istorie*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 197.

¹⁶ Type of versification in the Turkish-Islamic literature, with rhymes in pairs.

¹⁷ Evliya Celebi, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

for Giurgiu's portrait, both for Kiatip Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi. Moreover, the fact that Giurgiu had a public bath revealed that the town was not a common one, such a settlement destined for corporal hygiene and relaxation being of great importance in the Ottoman public life.

In the notes of the two Ottoman chroniclers, Giurgiu is mentioned as a *kadiat* which is a case in point about the importance of the town, even more so since the known data reveal that the *kadi* of Giurgiu also was a warrant for settling all litigious cases between the Christians and Muslims in the Giurgiu *kaza*. Because of the geographic position, the *kadi* also judged the problems occurred between the Christians and Muslims in Bucharest or on the territory of Wallachia¹⁸.

Some of the Occidental travellers that passed through Giurgiu make reference to elements specific for the Oriental civilization, such as the Italian Earl Camillo Giacomazzi, who, in his notes from the end of April, 1793, reminded of the rather significant *muhafâz* headquarters and the Muslim places for worship in Giurgiu: "There are three mosques, a few public baths and the houses that are poorly covered with shingles, and with wooden tiles, as in Rusciuc. (...) For a stopover, we stayed in a place (*conak*) which was not small, attributed to the Turkish *Mihmandar*. Even if this is the first place in Wallachia, it is still under the Turks' jurisdiction, the garrison and the place being managed by an Ottoman *kadi*"¹⁹.

In 1818, the elements pertaining to the Muslim places for worship in Giurgiu mentioned above were also recalled by the English doctor William Mac Michael, who was truly impressed by "the tall minarets of the mosques in the Giurgiu village"²⁰.

A few years later, in 1828, the marine captain Charles Colville Frankland would write about Giurgiu that "this is a big town and, although built in disorder, it seems beautiful from the Danube. As a general perception, it resembles any of the Turkish towns, meaning you can see dirt and poverty, wooden houses and shops, mosques and minarets"²¹.

¹⁸ For instance, in November 1594, the deputy of the *kadi* of Giurgiu, Ali-Gian efendi, was summoned to Bucharest by the ruler Michael the Brave to arbitrate his dispute with the Ottoman creditors (*Cronici turcești privind Țările Române. Extrase, II (sec. XVII – începutul sec. XVIII)*, edited by Mihail Guboglu, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1974, p. 35).

¹⁹ The Earl Camillo Giacomazzi, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române, Supliment I*, edited by Ștefan Andreescu, Marian Coman, Alexandru Ciociltan, Ileana Căzan, Nagy Pienaru, Ovidiu Cristea, Tatiana Cojocaru, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2011, p. 273.

²⁰ William Mac Michael, "[Relația călătoriei prin Moldova și Țara Românească]", in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, new series, I*, edited by Paul Cernovodeanu, Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Marian Stroia, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2004, p. 750.

²¹ Charles Colville Frankland, "[Călătoria prin Banat și Țara Românească]", in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea, new series, II*, Paul Cernovodeanu and Daniela Bușă (eds.), Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2005, p. 83.

Most of the confessions of those who passed through Giurgiu attest the existence of a medium-size town, whose sight revealed an Oriental town to the Occidental travellers, also presenting similarities to the suburbs of the western towns. Furthermore, from the various depictions, we can observe the great resemblance between Giurgiu and other Wallachian towns²², displaying in addition elements of Islamic architecture, i.e. the great mosques.

The often criticized hypostases where Giurgiu was captured by the foreign travellers are explainable by an overwhelming majority descent from the world of the Western Europe and its patterns, where the urban criteria were completely different. The only exceptions in this category are Evliya Çelebi, Kiatip Çelebi and the Spaniard Domingo Badia y Labricht, namely two Ottomans and a very good connoisseur of the Muslim civilization, to whom the general aspect of Giurgiu was aligned to the normalcy of the Ottoman world.

Thus, Giurgiu, a town literally located at the confluence between the Muslim and Christian worlds, was characterized by a relatively reduced surface, a town situated in the immediate neighbourhood of one of the Danube's distributary channel, but also by the scarcity of its urbanization elements²³.

Compared to the elements of religious architecture, Muslim great mosques or the only Christian church, recalled by many travellers through Giurgiu, the houses made no particular impression. Of small dimensions and built according to the Oriental tradition, wooden, made of clay, adobe or half-timber and covered with tiles or shingle, the houses of the town were not much different from the ones in the rural environment. A similarity to the rural world is also given by the rather large number of gardens in the town, particularly the vineyards in their immediate vicinity, a characteristic that was kept until present days.

The lack of a systematized street network and a civil or institutional urban architecture gave the impression of an eastern type agglomeration also because in the Muslim urban space, the private space had precedence over the public space. Moreover, until 1829, the shops and craftsman shops or warehouses represented the most obvious forms of prosperity of the inhabitants, with clear projections on the general urban aspect²⁴.

²² Adriana Gheorghe, "Aspecte de urbanism în Țările Române între 1774–1821", in *Orașul românesc și lumea rurală. Realități locale și percepții europene la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul celui de-al XIX-lea*, volume edited by Ileana Căzan and Daniela Bușă, Istros Publishing House, Brăila, 2004, p. 134.

²³ Gabriel-Felician Croitoru, "Un oraș musulman pe pământ creștin: Giurgiu în relațiile călătorilor străini", in *Historia Urbana, tome XXI (2013)*, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2013, p. 83.

²⁴ Adrian Nicolae, *Dinamica peisajului urban în orașele Giurgiu și Călărași – studiu comparativ*, summary of the doctoral thesis, University of Bucharest, 2011, p. 17.

However, even for the previous period there are certain streets or alleys of Giurgiu mentioned as, according to the Ottoman custom, they were named after the property of a well-known merchant of the community; that could be a house, a shop, a merchant or a craftsman, etc. For example, in 1644, one of the Giurgiu districts, inhabited by the Ottomans was called Baba Nafi Djamii²⁵, most likely after the name of a local notability.

Regarding the street names, documents mention the Great Street – that led to one of the exit gates of the town, in the direction of Bucharest; the Borough Street – leading to the central area of the town, where the imâret was placed, a symbol of the Ottoman town and where another route to Bucharest began; Selima's Street and Mustafaîa's Street winded separately to the ciftlik-s of Selima and Mustafaîa, situated behind the town walls; the Christian Church Street, passing by the only Christian church in town; the Fortress Street also leading to the fortress and the fortress on the island; the Great Mosque Square leading to the great mosque placed in today's St George Square; the Tsargrad Street leading to the main entrance-exit gate of the fortress (the Iron Gate), placed between the Danube and the Danube Street, following the walls of the town in the southern part and, to a great extent, the street with the same name nowadays²⁶.

The reduced number of the historical sources from the period of the Ottoman administration of Giurgiu made the data on the main buildings of the town very scarce. Starting with the second half of the 18th century, once the general fortification works in Giurgiu were launched, a hexagonal observation tower was erected in the inner part of the town, situated at the geometrical place of the points marking the bastions and gates of the inner walls of the settlement. A part of the fortification system, the 22-meter high tower was built according to the plans of an anonymous European engineer, in the military style of the 18th century²⁷, with a double functionality: military (as an observation point) and civil (as a fire tower)²⁸. A landmark of Giurgiu's architecture since its construction, the tower – which was also a clock in the beginning – presents certain similarities regarding the construction and purpose to two other towers from the Bulgarian towns of Razgrad (built in 1864) and Svishtov.

Inside the fortress there was the muhafâz's residence, the dwellings of the officers and the headquarters of the civilian authorities, the barracks of the soldiers, ammunition warehouses and a great mosque²⁹.

²⁵ Mustafa A. Mehmed, *Documente turcești privind istoria României, I, 1455–1774*, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1976, doc. 174, p. 176.

²⁶ Scarlat A. Stăncescu, *Din trecutul orașului Giurgiu*, Modern Institute of Graphic Arts "Unirea", Bucharest, 1935, p. 83.

²⁷ Dan Căpățână, Emil Păunescu, "Turnul ceasornicului din municipiul Giurgiu", in *Revista Muzeului Militar Național*, Supplement, no. 4/1998, p. 45.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

²⁹ Scarlat A. Stăncescu, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

About the headquarters and residence of the muhafâz we know this was an imposing building, situated immediately close to the island fortress and the town scaffold³⁰, some of the travellers through Giurgiu had the opportunity to see it as guests of the Ottoman official. The building was burnt by the Russian army in February 1770, being restored afterwards³¹. Although not a large size edifice, the residence of the muhafâz was most likely the greatest in town, since even the pasha of Giurgiu, Salih Mehmed, catalogued it in 1823 as “his palace”³².

There have always been public baths in Giurgiu; one of these, destined for the Christians, was built in mid-17th century by Matei Basarab, the ruler of Wallachia (1632–1654)³³. In 1793, “some public baths”³⁴ were mentioned in the travelling notes of the Earl Camillo Giacomazzi, existing separately no doubt for the Muslims and Christians.

From the point of view of the ethnic structure of the population, the testimonials of the foreign travellers converge towards a cosmopolitan profile of the town, in the frame of a classical profile of the harbour-towns on the coasts of the seas or the banks of the rivers in the Ottoman Empire and the ones of border towns, thus giving rise to a heterogeneous ethnical structure largely determined by the economic activities carried out in the town and its harbour. Nevertheless, the regime of the Ottoman Empire did not differentiate between ethnicity and religion, the Porte uniting the entire population under the umbrella of the state³⁵.

Concerning the kaza population, the data reveal a Wallachian majority of the inhabitants, alongside whom also lived Turks, most of the latter owning certain rural settlements. Alternatively, in the perimeter of the town, the population may have fluctuated in time. The first testimonials of those who passed through Giurgiu, including Ottomans, revealed that the majority was constituted by the Wallachians, as shown in the notes of Pierre Lescalipier, for the 16th century or those of Petru Bogdan Bakšici and Evliya Çelebi, for the following century.

³⁰ Ion Boldescu, *Monografia oraşului Giurgiu*, “Ulpiu Stănculescu” Graphics Institute, Giurgiu, 1912, p. 90.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 49–50.

³² Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turceşti, I*, General Direction of the State Archives, Bucharest, 1960, no. 1646, p. 330.

³³ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităţilor şi monumentelor feudale din România. I – Ţara Românească (Muntenia, Oltenia şi Dobrogea), Vol. I: A-L*, Publishing House of the Oltenia Mitropoly, Craiova, 1970, p. 361, note 56.

³⁴ Earl Camillo Giacomazzi, in *Călători străini despre Ţările Române, Supliment I*, volume edited by Ştefan Andreescu, Marian Coman, Alexandru Ciociltan, Ileana Căzan, Nagy Pienaru, Ovidiu Cristea, Tatiana Cojocaru, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, 2011, p. 273.

³⁵ Halil Inalcık, “Turcii şi Balcanii”, in *Marea: loc al memoriei şi al desfăşurărilor geostrategice*, Florin Anghel, Gabriel Stelian Manea, Metin Omer (eds.), Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, Târgovişte, 2014, p. 37.

On the other hand, in a Register of 1697, in the perimeter of the town 420 non-Muslims are indicated, out of a population of 3,000 or 3,500 inhabitants, but in the notes of the French Aubry de la Montraye, at the beginning of the 18th century, the majority is Turkish, the Wallachian not even being mentioned among the town inhabitants. More than that, the population recoil felt in Giurgiu in 1829, when the Muslim inhabitants were forced to move south of the Danube, is another proof that at least in the first decades of the 19th century, the Turks were the majority in the town.

Together with the Wallachians and Turks, the various documents or testimonials of that period also mention among the inhabitants of the Giurgiu kaza Bulgarians, Jews, and Gypsies, seldom the Tatars, Greeks, Serbians, Armenians, Germans, or Russians. Generally, in the Ottoman towns, the members of the different religious denominations lived on their own in separate districts (mahalle), under the leadership of their own religious leaders, who would represent them in front of the central or local Ottoman administrators. Thus, the Ottoman towns had separate Muslim districts, Christian ones (in 1757, one of these was called The Old Great Mosque³⁶) and Jewish ones; similarly, the Gypsies had their own area, regardless of their confession³⁷.

From the perspective of the hygiene-sanitary aspects, we must mention that generally in Istanbul and the Ottoman cities there were numerous different places and hospitals of various sizes, where doctors or pharmacists were working according to the Oriental traditions and practices. In the case of Giurgiu, there are no certain data that attest the presence of a hospital, but the size of the town and its position on one of the commercial routes of the Ottoman Empire, created the premises for the existence of sanitary institutions that would function within the pious foundations (*vakıf*)³⁸. From the second half of the 18th century and mostly in the 19th century, such sanitary institutions were more spread, particularly in the European part of the Empire³⁹.

However, the various testimonials of the period reveal that the Muslim settlements and their inhabitants were vulnerable when confronted with extended pandemics, such as cholera and more importantly the plague, mostly on account of the lack of

³⁶ Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești, II*, General Direction of the State Archives, Bucharest, 1965, no. 845, p. 253.

³⁷ Halil Inalcık, *Imperiul Otoman. Epoca clasică (1300–1600)*, Enciclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996, p. 298.

³⁸ For instance, since the second half of the 15th century, in Istanbul, there was a hospital with two doctors, a specialist in ophthalmological problems, a surgeon, a pharmacist and two nurses. The hospital received all patients who could not afford the house calls or buy medicines or drugs. Subsequently, two other larger hospitals were built, one for women and the other one for the non-Muslims. (Halil Inalcık, *Imperiul Otoman. Epoca clasică (1300–1600)*, p. 288).

³⁹ Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, “Ottoman Educational and Scholarly-scientific Institutions”, in *History of the Ottoman State, Society and Civilisation, II*, edited by Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, Istanbul, 2002, p. 401.

quarantine services. From this perspective, Giurgiu, as a border region, was even more exposed to these diseases that would decimate the population and cause serious disturbance in the daily activities.

Although in 1791, in Giurgiu, there are mentions of a surgeon (*cerrah*) of German descent, from Königsberg⁴⁰, formerly a doctor in a Prussian regiment, used since 1788 as a translator as well, by Giurgiu's muhafâz⁴¹, it seems that in the first decades of the 19th century, Giurgiu had no town doctor, so that periodically the muhafâz would ask the doctors in the Court of Bucharest to attend to his health or that of his close entourage. Therefore, in a letter from 5th June 1824, the muhafâz of Giurgiu, Salih Mehmed communicated to Grigore Ghica that the doctor of the Court – who had concluded a treatment for the muhafâz of Rusciuc – had been asked to prolong his stay in Giurgiu to take care of the health of the muhafâz here⁴². What is more, the Giurgiu muhafâz announced the ruler that he had sent a trustworthy messenger to Bucharest to procure the necessary medicines.

After only one year, in December 1825, the muhafâz of Giurgiu, Mustafa pasha, asked the ruler Grigore Ghica to find a good doctor in Bucharest for Azis ağa, a close and trusty friend of the muhafâz, who was heading for the capital of Wallachia to care for his health⁴³.

From a religious point of view, despite the general claims in the Romanian historiography in this respect, we cannot talk about an obviously discriminatory regime applied to the Romanians or orthodox Christians on account of their religion⁴⁴. Additionally, in areas like Giurgiu or Brăila, where the Christians were the majority, some of the restrictions determined by the Muslim law were difficult, if not impossible, to impose. Also, at a local and global level, the existence of the millet-s, led on one hand to the unperturbed preservation of their own traditions, and on the other to the absence of major issues in applying the Treaty of Adrianople.

Last but not least, the moderation and tolerance spirit of the central and local Ottoman leaders was guided by the economic interests. For that matter, the Ottoman tolerance and the assumption of the duty to protect the entire population without differentiating between Muslims and non-Muslims, represented the main factors that

⁴⁰ Gugomos, [Călătorie de la București la Rusciuc], in *Călători străini despre Țările Române, X, partea a II-a*, volume edited by Maria Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2001, p. 976.

⁴¹ Pompei Gh. Samarian, *Medicina și farmacia în trecutul românesc, II (1775–1834)*, “Cultura” Printing House, Bucharest, 1938, p. 251.

⁴² Mihail Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turcești, I*, no. 1863, p. 374.

⁴³ Ibidem, nr. 2121, p. 426.

⁴⁴ Tudor Mateescu, “Organizarea ecleziastică a românilor din Dobrogea în timpul stăpânirii otomane”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, annum CXV, no. 9–12, September–December 1977, pp. 971–975.

enabled the rapid advancement of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans ever since mid-14th century⁴⁵.

We cannot state with certainty how many Muslim places for worship existed in Giurgiu, but their number undoubtedly fluctuated so that if at the middle of the 17th century Kiatip Çelebi would refer to only one great mosque⁴⁶, in 1828, the English officer Charles Colville Frankland would mention more⁴⁷, without giving their precise number.

In document of 8th May 1696, there is a mention of the Baba-Nahu Great Mosque in Giurgiu, whose administrator, Hasan effendi bin Ali was entitled to collect 12,000 akçe from the Christian inhabitants⁴⁸.

It is certain that in 1793, the Muslim believers in Giurgiu had three great mosques⁴⁹. The first one and probably the most important, had the name of Bairaclı⁵⁰, being a solid construction, made of symmetrical fashioned stone. It was in the immediate vicinity of the muhafâz residence, being destined mainly for the troops of the Giurgiu garrison, the civilian and military authorities of the town, the sailors of the scaffold and also the general public. After 1830, at the initiative of the general-earl Pavel Kiseleff, the great mosque was transformed in a Christian church, sacred as “Saint Nicholas”⁵¹, in Romania the only Muslim places of worship turned into churches being the nowadays “Saint Michael” in Brăila and “Saint Nicholas” in Giurgiu.

⁴⁵ Halil Inalcık, “Turcii și Balcanii”, in *Marea: loc al memoriei și al desfășurărilor geostrategice*, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Kiatip Celebi, “Gihannüma [Cosmografia universală]”, in *Cronici turcești privind Țările Române. Extrase, II (Sec. XVII – începutul sec. XVIII)*, volume edited by Mihail Guboglu, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 1974, p. 114 și 121.

⁴⁷ Charles Colville Frankland, “[Călătoria prin Banat și Țara Românească]”, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, new series, II, Paul Cernovodeanu and Daniela Bușă (eds.), Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2005, p. 83.

⁴⁸ Mihail Guboglu, *Despre arhiva turco-orientală din Biblioteca de Stat „V. Kolarov”*, Sofia (I), p. 212.

⁴⁹ Earl Camillo Giacomazzi, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române, Supliment I*, volume edited by Ștefan Andreescu, Marian Coman, Alexandru Ciocîltan, Ileana Căzan, Nagy Pienaru, Ovidiu Cristea, Tatiana Cojocaru, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, 2011, p. 273.

⁵⁰ From the Turkish work *bayrak* – flag; wide silk flag, carried in front of the troops in military campaigns (Emil Suciu, *Influența turcă asupra limbii române, II, Dicționarul cuvintelor românești de origine turcă*, Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2010, p. 67).

⁵¹ In 1830, the great mosque was transformed into an orthodox church, with Saint Nicholas as the titular saint, after the name of the Tsar Nicholas I of Russia, considered the “liberator” of Giurgiu from the Ottoman administration. The building was initially square, specifically for the Muslim places for worship, but after being changed into a church in 1830, the altar in the shape of an apse and the open porch were added. The church was covered with a cylindrical arch and a wooden steeple. Also, the old entrance in the great mosque (placed on the side, by the axis of the entrance in the present yard of the church) was disabled, creating another entrance, respecting the Christian norms, and the picture was made with water colours (Gabriel-Felician Croitoru, “Bisericile ortodoxe din orașul Giurgiu în secolul al XIX-lea”, in the volume *Studia varia in honorem professoris Panait I. Panait Octogenarii*,

Given the architecture of the present day church “Saint Nicholas”, it is likely that the great mosque Bairaclı followed the classical architectural line in the European side of the Ottoman Empire⁵² and was built in a cross-shaped plan and that the yard was surrounded by a fence. The second great mosque of Giurgiu, meant for the civilian population of Muslim faith, was placed in the central area of the town, near it having a fountain that was preserved and used even in the first decades of the 20th century, known as the Şadârvan Fountain⁵³. Finally, the third great mosque of Giurgiu, on which we have little information, was placed approximately on the same place as nowadays St George Square, destined for the town dwellers of the area.

There are no data on the existence of the smaller size places for worship (*mesgid*) in the rural area of the Giurgiu kaza, but it is possible that they existed since the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants was formed of Christians.

Also, in Giurgiu there must have been at least one Quaranic school, as in 1820 there was a similar one in the Turnu nyabet⁵⁴, which had a considerably smaller population than that of Giurgiu, without taking into account the administrative difference between the two localities.

The presence of the great mosques is a proof that in Giurgiu there were “faith people”, i.e. imam-s, hatib-s (those who recited the *hutba*, the Friday sermon, on behalf of the sovereign), the müezzin -s (who called the people to prayer from the minaret) or people who administered the mosques or great mosques (*kayyim*), all remunerated from the various local incomes and taxes⁵⁵.

In this context, we must recall that in the 16th century, in Giurgiu, was born and lived Mehmed Uryânî Dede, deemed “one of the greatest saints of Rumelia”, a person respected by the “religion people” of the Porte. His date of birth is unknown, but his descent from a devout family is acknowledged, as his mother was known as a genuine “saint of those days”. Since his childhood, Mehmed Uryânî Dede was preoccupied with study and after having acquired serious knowledge he dedicated himself to the sacred love and aggrandizement of the Prophet. Poorly clad, he started wandering the world, reaching even Egypt, where he lived in Cairo and the

edited by Andreea Atanasiu-Croitoru, Publishing House of the Romanian Museum of the Marina, Constanța, 2011, p. 175).

⁵² Mehmet Ali Ekrem, *Civilizația turcă*, Sport-Turism Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981, p. 125–126.

⁵³ From the Turkish word *şadîrvan* – artesian well (for the ablution, on the side, where the ritual washings were carried out before entering the great mosque, as prescribed by the Muslim religion). The *şadîrvan* inside the great mosques, palaces and big houses was supposed to refresh and circulate the air, bring inner peace (through the water sounds) and, in special cases, ensure the confidentiality of the discussions.

⁵⁴ Liviu Maxim, “*Raiaua*” *Turnu (1419–1829)*. *Studiu monografic*, doctoral thesis, mss, p. 40.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 148.

surrounding areas for a while, his teachings constituting the basis for the Manevi work written by the scholar Ibrahim Gülşeni⁵⁶.

After leaving Egypt, Mehmed Uryânî Dede returned to Giurgiu where he educated more young men, imposing himself as a true moral and spiritual reference. Therefore, one of these disciples, Taslicalî Yahya Bey, remembers his mentor of Giurgiu in eulogistic terms, in his work *Sah-u Geda*, whereas the kadi of Rusciuc, Nev'î-zâde Atâî, who visited Giurgiu in 1642 would state that he had “met the children of Uryânî Mehmed Dede. There was such light and extraordinary order, and the verses of the Quran shone”⁵⁷. In his turn, Evliya Çelebi also jotted a few lines about Mehmed Uryânî Dede, a “traveller in the world, born in Giurgiu, a master of the mesnevi”⁵⁸. The scribe Amani Çelebi of Rusciuc indicated the date of his death with the verse: “The Pole star of Giurgiu died”, mentioning that he was buried inside the Giurgiu fortress⁵⁹.

Mehmed Uryânî Dede died around 1582, being buried in the Giurgiu fortress, together with his mother, his tomb becoming a place for pilgrimage.

During the entire Ottoman administration, there was balance between the Muslim state representatives and inhabitants, on the one side, and the mainly Christian population, on the other. Thus, within certain limits, a genuine cultural and religious model resulted, where each millet knew its place and role in a society capable of accepting its diversity, respect and tolerance.

Not least, together with the initial influences of the Turanian peoples, in the 400 years of Giurgiu's domination, the Ottomans influenced in their turn the toponymy of the place, but to a smaller and less profound extent⁶⁰. Moreover, after 1829, given the efforts of a quick reintegration of Giurgiu into Wallachia, there was a general interest for eliminating certain influences, although they remained for a long period in the collective mentality of the inhabitants.

In the current stage of the Romanian historiography, where the works referring to the relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire cover a vast space, the issue of the past of the kaza-s north of the Danube, Giurgiu still remains a topic of maximum interest both from a general point of view and for the local history.

⁵⁶ <http://www.mumsema.org/arap-islam-alimleri/193502-mehmet-uryani-dede-hayati-hakkinda-bilgi.html>, accessed on 01.05.2015.

⁵⁷ <http://www.bizimsahife.org/kutuphane/evliyalans/U2/ea1429.htm>, accessed on 01.05.2015.

⁵⁸ Type of versification in the Turkish-Islamic literature, with rhymes in pairs.

⁵⁹ Evliya Çelebi, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁶⁰ See Gabriel-Felician Croitoru, “Toponimie locală turco-tătară din județul Vâlcea”, in *Moștenirea istorică a tătarilor, II*, Tasin Gemil and Nagy Pienaru (eds.), Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 2011, pp. 217–227.

Bucharest – The City of the First Book Printed in Turkish – The Osman Dialect*

Radu Ștefan VERGATTI

I feel bound to start the present paper by expressing my gratitude to the late Orientalist Aurel Decei, who, with generosity, suggested to me that I should approach this topic... However, I did not have the chance to deal with it at that particular moment. It is only now that I have set out to work on it.

To further carry out older concerns, I have expanded them by studying the interest that seneschal Constantin Cantacuzino, holder of the protocathedra title, had in defending Eastern Christianity through the printed book. He carried out his activity in Wallachia by contributing to the restoration of printing in Bucharest, in 1679. There he fully supported the printing of several religious books, among which the translation of the Bible, that has remained to this day the most remarkable liturgical book, still stands out.

Although seneschal Constantin Cantacuzino's inclination, that was determinant and exemplary for his nephew prince Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu, was particularly towards the Orthodox religious book written in sacred languages – Slavonic and Middle Greek – as well as in the vernacular – Romanian¹ – he also distinguished himself by his concern in sustaining printing in the Turkish language, the Osman dialect. This was due to the fact that those in charge of culture in Wallachia and, implicitly, South-Eastern Europe at the time understood the importance of the printed book as a factor that could complexly influence spiritual development. They benefited from the existence, in Bucharest, of a good printing works, equipped with technical means

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¹ A good example in this respect is the seneschal Constantin Cantacuzino's contribution to the translation of the *Bible* from Greek into Romanian, as well as that of his nephew, prince Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu, who, in 1688, while he was a great logothete (cf. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova, secolele XIV–XVI*, Ed. Enciclopedică Română, Bucharest, 1971, p. 126), was also appointed ispravnic (super-intendent) of printing prince Șerban Cantacuzino's Bible. At the Princely Academy of Bucharest, courses began every day by reading one page of the Bible translated into Romanian. It was a way to introduce the Romanian language into the officiation of services in the Orthodox Church of Wallachia.

suitable for reproducing texts in several languages². It was all for the better that the talented Georgian Antim Ivireanul was in charge of the printing works³. According to the testimony of the princely secretary, the converted Jew Antonio Maria Del Chiaro⁴, who described what he had seen, Antim Ivireanul could manufacture splendid matrices of metal and wood⁵. Moreover, he spoke Middle Greek, Turkish – the Osman dialect, Slavonic, Romanian, Arabic and Latin. Therefore, he was the right person who could bring out a book in Turkish, the Osman dialect, as well. Thus a new book by Antim Ivireanul can be added to the rest of his works.

According to his biography, he might have favoured that trend militating for the setting free from the rule of the Sublime Porte⁶. Those who had led the actions of liberation from under the “Star-and-Crescent” (or the Crescent Moon) flag decided to choose the printing centre of Bucharest for they knew there was no printing press in Istanbul⁷. The clerics, the conservative Muslim clergy and even those who belonged to the Janissary corps opposed⁸. In Bucharest, which was at the edge of the Empire,

² The letters at the printing works of Bucharest allowed printing in the Middle Greek, Slavonic, Romanian and Arabic (cf. Antonio Maria del Chiaro’s account, in *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. VIII, editor-in-charge Maria Holban, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucharest, 1983, p. 381).

³ For the biography and work of Antim Ivireanul in Wallachian printing houses, see particularly Gabriel Ștrempel, “Antim Ivireanul”, in *Analele Academiei Române, year 100 (1966), seria IV*, vol. XVI, p. 417; Gabriel Ștrempel, “Introducere” la Antim Ivireanul, *Opere*, Ed. Minerva, București, 1972, p. V–LX; Fanny Djindjihașvili, *Antim Ivireanul cărturar umanist*, Ed. Junimea, Iași, 1982, *passim*; Doru Bădără, *Tiparul românesc: la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Editura Istros – Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila, 1998, p. 112 and following; Agnes Erich, Radu Ștefan Vergatti, “Magistrul și ucenicul: Mitrofan al Hușilor și Antim Ivireanul”, in R. Șt. Vergatti, C. Vergatti, A. Erich, *Unchiul și nepotul: Matei Basarab și Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu*, Ed. Science Press, Baia Mare, 2014, pp. 367–384.

⁴ For Antonio Maria del Chiaro’s biography, see *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. VIII, ed. cit., pp. 364–370.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 380–381. Antim Ivireanul had the merit of having founded a school for Romanian printers who worked alongside of him to bring out books from the printing press housed by the Metropolitan Church.

⁶ Cf. Fanny Djindjihașvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–46. It is to be noted that Antim Ivireanul was in favour of the current initiated by the Greeks who were undertaking actions to strike the Sublime Porte in a peripheral area of the Empire. This explains his alliance with the Cantacuzino family – the Șeitânești branch. Moreover, he avoided returning to his native country, Georgia, for the rest of his life for he deemed a comeback home dangerous (cf. *Idem*, pp. 47–53).

⁷ In 1493, the Sephardic Jews coming from Spain and Portugal set up a press to print religious books in the Jewish language using their alphabet; after 1560, Armenians were granted permission to print books in their language, in Istanbul, on condition they should bring the letters from abroad. In 1623–1626, the Janissaries, prompted by conservative Muslim clerics, threw into the sea the elements of the printing press set up by Cyril Lucaris; it was only in 1726 that the sultan allowed the first printing works for Turkish to be set up (Metin M. Cosgel, Thomas J. Miceli, Jared Robin, “Guns and Books: Legitimacy, Revolt, and Technology Change in the Ottoman Empire”, in *Economic Working Papers*, Paper 2009/12, March 2009, University of Connecticut, 3.01.2009, Department of Economic Working Paper Series, p. 2, 15, 16).

⁸ *Ibid.*

the representatives of the Islam could not react. Under these circumstances, in 1701, the first book printed in Turkish, the Osman dialect, appeared in Bucharest. The title of this book was: in Middle Greek **Προσχνηταριον** (Proskinitarion) and in Turkish **Κοντλονσερριφ** (Kontlonserif)⁹.

The title clearly shows that it is a description of Jerusalem and Palestine. The bilingual title also made it clear that the text was written in two languages – Turkish, the Osman dialect, and Middle Greek. But, in both cases, the Middle Greek alphabet was used for printing. It was done so because there were no matrices needed to make the letters of a Turkish alphabet – the Osman dialect, on the one hand, and, on the other, one did not wish to inflame the Muslim clergy who, in 1623–1626, had prompted the Istanbul Janissary to throw the printed press founded by Cyril Lucaris into the Sea of Marmara.

The text, in fact a description of Jerusalem that could not irritate anyone, was translated into Turkish, the Osman dialect, by the orthodox bishop Seraphim of Pisidia, an area located in the Gulf of Antalya, in south-western Anatolia.

The work was initially mentioned by Alexandru Papadopol-Callimach in the article “Un episod din istoria tipografiei în România” (‘An episode in the history of printing press in Romania’ – T.N.)¹⁰. After that, the book was commented by Ion Bianu and Dan Simonescu¹¹, Emile Legrand¹² and Constantin C. Giurescu¹³.

Unfortunately, with regard to the first two editions, I am forced to confine myself to Papadopol-Callimach’s remarks for the other scholars previously mentioned did not see them as they have not been found to this day.

The interest in this paper is proved by its publication in four editions. The second edition cannot be found in the Library of the Romanian Academy either, nor are the year and place of publication known – apparently 1708, in Venice. The third edition appeared in Leipzig in 1780 and the fourth in Vienna in 1799.

⁹ As the 1st and 2nd editions are only known through descriptions, the complete titles of the work, both in Greek and in Turkish, were mentioned in Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, œuvre postume, complétée et publiée par Mgr. Louis Petit et Hubert Pernot, tome II, Paris, 1928, p. 343. The name of the works was also reproduced in Ioan C. Bianu, Dan Simonescu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia Românească Veche*, tom IV, Adăogiri și îndreptări, no. 34, Atelierele Grafice Socec, Bucharest, 1944, p. 28.

¹⁰ Cf. Alexandru Papadopol-Calimach, “Un episod din istoria tipografiei în România”, extract from *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, Series II, tome XVIII*, Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, Bucharest, 1896, pp. 135–152.

¹¹ Cf. B.R.V., tom IV, *ed. cit.*, p. 28, no. 34.

¹² Cf. Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, tome II, *ed. cit.*, p. 343.

¹³ Cf. C. C. Giurescu, “Livres Turcs imprimés à Bucarest (1701 et 1768)”, extract from *R.I.R. (Revista Istorică Română)*, vol. XV, Fascicule III, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, Imprimeria Națională, Bucharest, 1946, pp. 275–286.

The Library of the Romanian Academy stores two copies of the third edition¹⁴ and one of the fourth¹⁵.

The third edition (Leipzig, 1780) includes in the text:

- the portrait of Abraham, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1775–1787)¹⁶
- a salute to readers in Turkish, the Osman dialect, and Middle Greek¹⁷
- the title written in Turkish, the Osman dialect, and in Middle Greek
- an homage (to the servant of the Holy Sepulchre) from Hieromonk Ioasaf Peloponesiacul of the Sf. Gheorghe Nou Church in Bucharest¹⁸.

The actual description of Jerusalem and Palestine¹⁹ follows and, at the end, services uttered to officiate the Vespers (Small Vespers) are printed²⁰.

The book is written on each page on two columns, the left in Greek, the right in Turkish, the Osman dialect.

If the text of the first edition and of the second seem to have been identical, with those printed at Leipzig and Vienna there are some differences.

The fourth edition, of 1799 (Vienna) lacks the homage of the hieromonk of Sf. Gheorghe Nou Church of Bucharest to the Holy Sepulchre and the services for the Small Vespers. Instead, an encyclic of His Beatitude Ecumenical Patriarch Paisie (August 1747) was added at the end²¹.

It should also be mentioned that the subtitle of the fourth edition specifies that the work appeared on the advice of His Beatitude Father Patriarch of Jerusalem at the time, Antim, with the material means provided by Protosingelos Andreos²².

These differences are extremely small and do not affect the essence of the text. I felt that I should mention them here so as not to leave room for void comments upon the original text and the importance of the work.

The reference to this book, first printed in Turkish in 1701 in Bucharest, shows mainly the complex and significant role the capital of Wallachia had during the reign of Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu. The appearance of the book stands proof of how important Bucharest was in South-East Europe and at continental level as well.

The paper addressed, obviously, the Christian population of orthodox denomination who lived in a few enclaves on the territory of the Sublime Porte. One of

¹⁴ Cf. B.A.R., A. 17263 (complete copy) and 46257 (copy with failings).

¹⁵ Cf. B.A.R., A. 28745.

¹⁶ Cf. B.A.R., A 17263, f. B 1 verso.

¹⁷ Cf. B.A.R., A 17263, f. B 2- B 3 verso.

¹⁸ Cf. B.A.R., A 17263, pp. 3–10.

¹⁹ Cf. B.A.R., A 17263, pp. 11–70.

²⁰ Cf. B.A.R., A 17263, pp. 71–84.

²¹ Cf. B.A.R., A. 28745.

²² Ibid.

these strong enclaves might have been located in Antalya, where bishop Seraphim of Pisidia provided, for the 1701 Bucharest edition, the first translation of the text into a language understood by the Orthodox population it addressed to. This explains the effort made to translate the book in that area.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that the work which appeared in Bucharest in 1701 preceded by about three decades the Dictionary written by Vankulu, offered for sale at Istanbul on 31 January 1729²³. The same year, 1729, also in Istanbul, the book about the Ottoman naval wars written by Kâtip Çelebi appeared²⁴. It is only that year, with the cadis' approval, that an intense but short-lived printing activity began in Istanbul. It was conducted, for a decade and a half, by Ibrahim Müteferrika²⁵.

I have brought to discussion this first book printed in Bucharest in 1701 in Turkish, the Osman dialect, because through theme, language and art of printing, it falls within the main topic of the present article. One may assert, without fail, that even if the names of the sponsors of this book in Turkish, the Osman dialect, were not mentioned, they can easily be disclosed. They were not mentioned in writing in order for their carriers to be protected against whatever reaction the Sublime Porte might have had, instigated by the Muslim clergy. Naturally, the printing of a book describing the Holy Sepulchre and Palestine must have been initiated by the patriarch of Jerusalem at that time, Dositheos Nottara. He had his official residence in Istanbul but he lived mostly in Bucharest where he benefited from the wealth of the Cantacuzino family and that of their nephew, prince Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu. He was supported, discreetly, by the seneschal Constantin Cantacuzino and his nephew, prince Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu. They did so because the text of the book served their purpose – to make orthodox Christians take up arms against the Sublime Porte.

With regard to the art and responsibility of printing a book in Turkish, Osman dialect, with Middle Greek alphabet, the mission was felicitously entrusted to Antim Ivireanul, who discreetly supported the same goal. Considering the nature of the dialect in which the book was written – Orta Türkçe – it is highly possible that the text should

²³ For the first works printed in Turkish, on the territory of the Sublime Porte, in Istanbul, see Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılık I. Müteferrika matbaas*, Istanbul, 1939, pp. 60–61, 84; Yasemin Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript", in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, publ. by Christiane J. Gruber, Indiana University Press, 2010, pp. 154–193.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Ibrahim Müteferrika was of Hungarian origins and was from the city of Cluj (Kollosvár). Born towards 1674, he was taken prisoner by the Ottomans during one of their campaigns; they turned the young Hungarian teenager into a slave. They brought him to Istanbul where the young Hungarian converted to Mohammedanism in 1694. In 1717 he became the administrator of a part of the assets of the imperial palace, as shown by his name – Müteferrika. (cf. Yasemin Gencer, *İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript*, in *loc.cit.*, p. 155 and 193, note 1).

have addressed people from the middle strata of society, somewhat well-to-do merchants and craftsmen.

The appearance of the book, its dissemination, initially in a small number of copies, later in three other editions, clearly shows that the authors of this work – an anti-Ottoman orthodox declaration of war – reached their goal.

I conclude with the hope that the views expressed here add up to previous and present knowledge, prompting me to continue the investigations in this field.

**FROM CENTRAL ASIA
TO EUROPE – POLITICAL, CONFESSIONAL,
CULTURAL INTERFERENCES**

Turkic Runic Monuments as a Source on the History of Kazakhstan*

Kenzhe TORLANBAEVA

Turkic runic monuments, popular among the Eurasian nomads, are the important historical source on the history of Kazakhstan.

In the present historiographical analysis among the numerous studies on runic monuments we would like to highlight the work of Kazakh scientists as A. Amanzholov and Yu. Zuev, and to focus on the issues related to the history and source studies of Kazakhstan.

A. Amanzholov's monograph "History and Theory of Ancient Turkic Writing" (2003) is the fruit of the author's years of work on studying the linguistic and philological aspects of Turks' runic writing. In the paper A. Amanzholov systematizes the current knowledge of runic writing, its graphic systems, rules of reading the runic inscriptions of various local groups; he gives their 'clarified' translations with all the philological arguments and rules. Kazakhstanian habitat of runic script takes the central place in his works, and the findings of runic inscriptions on our territory provide opportunities to clarify issues of historical and ethnic ties of the Turkic peoples.

According to A. Amanzholov actually on the territory of Kazakhstan the runic inscriptions can be classified according to the place where they were found: Irtysh, Syr Darya, Ili and Yaik (Ural)¹.

The start of the archaeological research of the runes in Kazakhstan was in 1893, when in order to find the ancient monuments in the territory the expedition of the Russian Archaeological Society headed by V. Bartold was sent to Semirechensk and Syr Darya regions of Turkestan governor-generalship. It was assumed that the Semirechye (Zhetysay in Kazakh) as the center of ancient culture, which the Chinese and Arab-Persian authors wrote about, could also be a center for dissemination of ancient Turkic writing. The revival of interest among the local history societies and

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¹ Altay Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya drevneturksskogo pis'ma*, Mektep, Almaty, 2003, p. 12.

enthusiasts led to the first finds of runes in 1896 and 1898². They were stone boulders with runic writing called Talas monuments. Since then they have developed their own separate from the Orkhon-Yenisey monuments place in the classification of runic writing based on their location. In the modern historical period the Talas monuments detection area is located on the territory of sovereign Kyrgyzstan.

In this paper A. Amanzholov puts emphasis on Kazakhstan findings of runic letters, their reading and translation. Runic and runic-like inscriptions and signs on individual objects, rocks, stones, balbals (ancient steppe stone figurines generally depicting a woman and man) and etc. throughout the 20th century. They were found in the Irtysh, the Syr Darya, Ili, Chu and cover the territory of the East and South Kazakhstan.

Runic inscriptions found on the territory of Kazakhstan and surrounding areas of modern Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan were carved to different articles of wide range. They are a mirror, khums, amulets, rings, dishes, etc. For example, the famous Talas stick discovered in 1932 is a wooden stick with the runes on its four sides. Brief runic inscriptions could be found on clay khum from Koi Krylgan Kala settlement on the Amu Darya³. Runic inscription on a ceramic amulet was discovered during excavations in Ak Tobe 1 settlement on the left bank of the Syr Darya⁴.

Kazakhstan's circle of runic finds differs in the fact that our area is characterized by use of different directions of runic writing and their various regional links; runic inscriptions are not numerous, monuments with great narrative capacity have not been found. For example, Semirechye area covering the territory of South Kazakhstan and North Kyrgyzstan since ancient times had been the center of intense relations between nations, and not only in terms of pastoral and agricultural relationships. According to the authors of "Art Bronze of Zhetysu" book (2013), numerous findings of ceramics in the Semirechye testify to the existence in the area of religious and ritual complex of the Saki tribes in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age⁵. Probably, the same value was not lost by the region in the early Turkic period. In this sense, the monuments of Talas are interesting are; they have a unique feature, as they are carved with a particular purpose on boulders and their findings probably were part of the ritual of the funeral or the temple complex. As described by D. Winnick and P. Kozhemyako Ayrtam Oy valley for many decades since the time of finding the Talas boulders was repeatedly ploughed up and cropped, so the exact date of

² D.F. Winnick, P.N. Kozhemyako, "Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoj pis'mennosti iz urochishchya Ajrtam-Oj", in *Novye epigraficheskie nahodki v Kirgizii, Akademia Nauk Kirgizskoj SSR*, Frunze, 1962, pp. 3–10.

³ Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya*, 2003, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 239–241.

⁵ G.A. Bazarbaeva, G.S. Dzhumabekova, *Hudozhestvennye bronzy Zhetysu*, Gylymi qazna, Almaty, 2013, pp. 70–71.

marking the runes on the field stones cannot be identified. The remains of the settlement, where the field stones (for example, some of which reach enormous proportions 1,25x0,7x0,6 m.), were discovered by archaeological layers and ceramics, refer to the Qarakhanid time of 10th–12th centuries. Locals called this settlement area Kesken Tube (Cut Hill). As the research authors note, having restored by V. Kallaur's description the first finds of Talas monuments (the 2nd Talas monument) and discovered the others (the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th Talas monuments), 'Both (the latter two – K.T.) were undisturbed in the mainland gravel and sandy soil. The cultural layer in this location is not available. Only on the surface there are shards of pottery. Based on the stratigraphy of the excavation in the settlement one can draw the conclusion that the stones with inscriptions had been here before there was a settlement (Kesten Tube – K.T.), i.e. before 10th century.'⁶

Yu. Zuev says about the content of the religious monuments of Talas. According to him, the 2nd Talas monument includes Qara Chor, the bearer of 'ecclesiastical capacity', who led and took care of Otuz Oglan consortium (thirty sons-soldiers), i.e. listeners of Manichean 'school' in the Turkish environment during the period of Türgesh khanat, i.e. two centuries before Qarakhanids. In that case the second line of the inscription makes sense in the following reading: 'My heroic name is Qara Chor. Honorable name and Qara will not sin'⁷. Reading and interpretation of Talas monuments in meaning resemble texts of Yenisei monuments with ritual funeral content, which also mention the words otuz er–'thirty soldiers' and inal – 'faithful'⁸.

The Ili runic inscriptions, discovered and explored by A. Amanzholov, can be divided into 3 groups: 1) the runic inscriptions on the rocks, in hunting places of local tribes and by content they relate to hunting magic (inscriptions on the gorges of Tereksai, Nadyr, Sadyr)⁹, 2) Greek rock inscriptions in the cult and religious places in the gorges of Taigak and Tamguluktash¹⁰, 3) articles with the runic-like, runic and Greek and graphic inscriptions on a silver bowl of a Saki mound, on a bronze ring of Turkic time and on a stone whorl from Talgar settlement¹¹. This set of inscriptions, read by A. Amanzholov, indicates traditions of the local population to make inscriptions as a part of hunting magic and in the places being places of worship at different times.

⁶ Winnick, Kozhemyako, "Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoj...", p.10.

⁷ Yuri Zuev, *Rannie tyurki: ocherki istorii i ideologii*, Dajk-Press, Almaty, 2004, p. 201.

⁸ Igor Kormushin, *Tyurkskie enisejskie epitafii. Teksty i issledovaniya*, Nauka, Moscow, 1997, pp. 62, 219, etc.

⁹ Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya*, pp. 209–213.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 223–234.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 214–224, 235–236.

Let us assume taking all things together that Semirechensk and Ili complexes' inscriptions may be of the same settlement area of pastoral and farming people, who interacted in different historical periods. Also in the area there were certain ritual places of worship in the Turkic time related to the Manichean shrines. Zhetysu was a place of coexistence and common pastoral and farming autochthonous cults of Saki and then the Turkic population. Among the many issues of Semirechye history there is a question of the language and cultural mutual influence of the Iranian and Turkic peoples.

Within that context the important issue of A. Amanzholov's research is the genesis of the runic script. The work puts forward the idea of the Turkish runic letters origin from pictographs to ideography; it shows the possibility of its origin as a result of long-term self-evolution from ancient loto-graphic or alphabetical letters in 3rd–2nd millennium BC¹². As the author concludes, "Paleographic and phonological connection of Turkic runic characters (graphemes) indicate a long evolution of the Turkic runic script in the making of the Old Turkic speech ended in general no later than the 4th–1st millennium BC. Therefore, the Turkic runic alphabet, history, and genetic links getting a brand new coverage can be the extremely important source for historical phonetics of Turkic languages"¹³.

At present the study of Turkic languages has no recognized opinion about the origin of runic letters, and the existence of two main views become apparent: exogenous (B. Thomsen, A. Donner, J. Clawson, V. Livshits, etc.) and endogenous (A. Shifner, N. Aristov, A. Emre, B. Napil, etc.) origin of the Turkic runic script. The occurrence of such opposing views is not surprising in that context that the pastoral communities were in the relationship with the agricultural ones; permanent conditions were created for assimilation of cultural property. In that respect very interesting with their special place are the entire South Kazakhstan and Zhetysu in the territory of which the states of Kangju and Usun were formed and existed. Then there are territories of the West Turkic Khanate, the area of permanent contacts with Tashkent oasis and other principalities of Syr Darya, Amudarya and the East Turkestan regions, and also the area attached to Tyan Shan. One must say that in this regard for a long time the historical past of the region on the territory of South Kazakhstan there have been systematic archaeological excavations of early monuments of 4th c. BC. – 6th c. BC.

In light of Kultube inscriptions findings originating from Kultube settlement, which is part of a group of large objects of Arys Badam fortified area (Ordabasy district of South Kazakhstan, River Arys valley), the exogenous origin of runic

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 295.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 300.

script enhances. So far the relatively admitted is present N. Sims-Williams's reading of Kultube inscriptions as the early Sogdian writing¹⁴.

The same range of South-Kazakhstan archaeological findings includes monuments of runic writing marked by A. Amanzholov the Syr Darya, which are presented by few finds, including runic inscriptions on a ceramic amulet, on sun-dried earth bricks and ceramic vessels. According to the author the runic inscription on the amulet is similar to a 'seal', an amulet of the Saki settlement – Kaunchi II near Tashkent¹⁵. The Syr Darya runic inscriptions content-wise were applied for a specific purpose: as a spell of magic amulet and a spell associated with the culture of agriculture, the craftsman's signature on a ceramic pot and others. Graphics of Syr Darya runic inscriptions is in the nature of 'popular' art work, the influence of graphic images of other scripts, possibly of the Sogdian too and at the same time it may indicate the literacy and the prevalence of that kind of writing among the region's population.

Irtysk runic monuments of Kazakhstan unlike Talas do not constitute any complex as supposed to be religious, but they also have their own uniqueness. They are just a few and they are proto-Turkic runic inscription on an ivory plaque, runic inscription on the Chinese bronze mirror, and the local mirror, the two rock runic inscriptions from the Irtysk valley, runic inscriptions on the silver bracelet and a stone stamp.

Runic inscription on the Chinese bronze mirror was discovered in Urjar district of East Kazakhstan in 1935 and currently is in the State Hermitage (Saint-Petersburg, Russia). The mirror refers to the Tang time and, according to A. Amanzholov, paleography and language features reflect dialectal characteristics of the ancient Turkic language and belong to the Orkhon Yenisey type¹⁶.

In 1969, the same place in the East Kazakhstan on the right bank of the Irtysk, in the burial mound for a woman a bronze mirror with a runic inscription was discovered. That mirror in contrast to the Chinese one was locally made. The mirror and other equipment were found at different times in the family burial of Kimeks. Analysis of the burial, translation of runic inscriptions and historical interpretation were before given in 1972 by F. Arslanova and S. Klyashtorny¹⁷. In their study A. Amanzholov translates the inscription on the mirror, clarifies paleography and meaning of individual words¹⁸. The nature of runic inscriptions is of expressed ethical postulate, according to S. Klyashtorny; it reflects the influence of Buddhist ideas of retribution,

¹⁴ Nicolas Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian Inscriptions of Kultobe: Text, Translation and Linguistic Commentary", in *Trudy Tsentral'nogo muzeya*, Balalar adabiet, Almaty, 2009, pp. 153–172.

¹⁵ Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya*, p. 240.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 200.

¹⁷ F.H. Arslanova, S.G. Klyashtornyj, "Runicheskaya nadpis' na zerkale iz Verhnego Priirtysh'ya" in *Tyurkologicheskij sbornik*, Nauka, Moscow, 1973, pp. 306–315.

¹⁸ Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya*, p. 202.

rejecting the strongest emotions of temporals¹⁹. Archaeological findings suggest that in ancient times and the Middle Ages East Kazakhstan and South Siberia were in the same geographic and socio-economic area and the main inhabitants of these areas were pastoral communities, nomadic tribes, who created the society different from the agricultural culture.

One of the unique finds in the near Irtysh and near river Ob is findings of fish cast from metal²⁰. Yu. Zuev in Section of his monograph on the Irtysh Kimek justifies the existence of the cult of the crocodile-dragon-fish-river (Irtysh) in the legend, recorded by Al-Gardizi on Kimeks²¹. Kimek funeral reflects the most important cult of Turkic tribes widespread in the steppe areas. However, the runic inscription mentioning the fiery bright red dragon, as translated by A. Amanzholov, acting as a patron: ‘Patronis a reddish red dragon’ – jebči jegrän at lü²², of course, confirms the sacred image of the dragon. Dragons atop the Turkish monuments in Mongolia are well known [Radloff, Milioransky, 1897, p. 10]. Ancient Turkic name liuy-lü meant ‘a dragon’ in the Chinese and was spread to Chinese mythology, but the Turkish environment including, and the Kimeks also used its Middle Persian version associated with the Avestan word ‘aži’ – ‘a snake’, ‘a dragon’. The legend on Al-Gardizi the word is reflected in the name of one of the seven Turkish tribes – azhilar²³.

Thus, Kazakhstan’s Irtysh runic inscriptions, despite its brevity, yet allow identifying the most important religious rites existing among the nomadic tribes.

Yaik runic inscriptions of the finds in West Kazakhstan are marked by A. Amanzholov on two things: a bronze mirror and a Sassanid silver platter²⁴. Perhaps these findings came here due to the trade and other relations between the peoples.

Yu. Zuev’s monograph “Early Turks: Essays on History and Ideology” (2002) becomes the most important research in the field of Turkic studies, ancient and early medieval history of Central Asia; it is the introduction into the scientific circle and analysis of the Chinese annals. The book is the fruit of a long research, based on a series of essays on the early Turkic tribes and unions of public type, the ideological beliefs of which are very similar and have a common foundation, dating back to the last centuries before the current era. Scientific conclusions about the significance of the Great Mongolian monuments are important for the development of historical Turkic studies, and the key political events, which seem the unique written testimony on Kazakhstan’s history in Syr Darya and Semirechye areas. This is in

¹⁹ Arslanova, Klyashtorny, *op.cit.* p. 314.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 310.

²¹ Zuev, “Manihejstvo i Talas...”, pp. 132–133

²² Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya*, p. 202.

²³ Zuev, “Manihejstvo i Talas...”, pp.132–133.

²⁴ Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya*, pp. 247–250.

reference to the three Great monuments of Mongolia; they are about the Turkic-Türgesh war during Qapagan Khagan rule period, the Board (chin. Mochzho, 691–716) of eastern Turks and Sakal Khagan (chin. Soge, 706–711) of Türgesh. But initially let us focus on the characteristics and content of the sites that give authentic information about the social system of pastoral society for all of Central Asia.

The monument in honor of Kül Tegin with the largest Turkic runic inscription was erected after his death in 732. Kül Tegin is the younger brother of Bilge Khagan (chin. Motsilan, 716–734), his companion and a commander. Since the days of V. Radloff it is clear that the monument in honor of Bilge Khagan was also built after his death in 734, i.e. in 735²⁵. On these dates we are told the Chinese annals²⁶. These two signs are very similar in the narrative about the war, the political situation in the period of Elterish Khagan, Qapagan Khagan and Bilge Khagan; they do not differ in the assessment and the role of ‘khagan’ in society. The central idea of these inscriptions is the idea of the divine right of a khan (khagan) of Ashina family for power over the Turkic people and the unbreakable bond of a khan with el (the people) is noticeable. There are also differences despite the similarity of these inscriptions. The inscription in honor of Kül Tegin compared with the inscription to Bilge Khagan is better preserved; it is the biggest on the narrative scope, literary expressive, and gives the most complete picture of the entire history of the Turks from the legendary epoch of the first khans –Bumyn and Istemi – up to the tragic death of Kül Tegin and the magnificent funeral rites arranged in honor of him. Inscription to Bilge Khagan is poorly preserved; it has many erased lines under the influence of time, nature and human intervention, which are already impossible to restore; and in narrative terms it is inferior to the inscriptions of Kül Tegin. Moreover, it does not include such literary well-formulated and revised text as the inscription to Kül Tegin.

Tonyukuk inscription was carved on a stone stele during his lifetime; however, the exact date of that event is undiscovered. According to the researchers, it was built in the birth tract Tonyukuk on Kokshin-Orkhon near River Tola in his own order²⁷. The stela is well preserved, and the events referred to in the inscription are a period of eastern Turks’ dependence on the Tang state until the reign of Bilge Khagan inclusive. This inscription is also quite large in terms of size and applies to the great monuments of Turkic writing. Unlike the two Orkhon inscriptions in honor of Bilge Khagan and Kül Tegin, the text of the Tonyukuk stela is of polemical

²⁵ N.M. Yadrintzev, “Otchet ekspeditsii na Orhon v 1889 godu” in *STOE*, 1892, Vyp. 1, p. 34.

²⁶ V.P. Vasil’ev, “Kitajskaya nadpis’ na orhonskih pamyatnikah v Kosho-Tzajdame i Karabalgasune” in *STOE*, 1897, Vyp. III, pp. 1–36.

²⁷ F. Hirth, “Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert nach chinesischen Quellen. – I. Zeit des Ku-tu-lu (Ilteris khan)” in *Die Altürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*, Z. F., 1899, pp. 1–3.

character²⁸. The creator of the lettering from a different point of view highlights the role and place of Khagan in military and political developments in khaganat (a khanate). Khagan is attributed military valor and courage, while Tonyukuk sees its role in execution of khagan's (a khan) orders; he is the initiator of all the important affairs of state, commander and advisor to a khagan. Tonyukuk's basic idea lies in recognizing nonexistence without the Turks Khanate without a khagan, recognition of his supremacy and legitimate rights, but the exercise of khagan's power is possible with the consent of the Turkic people.

Monuments in honor of Kül Tegin, Bilge Khagan and the lifetime Tonyukuk stela are outstanding examples of the Turkic runic writing that appeared during the heyday of the oral epic of the Turks of Central Asia; they reflect the actual historical events important for the society of that time. The inscriptions complementing each other contain a coherent narration of the history of the Eastern Turks state. In historiographical terms, these three monuments are inseparable from each other. With a significant narrative content the inscriptions contain crisscross information on Khanate's history. At the same time, they are the most studied from the philological point of view. When reading the inscriptions before our eyes there are pictures of the struggle of the Turkish people against Tang dependence, creation and generation of a khanate, stories on victorious campaigns and internal struggle between the Turkic tribes. Bilge Khagan, Tonyukuk and Kül Tegin are the top leaders of the state, representatives of the ideological functionally distinct tribes – Ashina and Ashide, which represented the paternal and maternal controlling interests and succession, and as for tribal relations they are Khagan and Katun families²⁹, the representatives of the two sides of one family/dynasty. Therefore, the content of sites may disclose their social and political positions. According to Yu. Zuev's research, traditional values and the need for dual coregency is shown in the writing of Tonyukuk, a representative of Ashide tribe. The authors of the inscriptions in honor of Kül Tegin and Bilge Khagan, representatives of the Ashina tribe, tried to prove rightfulness of Khagan's monorule. The erection of these monuments was due to a sharp conflict in 716, then the likely construction of a stela to Tonyukuk as a head of Ashide tribe personifying the Turkic people and therefore indicating the contribution of the Turkic tribes to the khan's victory. And after those events the Ashina tribe the need to explain political positions was marked out in petroglyphs as a declaration of Ashina khans' sovereignty over Turkic people.

²⁸ D.M. Nasilov, "Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoj pis'mennosti (orhono-enisejskie i drevneujgurskie) v otechestvennyh tyurkologicheskikh issledovaniyah poslednih let (obzor lingvisticheskikh publikacij 1969–1974 gg.)", *Sovetskaya turcologiya*, 1976, no. 1, p. 88.

²⁹ Yuri Zuev, "Drevnetyurkskie genealogicheskie predaniya kak istochnik po rannej istorii tyurkov", in *Avtoref. dis. kand. istoricheskikh nauk*, Alma-Ata, 1967, 18 p.

These monuments from the time of their discovery have been the subject of research by many scientists; however, as it has been noted ‘reading and translation of large Orkhon texts of 8th c. in some places still leave much to be desired’, not to mention the most difficult to read Ongin (The Ongin inscription near river of Ongin in Mongolia). The new translation of this inscription was made by A. Amanzholov, who believes that the inscription was made in the troubled period of internal strife Turkic tribes, in 716, and was dedicated to Qapagan Khagan³⁰. The option of comparative analysis of Tonyukuk, Kül Tegin, Bilge Khagan and Ongin monuments’ inscriptions gives grounds to assume that they are related to the same events. It is probable that Ongin monument was intended to highlight the events of internal strife, ahead of their political assessment given by Tonyukuk and Bilge Khagan.

Thus, giving a preliminary description of the content of sites, I would like to dwell on the conclusions of Yu. Zuev in his monograph. One of his most important conclusions, which I support, is a new look at the historical value of these monuments, and for the history of early medieval Kazakhstan as well.

Firstly, the important direction of Qapagan Khagan’s foreign policy were the relationships with Türgesh Khanate (699–766). Türgesh khagans claimed it to be considered successors of the rulers of the Western Turkic khanate, i.e. Ashina khagans, and thus become heirs to the extensive strategic channels on the Great Silk Road in the south-east and west directions. According to Chinese chronicles, the first Türgesh khan was бага-таркан Uchzhile (türk., *Yüzlik* ~ *jüzlig*, ‘having a hundred’, 699–706). The ‘History of Tang Dynasty’ old edition reports that he was the leader of ‘the isolated tribe of western Turks’ and is referred to during the reign of Helu Khagan. That separate tribe within the Western Turks, according to the Chinese list of tribes of Western Turks, who were ruled by Helu Khagan in 651, and the ‘Primordial Turtle’ was the only one tribe Türgesh – they are Helosh or Alash (chin., *helosh* < *ya-la-šie*; türk. **alach*, chin. *alashi* < *at-lât-šie*, türk. **halash*, **halach*, recovered by Yu. Zuev). The Tang edict of 736 reports that Türgesh ‘originally are not of noble fields, they came out of other people’s names’, i.e., they came from different tribes³¹. With the weakening of the power of Western Turks and the internecine struggle: ‘all far and near Sogdians-hu joined and surrendered him. He (Uchzhile) instituted (their) positions of twenty military governors–Tutuks, with each having 7,000 soldiers. Usually, he lived in the north-western limits of (country) Suyab and later, gradually attacking,

³⁰ Amanzholov, *Istoriya i teoriya*, p. 187.

³¹ Yuri Zuev, “O formah etnosotzial’noj organizatsii kochevyh narodov Tsentral’noj Azii v drevnosti i srednevekov’e: pestraya orda, sotnya (sravnitel’no-tipologicheskoe issledovanie)”, in *Sb. nauch. trudov, Voennoe iskusstvo kochevnikov Tsentral’noj Azii i Kazakhstana (epoha drevnosti i srednevekov’ya)*, Gylym, Almaty, 1998, p. 58.

took it. He moved his horde-quarters and began to live here³². Thus, Türgesh people were part of the Western Turks; they united different tribes and being varied tribal they concentrated in Kengü-Tarban, i.e. in Otrar oasis, on the Syr Darya, where Kanga and Tarban are Turkic nomadic outposts³³.

Rebirth of the Second East Turkic Khanate in 682 implied restoration of Steppe Empire in its former borders. For that purpose Qapagan Khagan even granted the title of ‘small khagan’ to his son in 699, and it was assumed that he would take into their hands the power over the West Turkic wing, i.e. areas and communication routes of Türgesh khanate. Therefore, the fight against Türgesh khagans had become one of the main tasks of Qapagan khagan. Events of military and political nature between the Eastern Turks and Türgesh demonstrate the crucial period in the history of Central Asia, showing the desire to restore the power of Ashina in the western wing of former Turkic empire, and at the same time they describe the Türgesh people’s resistance, who managed to create ruling dynasty in South Kazakhstan and Zhetysu. The narrative of that event becomes the central content of the three monuments of Mongolia, with the localization of these events occurring on the territory of modern Kazakhstan. According to Chinese chronicles it is known that the immediate cause for war between the eastern Turks and Türgeshs people was the address of Türgesh Khagan’s younger brother Zhen to Qapagan Khagan for help against Sakal Khagan, the Türgesh supreme ruler³⁴.

Secondly, comparison of Turkic-Türgesh war events in Chinese chronicles shows that event occurred in 708, rather than 712. The main source of that date are Chinese chronicles the period of the Tang dynasty, the revision of which at this date and this event was originally given in translation of the chronicles by the Chinese scientist Tsen Chzhunmyan (1958) and then later in translations and monographs of the Japanese researcher Naito Midori ‘History of Western Tokketsu Turks’ (1987). As Yu. Zuev writes, Naito Midori named one section in her research on the history of the Western Turks: ‘Türgesh campaign of East Turks in the 2-year of Ching-lung period, in 708’... Before her the Chinese historian Tsen Chzhunmyan cited evidence that marking period C14299³⁵, 12272 Ching-lung (707–710) in some cases (including in History of Tang dynasty) was a mistake and replaced by a similar spelling C14299,

³² *Ibidem*, p. 30.

³³ Zuev, “Sozdanie Tyurgeshskogo”, p. 58; Yu.A Zuev, K.U. Torlanbaeva, “Manihejstvo i Talas. K interpretatzii drevnetyurkskih nadpisej”, in *Tamyr*, no. 1, p. 176.

³⁴ N.Ya. Bichurin, *Sobranie svedenij o narodah, obitavshih v Srednej Azii v drevnie vremena*, Vol. I, 1998, Zhalyin baspasy, Almaty, p. 303.

³⁵ *Big Chinese-Russian Dictionary*, Nauka, Moscow, 1983, in 4 volumes. The designation of the text on Russian graphics system.

15095 Jing-yun (710–711)³⁶. The war with Türgesh people occurred in the 2nd year of Ching-lung period, i.e. in 708. Unfortunately, by the texts of runic monuments it is impossible to determine the date of the event. However, the Sogdian contracts may indirectly confirm that. For example, in 712 the king of Samarkand Gurak signs the agreement with the Arab commander ibn Muslim Kuteiba³⁷. Such an agreement probably reports that the Turks did not participate in the anti-Arab uprising in Sogd during 712–714. The same is mentioned in another letter to Sogdian king Devashlich from his envoy Fatufan: ‘And Sir, I cannot continue the way as, Sir, according to rumors, I absolutely cannot see a khagan’³⁸. Sogd was a member of the Turkic empire and only after the Arab conquest began to rebuild its system of foreign policy priorities and economic interests. We also know that no Eastern Turks and Türgeshs between 720 and 738 led the anti-Arab war in the Central Asian Mesopotamia³⁹.

Thirdly, the decisive battle between the Turks and Türgesh people occurred at River Bolchu that ended with the victory of the Turks. According R. Giraud, it could be a modern river Bulun Tohay east of Ulungur in Dzungaria⁴⁰. The way of the eastern Turks lay through the Dzungar Gates initially in the Ili valley, East Zhetysu. The decisive battle of Türgeshs and eastern Turks took place in Dzungaria. It was that victory that was the key to further progress of east-Turkic troops into the West Zhetysu, the Talas valley and then Pre-Syr Darya. According to Chinese chronicles it is known that Sakal Khagan gave the Talas region with the city of Talas under Zhen’s rule, to his younger brother⁴¹. Movement of the Eastern Turks to the Talas valley as the center of the Little Horde, being the quarters of the western Turks, and then Türgeshs, opened the way to Suyab and Pre-Syr Darya. Only in inscriptions of Kül Tegin only once in petroglyph sources the ethnonym ‘qaratürgesh’ and the name ‘Tabar’ are used and cannot be found anywhere else. That is how the battle is described in the monument: ‘The Türgesh Khagan army came at Bolchu like fire and wine. We fought; Kül Tegin grabbed with his own hands the Türgesh Khagan’s commander, the tutuq of az. We killed their Khagan, and conquered his tribal alliance (il-el; a state). People of Qara Türgesh (qaratürgeş bodun) for the most part obeyed’. Those people at Tabar (Talas – K.U.), we settled...’⁴². Therefore, according to further narrative in the monuments, the continuation of that campaign were the events connected

³⁶ Zuev, *Rannie tyurki...*, pp. 166, 165–167.

³⁷ Livshits, Hromov, 1981, p. 349.

³⁸ Livshits, 1962, p. 79.

³⁹ de la Vaissiere, 2007, pp. 27–33.

⁴⁰ René Giraud, *L’Empire des Turcs Célestes. Les Règne d’Elterich, Qapghan et Bilgä (680–734). Contribution à L’histoire des Turcs d’Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1960, p. 179.

⁴¹ Bichurin, *op.cit.*, p. 305; Zuev, Torlanbaeva, *op.cit.*, p. 165.

⁴² Zuev, *Rannie tyurki*, p. 29.

with the conquest of Sogdaq colonies in Syr Darya basin, being under Türgeshs protectorate⁴³. Bilge Khagan says, ‘Returning with the aim to arrange Sogdaq people (soydaq bodun, i.e. Sogdian people who lived on the territory of the Talas valley and Pre-Syr Darya but not the Sogdian of metropolis – Sogd – K.T.), we crossed the river Jenca (i.e. Syr Darya), passed with the army until Temir Qapyg’ (Kul Tegin’s Big inscription, lines 37–38)⁴⁴. The Tonyukuk stele text explains the reasons what made the Eastern Turks to cross the River Syr Darya, ‘We chased them (Qara Türgesh, more precisely, az tribe – K.T.), we forced them to return’ (Tonyukuk inscription, line 45). Yu. Zuev’s monograph on Temir Qapyg (Iron Gate; there were many such names in different languages and in different sources) indicates doubts about the localization reconstructed by S. Klyashtorny, and accordingly the military campaign of the eastern Turks to Sogd and Samarkand⁴⁵.

Thus, according to Yu. Zuev’s reconstruction of events on the Turkish-Türgesh war the main military and political actions took place on the territory of modern Kazakhstan, and the main result was the recognition of Qapagan Khagan’s supreme power within the former Turkic empire. From the perspective of the Eastern Turks that strengthened the recognition of the tribe Ashina’s power in the hierarchy of the nomadic steppe, and from the standpoint of Türgesh people that war legitimized the right of Türgesh Khagan dynasty to power in the indigenous lands of the ‘on oq budun’ people on the land, i.e. of the ten-arrow people.

Fourthly, according to Tang Shu, Sakal Khagan’s army was defeated, and he and his rebel brother was executed: ‘Upon returning Mochzho (from the campaign) said to Zheng, You, being brothers, could not live in harmony with one another; Can you with perfect dedication serve me? And so he put them both to death’⁴⁶. For a long time there had existed a literal understanding of that Tang information in Turkic studies. However, in this case, how can one explain the rise to power in 717 of Türgesh khagan Sulu (türk. Sülük, 717–738) from the same clan of khagan, and why Qapagan Khagan’s son was not declared a khagan on Ashina ‘on ok budun’ lands during the Turkic campaign? According to Yu. Zuev, Türgesh Khagan Sakal had to recognize the authority of Qapagan Khagan, but that did not mean his actual death. According to Chinese sources, it is known that in 709 Soge (türk. Sakal) sends a messenger to Chanyan to ask for citizenship, and the Tang emperor bestows a new title to Soge ‘Jin Ho Van’ – ‘Sir of Golden River’. His another Chinese name was the title of

⁴³ *Ibidem*, pp. 164–166, 175.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 175.

⁴⁵ Zuev, Torlanbaeva, *op.cit.*, 2002, pp. 171, 175; Sergey Klyashtornyj, *Drevnetyurkskie runicheskie pamyatniki kak istochnik po istorii Srednej Azii*, Nauka Moscow, 1964, pp. 139–143.

⁴⁶ Bichurin, *op.cit.*, p. 303.

General of the Horse Guards ‘Türgesh Sheu Zhong’⁴⁷. The Eastern Turks, ensuring the recognition of their authority within the former Turkic empire, kept the local Türgesh dynasty and Türgesh khanate, which lasted until 766 and it was one of the main obstacles in the way of Islam in Central Asia.

Fifthly, the described in great monuments the Turkic-Türgesh war events are not limited to the military-political characteristics; they also say about the existence of Türgesh khanate of Turkic Manichaeism. Distribution of Manichaeism in Central Asia is proved by findings of written sources in the Tarim Basin at Dunhuang and the Orkhon, as well as described in the Chinese annals. The emergence of the Turkish Manichaeism is the result of close economic and cultural ties of early Turks with Iran, the birthplace of the religion. Manichaeism, as a persecuted religion, well exploited missionary work, the roots of which were put in the caravan trade ties of Sogdians, medieval Persians and Middle Eastern traders. Manichaeism succeeded to spread from Egypt to Korea in 3rd–14th c. According to Yu. Zuev, Manichaeism was guided by the traditional and the most influential Turkic-Sogdian local beliefs and cults and so it had left a significant mark in the historical and cultural life of the Turkish era, especially in the peripheral areas of interaction⁴⁸. For the history of Kazakhstan they are the areas of West Zhetysu and Pre-Syr Darya.

According to M. Boyce, after the persecution of the Manichaeans of Sassanian Iran in the III c., their main strength gradually concentrated on Oxos (river Amu Darya), in the north-eastern border of Iran. Over time, the Sogdian merchants settling the inhabited centers on the border with the steppe, between the rivers Amu Darya and Syr Darya, become adepts and auditors (nigoshak) of a Manichaean Church⁴⁹. W. Henning notes that the Sogdians were the main carriers of Manichaeism in Central Asia⁵⁰. According to the runic monuments, Sogdians, called Sogdaq, resided in settled areas of Pre-Syr Darya and they were subjects of Türgesh Khagan. But also in the Chu-Talas valley, as it is written in the colophon Manichean ‘Book of Two Foundations’ (Iki jiltiz nom) there was a country Argu Talas or Argu ulush, ‘the khan of Altyn Argu Ulush country, cities [Talas] and Kashu, the ruler of the Horde and Chigil Kent was Ile Tirgyug Alp Barguchan Alp Tarhan Beg, the leader (or: a head; Turkish, p[r] ašdan [a] ki) Great Turks [from the tribe] Chigil Arslan’⁵¹. Yu. Zuev and then

⁴⁷ Zuev, *Rannie tyurki*, p. 172.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 189–191; Yuri Zuev, “Manihejskoe svyatilishche pod Tarazom” in *Izvestiya NAN RK*, no. 2, 2003, pp. 3–6.

⁴⁹ Mary Boyce, “A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian. Text with Notes” in *Acta Iranica IX*, Brill, Lieden, 1975, p. 125.

⁵⁰ W.B. Henning, “Selected papers” in *Acta Iranica*, Teheran-Liege, Vol. 14–15, 1977, pp. 391–392.

⁵¹ A. von. Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I. T. II D 171*, Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung, Bd. I., Berlin, 1972, p. 417.

S. Klyashtorny's research of shows that Manichean monasteries-convents were Talas, Ordu, Kashu and Chigil Kent⁵². Yu. Zuev's monograph analyzes the question and explains that the Kül Tegin monument instead of toponym 'Talas' one cut 'Tabar'⁵³. 'Tabar' toponym should have referred to 'Talas' as the city of merchants, but not the center of the Turkic Manichaeism or a new khagan tradition different from Ashina dynasty.

Thus, Yu. Zuev studies give a new understanding of the central events of the Great Mongolian monuments that represent early medieval history of Kazakhstan. It is crucial to emphasize that on the territory of the West Turkic and then Türgesh khanates there was a process of creating a new Khagan dynasty associated with the indigenous population of that region. The traditional feature of that process was creation of Khagan dynasty from ethnically different tribes. The critical part in the unification of local trines belongs to the Sogdian trade, formation of urban culture, intense relationships of Turks and Sogdians and increasingly growing processes of sedimentation of Turkic pastoralists within those communities on the rights of the supreme rulers, warriors defenders on the caravan trade way and religious institutionalization as well, as a result of the growing influence of Manichaeism.

Economic efficiency of East Turkic campaign to Türgesh khanate was aimed to establish access to the trade caravans of the former Turkic empire. In political terms, the campaign contributed to even greater elevation of Qapagan Khagan and subsequent events of internal strife, seeing the tragic account of events in a large monument, became the main cause of the monuments. The content of big monuments is out of the scope of the burial-ritual character and acquires the Kagan level of use. Later in the Uyghur Khanate that new tradition becomes a source for declaring wins and campaigns of Uyghur Hagans from Yaglakar clan.

⁵² Zuev, 2003, pp. 3–6; Sergey Klyashtornyj, "Manihejskie obiteli v strane Argu" in Tugan Ulke, no. 1 (6), 2006, pp. 48–50.

⁵³ Zuev, *Rannie tyurki*, pp. 173, 207–209.

White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpets of Selendi and Their Reflections in European Art and Lifestyle

Levent BOZ

Carpets woven in the Eastern Mediterranean have always been most prestigious Oriental goods for the Western market. This trade was active since the 13th century and famous travellers like Marco Polo and Ibn-Battuta referred to the beauty of Anatolian carpets in their writings. It was mostly Genoese and Venetian traders who supplied these goods to customers in France and England. Greek, Wallachian, Moldavian and Transylvanian merchants also traded Anatolian carpets which would eventually reach, via merchants from Lvov, Poland and farther territories such as Scandinavia or Russia.

In this article, we will discuss a 16th and 17th century sub-group of Anatolian carpets called “White Ground Rugs”, probably woven in a small Anatolian town called Selendi¹, and how they influenced European art and lifestyle. Actually, due to the undyed wool used, they have a ground colour of a rather ivory/yellowish hue, but in the international specialized literature, this group was more commonly known as “White Ground Selendi Rugs”. It consists of three types depending on their field design: ‘Bird’, ‘Çintamani’ and ‘Scorpion’ carpet types; there are a few other existing models with different field designs², though with a similar ground colour.

Traditional literature attributed these carpets to Uşak (Ushak) but later studies provided evidence that white ground carpets have most probably been woven in Selendi. In this regard, we find the following notes/descriptions in Kütükoğlu’s³ major work on this topic:

¹ For more information, see Halil İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role”, in *The Middle East and The Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Indiana University, 1993, pp. 97–136; [originally published in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies II: Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries, 1400–1600*, Robert Pinner and Walter B. Denny (eds.), *HALI Magazine*, London, 1986, pp. 39–65].

² See Beata Biedrońska-Słota, “Classical Carpets in Poland”, in *HALI Magazine* / Spring 2010, London, 2010, p. 79.

³ Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, İstanbul, 1983, pp. 72, 178.

“Selendi’nin peleng nakışlı seccadesi”, “Peleng” meaning “leopard” and “nakış” “motif”; Thus, this “leopard motif” should be the “Çintamani” and would, hence, represent the White Ground Selendi Carpet group with Çintamani motif.

“Selendi’nin beyaz üzerine karga nakışlı kaliçesi” literally means: “Selendi carpets with crow motif on white ground” which corresponds to the White Ground Selendi Carpets with ‘Bird’ motif. The interesting thing here is that this motif was also called “crow/bird” in Ottoman times. However, it appeared, in the end, that these motifs (Picture 1) were in fact stylized leaves shaped in a way reminiscent of birds, which is most probably the reason why they were called after these⁴.



Picture 1. Detail of the ‘Bird’ Motif

The design of the ‘Bird’ rugs is a repeated pattern of squares enclosing symmetrical flower groups. The sides of the squares are made up of roughly lozenge-shaped motifs similar to a conventionalized bird, which connect rosettes at the corners. The square repeats cover the entire surface of the rug, with the exception

⁴ To read different opinions about this dispute see Hasan Korkmaz, “Beyaz Zeminli Uşak Halılarındaki Kuş Motifine Dair Bir Çözümleme”, in *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. 3/1, 2010, Uşak, pp. 19–32; Marino Dall'Oglia, “White Ground Anatolian Carpets”, in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies II*, 1986, London, pp. 195–203; Ferenc Batári, “Osmanlı Halılarındaki Kuş Deseninin Kaynağı ve Gelişimi”, in *Sanat Dünyamız*, Yıl: 2 Sayı 32, İstanbul, 1985, pp. 2–8.

of the border, which may be either an angular cloud design or a bold zigzag. The background is always white, softened to a fine ivory tone; the design shows mellow reds and blues, mingled with tans and generally outlined with black⁵. Yetkin also summarized the design as consisting of two leaves looking like birds, filling the entire ground on the same axis with different colour shades beaming out from large rosettes⁶.



Picture 2. Large Format White Ground Selendi 'Bird' Carpet Fragment⁷

The earliest records of these carpets in the European inventories dates back to the 16th century. In Transylvania, the first entries on these white ground carpets were documented in the 1568 Hannen account books and in the 1592 allotment logs⁸. In Hungary, the presence of these carpets was recorded in the inventories of the Perényi

⁵ Rudolf Meyer Riefstahl, "Turkish 'Bird' Rugs and their Design", in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 3, New York, 1925, pp. 91–95.

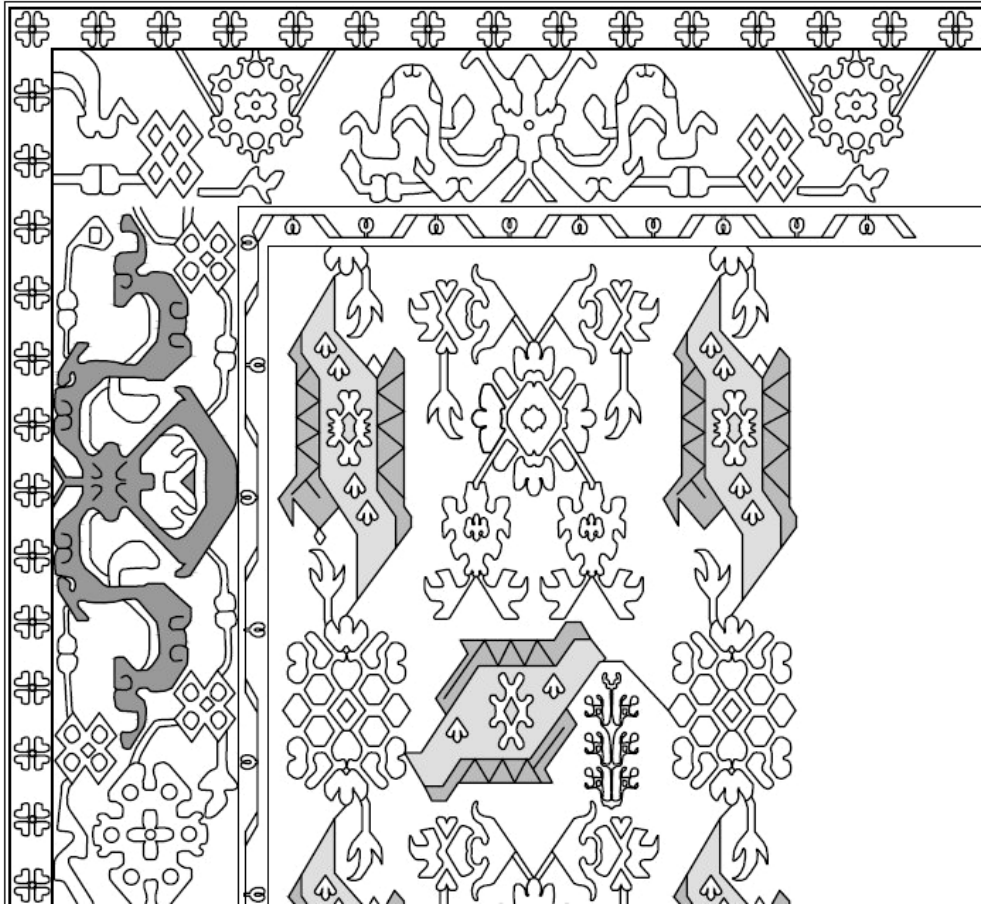
⁶ Şerare Yetkin, *Türk Halı Sanatı*, İstanbul, 1974, pp. 93–94.

⁷ Konya Ethnography Museum, Turkey, Inv. 776.

⁸ Albert Eichhorn, "Kronstadt und der orientalische Teppich", in *Forschungen zur Volks und Landeskunde*, Bd. 11, No.1, Bucharest, 1968, pp. 79–80.

family; and, we also know, by their inventory records⁹, that Ferdinand II, Archduke of Further Austria and Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor possessed such carpets.

These carpets were highly appreciated in the Western World, and we can easily trace their influence on European art and life style: they were depicted with high accuracy in paintings; copied to create their own, larger and “affordable” versions; forged to deceive collectors and museums and exploit their admiration for these highly refined carpets; they were also used as adornments in Protestant churches and were even depicted on the mansions walls...



Picture 3. Model of a White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpet¹⁰

⁹ Yetkin, *op.cit.*, p. 95.

¹⁰ Levent Boz, Transilvanya Bölgesi, Lutherci Mediaş Azize Margaret Kilisesindeki Anadolu Halıları (Master’s Thesis, Hacettepe University), Ankara, 2013, p. 127.

White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpets in European Paintings

Until today, the only representations of Selendi Carpets with ‘Birds’ that we know of are in European paintings. The earliest example is Hans Mielich’s “A Protestant Doctor of Laws”¹¹ (Picture 4) from the 1540s, which enables us to trace their existence back to the 16th century. A later piece, the painting by Padovanino from the Hermitage Museum collection “Eumenes & Roxana”, produced in the 1630s, is another evidence of their early existence.



Picture 4. “A Protestant Doctor of Laws”¹², Hans Mielich

¹¹ Also known as “Count Ladislaus von Hag”.

¹² Formerly in Kress Collection, New York—Whereabouts Unknown.

In the portrait of Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon, attributed to Paulus van Somer I (Picture 5) and dating from the 17th century, we again find a White Ground Selendi ‘Bird’ carpet, which demonstrates the English admiration for this group type, to be further discussed in this article.



**Picture 5. “Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon”¹³,
attributed to Paulus van Somer I**

¹³ By courtesy of Queen's College, Cambridge, UK.

These carpets were amongst the most prestigious, and thus expensive, objects of their time, and it is no surprise that high-society people would desire to be portrayed with such pieces, as an indicator of their privileged social status.

From then onwards, many European artists continued depicting White Ground Selendi 'Bird' carpets with high accuracy. When we look at the “The Adornment of a Saxon Bride” by Robert Wellmann (Picture 6), we understand that this admiration continued until the 20th century.



Picture 6. “The Adornment of a Saxon Bride”¹⁴, Robert Wellmann

¹⁴ By courtesy of Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu, Romania (inv.1248).

White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpets on the Walls as Frescoes

Indeed, these carpets were amongst the most expensive products of their era, because of their limited production and the difficulties relating to their carriage from East to West; so they could only be bought by very wealthy people. It is highly possible, because of this fact some people decided to paint their walls with the exact design of these carpets to enjoy a “substitute”. Below, we observe a fresco from the 17th century, depicting a White Ground Selendi ‘Bird’ Carpet (Picture 7–8), found in a private home in Transylvanian Town of Sighișoara.



Picture 7. White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpet Fresco in Sighișoara¹⁵

Also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, because of the same reasons, ‘Bird’ carpets were depicted on the walls, in order to imitate these real carpets. That kind of decoration can be seen inside of city houses in the Main Square at Tarnów, dated to the end of the sixteenth century¹⁶.

¹⁵ Courtesy of Kiss Lorand.

¹⁶ See Beata Biedrońska-Słota, “Turkish Carpets in Poland. Their Traditional Meaning and Significance for Polish Art”, in *14th International Congress of Turkish Art*, 2011, pp. 175–176.



Picture 8. *White Ground 'Bird' Carpet Fresco Detail*¹⁷

White Ground 'Bird' Carpets in the Protestant Churches of Transylvania

These carpets were also used as the sole adornments of the Protestant Churches of Transylvania. After the occupation of Transylvania, the Kingdom of Hungary invited immigrants because the local population was insufficient. Mostly German-speaking people travelled to this new territory and settled there since they had been promised extraordinary privileges. These ethnically mixed immigrants, who were initially called *Hospites Theutonici* or *Flandrenses*, were commonly referred to as *Saxones* after 1206. With the Reformation, the great majority of Transylvanian Saxons pledged allegiance to Lutheranism. In a short time, "Protestant Iconoclasm" had spread across Reformed Europe and frescoes were whitewashed or plastered over. Then, Transylvanian Saxons must have realized that their churches had become plain buildings with only white walls and pews. It is most likely at that point in time that

¹⁷ Courtesy Kiss Lorand.

they “discovered” Anatolian carpets. In fact, these textiles were already in the region, especially after the second half of the fifteenth century. At first, parishioners most likely bought the carpets to lay on the cold pews and use them as an adornment to display their wealth, as a sign of prestige. Carpets were donated to their churches for decorative purposes, as a token of gratitude to glorify God. They were used to adorn the churches’ walls, balconies (Picture 9), pulpits and choir seats¹⁸.

It is quite normal for one to be inspired by others’ art since the Oriental trade had the potential to entail such cultural exchanges. But it is extraordinary when a whole ethnic group happens to use artistic objects of religious significance to others in their religious sites, thus creating a contrasting and enriched cultural heritage¹⁹.



Picture 9. South Wall of the Choir, Mediasch Saint Margaret's Church in Transylvania

Today, there are 48 White Ground Selendi Carpets in the Protestant Churches of Transylvania, of which 37 are with so-called ‘Bird’ motifs²⁰; and most of them are in the collections of Saint Margaret Church in Mediasch, the Black Church, in

¹⁸ Levent Boz, “Romanya’nın Transilvanya Bölgesi Protestan Kiliselerine Halı Bağışlama Geleneği”, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Vol. 42, 2014, Ankara, pp. 81–87.

¹⁹ Levent Boz, “Anatolian Carpets in the Saint Margaret's Church in Mediaș, Transylvania – A Short Story of a Master's Thesis in Art History”, *Carpet Collector*, Vol. 4/2015, Hamburg, 2015, pp. 80–81.

²⁰ Stefano Ionescu, *Antique Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania*, Rome, 2007, p. 43.

Braşov, and in the Monastery Church of Sighișoara. Most of them are in prayer-rug size. However, the fragment in Biertan (Picture 10) is remarkable because of its larger size which recalls those in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum and in the Konya Ethnography Museum (Picture 2).



Picture 10. A Large Format 'Bird' Carpet Fragment at Biertan, Transylvania

Church registers and inscriptions found on these carpets²¹ help us learn more about who the donors were, about their ethnic origin, their social status and motives. In the Monastery Church of Sighișoara there is a White Ground Selendi 'Bird' Carpet (Picture 11) with this following inscription: "TESTAMENTVM LAURENTIUS BOLKESCH AD 1646"²²; on another carpet from the Evangelical Church of Biertan exhibited in Budapest²³ in 1914, a former inscription, today erased, read: "IN SYMBOLUM GRATITUDINIS OFERT... ANNO DO: 1708... IAN"²⁴. These donated carpets and the inscriptions are the tokens of how they were admired and valued in the region.

²¹ Ionescu, *op.cit.*, p. 218.

²² "By the Will of Laurentius Bolkesch Ad 1646".

²³ See Károly Csányi, Sándor Csermelyi, Károly Layer, *Erdélyi török szőnyegek kiállításának leirő lajstroma*, Budapest, 1914.

²⁴ "Offered in Token of Gratitude in the Year of Our Lord 1708...IAN".



Picture 11. *A White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpet²⁵ with an Inscription*

European Copies of the White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpets

Starting from the 16th century, but more steadily after the 17th century, Europeans started to produce their own carpets. At first, French carpets were woven with floral motifs and English carpets imitating Turkish and Persian carpets motifs.

Without any doubt, the White Ground Selendi ‘Bird’ Carpets were one of the favourites and it is not surprising to find reproductions of this carpet type group. Today we know of few examples with different ground colours like green and red, replacing the standard white ground. In Picture 12, there is an illustration of a possibly English production, a large format carpet with Selendi birds, on a red ground.

²⁵ Monastery Church of Sighişoara, Transylvania, Inv. 534 (Courtesy of Stefano Ionescu).



Picture 12. *A European Interpretation of a White Ground Selendi ‘Bird’ Carpet*²⁶

Forged Productions of White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpets

Along with these “good-intentioned” copies, there are also fake productions of White Ground Selendi ‘Bird’ Carpets, forged by Teodor Tuduc. Kurt Erdman described him as the most skilled rug forger of the 20th century. Tuduc certainly had the opportunity to see and buy both rugs and fragments in Transylvania, where he established his workshop. And this explains his success in producing and selling forged carpets to many private collections and museums around the world. Nowadays, these pieces have their own market (Picture 13) as they are part of the recent carpet history.

Though an undeniably gifted forger, his rugs reveal a number of technical shortcomings such as the use of synthetic dyestuff, rather stiff drawing in the designs and, in most cases, the absence of lazy lines²⁷. The wool is often rough and the colours are dull. His restorations are always acts of imitative reconstruction in the

²⁶ Courtesy of Kenwood House, London.

²⁷ “The term refers to faint diagonal lines, either long or short, made by tiny spaces where series of discontinuous wefts meet.” For more information see: Marla Mallet, *Woven Structures – A Guide to Oriental Rug and Textile Analysis*, Atlanta, 2011, pp. 45–46.

style of the time, essentially lacking ethical basis or respect for the surviving fragments of the original rug²⁸.



Picture 13. *A Tuduc Forged White Ground ‘Bird’ Carpet*²⁹.

Besides his clear and unquestionable skills as a restorer, Teodor Tuduc will be remembered for his exceptional knowledge of old Turkish rugs. But it is regrettable that his enormous skills were used mostly for his own business interests rather than to promote and protect Transylvania’s precious rug legacy³⁰. But again, this also could be considered as a proof of admiration for this sub-group of Anatolian carpets, since they triggered off a supply and demand cycle³¹.

Conclusion

We may enrich these examples with many others and yet the conclusion would be the same: Ottoman-Turkish carpets have always been attractive objects for the Western market and had a great influence on European art and lifestyle. And, the

²⁸ Ionescu, *op.cit.*, p. 214.

²⁹ In the private collection of Stefano Ionescu, Rome.

³⁰ Ionescu, *op.cit.*, p. 215.

³¹ For more information on Teodor Tuduc and the forged productions around the world, see: Stefano Ionescu, *Handbook of Fakes by Tuduc*, Rome, 2011.

White Ground 'Bird' Carpets of Selendi, without a doubt, were amongst the favourites. Despite their low knot-density and plain colours, they were appealing to the European taste and attracted people, creating a desire to own them.

As mentioned above, these carpets were amongst the most expensive products of their era, so they could only be bought by very wealthy people. Thus, while some people were actually buying and collecting these carpets, others were trying to imitate the feeling of ownership with their copies/fakes, or just through having them represented in paintings or depicted on their walls.

Paintings depicting Anatolian carpets are really important for us, because we can trace their distribution and popularity in Europe, but also because they help us to approximately date them. There was an undeniable desire among the people to be depicted with these carpets to demonstrate their power and wealth. Thus, rich merchants, members of the high aristocracy and even kings and princes have had their portraits made with these carpets. Ottoman-Turkish carpets were also used as wall hangings or table covers in palaces and in nobiliary houses; they became the sole adornments of Transylvanian Protestant churches or fascinating objects to lay near the altar and choir in Catholic churches, as we have seen in Renaissance Italian paintings, to create an enhanced effect of holiness. They were also used as diplomatic gifts or dowry pieces; or were laid under the coffin of nobles to emphasize their social status.

Today, this admiration seems unending. Visitors of Transylvanian Protestant Churches in Romania still admire the beauty of these carpets; the museum visitors get curious about these textiles they see in portrait paintings; and people are still hankering after these carpets in galleries and auction houses, thus perpetuating an everlasting desire to possess such prestigious objects.

On the Expansion of Buddhism in Central Asia

Kasimjan SADIKOV

Buddhism has played a great role in the historical and cultural interrelations of the Central Asian people. Buddhism influenced not only the social development but also the spread of philosophical ideas. It served as a stimulus for the development of the eastern Renaissance. In this context we shall discuss in the following two interconnected problems.

I. The people of Central Asia began to accept Buddhism in the early Middle Ages, during the Kushan period¹. Especially during the reign of the Kushan king, Kanishka the first, great attention was paid to Buddhism. During this period the border of the Kushan state reached from East India to Central Asia, including some regions of East Turkistan. According to these sources, Kesh, Sogd and the regions up to Chach were part of this state. During its golden age the Kushan state also included Fergana².

In the eighth century, the role of Buddhism in Central Asia did not weaken. For example, Buddhism received special attention in Tokharistan, as we learn from the notes of travelers who visited the region before the Arab advance into Central Asia.

Of great value for us is the book of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and scholar Syuan-Tzan, who traveled from China to India in 629–645. This book is important because the traveler passed through Central Asia. Syuan-Tzan describes in detail the ethnic, religious and national features of the regions he journeyed through³. Similarly, the Chinese traveler Hoy Chao, who visited Tokharistan in 726, describes the religious traditions of the people, in particular those occupying Huttalyan and Vahan: “The King, the nobility and the people esteem the Buddhist belief of the Hinayana branch, there are many monasteries and monks”⁴. The traveler writes also about the people of Tokharistan. The king himself originated from a Tokharian tribe, half of the people in the region are Hu, i.e. local, the other half are Turks. The country was under the authority of the Arabs. Part of the inhabitants spoke Tokharian,

¹ Babajan Gafurov, *Tadjiki. Drevneyshaya, drevnaya i srednevekovaya istoriya, Kniga pervaya*, Dushanbe, 1989, pp. 214–217; *Genel Turk Tarihi*, 2002, p. 399.

² Gafurov, *op.cit.*, pp. 188–191.

³ Liliya Yusufjanovna Tugusheva, *Uygurskaya versiya biografii Syuan-Tzana*, Moskva, 1991, pp. 403–405.

⁴ Gafurov, *op.cit.*, p. 288.

the other part–Turkic, and another group a local language⁵. Regarding the situation of Buddhism in Samarkand and Bukhara during the 7th and 8th centuries, sources give different facts about these regions, at times contradicting each other. For example, the 9th century Central Asian historian Narshahi states that in the 7th and 8th century, before the Arab conquest, when Buddhism was flourishing in the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara, they were the center of Buddhist art⁶. However, the Chinese historian and traveller Hoy Chao records that during this particular period Zoroastrianism was wide-spread in Sogdiana and only in Samarkand was Buddhism predominant⁷.

From the sixth to the eighth centuries the Turks of the First and the Second Turk Empire practiced their native religion of the “sky-god” (*kök täñri*).

As to their successors, the Uighurs, Manichaeism and later Buddhism became their main religions⁸.

Buddhism entered China in the second century of our era⁹. Two centuries later it reached Korea during the period of the Three States. Due to the efforts of missionary-monks from China and India Buddhism was accepted in Kogure in 372. It became the official religion in Pekche in 384 and in Silla in 528¹⁰.

Buddhism arrived in Japan in the sixth century from Korea. Many Korean cultural items entered Japan through Buddhism. Missionaries not only spread the Buddhist religion but also its culture. They also brought with them architects, artists and sculptors who built Buddhist sutras, and created examples of applied arts. Thereby, Buddhism managed to become in the early Middle Ages one of the most widely distributed and powerful religions of the Orient.

II. Generally one can look at the history of the spread of Buddhism as a world religion in the following way: Buddhism began in India, then, was accepted in China and subsequently spread to other Asian countries. This view is true only in respect to the later period in the history of Buddhism. However, it is not correct in respect to the early period. In the early Middle Ages the relationship between India and Central Asia was exceedingly strong. This cannot be said about the relationship with China. There is also another fact to be considered: Buddhism was not spread by conquests or severe religious prescriptions, but completely peacefully. It spread eastward through missionary activity, trade and public-cultural relationships. This process was supported by the Silk Road, which passed, as is well known, through all of Central Asia.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Zekeriya Kitapchi, *Orta Asyada Islamiyetin Yayilishi ve Turkler*, Konya, 1994, pp. 60–62.

⁷ Gafurov, *op.cit.*, p. 314.

⁸ *Genel Turk Tarihi*, 2002, pp. 403–405.

⁹ Malcolm David Eckel, “Great World Religions: Buddhism”, in *The Great Courses*, Boston University, 2003, pp. 2, 45–50.

¹⁰ Koreya, *Spravichnik*, Seul, 1993, pp. 150–153.

It is clear that cultural, religious and trade relations develop and spread in populated areas rather than passing through mountains. There is one more important fact to consider: in the early Middle Ages the way from China to the western regions, to India in particular, passed through Central Asia.

In its progression to a world religion Buddhism passed through enormous and difficult stages of development. One of the first stages is connected with Central Asia rather than with China. It was in Central Asia, in the Kushan Empire that Buddhism shaped into an independent religion. From the Kushan Empire where Buddhism found cultural-religious affinities among the population it spread to other regions.

As already mentioned, the Silk Road played a great role in the distribution of Buddhism among the Central and East Asian people. Through the Silk Road Buddhism had the opportunity to take advantage of the broad arena of trade-economic and cultural connections. As a result it became one of the most unique and widely recognized religions of the Orient.

Spreading from Central Asia through Eastern Turkistan, it came to China. According to some information, the spread of these religions in China came from Central Asia.

The path of Buddhism through Central Asia promoted its further development. There are certain resemblances in the Central Asian variant of Buddhism with ancient Chinese, Korean and Japanese. The spread of Buddhism from one region to the other brought some cultural, ethnic traditions and philosophical ideas. Therefore, all varieties of Buddhism were united into one system.

It is known, that Mahayana Buddhism was founded in India, but in practice it became somewhat reformed in Central Asia, where prospects for its development were determined. This land was suited to the practical development of Mahayana Buddhism and could be adapted to the local culture and lifestyle. Other Asian peoples who were already living in these regions were able to adapt themselves to the religious criteria of Mahayana Buddhism. The peoples of each region added something new to Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, Buddhism became the connecting-link for the people who settled along the Great Silk Road. It promoted the continuation of the cultural traditions of the eastern peoples, their religious and philosophical ideas.

Buddhism as it existed in Central Asia changed somewhat the public-political and cultural life of the people in the region, particularly among the Turkic peoples. It was one of the most widespread and influential religions, and it left observable traces in public-political and cultural life of the early Turks. The Buddhist period contributed religious and philosophical ideas, as well as art, literature and books dealing with history all written in the literary language.

Mahayana Buddhism (*uluğ kölüngü* meaning “big chariot”) was widespread among the early Turks. Hinayana Buddhism (*kičig kölüngü* meaning “small chariot”) was

practiced only in some regions of Tokharistan only in the 6th and 7th centuries before the Arab conquest.

Mahayana Buddhism in Turkic society adapted to the living conditions, historical traditions, ethnography and culture, and philosophical ideas of the early Turks. The views of the Turk Buddhists about the world as being inseparable from the cosmos as perceived earlier coincided with the “sky-god” of the early Turks. Through these features Old Turkic Buddhism differed from Buddhism of the other peoples of the Orient.

One more important feature of Old Turkic Buddhism was that Buddhism in the region as a whole was practiced in its original form; it was a religion without god. Meanwhile, the former religious philosophy of the Turks centered on god (*yaratmıř tǎŋri*). In old Turkic Buddhism a new image of god (*tǎŋri*), Buddha, was created. In Buddhism the notion *tǎŋri tǎŋrısı* signifies a “high diety, Buddha”. Together with this glorification, Buddha could be expressed in the phrase *tükäl bilgä tǎŋri tǎŋrısı burqan* – “absolute wisest of god of gods (a diety among gods).” Buddha” or its epithet *tǎŋri tǎŋrısı* (=skr. *devati deva*) and its equivalent *tükäl bilgä* (“god of gods, absolutely wise) were used to name Buddha.

Sculpture prospered in Old Turkic art during the Buddhist period. However, it has come to light that an essential change occurred from comparable samples of the applied arts of the Orhun Turks (*kök türk*). The Orhun Turkic art monuments were erected in honour of kings and outstanding military leaders; but in Turkic Buddhist art, monuments were erected in honor of Buddha.

Due to Buddhism, ancient Indian philosophy and culture penetrated the early Turkic world. In this period, works containing religious, philosophical and didactic materials were translated into the Old Turkic language. Usually these materials were translations from Sanskrit, Tokharian, Sogdian and Chinese.

In the early Middle Ages, Sanskrit, Tokharian, Sogdian, Chinese and Turkic translations of Buddhist works spread throughout the east. In old Turkic theology and science, Oriental studies included the study of Buddhism, Sanskrit, Tokharian, Sogdian and Chinese. Prominent orientalist and scholars of Buddhism, Sanskrit, Tokharian and Chinese languages appeared in the Turkic world.

The Old Turkic language developed on the basis of these processes together with the languages of the east, and the effects were felt on the literature of the east. The Sanskrit and Turkic vocabulary that existed in the old Turkic language acquired new meanings. In religious texts of the early Turkic language appeared a new “Buddhist sutra style” and the lexical composition of the texts was enriched. These texts became monuments of the literary language. This writing system continued through not only in the middle ages but throughout the entire history of the literary

language. And even when we consider the texts of the Middle Ages, they have many similarities with the old Turkic texts.

Buddhism enabled the early Turks to become acquainted with Indian, Tokharian and Chinese literature. New genres appeared in Turkic literature.

Traces of the influence of Buddhism exist also in the culture and art of the people of Asia. Books were written and produced by hand. As is well known, Turk-Buddhists used two types of alphabets: the Uighur, which developed from the Aramaic system¹¹, and Brahmi. The Uighur alphabet appeared and spread thanks to Buddhism. This new alphabet was more convenient for book making. This probably means that the old Turkic alphabet (in the Orhun inscriptions) didn't have these possibilities.

Thanks to Buddhism, the Sogds had the possibility to spread their culture in the Turkic world. It is also recognized that the Sogds had a great influence on the spread of Buddhism. Since they were merchants, the Sogds had trade relations throughout all of Central Asia, and they used the great Silk Road for this purpose. And again thanks to all of this, two languages existed along the Central Asian section of the Silk Road: Sogdian and Turkic. These became the languages of international communications.

In the periods of the First and Second Turkic states and later, in the periods of the Uighur states and state, some monuments, in particular tombstone inscriptions, were created, both in Turkic and Sogdian.

The most ancient Sogdian monument, created in the Turkic world, is the Bughut inscription on stone, erected in approximately 583–588 in honor of Mahan-tigin. The Sevreysamon triumphal inscription, which is a version of Sogdian, goes back to the period of the Uighur states (762). This stone inscription was erected in honor of the Uighur state Ingi Yaglakar.

The Karabalgasun stone inscription, erected in 825, once again proves that tradition would be preserved for a long time in the Turkic world. The epigraphic texts in honor of Tonyukuk, Kül-tigin, and Bilge-kagan are important historical monuments. In this period, the Turkic Buddhist and Turkic Manichean communities used Sogdian writing in writing their epigraphic texts. The tradition of writing texts in the Sogdian language existed and in the complex monument from Yetisuv (Semirechye). These Kulansay and Tereksay stone inscriptions from the Talas Valley, as well as the numismatic inscriptions on coins of the rulers of these provinces were likewise important. These traditions were also practiced in the Turkic Manichean community. For example, the manuscript containing the Manichean creeds “Huastuanift” was written in Sogdian and translated into Turkic. Aside from the development of

¹¹ Qosimjon Sodiqov, *Uygur yozuvi tarixi (Manbashunoslik va kitobat tarixi masalalari)*, Toshkent, 1997.

historian-cultural and religious relationships, Buddhism enabled the shaping of a new system of writing. So, for instance, the Uighur writing system was created on the basis of these religious and cultural processes which existed in Central Asia.

Concerning the spread of Buddhism, we shouldn't forget about the political, cultural and economic relations of the early Turkic peoples with the other peoples of the east along the Great Silk Road. In their religious and cultural relations the early Turks took Buddhism from Indians, Tokharians and Sogds. Subsequently Turkic peoples themselves exerted a great influence on the development of Buddhism. In this circular historical process early Turkic society played an important role.

Representations of Europeans in the 20th Century Uzbek Literature and Their Socio-Ideological Analysis

Zulkhumor MIRZAEVA

In his work *Hind sayyohi bayonoti* [Statement of an Indian Traveler], Abdurauf Fitrat, one of the leaders of the Uzbek Jadid movement,¹ makes the following statement about Eastern and Western civilization in the 11th century, basing his opinion on information from the French university instructor Charles Sanivius: “In the eleventh century Europe and the Islamic world were complete opposites. The cities of Europe were small, its villages typically consisted of ruined shanties. From fear of being murdered in the streets, nobody ventured more than 10 farsah (approximately 7–8 kilometers) from their home. Meanwhile in the Islamic world there were beautiful and prosperous cities like Baghdad, Syria, Egypt, and Andalusia, their palaces decorated with marble, their workshops, madrasas and schools perfect, their markets attractive and well-kept. Their pleasant fields and abundant harvests gladdened the eye. Trade caravans moved freely between Spain and Turkistan. The Europeans admired the Muslims’ progress and studied the cities of Islam in order to acquire both skills and knowledge. Europe developed itself by establishing relations with the Muslim world.”²

In the 14th and 15th centuries – as well during the reign of Amir Temur – civilization was on the side of the East. At that time the personality of Temur drew the attention of Europeans. The character of Temur (Tamerlane) was depicted in the creative works of several European writers. Particularly, the play “Great Tamerlane” written by the English poet Christopher Marylou, the poem “Tamerlane” written by the American poet Edgar Allan Poe informed the attitude to the personality of Amir Temur. Europeans

¹ In Turkistan at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century the Jadid movement arose as a social–political movement in response to historical conditions. In the period from 1917 until the first stage of the February Revolution, the movement, which had begun as a program for national education, gradually widened its aims, intending to establish an independent Uzbek state, while bringing about social–political and cultural reforms and propagandizing the ideas of freedom in the life of Turkistan society. Jadid is an Arabic word bringing together the meanings “new” and “supporter of innovation” with wider connotations of “new ideas,” the “new man,” and a “new generation.” Autonomous Turkistan, which was founded at the instigation of the Jadids, was eliminated by the former Soviet State after a very brief existence. After the collapse of their political project, the Jadids turned to literature to achieve their goal of social reform.

² Abdurauf Fitrat, *Hind sayyohi bayonoti* [Selected Works, Vol. 1: Poems, Prose Works, Dramas. Comments and Prologue H. Boltaboev], Manaviyat, Tashkent, 2000, p. 120.

learned about the Turkic peoples through the image of the Conqueror Temur. The glory of the Timurid Dynasty in India lasted up to the English conquest. To this day, the Taj Mahal stands as monumental testimony to the importance of the Baburid Dynasty in the development of India.

But in the middle of the 19th century the State of Amir Temur, which was the only one linking West and East, became riven with internal conflict and divided into three small khanates which, due to their weakness, were conquered by tsarist Russia. At that time civilization moved from the East to the West, to Europe.³

The socio-economic, moral, and educational stagnation which beset Central Asia from the 18th to the 19th centuries brought development in the region to a standstill. Internecine wars and a culture of self-enrichment at the expense of the common good led to economic and moral dependence and a steep decline in science and education. Contemplating this descent into subservience, the national-democratic Jadids concluded that the abolition of scientific and creative life had been the midwife of tragedy.

For this reason they ruthlessly criticized both the “cultural influence” coming in from abroad and certain local traditions and customs. The movement drew strength from national consciousness and renewed the spirit of the intelligentsia. This situation in Turkistan was an organic part of democratic processes underway throughout the oppressed East. More important still, the spreading Jadid movement imbued its thinking with national traits. Its scientific-theoretical and philosophic-literary outlook served to cultivate national ideals through the literary work of the progressive Jadid writers. Their innovative attitude to both material and moral values led them to seek the benefits of modern science and technology. National conscience and self-respect awakened in them a sense of responsibility towards both the remembered past and the future.

In 20th century Uzbek literature the attitude to European civilization is not uniform. For example, at the beginning of the previous century one observes a conflict between Western civilization and national or Islamic values. Therefore, the interaction of characters representing these outlooks is determined by their conflicting values and ideas. During the former Soviet period, on the other hand, the character of the Russian Communist was taken as a standard and promoted by the ruling ideology. As we approach the period of Independence, strengthening pluralism and religious tolerance encourage a change in attitude and growing tolerance toward the individual. Thus, it is of a significant methodological importance that this situation connected with man’s strives and development of his literary-aesthetic mind in a certain historical period should be carefully considered when the reasons for appearance of characters

³ In the middle of the 19th century the Eastern people called the Europeans “French.”

of a French (Russian and European) person and the role of social, ideological and symbolic-allegorical dimensions in the fiction are analyzed and researched.

In this article I examine this issue as it is reflected in works written by Mahmudhujja Behbudiy (Padarkush [The Patricide]), Abdurauf Fitrat (Bayonoti sayyohi hindi [Statement of an Indian Traveler] and Munozara [Debate between a Bukharan Teacher and a European]), Abdulla Qodiriy (O'tkan kunlar [The Past Days]), Abdulhamid Sulaymon o'gli Cholpon⁴ (Kecha va kunduz [Night and Day], and Oybek (Qutlug qon [Sacred Blood]). The representation of Europeans in Uzbek literature has been a matter of particular interest to foreign scholars. It has drawn the attention of literary scholars in America (Edward Allworth, Eden Nabi, Adeeb Khalid, Roberta Micallef, Shawn T. Lyons), in England (J. Dakhshleiger), in Japan (Hisao Komatsu), and in Turkey (Timur Kocaoglu). This article uses historically-informed hermeneutic analysis to compare and contrast the views of Uzbek and non-Uzbek scholars on the changing image of the European in 20th century Uzbek literature.

At the beginning of the 19th century Central Asia was the center of a rich and ancient culture. As one of the colonial regions targeted by tsarist Russia, it was rich in natural resources. This situation held both advantages and perils for the socio-cultural life of Turkistan.

Firstly, since very ancient times the philosophies of East and West have enlarged and enriched one another in the root and core issues of life. They have lived side by side and influenced each other. The leaders of encyclopedic sciences always try to keep normal sequences. In spite of it, because of the impact the soul of epoch, level of thoughts, specific features of mentality there was come out the certain difference between the Eastern and Western outlooks.

Secondly, comparatively through advanced Russian administrative methods Russian language and culture had entered in a popular way. Through Russian literature appeared an opportunity of getting acquainted with the profound European word culture. If by the time of conquest in the system of Education of our country mainly the most attention paid to distribution of religious-didactic education, at present time the new directions in the Russian schools and secular knowledge is also started to be acquired. At the time of former Soviet time European civilization, the latest news in science and technology are entered.

Thirdly in the backbone of the Enlightenment movement laid on the motives of formulating as a nation, developing the process of equalizing the nation to the developed

⁴ A Turkish literary scholar Halim Kara has examined the depiction of the West and "Western Other" in literary work of Avdulhamid Sulaymon ogli Cholpon who was one of the leaders of Jadid movement. See Halim Kara "Narratives of Self Assertion: Representations of the Western Other in the Works of the Uzbek Author Abdulhamid Sulaymon Cholpon. 1897–1938", in *Middle Eastern Literatures*, no. 10, 1 (April 2007), pp. 57–73.

countries of the world in return for knowledge and education. Enlightenment based on renewing public dignity, thoughts manner, and spiritual figure of the nation basing on assimilating with tolerance. Changing the society according to such kind of sense considered the main stimulus of National freedom movement. Therefore, enlightened-spiritual development according to its formulation, spirit and tools of implementation not only opposite to external influence to the national self-esteem, capture and oppression but it is opposite any kind of revolution.

Fourthly, Jadids stood against for inappropriate aspects of the society in possible situations. And then they had to adapt to the demands of the time – external factors in a different level. But they kept up their beliefs in their internal aspiration for them and sought the thoughtful reply to the external influence. Roughly corruption of independent power, such as unwillingness, cannot write what he/she wants to, in satisfaction of spiritual demands impacted to their fate.

Fifthly, for a long time in the country the thinking manner had been formulated under the religious-traditional influence. On the one hand reinforcing the imitation to the culture and traditions of the other nation and on the other hand through the ideas of totalitarian system which attempted to push aside artificially from our national and religious belief roots, accomplished margin policy. The social-political views of Jadids, who tried to eliminate such kind of “bend forward” in the spiritual life were appropriate to the nation’s outlook, traditions and spirit.

The school, which started with enlightenment and nationality covering on the Mass Media, economy and policy, the Jadids by getting the status of strict demand and real movement to be directed to save and defend the deprived nation from scattering and ruining his own State System.

Sixthly, for the purpose of strengthening national thoughtfulness less the Soviet totalitarian policy also abolished several the most potential generation of the nation. As a result the mass process, which freed from the great people who caused to move the history was built basing on horror and obey in the national thoughts. During the years of Independence a lot of good work have been done and are doing on truly presenting our late past and by eliminating such kind of discomfort. Actually the life itself shows that for achieving public development and democratic principles of the world the nations equality among equals has been the most optimal way.

Naturally, it is impossible that literary-aesthetic criteria which are in use because of the certain social-political conditions not to impact to the root social-ideological goals of the writers. And belles-lettres fiction as the life mirror of the society has an objective to be the main tool on soaking great aims into the brain and spirit of nation. The best artworks created those years as the literary depiction of the ideas of National Renaissance had played an important role on identifying the fate of the nation.

Poetry had a leading status in the Turkistan Literature. And the prose moved to the authenticity through as fairytales, story, moral, myth, and etc. The first novel *O'tkan kunlar* [The Past Days] which was appropriate to the European template was written in 1926, by the great Uzbek writer Abdulla Qodiriy. In this novel the positive attitude of Turkistania to the European-Russian civilization, and their admiration to the owners of the civilization were depicted in the following passage in this way:

It is said that you are a true merchant – said qutidor – up to our ages we are not still able to visit larger cities of our country: You have been visited till Shamay of Russia.⁵

Shamay – is called Semipalatinsk nowadays – it's located in Russia. As it is stated in the novel a few merchants could have gone to the cities of Russia for the purpose of commerce. In the novel *The Past Days* that strange emotion was depicted as following:

“There were a few merchants who went to the Russian cities for the purpose of commerce in Turkistan. That's why Otabek was respected by the participants of the meeting as the only person who had seen foreign countries. Qutidor and Ziyoy shohchi who had heard something unreal about Russian people they asked some questions regarding to knowing the real facts in Shamay, which he had seen with his own eyes.

At the period of conversation, after watching the administrative work of Russian people, I had to realize that our government was used as one of the playthings. (...) I can say nothing about our position, if our government continues working in such disorder. While I was in Shamay I wish I could have a wing and fly back to my Motherland, land directly to the khan's palace and declare about Russian government policy one by one, khan also listen my declaration and order to use the Russian policy as a program, announce the entire nation in written form. And I also wish to see my nation in one line with Russian people in a month. But I came back to my country I realized that this was only my sweet dream which I thought in Shamay. There was no one to listen to my words in my homeland, if there was anyone, they also said: ‘Do you think that khan listen to your words and these beks (meaning state authorities) execute?’ Their words made me to be sad. I didn't pay attention their words before, but at last I realized that they were right.”⁶

In the end Otabek used one of the religious expressions: “In fact, who can hear the calling ‘hayya alal falaq’ in the cemetery.” According to the authors comment the meaning of the expression “hayya alal falaq” stands for “be quick for saving, come for support.” The word “Cemetery” is a metaphor. It is an image of the Motherland at that time. Jadids, especially Abdulla Qodiriy also called his nation together with

⁵ Abdulla Qodiriy, *O'tkan kunlar*, Sharq, Tashkent, 1995, p. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

him to get acquainted with the reforms which were held in other countries, not to back before them, to finalize internal conflicts and seniority and to fight for the flourishing of the Motherland. Otabek, who called his people “in the cemetery,” in other words the countrymen who still not awaken from ignorance sleep by calling to morning prayers, intend khans and beks to implement methods of the new government policy and save them from the harm of colony is a certain prototype of the author, that is he is an image of enlightener Jadid. The author noted his religious view with the words of Homid (one of the character of the book): Homid also not being behind than others said “The God has given his world to camphor.”⁷

Expressing his attitude to the European civilization in his first novel, Abdulla Qodiriy had given his true feedback. In the last chapters of the novel Yusufbekhoji said to Otabek:

“Our Turkistan, where was buried the sacred body of our ancestors, we – the dogs who are going to turn it into pigs’ land certainly meet to God’s anger! Leaders like Temur Kuragon, Conquerors as Mirzo Bobur, scientists as Farobiy, Ulugbek, Ali Sino who brought up and served for this land, people who is going to drive it into danger certainly worth of God’s anger, my son! Killing sinless merges, cruel people who destroyed orphanage house, worms and birds will meet scold of grown grasses, my son! ...”⁸

In the first turn, wise Yusufbek hoji for turning the land into “pigs land,” that is it was beyond the door of destruction blamed “we–the dogs,” in other words khan, beks, and governors administered the country at that time who didn’t understand that it was time to make reforms on governing. The secondly he sharply expressed his attitude against wrong and inappropriate activities of colonists – oppression, unfair. It is clear that in the novel truly depicted that advanced intelligentsia according to their strong competence and life experience clearly realized the situation, but existing condition not allow them to turn their thoughts into reality.

In the book *Hind sayyohi bayonoti* [The Statements of the Indian Traveler] written by Abdurauf Fitrat (1886–1938) for expressing to propagandize educational, social-ideological aims of Jadids, to formulate national intellectual characters used the characters of the owners of civilization (European and Russian man) as a artistic tool. The character of Jadid depicted as a positive model, described as a presenter of the creative-aesthetic conception of writer.⁹

In the work *Hind sayyohi bayonoti* of the author the Indian traveler met with the Bukharian (who lived in Bukhara) man and asked about his motherland. After his praising words he made a decision to go there and prepare for traveling. But

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 295–6.

⁹ Abdurauf Fitrat, *op. cit.*

when he came to Bukhara he met to completely different environment – oppression of Muslims, disorder in the city, dirty pools in the streets, spreading of cruelty, condition of the nation because of silly clergies, call on at the graveyard of hazrat Bahovuddin Naqishbandiy implementing against Muslim traditions. Situations like this disappointed the traveler. He fell ill during his travel. After local doctors couldn't clarify the reasons of his illness the traveler rejected their treatment and asked his friend to call Russian doctor. The traveler got well because of the treatment of the wise Russian doctor who was appointed to the position "Protecting for health of the people of Bukhara."¹⁰

It is clear that the situation which was offended the traveler was a crudeness came out because of the ignorance and irrespective attitude to the national customs. With the help of the characters of Russian doctor and traveler the author forwarded the idea to gain the knowledge and learn about the system of developed countries for the purpose of changing existing situation. In the work despite the plot seemed primitive by appearance, Fitrat used fruitfully the method of observing the real situation by other persons view, following the way of Ismail Gaspirali.

Uzbek scientist Ozod Sharafiddinov explained this situation as following: "In the world literature, for analyzing and saying something and also criticizing about other countries social-political and cultural life, this countries lifestyle observed through other persons view. Or it had been compared to other countries situation. For example, the work *Lettres Persanes* of French educator Charles Montesquieu disgraced the ignorance and cruelty both in France and in Iran by the letters of a young man called Uzbek who lived in Iran."¹¹

It means that defining from the notes of the scientist, such kind of methods used in world literature influenced to the process of creation Russian and European characters in the works Munozara, Bayonoti sayyohi hindi of Abdurauf Fitrat.

In the work Munozara which is written in 1911 in Istanbul by Fitrat, the European Farangi depicted as a positive character.¹² This work dedicated to the discussion between the mudarris (teacher at an Islamic theological school) from Bukhara and French man who met in India during his way for haj (haj means obligatory pilgrimage to a holy place making a religious pilgrimage) discussed on methods of Jadid and ancient.

In both book Fitrat through either Indian or Farang traveler's view criticized ignorance and dogmatism. In his opinion these two facts have caused to fall into decay not only Bukhara but Turkustan also. Adeeb Khalid, together giving his attitude

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 98–169.

¹¹ Ozod Sharafiddinov, *Ijodni anglash baxti*, Sharq, Tashkent, 2004, p.103.

¹² Abdurauf Fitrat, *op. cit.*

objectively to the depiction such kind of characters in the belles-lettres fiction, he stated the value of the one side model of the character Russian man which was depicted at that time in literary works and defined the specific features of this character rightly. In scientist's conclusion one can observe that the attitude to the character of the Russian had a wide meaning, more attention drew to the issue polyphony in the depiction of character.

Giving his opinion about the character of French man which was depicted in the work *Munozara* written by Abdurauf Fitrat, Adeeb Khalid drew others' attention to such true question as why the Muslim was not the main character in the advanced Jadid literature which caused to be discussed? Actually the Farangi commented on Karan as if he completely knew the Islamic principles, he commented on giving examples from Hadis – the sayings of our prophet Muhammad, passages (oyat) from surah. Could he conduct discussion in such level, even he was a non-Muslim? as American scientist stated. This is debatable, of course. Adeeb Khalid's conclusion for this as following: "It is remarkable, but seldom remarked upon, that the protagonist in the most renowned work of Jadid literature should be a non-Muslim. The tract is important for several reasons, but here I shall note only that the Englishman represents a new approach to religion (he argues like a modernist Muslim), new methods of learning (which are much more efficient, for he can speak Arabic fluently, while the mudarris, for all his twenty-year education in the old style madrasa, cannot), and a new notion of knowledge itself. The Englishman can understand Islam better than the Bukharan mudarris because he has acquired modern knowledge through modern schooling. Here Fitrat is again suggesting that (modern) knowledge brings even Christians closer to Islam than Muslims with no education."¹³

It should be stated that these notes of Adeeb Khalid which were based on general ideas, authors speech depicted in both works *Hind sayyohi bayonoti* and *Munozara* created by Abdurauf Fitrat were true. Because only the person who completely and truly understand his religious education can understand the essence of other religion right and respect it. But there is other side of issue. The author for some reason was going to put the main stress not to the modern education but to religious difference. That's why his discussion which was based on supporter of one side in a dispute couldn't stand for logic question that the Muslims who got modern education not completely know the essence of this religion better than illiterate Christians?

So, it is impossible to give the character "Farangi" comparatively to the national-ethnic group. Because the "Farangi" according to essence besides learning religious and world education deeply, it is the character of educated people appearing in

¹³ Adeeb Khalid, "Representations of Russia in Central Asian Jadid Discourse", in *Russia's Orient. Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917*, Daniel R. Brower, E.J. Lazzerini (eds.), Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1997, p. 196.

Turkistan who also assimilated European culture. Saying more clearly, it is an ideal character of Fitrat. If it is considered that the writer can depict the main hero's lifestyle and character basing on his own character, we can consider the character of "Farangi" as a prototype. Consequently, we can say that for forming this character to be used the appearance and personality of Fitrat himself and the jadids who were familiar to him. Actually, Fitrat considered as one of the scholarly of Islam religion, who knew Farsi. He understood the religious literature well. As one of the jadid intelligences it is natural that he criticized and disgraced religious view and scantiness. So that in the work *Munozara* although created the characters of French and mudarris from Bukhara, in fact the author debated by himself.

For the purpose of defining the issue again we decided to examine the etymology of the term "Farangi" deeply. The origin of this term belongs to Arabic and in the narrow sphere it has been comparatively used for French, but in the wide sphere comparatively used for the Europeans. For instance this term commented in the following way: "France–France, Europe." As to saying of Arabist scholar Rashid Zohid, the Arabians pronounced the word wrongly, not "French" but like this "Farangi." The Arabians customized to pronounce the strange words appropriately to Arabic tune. Basing on it this custom also moved to the language of Central Asians. For example, they pronounce America like Amriqo, Germany like Kermon.¹⁴ One can meet the information which confirmed the idea of Rashid Zohid in the story *Tinch ish* [Quiet job], written by Abdulla Qodiriy.¹⁵

According to the comments given in the Uzbek Explanatory Dictionary the term "farang" in the transitory stands for meaning "master," "person who is able to do everything."¹⁶ One can be noticed under the term "Farangi" the hidden meanings as "the person who can find the way to burn the snow" or "magician," "wizard." Farsi Uzbek poet Mirzo Bedil one of his ghazal (a poem of love) a group of mincing women who didn't keep her promise called as "Farangiston eli" ["The land of the French"].¹⁷

So, basing on the above mentioned comments we can say that the character "Farangi" in Fitrat's work *Munozara* was the combined character of Europeans. It was defined that if it was so it is impossible to describe him as English (European, Englishman),¹⁸ because he was not an Englishman, but he could be only the European who belonged to French nation.

¹⁴ Personal talk with the Arabic scholar Rashid Zohid.

¹⁵ Abdulla Qodiriy, *Kichik asarlar*, Ghafur Ghulom, Tashkent, 1969.

¹⁶ Z.M. Mairufov, *O'zbek tilining izohli lug'ati*, Vol. 2, "Rus tili" Publishing House, Moscow, 1981, p. 295.

¹⁷ Mirzo Bedil, *Azizlar anjumani [Meeting of Dears]*. Bayoz. From Farsi translated by Matnazar Abdulhakim, Uzbekistan Publishing House, Tashkent, 2008.

¹⁸ Adeeb Khalid, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

At the same time, of course the creation of the character “Farangi” is not a fruit of completely unexpected result. There was existed the opinion that by introducing the character of “Farangi” the author used the personality of Gabriel Hanotaux who was personally familiar to him in the life. According to such kind of views more stress was not given to the writer’s theoretical thoughts but stressed to his practical activities.

For instance, the Japanese scholar Hisao Komatsu while giving his opinion about the character of European in the work Munozara, he sought the essence of the work and its specifics from the articles published in the newspaper of Usmonli in Bukhara called “Sirot-l-mustaqim.”¹⁹ Hisao Komatsu tried to prove that Fitrat was under the influence of the discussion between Muhammad Abduh (1849–905) and the French G. Hanotaux, the character of “Farangi” depicted in the work was not accidental, introducing his character through the work based on the personality of the French speaker.

In fact there existed factors which helped to support the thoughts of Hisao Komatsu. Firstly, not far from these days, especially at the beginning of the last century Farangiston (France), mostly Paris was considered as the center of civilization and French was the most civilized people. Actually, in the 1920’s Paris was the center of culture and literature. And even the first quarter of the twentieth century it was said that Paris attracted people of different cultures as though it were a sacred place. Talented writers and poets as Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, John Dos Passos met in Paris, kept on creative cooperation and exchange ideas. Especially at that time there appeared different types of directions in the culture. As an advanced enlightener, a Jadid, a modern, intelligent person who had known world literature and civilization, Fitrat was well acquainted with such thoughts. So, the character of “Farangi” depicted in the work might be Gabriel Hanotaux who was close to the new thoughts, dreams of Jadids, especially Fitrat.

Secondly, E.A Karimov who made a research on Fitrat’s creative activity said:

“The writer who collected some sides of the century ideas of enlightenment in the character of “Farangi” had to change the spiritual condition connected with the personality of the positive character in some level.”²⁰ “

How it defined, but creating the character of “Farangi” was also too difficult for the writer. Thirdly, Fitrat might be intended to use this way for the purpose of willing to publish his work quickly, protecting himself from political oppression – censorship.

¹⁹ Hisao Komatsu, “Bukhoroi, Sharif and Istanbul: To define the Essence of ‘Debate’”, in *Politics and Islam in Central Asia and Russia*, Nichifutsikaykan, Tokyo, 1999, October 13–4. See *Fitrat and Jadid movement*. Translated from English by Q. Ismoilov and H. Boltaboev, Publishing House of Uzbekistan National Library “Alisher Navoi”, Tashkent, 2007, pp. 269–73.

²⁰ E.A. Karimov, *Razvitie realizma v Uzbekskoy literature*, “Fan” Uzbekskoi, Tashkent, 1975, p. 99.

Fourthly, this situation might be commented like appearing of Eastern and Western synthesis in the Jadid literature. But the requirements of healthy logics demands whole observation of all sides of the issue. Finally was it Muhammad Abduh who had been interlocutor of the French G. Hanotaux in the discussion of “Sirotu-l-mustaqim.” Was the discussion considered concerning to both of them? If so, why more ratio are being given to French company? Why especially India have chosen for discussion? Is it a connection the Islamic civilization with the civilization which was sprouted in India before and then spread all over the world? If we consider the following ideas of Ismail-bek Gasprinskiy, the leader of Jadid movement about Indian civilization: “Once Indian progress had been influenced to the Islamic civilization. In the eighth century caliph Abu Ja’r Abdulloh al Mansur got the knowledge on astronomy from Indian scientists.”²¹ As to this opinion we can say Fitrat looked more hopelessly to the Indian civilization²² than France keeping up faithfully to the reality of the history.

So that, it would be right to be considered that Gabriel Hanotaux, who was close person to Fitrat’s world of thoughts and dream had been one of the decisive factors for creating the character of “Farangi.” Let’s hope so the nature of the creative process also exactly demanded this. It is realized that depictions as above mentioned are not able to comment the heroes of the works of Fitrat. Because, they are not based on the essence of the literary content. Any discussion which is out of the content always be useless.

The literary works which appears at the second quarter of the last century, such as story, narrative and novels like Netay [How can I do], Soat [Clock] by G. Gulom, Bolalik [Childhood] by Oybek, Tomoshabog [Showgarden] by A. Qahhor, Opa-singillar [Sisters] by A. Mukhtor we met a number of characters of Europe–Russian man as Semyon, Russian teacher, Stokgulov, Efim Danlovich Nadejdin. In this place the situation looks a bit different than before. These authors feeling responsibility for literary depiction of the Russian policy national-ethnic types of characters entered in their works. That’s why mostly such kind of characters not chosen according to the aesthetic requirements of the literary content and personalities and competencies of the heroes, but chosen basing on the party principles.

²¹ See Sh. Yusupov, N. Jabborov (eds.), *Milliy uyg’onish davri o’zbek adabiyoti*, “Ma’naviyat”, Tashkent, 2004, p. 231.

²² Except Abdurauf Fitrat’s work Hind sayyohi bayonoti [Statements of Indian Traveler], in the works like Loving Truly, Indian Colonists the events depicted by the Indian characters. Turkish scholar Timur Kocaoglu fully depicted the author’s political-social and idea logical aims by the symbolic characters; see Timur Kocaoglu, “Indian Revolutionaries as Metaphor in Modern Uzbek Literature,” *Asian Annual*, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 1–23.

It is clear by itself, that it is impossible to criticize analytically such kind of characters in the national Uzbek criticism before the years of Independence. In spite of this some researches of Uzbek scholars as E. Karimov,²³ M. Qo'shjonov,²⁴ T. Boboev,²⁵ the dissertation of literary critic A. Abdurahmonov²⁶ attempted to analyze these personages.

But the Soviet censorship based on political and ideological principles gave an opportunity to depict them only on the one hand. For example, Uzbek scholar T. Boboev in his book *Time and Hero*, published in 1976 expressing his attitude to the character of Russian man Petrov in the novel *Qutlug qon* [Sacred Blood] by Oybek forwarded the following outlook about the main hero of the novel: It was impossible to identify the essence of complete quality changes which occurred in the consciousness of Yulchi without Petrov.

In the scholars opinion the thoughts and acts met with complete quality changes. Those changes appeared his turning into advanced intelligent of his time. As to his mind there was an important role of Petrov to the positive changes in the outlook of Yulchi.²⁷

When the occasion arises it should be separately stated that creation of the character Russian and European man depicted in the Uzbek literature American and English scholars also researched from a different images. For example, American Sovietologists of the 1960's brought forward the idea that depiction of the characters of Russian and European man in our literature connected only with the political oppression.²⁸ No doubt, such kind of outlooks is not free of the social-ideological attempts which divided us into two groups at that time. For example, G.J. Dakhshleiger who made a research connected the history of the people of Central Asia in his researches the characters depicted in such kind of literature looked as a group and tried to conclude using the expression "the general colonists."²⁹

According to the requirements of historic reality and logical thoughts it is not appropriate to say that such kind of characters used in the Uzbek literature under the influence of the politics. Because in the point of view at that and present time social-political and cultural-economic life gave an opportunity to the native people

²³ E.A. Karimov, *op. cit.*

²⁴ M. Qo'shjonov, *Hayot adabiyot ko'zgusida*, Adabiyot va San'at, Tashkent, 1985.

²⁵ T. Boboev, *Zamon va qahramon*, Adabiyot va San'at, Tashkent, 1976.

²⁶ A. Abduraxmanov, "Problema xaraktera russkogo cheloveka v uzbekskoy proze (1920–1970 gg.)", in *Diss. na soiskaniye uchen stpen.kand. fil.nauk*, Tashkent, 1982.

²⁷ T. Boboev, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

²⁸ L. Qayumov, M. Nurmuhammedov, M. Qushjonov et alii, *G'oyaviy kurash va O'zbek adabiyoti*, "Fan" Uzbeksnoi, Tashkent, 1985, p. 36.

²⁹ G.J. Dakhshleiger, "The Theme of the Friendship of Peoples in Soviet Historical Research", in *Asia in Soviet Studies*, B.G. Gafurov (ed.), Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1969, pp. 249–50.

keeping close relationship with the Russian nation. In this case to look the issue moving the relationship to literary thoughts as a natural process too. It should be better take into consideration for evaluating the characters of enlightener who has new thoughts meet in the created works in the 20th century.

In 1975 at Columbia University the American scholar Eden Naby defended her dissertation under the title *The Transitional Central Asian Literature. Tajik and Uzbek Literary Prose from 1909 to 1932*. This work was mainly dedicated to the literary careers of Sadriddin Ayniy and Abdulla Qodiriy.³⁰ She connected the authors' sympathy and antipathy with the process of colonialization under the issue of the attitude to the literary reflection of the Russian character. She stated that because of the slight weakening the colonialist disaster in the belles-letters the attitude also turns into positive.³¹

The researcher mostly tried to depict the philosophy of the issue basing on the socio-economic factors. That's why the writer paid attention the problem of outlook, and showed his attitude to the characters dividing them into positive and negative. For this reason the writer lost sight that the author should stand at the neutral position to his depicted character. To our mind as this view based on primitive logics not proofed itself according to poetic way.

A professor at Carleton College, Adeeb Khalid distinguished from other representatives who deal with history and literature of Jadid movement after the period 1991 in Central Asia according to the amount of his research work.³² He expressed his attitude to the issues regarding to the depiction of the characters of Russian and European man in the Uzbek Jadid literature as following:

The Russians have a silent presence in Central Asian Jadid literature of the period. They serve as counterpoints for the Jadid criticism of Central Asian society and help to delineate group boundaries on which Central Asian identity came to be based.³³

No doubt, to be brought into the literary work the character of Russian man by forcing, oppression, against literary reality unnaturally was the result of political

³⁰ Eden Naby, *Transitional Central Asian Literature. Tajik and Uzbek Prose Fiction from 1909 to 1932*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1975, p. 168.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² The main publications of Adeeb Khalid are: *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Tsarist Central Asia*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1993; *The Politics of Muslims Cultural Reform. Jadidism in Central Asia*, University of California Press, Berkeley, *Comparative Studies in Muslim Societies* 27, 1998; "Osman Khoja and the Origins of Jadidism in Bukhara," in *Reform Movements and Revolution in Turkistan: 1900–1924. Studies in Honour of Osman Khoja*, T. Kocaoglu (ed.), Haarlem, Netherlands, 2001, pp. 287–98; "Nationalizing the Revolution. The Transformation of Jadidism, 1917–1920," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, R.G. Sunny, T. Martin (eds.), Oxford University Press, New York, 2001, pp. 45–162; *Islam After Communism. Religion and Politics in Central Asia*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2006, etc.

³³ *Id.*, "Representations of Russia in Central Asian Jadid Discourse" ..., p. 189.

oppression. For example, Petrov in the novel *Sacred blood* by Oybek, Russian soldier in the work *Dokhunda* by Sadridin Ayniy. So intellectual heroes described in the Jadid literature in the line of the other characters included according to the requirements of literary content. And the views of the foreign scholars in some sides look like our outlooks. And the reason of their thoughts as ours commented that they had more opportunity to express their thoughts freely during the 1960's.

Majority of the historians “the foundation of the Western science-knowledge, which caused to lead human progress to the new step, first was put in Andalusia – Muslims Spain in the 12th–13th centuries. But as everything had its enemy, conflicts during very short period of time had eliminated the highest Islamic culture very rapidly” – stated they. The representatives of Jadid movement understood well of it. For instance, through the outlook of Miryoqub, one of the main characters in the novel *Day and Night* by Chulpon the author promoted to implement advanced administrative methods into practice.

Miryoqub “who goes through an intellectual and ideological maturation process” also supported for Russian government policy, he listened to the words of Russian engineer with pleasure and propagandize the news. But Miryoqub was astonished at the Russian's moral view. Noib tura, who was depicted in the novel was not jealous his wife, who was 27 years old, both from Zunnun and Miryoqub. Miryoqub was surprised at when he heard the loving relations between Zunnun and the wife of Tura Xonim which had been continuing for two years. Zunun attempted to be justified himself saying that there were many bellowed of Noib tura. Some of them have also been known to Xonim and he was only official husband to her.³⁴

At the point of Shari'at if the husband is not jealous for his wife from others, this is called procurer. And the procurement is strictly disgraced by the Islamic requirements. And also drunkard, prostitutes is also disgraced in Islam. So, religious-Islamic customs rejected negative sides of European civilization. In this reason the drama *Padarkush* [Patricide] by Behbudiy is worth for attention. The work *Padarkush* which was written in 1913 by one of the founder of the Jadid movement Mahmudxuja Behbudiy was the first written drama in Central Asia. And also the first performance that is depicted Russian character for the scene.

One of the main characters of the drama *Padarkush* was Boy. He didn't want to send his son Toshmurod either religious or new Russian-gymnasium schools. Intelligent Muslim and Domulla (teacher) tried to explain to Boy the importance of teaching and it is his duty which was sent by God, he was indifferent for them and even one day he pursued them from his house. As a result instead of learning and getting

³⁴ Cho'lpon, *Yana oldim sozimni. Tanalangan asarlar. Kecha va kunduz*, Adabiyot va San'at, Tashkent, 1991, p. 153.

knowledge Toshmurod became a drinker. One day together with his friends he planned to go to the whore house. Liza demanded from them 15 roubles for one day of carousing. After not finding the money Toshmurod with his friend Tangriqul went to rob his house. While Boy noticed and acted against them Tangriqul (a friend of Toshmurod) pierced the knife into the heart of Boy and the son unexpectedly became a murder of his father. Drama ended with decision of Russian Pristuv sending Toshmurod and Tangriqul for Siberia for their criminal work.³⁵

Instead of implementer at any kind of tragedy the person who caused for this considered to be guilty. Behbudiy tried to open the reasons which were caused to make sin. He attempted to describe it by small details in the drama. Through this he showed that every sin is not saving from the punishment. In this drama the author warned that indifference for education is caused for ignorance. Toshmurod who was guilty for his father's death and Armen and Liza who led him to make carousing made the audience be careful. Secondly, as other Jadid writers Behbudiy also well defined the mood of his people who lived together with him, negative changes in the spirit of his people who lived in the same society. The author worried about that wrong ideology which impacted to the conscious of the young people, representatives of Turkish nation, Central Asian people and their political-social view. We hope that the author of the work gave the title *Padarkush* for the purpose of alarming people from the danger. If this situation continued in this way near future our youth under the mask like internationalism will forget national customs and traditions, history and culture which our ancestors proud of thousands of the year. As a result our youth will forget their family tree, blamed their parents culturelessness, ignorance and they are ready to refuse their parents. Might be if the author had chosen other name for this work it wouldn't have been such famous. The performances which were written under the impression of this work actually not became as famous as this.

From the time when *Padarkush* created and up today the scholar as Fayzulla Khujaev, Hoji Muin, Abdurahmon Sadi, Miyon Buzruk Solihov, next period literatures E. Karimov, A. Aliev, S. Qosimov, B. Nazarov, N. Karimov, Sh. Turdiev, B. Qosimov, Sh. Rizaev learned carefully and deeply the ideas of enlightenment which was depicted its content, the main factors which caused Turkistan to meet with tragedy, social issues related to the characters. At the moment as a result of obeying existing ideology and serving for them there was research works which expressed wrong attitude to his creative work and activity. But in all official research works there were little information about representatives of the Russian people Liza, Pristuv, and Artur who belongs to Armenian nation and other symbolic things were not given much attention.

³⁵ Mahmudkhuja Behbudiy, *Padarkush*, Samarqand, 1913.

Edward Allworth, who is an old leading scholar according to the amount of his research work among American scholars on the history of the Uzbek literature, culture, literary, politics, and its translation first completely, proved that Padarkush is a symbolic work and he helped to raise its place among Central Asian People's literature, the history of politics one step higher. The method of analyzing which he implemented: the characters, each small detail, names' etymology, symbolic essence which was depicted during the murder, symbolic essence of social-political ideas regarding to eliminate nation from the root is the right depiction and evaluation of the events which originally depicted in Padarkush. Together showing that Padarkush is the best example of the Jadid literature he proofed the views that it was "weak work" was completely wrong and opened new concepts of the creative work of Behbudi.³⁶

Edward Allworth gave his opinion to the character Liza in the drama Father killer as following:

"The author's skill as a practiced politician and social leader is evidenced through literature in *The Patricide* when he introduces an alien (Russian) tart as the secondary motive for the burglary which led to murder. In *Liza* he invented a character universally repulsive to pious Muslims who kept their women protected at home, especially in the towns, and who regarded prostitutes as Russian women or the reverse. Through *Liza*, the playwright could escape censorship by castigating social evil while rising to criticism for the benefit of Muslims the "European" (Russian) way of life as Turkistanian saw it. Alein too, was the tavern run by another non-Muslim, non-Turkistanian, the Armenian, Artun."³⁷

As you see, Edward Allworth takes main note of author's outlook and nation's psychology of the period created the play in judging the character. He means that the *Patricide* is a play intending daily and educational propaganda.

The opinions of Adeeb Khalid about *Liza* as following:

"While the root cause of the tragedy is unquestionably ignorance, it is significant that the action of the play revolves around the temptation personified by *Liza*. (*Liza* herself makes only a brief appearance in the last scene of the play [...]) Ignorance leads eventually to death and murder, but it also takes the form of alcohol and sexual misconduct."³⁸

The opinions of E. Allworth and A. Khalid about the character *Liza* in *Padarkush* are close and complete to each other. They defined correctly the theme, idea and the action of the characters which embodied around the "murder" in the work and applied the symbolic meanings soaked in the essence of the drama. American scholars who deals with Jadid movement concluded that the terms "murder," in other words

³⁶ Edward Allworth, "Murder as Metaphor in the First Central Asian Drama", in the *Ural-Altaic Year-book* 58, 1986, pp. 65–95.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³⁸ Adeeb Khalid, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

Padarkush in the drama is a metaphor, literary depiction of relocation, allegoric-symbolic character. Russian philosopher Nikolay Nikolaevich Rubtsov said the following opinion: “Artistic image is a brief symbol, symbol is a extended character.”³⁹ So, distinguishing from Uzbek scholar American scholars through symbolizing the characters also widened its social-ideological abilities. As Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachev said, if we accept as a social source⁴⁰ the history of each event which is symbolized in the literary work, checking such kind of symbols are respected as the most appropriate way of implementing social thoughts in the life.

Turkish scholar Timur Kocaoglu basing on the researches of Edward Allworth made a research on symbolic terms of the characters of Russian men in the work Padarkush.⁴¹ Drama ending with the order of Russian Pristuvlin to the criminals as “Let’s march to prison” is the warning of the nation. In other words if the young generation are ignorant and illiterate, they will live under the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia and they also become unhappy as the generation before them. Either send for prison or exile to the Siberia.⁴²

Sacrifice of the Russian forbidden policy Abdulhamid Sulaymon ugli Cho’lpon in his novel Day and Night tried to give objective evaluation to the Russian colony, the essence of the European culture and civilization brought through Russians and the attitude to the Russian people basing on special events. For instance the character of the Russian woman Mariya (Mariyam) Ostrova has its own specific features.⁴³

Mariya was a young Russian woman; she was a daughter of a well educated family. Because of one faithlessness she came into the way of prostitution, she planned to earn “one and a half thousand soum,” and then left for the country far from her place and start new life there. In Tashkent she got acquainted with Miryoqub “zakonchi” who worked for Akbarali mingboshi. This “Asian consumer” fell in love with Mariya and married her. Even as to the advice of unfamiliar passer way – Jadid he pulled out his child from his own mother and gave him to Mariya Ostrova for bringing up.⁴⁴

In the Uzbek literature the creative activity of Cho’lpon, especially his novel Day and Night researched through the new method of analyses in the plan of monograph. Therefore the wide monograph, candidate and doctoral dissertation of the scholars Dilmurod Quronov and Shakhnoza Tuychieva will be the example for

³⁹ N.N. Rubtsov, *Simvol v iskusstve i jizni*, “Nauka”, Moscow, 1991, p. 46.

⁴⁰ D.S. Likhachev, *Istoricheskaya poetika russkoy literature*, “Aleteya,” Sankt-Petersburg, 2001, p. 148.

⁴¹ Timur Kocaoglu, “Turkistanda turkce ilk tiyatro eseri: Mahmud Hoca Behbudi’nin “Pederkus” (Baba katili) piyesi-1913” in *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Bahar, Istanbul, 2004.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁴³ Cho’lpon, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

this.⁴⁵ In spite of the influence of the character Mariya Ostrova to the process of formulation of Miryoqub's personality, the objective which was chosen for the research hadn't given an opportunity for analysis through analytical approach.

Another American scholar Roberta Maria Micallef who analyses twentieth-century Uzbek literature in the monographic plan pointing out chronologic, social-ideological, literary aesthetic think racism while analyzing the character Mariya Ostrova in the novel *Day and Night* written by Cho'lpon, she aimed to make a research on depiction of the allegoric meaning and internal essence of the character. The reality regarding to the stage of Miryoqub separated his son from his born mother and gave him to Mariya for bringing up Roberta Micallef expressed her against opinion and put the following true question:

How many mothers would think that a former prostitute was a better mother-figure for their daughters than they were themselves?⁴⁶

Lyon Shawn the other American scholar has given considerable thoughts on this issue:

When the jadid merchant enthusiastically encourages Miryoqub to entrust his children's education to his silent Russian traveling companion (in actually, a Russian prostitute for whom Miryoqub has recently abandoned his family), the novel questions the validity of this progressive discourse being promulgated. The merchant's admiration of Russian educational superiority inspires his ironic suggestions, proclaiming future Western education of native women as a crucial source of regeneration and advancement. Ignorant of her former occupation, the merchant celebrates this prostitute as the modern woman whose standards of personal and cultural achievement should become the inspiration for all native Muslim women.⁴⁷

The issues raised by American scholars might be given intention for inventing specific new tendencies in the Jadid concepts with giving an opportunity of researching the essence of the event which is depicted in the literary work by using internal and external tools, defining them on both sides. Actually, the child of Miryoquv who is the future of Turkistan, "Can the prostitution bring up better than his born mother?" as Roberta emphasized. Have Cholpon put the first place the requirements of soul rather than requirements of the body? Or is it the author's ironic suggestion as Lyon Shawn noted?

⁴⁵ Dilmurod Quronov, *Cho'lpon poetikasi (nasriy asarlari asosida)*, Tashkent, 1998; Cho'lpon hayoti va ijodiy me'rosi, O'qituvchi, Tashkent, 1997; Sh. Tuychieva, *Cho'lponning "Kecha va kunduz" romanida ijodkor dunyoqarashi va badiiy uslub muammolari*, Tashkent, 2006.

⁴⁶ Roberta Maria Micallef, *The Role of Literature and Intellectuals in National Identity Construction. The Case of Uzbekistan*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1997, p. 53.

⁴⁷ Shawn T. Lyons, "Resisting Colonialism in the Uzbek Historical Novel *Kecha va Kunduz* (Night and Day), 1936" in *Inner Asia* 3, 2 (2001), p. 180.

On the one hand to our mind given questions are not required strict solution debatable issues. It is true that ignorant people can help none. But educated person can contribute benefits to his/her society and nation. According to those thoughts above mentioned we can say the character of the Russian woman Maria in the novel *Day and Night* is a really complex and a new (*mujaddid obraz*) type of Russian character.

But the other hand, if we consider Cholpon's deep and intense antipathy towards Russian colonialism, his hidden conception depicted in his other writings the solution of the issue is solved. So Cholpon had to use such a way because of censorship and he "employ a variety techniques including satire and farce to undermine the legitimacy of the Soviet government."

Fitrat and Cho'lpon had approached national customs more freely than Behbudi. They are going to eliminate the hurdles between civilization and "sarts."⁴⁸

Abdulla Qodiri, Abdurauf Fitrat, Abdulhamid Cho'lpon had a unique attitude to the European civilization. All three representatives of the Jadid literature stated that Europeans – *farangs* – were the skillful nation and called people to follow them. This skillfulness showed in all spheres of the social life truly. According to the thoughts of Jadid writers national consciousness is the power for moving the society. And national consciousness moved into reality through learning from advanced countries and also mutuality of the nation. As to those calling in the 1920s in the Uzbek literature appeared the character of European people. Such kind of movement existed in varied form until Uzbekistan achieved its independence. From the time of Independence as a result of strengthening religious tolerance and pluralism it is observed to approach human beings through mutual understanding and tolerance.

Conclusion

In 20th Uzbek literature the depiction of European culture and civilization and the character of the *farangi* was used as the basis for forming intellectual characters in fiction.

Some literary works depicted the Russian as a conqueror and considered him guilty of the tragedy of Turkistan and the destruction of the nation. Authors used these characters to propagandize their socio-political views. For instance, by creating the

⁴⁸ Turkistanie called Europeans *farangi* and Europeans, especially Russian people called Turkistanie *sart* before the decade of October Revolution. At that time the term *sart* was used especially for Uzbek people. *Sart* was not a name of ancient nation, it was given to the ethnic group or tribe who transferred from nomadic into settled. That's why at the 10th of the 20th using the term *sart* caused some discussions among the intelligentsia of Jadid. The book *National Renaissance period Uzbek literature* written by the scholar Begali Qosimovs said following about this: After conquering Turkistan, Russian people gave the title *sart* to a local people. Actually this word used for different time to different group of people. In 1910 there was a discussion around this word again. The term *sart* was found out for disparaging the Uzbeks. This term used the book *Day and Night* by Cholpon, *Noisy Boy* by Gafur Gulam, *Sacred Blood* by Oybek.

character Liza in *The Patricide*, Behbudiy succeeded in depicting his own socio-political concepts. But later using such personages became a political requirement. Gradually the inclusion of such figures became a literary cliché.

To judge by critical works produced up to the 1990's, European civilization and the character of European people is depicted in Uzbek literature in an entirely positive fashion. This apparent uniformity is the result of strict censorship. After Independence these characters were analyzed more thoroughly, in keeping with world literary standards. Due to this shifting reality, no firm criteria were established and critical response was sometimes positive, sometimes negative, fluctuating between acceptance and denial. In other words, our scholarly attitude has been trapped somewhere between social and aesthetic considerations.

It is revealing to lay out the non-Uzbek scholars' research into this area in chronological order: G.J. Dachschleiger (1969), Eden Nabi (1975), T. Boboev (1976), E. Allworth (1986), A. Khalid (1997). There is a noticeable progression in their views, from G.J. Dachschleiger, who approached the characters as an ethnic group, to Eden Naby, who drew attention to socio-economic factors and the writers' aesthetic ideas, to T. Boboev's claim of the inseparability of socialist realism from dogmatism, to E. Allworth's outlook, which encompassed public psychology and educational-economic problems, and finally A. Khalid's effort to explain the polyphonic nature of the image.

American scholars such as Roberta Maria Micallef, Shawn T. Lyon tried to invent specific new tendencies in the Jadid concepts. Their new approach the Russian character is giving an opportunity of researching the essence of the event which is depicted in the literary work by using internal and external tools, defining them on both sides.

The literary-aesthetic views of Western "Sovietologists" have shifted over time from socio-political to aesthetic criteria. In recent years, however, Uzbek literature has paid little attention to this issue. Undoubtedly, there are reasons for this shift in focus. But the result is that theoretical approaches to understanding Russian and European characters in Uzbek literature have still not been firmly established. There is another reason for this, as well.

As this article has demonstrated, the characters which existed in Uzbek belles-lettres were extremely one-sided, connecting the image of the foreigner only with politics and ideology for a long time. This we can say with certainty: it is impossible to equate Russian people with Russian fictional characters. Indeed this methodologically significant fact may even be called an unchanging law in the interpretation not only of Uzbek literature, but of Russian and world literature, as well.

A Central Asian People in Eastern and Central Europe: the Khwarazmians

Szabolcs POLGÁR

There are a few examples of the co-existence and co-operation between the Eurasian nomads and their settled neighbours. One of them is the Khwarazmian communities in Eastern and Central Europe. The aim of this paper is to summarize and compare the role of Khwarazmians in Khazaria, Volga Bulgharia, the land of the Pechenegs, Hungary, and the Rus. Khwarazm was a part of the Iranian civilization in the Aral Sea region to the Sir-Darya River. This area was a zone of contact between the settled and nomad population of Central Asia.

The name of Khwarazm is mentioned in the Avesta and the Old Persian inscriptions. In the pre-Islamic period Khwarazm was under the rule of the dynasty Afrigh. From the beginning of the 8th century the territory came under Arab domination. From this time on the Islam appeared and took roots in Central Asia. The Khwarazmians were active in trade and they became known for neighbouring and distant peoples and lands such as China or Byzantium. The Western contacts of the Khwarazmians go back to the age of the first Turk Kaghanate (the 6th–7th centuries). There are a few reports on Khwarazm and the contacts of their inhabitants with the West in the Greek and Latin sources in the pre-Islamic period. After the settling of the Khwarazmians in Eastern Europe their name appeared more frequently in the written sources.¹ They settled down along the North-Eastern periphery of the Islam civilization: in Khazaria, Volga Bulgharia, the land of the Pechenegs, in the Rus, and reached a farther land, Hungary.

¹ E.g. Clifford E. Bosworth, "Khawārazm," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, Vol. IV, E.J. Brill, Sankt-Petersburg, 1990, pp. 1060–5; K. Czeglédy, "From East to West. The Age of Nomadic Migrations in Eurasia." Translated by P.B. Golden, in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* [=AEMA] 3, 1983, pp. 115–6; É. de la Vaissière, "Les marchands de l'Asie Centrale dans l'empire Khazar", in Michel Kazanski, Anne Nersessian, Constantin Zuckerman (eds.), *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient, Réalités Byzantines* 7, Éditions P. Lethielleux, Paris, 2000, pp. 375–6; Lin Ying, "Some Chinese Sources on the Khazars and Khwarazm", in *AEMA* 11, 2000–1, p. 341.

Khwarazmians in Khazaria

There are a few sources (first of all Muslim authors) on the Khwarazmian communities on the Lower Volga region, in the central part of the Khazar Kaghanate. There is a story in the work of Al-Ma'sūdī ("The Meadows of Gold," cca. 943) on the origin of the Khwarazmians of Khazaria.

He wrote that in the "capital" of Khazaria lived many Muslims and they were known as *al-Arsīya*. "They are migrants [*nāqila*] from the region around Khwārazm. It happened that in olden times, after the appearance of Islam, a drought and epidemic occurred in their land and they emigrated to the king of the Khazars. They possess courage and bravery. The King of the Khazars has complete trust in them in his wars. They stayed in his lands on the basis of arrangements between them. One of them (the provision for the) public manifestation of their faith, mosques and the call to prayer and that the *wazīr*, in our time, is from among them, he is Ahmad b. Kūya ... [They are allowed to stand aside in wars being waged against Muslims]. Of them there ride with the king, at this time, some 7,000 archers in cuirass, helmets and coats of mail. They also have lancers who have weapons and arms in the Muslim manner."²

The name *al-Arsīya* is an Iranian ethnonym *Ars* (As), *Ors* (Os) (cf. Hungarian *Oszlár*), and the form *Alan-Ors* is in connecting with the Alans. According to *al-Mas'ūdī*, this migration from Khwarazm to the Volga region took place sometime after the Arab conquest of Khwarazm, that is after 712, in the 8th century. The Khwarazmians probably were in Khazaria and fought with the Khazars in 764. A Khazar commander called *Rās tarkhān* or *Ās tarkhān al-Khwārizmī*, and his name refers to his ethnical background.³

In a Byzantine list of bishoprics (*Notitia episcopatum*) is mentioned the name *Khoulis*.⁴ It is not clear whether it refers to Khwarazm in Central Asia or – it seems likely – the Khwarazmians of Khazaria.⁵ *Al-Istakhri* (middle of the 10th

² Peter B. Golden, "Some Notes on the Comitatus in Medieval Eurasia with Special Reference to the Khazars" in *Russian History. Histoire Russe* 28, 1, 2001, (Festschrift for Thomas Noonan, Guest editors R.K. Kovalev, H.M. Sherman), 169; Vladimir Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th centuries*, W. Heffer and Sons Ltd., Cambridge, 1958, pp. 146–7; Charles Pellat (ed.), *Al-Mas'ūdī: Murūğ al-dahab wa ma'ādin al-ğawhar*, Tom 2 1966, Beirut, p. 213.

³ Károly Czeglédy, "Khazar Raids in Transcaucasia in 762–764" in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae [=AOH]* 11 (1960), pp. 85–6; T. Lewicki, "Un peuple iranien inconnu: les *Arsīya ou *Orsīya," in *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in honour of Julius Németh*, Gy. Káldy-Nagy (ed.), Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest, 1976, pp. 31–3.

⁴ J.A. Darrouzès (ed.), *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae constantinopolitanae*, Institut français des études byzantines, Paris, 1981, pp. 241–2.

⁵ E.g. – Constantin Zuckerman, "Byzantium's Pontic Policy in the Notitiae Episcopatum," in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le Khaganat Khazar. Actes du colloque*, C. Zuckerman (ed.), Collège de

century) and Ibn Hawqal (cca. 970) reported on the “capital” of the Khazars. According to al-Istakhri in the Eastern part of the town were merchants, Muslims and wares and in the Western part lived the Khazar king, his army and the “pure Khazars.”⁶ The term of the Arabic text “pure Khazars” (*al-Khazar al-khullas*) could be translated or interpreted as “non-mixed Khazars” but in all probability it is the ethonym “Khwarazmians.”⁷ There is a Muslim tradition on the conversion of the Khazars to Islam, after the defeat by the Rus around 970. The Khwarazmians helped the Khazars, and they in exchange for this military support were converted to Islam.⁸ It is possible that this story is not true, but has preserved the fact of the Khwarazmian-Khazar contacts.

Khwarazmians in Volga Bulgharia

There is a passage in Ibn Fadlān’s account (922), which gives evidence of the presence of the Khwarazmians among the Volga Bulgars. He wrote: “When a Muslim dies in their country, or when the husband of a woman from Khwarazm dies, they wash him in the manner of the Muslims.”⁹ In the opinion of many scholars the interpretation of this passage is problematic, but apart from this, the mention of the Khwarazmian ethnic group is beyond question. The trade was active between the Volga Bulgharia and Central Asia. Al-Mas‘ūdī wrote that in the first half of the

France, Paris, 28–29 novembre 2005, Association des amis du Centre d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Paris, 2006, pp. 214–5.

⁶ M.J. de Goeje (ed.), *Viae regnorum. Descriptio ditionis moslemicae auctore Abu Ishāk al-Fārisi al-Istakhri. Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum [=BGA], Tom 1*, Lugduni Batavorum [Leyden], 1870, pp. 221–2; J.H. Kramers (ed.), *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Haukal. BGA, Tom II/2*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1939, pp. 392–3 [French Edition – J.H. Kramers, G. Wiet (transl., intr., index), Ibn Hauqal, Configuration de la terre, Tome 2, Paris, Beyrouth, 1965, p. 383].

⁷ Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan, *Ibn Fadlān’s Reisebericht*, Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1939, p. 217; A Byzantine author, Ioannes Kinnamos, mentioned the Khalisioi in his historical work in the passage about the Byzantine-Hungarian war in the middle of the 12th century – Jean Kinnamos, *Chronique*, Traduite par Jacqueline Rosenblum, Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de Nice 10, Paris, 1972, p. 79 (Livres 3, 8).

According to Togan, it is all the same name of the Khwarazmians as in the geographical description of Ibn Hawqal. Another Byzantine author, Anna Comnena recorded the name of a nomad chief, living north of the Danube Chales [Khalis] – Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, VI, 14 (cf. Transl. E.R.A. Sewter: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/AnnaComnena-Alexiad.html>).

⁸ D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1954, p. 244.

⁹ Richard N. Frye, *Ibn Fadlan’s Journey to Russia. A Tenth-Century Traveller from Baghdad to the Volga River*, Translated with commentary by ...Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 2001, p. 61. [Ar. text: A. Kmietowicz, F. Kmietowicz, T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny (Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej 18)*, Tom 3, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, Łódź, 1985, p. 65].

10th century the “caravans constantly go from them [i.e. the Volga Bulghārs] to Khwarazm in the land of Khorasan, and from Khwārazm to them.”¹⁰

He in his other work, in the Book of the review (955) reported on the boats, plying between Khwarazm and Bulgharia.¹¹ Another author, Ibn Hawqal, mentioned the fur trade between Volga Bulgharia and Khwarazm, but he wrote also on the raids of the Khwarazmians in the lands of the Bulghars and Saqlabs (that is the peoples of the northern forest zone).¹² A list of trade goods, exported from Volga Bulgharia to Khwarazm, enumerated by al-Muqaddasī (at the end of the 10th century) refers also the immediate contacts of the Khwarazmians with the middle Volga region.¹³

Khwarazmians among the Pechenegs

The steppe between the Don and the Lower Danube was occupied by the Pechenegs at the beginning of the 10th century, and from this time on they had connections with their neighbours, the Byzantine Empire, Bulgharia, the Rus, the Hungarians, and the Khazars.

Moreover, Muslim merchants visited them and according to al-Bakrī (11th century) among them were Khwarazmians.¹⁴

Khwarazmians in Hungary

The old Hungarian name of the Khwarazmians was káliz. In the compiled Chronicle of 14th century has preserved the name of Khwarazmians in the form gens Corosmina. Moreover, the Hungarian clan Aba was Khwarazmian origin. According to the author of the chronicle the ancestor of the clan Aba was Csaba, who married a Khwarazmian

¹⁰ Roman K. Kovalev, “The Infrastructure of the Northern Part of the ‘Fur Road’ between the Middle Volga and the East during the Middle Ages,” *AEMA* 11 (2000–1), p. 63; Vladimir Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹¹ M. De Goeje (ed.), *Kitāb at-tanbih wa l’ischrāf*. BGA, Tom VIII, Lugduni Batavorum, 1894, p. 63.

¹² J.H. Kramers (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 392; J.H. Kramers, G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–3.

¹³ M.J. de Goeje (ed.), *Descriptio imperii moslemici auctore al-Moqaddasi*. BGA, Tom III, Lugduni Batavorum, 1906, pp. 323–5; Peter B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, Vol. 1, Akadémiai Kiadó. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica xxv/1, 1980, Budapest, p. 108.

¹⁴ Al-khawālīs. It is the term “pure Khazars” once again – cf. A.Z.V. Togan, *op. cit.*, 217–8; A.P. van Leeuwen, A. Ferré (eds.), *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik d’Abu Ubayd al-Bakrī*. Qartağ (Tunis: al-Dar al-arabiyya li-l-kitāb – Bayt al-hikma, 1992), 445–6; Al-Mas’ūdī mentioned Muslims who lived in the land of the Pechenegs and in Hungary, and they came from Ardabil, Khazaria, Derbend, and Alania – Charles Pellat (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 236; Mas’ūdī, *Les prairies d’or*, Traduction française de Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, revue et corrigée par Charles Pellat, Tome 1 Société asiatique. Collection d’ouvrages orientaux, 1962, Paris, p. 178.

woman.¹⁵ An interesting passage of al-Bakrī's geography (11th century) on the Hungarians refers also to the ancient contacts between the Khwarazmians and Hungarians.

The author mentioned that the Hungarians came from Khorasan to the Carpathian basin. Probably in this passage the point is that the Khwarazmians had joined the Hungarians prior to the conquest of the Carpathian basin, really came from Khorasan, which belonged to Khwarazm at that time. Maybe the information came from Khwarazmians, who took their ethnic identity to refer to the whole Hungarian tribal confederacy. It means that in the second half of the 10th century lived Khwarazmians among the Hungarians.¹⁶ There are more information of the Khwarazmians from the following times. They were in the king's service as soldiers or frontier guards. A significant group of them was settled in the Western and Southern part of the country. They were mentioned by Ioannes Kinnamos (cca. 1150) as the part of the army of the Hungarian king Géza II.

Another group of the Khwarazmians was engaged in managing customs and finances.¹⁷ The Arab traveller Abū Hāmid al-Ġarnatī reported on the Muslims living in Hungary in the middle of the 12th century. He wrote that many thousands of

¹⁵ Emericus Szentpétery (ed.), *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* [=SRH], Tom I, Budapest, 1937, pp. 253, 278, 280. In the Gesta of Simon de Keza: SRH, Tom I, 163.

According to Károly Czeglédy the Muslim guests in the Gesta of the Hungarian Anonymous (cca. 1200) were also Khwarazmians. Anonymous wrote that they came from Volga Bulgharia during the reign of Prince Taksony (SRH, Tom I, 114) – Károly Czeglédy, “Az Árpád-kori mohamedánokról és neveikről,” in *Névtudományi előadások a II: Névtudományi Konferencián. Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 70, Budapest, 1970, p. 255. [=Károly Czeglédy, *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest: Oriental Reprints A 3, 1985), 99]. The authenticity of this passage is debated, may be it is needed this fact to relate to the own time of the Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 65.

¹⁶ A.P. van Leeuwen, A. Ferré (eds.), *op. cit.*, 490; Tadeusz Levickij [Lewicki], “Kitab ar-raud al-mi'atar Ibn Abd al-Mun'ima al-Himjari (15 vek) kak istočnik svedenij o Vostočnoj, Central'noj i Severnoj Evrope,” *Problemy Vostokovedenija* 3 (1960), 131; István Zimonyi, “Egy új muszlim forrás a Kárpát-medencében élő magyarokról [New Muslim Source on the Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin],” in Szabolcs Felföldi, Balázs Sinkovics (eds.), *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás [Nomad Migrations, Hungarian Conquest]* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2001), 92, note 16. The Muslims living in Hungary also mentioned by the 10th century traveller, Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb – A.P. van Leeuwen, A. Ferré (eds.), *op. cit.*, 332; Ahmad Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slavs (9th–1th centuries)*, Wydawn, Akademickie DIALOG, 1998, Warszawa, p. 173.

¹⁷ E.g. – Nora Berend, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–48; Gyla Kristó, *Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon [Non-Hungarian Peoples in the Medieval Hungary]*, Lucidus Kiadó, Budapest, 2003, pp. 45–53; Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europas* 5, 1972, pp. 57–71; Gy. Székely, “Les contacts entre hongrois et musulmans aux IXe–XIIe siècles,” in Gy. Káldy-Nagy (ed.), *The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*, Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest, 1974, pp. 57–9.

Khwarazmians and Maghrebians resided in Hungary.¹⁸ It is worth mentioning that the ethnic identity of Kinnamos' Kwarazmians (Khalisioi) is debated. The ethnonym is undoubtedly identical with the "Kwarazmians" but the ethnic origin of this Khalisioi is unclearified: they were identified with Central Asian Khwarazmians, Khazars, Kavars, or nomads of the Eastern European steppes.¹⁹ The Hungarian Caliz/Káliz, Old Russian Khvalis, Greek Khalisioi, Khalis etc. are forms of an original Iranian (Khwarazmian) word, which spreaded in Eastern Europe by Turkic mediation.²⁰

Khwarazm and the Rus

The name of Khwarazmians recorded in the Russian Primary Chronicle (Povest' Vremennyh Let): Khvalisy, and the Caspian Sea called more Khvalisskoe.²¹ According to Omelian Pritsak, the Old Icelandic Calpen "Caspian Sea" has relation to the Old Russian Khvalisskoe, Khvalinskoe (that is "Khwarazmian") forms.²² There is no information about the Khwarazmians in the earliest history of the Rus.

In the Russian Primary Chronicle has preserved a story on the conversion of the Rus. Before the conversion, Prince Volodimer had received the believers of the various religions. One of them was the Muslim embassy from Volga Bulgharia. The chronicler did not say anything positive on the Islam. Apart from this tendentious description this story reflects the early Russian-Muslim contacts. A Persian author Gardīzī mentioned that the (Muslim) merchants paid commercial tithe to the Prince

¹⁸ César E. Dubler (ed.), *Abū Hāmid el-Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiaticas*, Maestre, Madrid, 1953, p. 27 ("Report"); Ivan Hrbek, "Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn", in *AOH* 5 (1955), p. 208.

¹⁹ Views of several scholars summarized and analysed (Nagy Géza, Gyóni Mátyás, Györffy György, Kossányi Béla, Karácsonyi János, Ivan Hrbek, Czeglédy Károly, Kristó Gyula, Smail Balić) – Attila Katona-Kiss, "A 'sirmioni hunok'. Egy muszlim katonai kötelék a XII. századi magyar királyi erőkben", in *Fons, skepsis, lex. "Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére, SZTE Történeti Segédtudományok. Tanszék Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, Tibor Almási, Éva Révész, György Szabados* (eds.), Szeged, 2010, pp. 159–71; M.A. Halevy, "Do zagadnienia chazarów i chwalisów w XII. wieku", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 21 (1957), pp. 93–9; Tadeusz Lewicki, "Jeszcze o chorezmijczykach na Węgrzech w XII. w.", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 21 (1957), pp. 100–3.

²⁰ Lajos Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai, és ami körülöttük van*, Budapest Oriental Reprints Ser. A 1, Budapest, 1977, pp. 313–5; *Id.*, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1986, pp. 167, 270; Norman Golb, Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1982, pp. 154–5.

²¹ xxx Povest' vremennyh let. Cast' 1. Tekst i perevod: D.S. Lihačëv, B.A. Romanov. Otv. red.: V.P. Adrianova-Peretc Moskva, Leningrad, 1950, 12 (text), pp. 207–8 (transl.).

²² Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of the Rus', Vol. 1: Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981, p. 518.

of the Rus.²³ There are other reports on the Muslim-Rus commerce in the works of al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal.²⁴ In the 12th century al-Marwazi recorded a story on the conversion of the Rus. It is different from other sources, because claims that the Russians were converted to Islam, thanks to Khwarazmians' help.²⁵ The story seems to be compilation from various sources. The date of the conversion is probably wrong, Volodimer is a proper name, and the conversion of Russia happened just when Volodimer, Prince of Kiev ruled (988/989 AD). The story is a propaganda of the Islam, but refers to the Russian-Khwarazmian relations.²⁶

The sources are unanimous: the name Khwarazmians refers to the Central Asian origin. However, in other sources there are only the term Muslim, Muslims so is not clear, whether it refers to Khwarazmians (Cf. notes 14, 15 and 16). For example, the Hungarian name Böszörmény (< Pers. muslimān, "Muslims") could be the synonym of the Káliz.²⁷

The Khwarazmians in Europe existed in various societies, lived with other peoples and religions. In the Khazar Kaganate and Hungary they were soldiers or merchants. In the Volga Bulgharia and the land of the Pechenegs were known as merchants or preachers.

As for the military role, in Khazaria the Khwarazmians were in key position: they formed the best and fittest for action part of the Khazar army. They were islamized and their influence kept growing during the 10th century. It could be illustrated with an example recorded by al-Mas'ūdi. Around 910, a Russian troop crossed Khazaria

²³ A.P. Martinez, "Gardīzi's two Chapters on the Turks," *AEMA* 2 (1982), 169; Hansgerd Göckenjan, István Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralasiens im Mittelalter (Die Ġayhānī-Tradition)*, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica Bd. 54, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 181.

²⁴ Al-Istakhri, M. De Goeje (ed.), *BGA* I, 226; Ibn Hawqal, J. Kramers (ed.), *BGA* II/2, p. 397; J. Kramers, G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 388. It is possible that the land of the enigmatic king of the Slavs, al-Dayr is identical with the Rus or Kiev; Charles Pellat (ed.), *op. cit.*, 144; Mas'ūdi, *op. cit.*, p. 342; cf. A. Nazmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–4, 100, 172.

²⁵ Al-Marwazi mentioned that the Russians were converted to Christianity around AH 300 (= c. 912 AD). And continues: "When they entered [the fold of] Christianity, the faith blunted their swords, the door of their livelihood shrank. Then they desired to become Muslims, that it might be lawful for them to make raids and holy war, and so make a living by returning to some of their former practices. They therefore sent messengers to the ruler of Khwārazm, four kinshmen of their king; for they had an independent king called Vladimir [V.lādmīr], just as the king of Turks is called khāqān and the king of the Bulghars b.t.lūtū. Their messengers came to Khwārazm and delivered their message. The Khwārazmshāh was delighted at their eagerness to become Muslims, and sent someone to them to teach them the religious laws of Islam. So they were converted" – Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir *Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, Arab text (circa AD 1120) with an English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky, Royal Asiatic Society. James G. Forlong Fund 22, London, 1942, p. 36.

²⁶ H. Göckenjan, I. Zimonyi, *op. cit.*, 53, note 65; I. Zimonyi, "Az iszlám és a középkori Kelet-Európa", in *Térítés – megtérés. A világvallások terjedése Kelet-Európa népei között*, László Balogh, Szilvia Kovács (eds.), Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, 2009, p. 21.

²⁷ Károly Czeglédy, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

with the permission of the Khazar King and invaded the Muslim towns of the Caspian coast. The returning Russians were destroyed by the Khwarazmian mercenary troop of the Khazar King. The Khwarazmians swore vengeance against the Russians, who had killed or plundered many Muslims. The Khazar King could not hold them back from the revenge.²⁸ It seems to be that the Khwarazmian guard could force own wish upon the Khazar rulers. In Hungary the position of the Muslims (Khwarazmians) was other. They were obedient to the King. Abū Hāmid related a story about the Muslim mercenaries of the Byzantine Emperor: they were not enthusiastic in the war because the Emperor was not tolerant of the Islam. On the other hand, the Hungarian King do not prevent the freedom of worship this is why the Hungarians won in the battle.

The role of the Khwarazmians in the intercontinental trade was significant. The Northern branch of the Silk Road led from Khwarezm to the Middle Volga region (Volga Bulgharia) and to the Lower Volga (town Etil, the centre of Khazaria).²⁹ Although the trade contacts between the Volga region and Central Asia went back to the pre-Islamic times, the great commercial boom in Eastern Europe dated from the end of the 8th century.³⁰ The influx of the silver dirhams to Eastern and Northern Europe indicates the intensity of the commercial activity. The dirhams from the 9th century are Iraqi, Persian, African, or Central Asian origin, and from the beginning of the tenth century the quantity of the Samanid (Central Asian) dirhams increased.

In this period the trade between the Volga region and Central Asia, in Thomas S. Noonan's word, was gigantic.³¹ It seems the Khwarazmians kept a firm hand on the significant part of the Eastern European trade. Moreover, they were active in Hungary, played role in the dirham export into Hungary³² and in the contacts between the Western (Carpathian basin) and Eastern (Volga region) Hungarians. As for the Rus, there are no sources on the Khwarazmians in the Rus in the 9th–10th centuries. The reason for this is that the Russians carried on very active trade with the Byzantians and the Muslims also. They established trade contacts with the Muslims coming to the Rus, but frequently they themselves went to the Muslims, to Volga

²⁸ Charels Pellat (ed.), *Al-Mas'ūdī ...*, pp. 218–21; Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–7; Vladimir Minorsky, *The History ...*, pp. 150–3.

²⁹ Roman K. Kovalev, *op. cit.*, 62–3; *Id.*, “Commerce and Caravan Routes along the Northern Silk Road. (Sixth–Ninth Centuries). Part I: the Western Sector”, *AEMA* 14 (2005), pp. 66–73.

³⁰ Richard Frye, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–56.

³¹ Th.S. Noonan, “Volga Bulghāriā's Tenth Century Trade with Sāmānid Central Asia”, *AEMA* 11 (2000–1), pp. 140–218; Roman K. Kovalev, “Mint Output in Tenth-Century Bukhārā. A Case Study of Dirham Production and Monetary Circulation in Northern Europe”, in *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 28 (2001), pp. 245–71; *Id.*, “Dirham Mint Output of Samanid Samarqand and its Connections to the Beginnings of Trade with Northern Europe (10th century)”, *Histoire and Mesure* XVII, 3–4 (2002), pp. 197–216.

³² L. Kovács, “Muslimische Münzen im Karpatenbecken des 10. Jahrhundert”, *Antaeus* 29–30 (2008), pp. 489–91.

Bulgharia, Khazaria, or the Caspian region. Probably, the depiction of the 9th–10th century Rus in the Muslim sources refers to defective informations about this territory and it could be in connection the absence of the Muslim community in the Rus.

Later, in the 12th century lived many Muslims in the Rus (Kiev), the contemporary traveller Abū Hāmid called them Turkic speaking Maghrebians.³³ They could be Pecheneg or Oghuz origin, who were settled in the Southern frontier zone of the Rus. In this case they presumably were the descendants of the Muslim Pechenegs mentioned by al-Bakrī.³⁴

The third significant sphere of the activity of the Khwarazmians was the spreading of the Islam in Eastern Europe. The Islam came into use in Khazaria and was accepted in Volga Bulgharia as “state religion.” The Bulgars officially converted in 922. The presence of the Muslims made the conversion of the Bulgharian King Almish easier. Apart from the above mentioned Khwarazmians, Ibn Fadlan reported on other Muslims in Bulgharia: a tailor from Baghdad lived in the court of the King Almish, and a merchant from Sind “stayed for a time with the king in order to serve him.”³⁵ Moreover the Muslims of the tribal land Baranjar had built a mosque, “in which they performed the ritual prayer.”³⁶ The Bulghar king was motivated by various intentions to accept the Islam. As the leader of a tribal confederation, he could to consolidate his authority and to have the other tribes in his power. By the conversion Volga Bulgharia was attached to the Islamic civilization. The contacts between the Middle Volga region and the Islamic countries became unbreakable.

Finally, the conversion helped the Bulgars to secede from the Khazar Kaganate.³⁷ As for the Khazars, the Muslim authors reported on the Muslim community in Khazaria. In Atil, the “capital” of the Kaganate stayed tradesmen on the one bank of the Volga River and the Khwarazmian guard of the Khazar king was garrisoned on the other bank of the river in the castle of the Kagan and the King. The “court of law” of the Khazar king consisted of seven members and two of them were Muslims. They were competent to deal with the cases of the Muslims who stayed in Khazaria. The influence of the Islam kept growing during the 10th century. Around 970 the Khazar rulers embraced the Islam, after the defeat by the Rus. There are archaeological traces of

³³ C.E. Dubler (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 25; O.G. Bolšakov, A.L. Mongajt, *Putešestvie Abu Hamida al-Garnati v Vostočnuju i Central'nuju Evropu (1131–1153 gg.)*, Moskva, 1971, pp. 36–7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 122–6.

³⁵ Richard Frye, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 56.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁷ E.g. – István Zimonyi, “Volga Bulgars and Islam,” in *Bamberger Zentralasienstudien. Konferenzakten ESCAS IV*, Bamberg 8–12. October 1991, Berlin, 1994, pp. 235–40; *Id.*, *Az iszlám ...*, pp. 17–8; Gerald Makó, “Some Notes about the Islamization of the Volga Bulgars,” in *Studia Hungarobulgarica, Tom II Sumen*, P. Panajotov, D. Georgiev (eds.), Szeged, 2008, pp. 29–38; I.A. Izmajlov, “Islam v Volžskoj Bulgarii,” *Vostok/Oriens*, Moscow 2, 2009, pp. 5–12.

the spreading of the Islam in the Northern periphery of Khazaria, the Donec region. It could be in connection with the activity of the Khwarazmians.³⁸

The Islam spreaded among the Pechenegs in the 10th century. By the report of al-Bakrī, around 1009–1010 a Muslim “teacher” came to the country of the Pechenegs and he converted a part of the Pechenegs into the Islam. An other part of the Pechenegs could not accept the new religion, they insisted on the traditional beliefs. War broke out between the Muslim and non-Muslim Pechenegs and the Muslims conquered the non-Muslims. Finally, the non-Muslims converted. The author mentioned that this time (first half of the eleventh century) they recieved the Muslims (Khawalis), who were captives in other country (Byzantium) and helped them to return or to stay among them.³⁹ The name Khawalis refers to the Khwarazmians, who probably played significant role in the spreading of the Islam among the Pechenegs.⁴⁰ Noteworthy that at the same time came Bruno of Querfurt to the Pechenegs and preached the word of God. It seems the Christianity and the Islam competed for the conversion of the Pechenegs.⁴¹ In the Rus and Hungary the Islam was only local religion. These countries belonged to the Christian Europe, their rulers did not support the islamization. Abū Hāmid wrote that the Khwarazmians hid the Islam in the royal court but the Maghrebians made no secret of own faith. In wartime they fought on the side of the king and did not turned away from him due to the tolerance for the Islam. In the Rus existed also Muslim community but is not clear their relation with the Grand Prince of Kiev (or other princes). In any case it is interesting the above mentioned story of al-Bakrī on the conversion of the Rus to the Islam. Although it is not true, perfectly reflects the role of the Khwarazmians in the spreading of the Islam in Eastern Europe.

Why could the Khwarazmians be succesful? There are a few reasons:

1. The Khwarazmians had special knowledge and skill in the sphere of economy, trade, finances, literacy, and in those societies in which they settled down, it was

³⁸ E. Kravčenko, O.A. Gusev, V.V. Davydenko, “Rannie musul’mane v srednem tečenii Severskogo Donca,” *Arheologičeskij Al’manah*, Doneck, no. 7, 1998, p. 139.

³⁹ P.B. Golden, “Religion among the Qipčaks of Medieval Eurasia,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 42, 2 (1998), p. 235; István Zimonyi, *op. cit.*, p. 20. On the detailed analysis of the story and comparison with the Muslim tradition of the Volga Bulghar’s conversion – cf. Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. Hermeneutics. Studies in the History of Religions, 1994, pp. 72–81.

⁴⁰ István Zimonyi, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴¹ E.g. Victor Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, Translation into English and annotations by Dana Bădulescu, Romanian Cultural Institute, Istros Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, Brăila, 2003, p. 108; *Id.*, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450* 6, 2009, p. 275; István Zimonyi, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

wanted necessary; they were mediators between the civilization of the steppe and its neighbours;

2. The rulers usually provided privileges for the foreign traders or soldiers;
3. The conditions were favourable, the structure of the society made the adapting easier.

In the steppes the foreign merchants stayed in the centres of the rulers (*ordu*) and they were closely connected with them, in close co-operation. The ethnic or religious differences were not determinative factors, in Khazaria for example the Khazar ruling clan chose the Judaism, the Khwarazmians were Muslims and the common people was “idol-worshipper.” The “otherness” was routine matter in the multiethnic society in which existed various religions.⁴² The success of the steppe empires in Eurasia (Turks, Khazars, Mongols, etc.) based on the co-operation of the nomad elites and foreign merchants.⁴³ This findings perfectly applies to the Khazars, and probably to the Pechenegs and the Volga Bulgars also. Although the Volga Bulgars and the Pechenegs did not create “empire,” the structure of the power and the model of the organisation of the society based on the traditions of the empires of the steppe.

In Hungary the Khwarazmians (and other Muslims) were special position in the 9th–10th centuries. The Hungarians came from the Eurasian steppe civilization and after the conquest of the Middle Danube region, the traditions of this civilization still survived. The “foreigners” played important role in the milieu of the ruling elite. After the Christianization the Muslims were not the part of the elite (or only a few member of them, the chiefs), but they had privileges, freedom of religion. The efforts to convert them to Christianity set out from the clergy and were unsuccessful for a long time. The legal status of the Muslims was similar to the Christians, the Hungarian society was “cellular,” it was composed of various corporate groups.⁴⁴ Moreover, Hungary in the 11th–12th centuries was in permanent contact with the Eastern European steppe zone, the Volga region, so the “reservoir,” background of the oriental migrants was open.

The assimilation (or emigration) of the Muslims accelerated in the second half of the 13th century. The Christianization, the isolation and the transformation of the Hungarian society led to the “disappearance” of the Khwarazmians from Hungary.⁴⁵

⁴² Cf. – C. Stepanov, *Bългарите и степната империя през ранното средновековие. Проблемът за другите*, Sofia, 2005, pp. 121, 186.

⁴³ Omelyan Pritsak, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–20.

⁴⁴ Nora Berend, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 84–7, 269.

⁴⁵ Jenő Szűcs, *Két történelmi példa az etnikai csoportok életképességéről*, Magyarországtudás. A magyarországtudó csoport évkönyve, Magyarországtudó Csoport, Budapest, 1987, pp. 14–20. It deserves attention the comparison of the reports of Abū Hāmid and Yāqūt al-Rūmī on the Muslims in Hungary. In the times of Yāqūt (first quarter of the 13th century) already became visible the indications of the assimilation of the Muslims; Nora Berend, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–4.

The Rus belonged also to the zone of Christianity, was a part of the “Byzantine Commonwealth,” and in the pre-Mongol period (10th–12th centuries) the structure of the society, the system of ruling etc. were similar to the countries of Central Europe (Poland, Bohemia, Hungary).⁴⁶ The Rus was on the frontier zone of the Christianity and the Islam, the nomad and rural civilizations. The society was a little archaic in comparison with the above mentioned countries, and was more harder open to the steppe. In Kiev existed Muslims and probably were Muslims among the colonies on the Southern borderland, which were settled for the frontier defence. Nevertheless, the role and impact of the Muslims in the Rus was small.

After the fall of the Khazar Empire, the Khwarazmian guard disappeared, but the Muslim merchants survived and settled down in the new town on the Lower Volga, Saqsin. The Pecheneg power between the Don and the Danube was changed by the dominance of the Cumans. The Cumans also co-operated with the Muslims.

After the Mongol conquest the political and ethnic relations radically changed in Eastern Europe. The mother-country of the Khwarazmians lost the independence, became part of the Mongol Empire (the geographical and ethnic name Khwarazm survived). At the end of the 13th century in Hungary also came to an end their activity. To sum up, the role of the Khwarazmians in Eastern and Central Europe was positive, they contributed to the growth of this region.

⁴⁶ Cf. – Márta Font, *A keresztény nagyhatalmak vonzásában. Közép-és Kelet-Európa a 10–12. században*, Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, 2005, pp. 16–7, 250, 259.

Cultural Perceptions of the Islamic Frontier in Arabic Geographic Literature

Marina TOLMACHEVA

This paper aims to explore Islamic values guiding the perceptions of the Islamic frontier in cultural terms.¹ The subject of the Islamic frontier has been mostly addressed as a historical and legal phenomenon and viewed in conjunction with the expansion of Islam in the Middle Ages. The theoretical discussion in these cases has been dominated by the issues of conquest, conversion, and taxation. Neither has the modern experience of European confrontation with Islamic societies been evaluated in light of the frontier theory, which recently has offered the concept of internal frontier. This modification places greater emphasis than before on ethnicity, kinship, and religion. It will be shown that the last is instrumental in exploring the Islamic/non-Islamic dichotomy or confrontation.

The frontier implies expansion, immigration, and settlement. As borderland or periphery it also implies a territory where societal encounter takes places and cultures meet. Empirical studies of frontier in non-Western societies have rarely touched upon Islamic areas.² The discussion offered below focuses on the group of Arabic texts representative of Islamic geographical literature.³ Two considerations presented below have guided the selection of sources.

Firstly, geographical familiarity with the borders of Islam is common both to academic geographical works and to records left by travelers.⁴ What distinguishes the latter sources is their authors' experience of societies and cultures neighboring on the Islamic empire. Evidence for judging the cultural attitudes and perceptions

¹ This paper was originally presented at the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (Toronto, August 1990). It was subsequently published, without bibliography, in the selected proceedings of ICANAS – *Contacts Between Cultures. West Asia and North Africa*, Amir Harrak (ed.), Vol. 1, The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, NY, 1992, pp. 361–8.

² Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier. A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier*, University of Chicago Press. Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies 10, Chicago, 1978; Ian Netton (ed.), *Islamic and Middle Eastern Travellers and Geographers. Critical Concepts in Islamic Thought*, 4 Vols., Routledge, London, 2007.

³ See, for example – I.Iu. Krachkovskii, *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literature*, Leningrad, Moscow, 1957; André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle*, 4 Vols., La Haye: Mouton et École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 1967–75.

⁴ *Muslim Travelers. Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*, Dale F. Eickelman, James Piscatori (eds.), Routledge, University of California Press, London, Berkeley, 1990.

of the metropole toward frontierlands is to be found in the travelogues of Arabic authors who journeyed beyond the confines of the Abode of Islam. This leaves out the works of some prominent geographers who also traveled: for instance, al-Muqaddasi⁵ (who was not interested in non-Muslim areas) or *al-Mas'udi*⁶ (whose systematic descriptions do not qualify as travel narratives). By the same criterion, the writings of Ibn Khaldun,⁷ the creator of Islamic theory of culture, have been used here only for the purpose of analyzing attitudes towards culture and civilization in general.

Secondly, only the accounts dealing with real and identified locations have been reviewed. Fantastic lands and peoples, occurring in cosmographies or works of the *mirabilia* genre (such as the Marvels of India) may occasionally be represented in texts as having been visited by story-tellers or the narrator's sources; however, their major characteristics remain physical remoteness and vagueness of information. Conscientious authors like Ibn Fadlan (3rd/10th century) may specify the distance between the mysterious Gog and Magog and Bulgar or the Islamic Caliphate, but there is no pretence of first-hand knowledge, eye-witness, or contact. While in imagination such fantasy lands may be placed on the periphery of the real world, they do not qualify as frontier.

Four works were selected as representative of the travel narrative genre and for their extensive geographic scope within a chronologically consistent span. The earliest is the *Rihla* [Journey] of Ibn Fadlan,⁸ a record of the 310/922 journey from Baghdad to the Volga undertaken in the hope of converting to Islam the king of Bulgar (between the Volga and the Urals). This is followed by the *Tuhfat al-albab* [Gift to the Intellects] of Abu Hamid al-Andalusi⁹ who visited and even resided in several regions of

⁵ See – al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan at-Ta'asim fi Ma'rifat il-Aqalim*, Traduction partielle, annotée par André Miquel, Publications de l'Institut français de Damas, 1963; *Id.*, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions (Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim)*, Trans. Basil Anthony Collins, Centre for Muslim Contribution to Civilization. Garnet Pub., Reading, UK, 1994 [Paperback, 2000].

⁶ 'Ali ibn al-Husayn Masudi, *Akhbar al-zaman*, Matba'at 'Abd al-Hamid Ahmad Hanafi, Cairo, 1938 [and many subsequent Middle Eastern editions and reprints]; [Mas'udi] Ma'qudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, Édité et traduit par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 9 Vols., Imprimerie impériale, Paris, 1861–77; [Mas'udi], *Muruj adh-dhahab wa ma'adin al-jawahir* (The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems), Translated by Aloys Sprenger, the Oriental Translation Fund, London, 1841.

⁷ Ibn Khaldun, *Kitab al-'ibar*, Cairo, 1284 AH [AD 1867–8]; *Id.*, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*. Translated by Franz Rosenthal, 3 Vols. 2nd Edition, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1967; *Id.*, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History. New abridged edition*, translated by N.J. Dawood, with Introductions by Bruce Lawrence and Franz Rosenthal, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2004.

⁸ See – A.P. Kovalevskii, *Kniga Akhmeda ibn Fadlana o ego puteshestvii na Volgu*, Kharkov: Izd-vo. Kharkovskogo gos. universiteta im. A.M. Gorkogo, 1956; *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia. A Tenth-Century Traveler from Baghdad to the Volga River*, Translated with commentary by Richard N. Frye, Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 2005.

⁹ Abu Hamid al-Garnati, *Tuhfat al-albab: el regalo de los espíritus*, Presentación, traducción y notas por Ana Ramos Calvo, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Cooperación

Europe during his wanderings of 1131–53. Half a century separates him from the most accomplished writer of the Arabic *rihla* [travel] genre, Ibn Jubayr.¹⁰ Although lacking motivation to explore, his 1183–5 pilgrimage to Mecca put the traveler in repeated contact with Latin Christians during the sailing passages on the Mediterranean as well as in the Crusader-held parts of the Levant. Finally, the greatest traveler of Islam and the Middle Ages Ibn Battuta¹¹ provides a vivid overview of the many frontier regions visited during his incessant peregrinations (1325–54) in *Tuhfat al-nuzzar* [Gift to the Observers], also known as the *Rihla*.

In the course of four centuries encompassed by these works, frontiers changed in various ways, passing through offensive and defensive stages. Muslim Spain shrank, Crusader states appeared and disappeared, Islam expanded in India, Central Asia, and Anatolia. It is useful to note that certain locations were visited by more than one of the selected authors: Ibn Fadlan, Abu Hamid, and Ibn Battuta all traveled by the lower Volga River; Abu Hamid attempted to visit Byzantium during his residence in Hungary, while Ibn Battuta was a guest of a Byzantine princess in Christian Constantinople. Both Abu Hamid and Ibn Battuta knew Spain; in varying degrees they also gained data on sub-Saharan Africa. Ibn Jubayr's descriptions of places on Ibn Battuta's itinerary were unstintingly borrowed by the latter's secretary and editor Ibn Juzayy. Comparing the reaction of these sources to the same places under new circumstances allows for a clearer understanding of the dynamics of frontier attitudes.

The modern editors of all four texts have argued that their authors lack in prejudice, whether racial or religious. It is clear, however, that they are not totally devoid of

con el Mundo Árabe, Madrid, 1990; Abū Hamid Muhammad ibn Abdarraḥman al-Ġarnatī, *Le "Tuhfat al-albab" de Abu Hamid al-Andalusi al-Garnati*, Édité d'après les mss. 2167, 2168, 2170 de la Bibliothèque Nationale et le ms. d'Alger par Gabriel Ferran, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1925; Puteshestvie Abu Khamida al-Garnati v Vostochnuiu i Tsentral'nuiu Evropu, Translated by O.G. Bol'shakov; comments by A.L. Mongait, Nauka, Moscow, 1971.

¹⁰ [Muhammad ibn Ahmad Ibn Jubayr], *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, Edited from a MS. in the University Library of Leyden by W. Wright. 2nd ed., revised by M.J. de Goeje, Brill, Leiden, 1907 [reprint, 1973]; [Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, Translated by R.J.C. Broadhurst. With an introduction and notes. [With maps.], Jonathan Cape, London, 1952; *Id.*, *Voyages*, translated by Maurice Gaudetfroy-Demombynes, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1949; *Id.*, *Puteshestvie prosveshchennogo pisatel'ia, dobrodetel'nogo, pronitsatel'nogo Abu-l-Khusa'ina Mukhammada ibn Akhmada ibn Dzhuba'ira al-Kinani al-Andalusi al-Balansi, da budet miloserdien k nemu Allah! Amin.* Translated by L.A. Semenova, Glav. red. vostochnoi literatury, Moscow, 1984.

¹¹ [Ibn Battuta], *Rihlat Ibn Battutah (Tuhfat al-nuzzār fī ḡarā'ib al-amṣār wa-'aḡā'ib al-asfār)*, Dār Ṣādir, Bayrūt, 1964 [and numerous other Middle Eastern editions and reprints]; *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*. Texte arabe accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defrémery & B.R. Sanguinetti, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1853–9, 1877–93; *Id.*, *The Travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D. 1325–1354*, Translated by H.A.R. Gibb, 5 Vols., Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, UK, 1958–2000; *Id.*, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1929 [reprint 1983]; *Ibn Battuta in Black Africa*, Translated by Said Hamdun and Noel Quinton King. With a new foreword by Ross E. Dunn, M. Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 1994.

the Islamic bias, and under all circumstances highly conscious of religious identity, their own and that of others. They also commonly note the ethnic background of persons encountered, if non-Arab, and occasionally provide linguistic information.

In the earliest Arabic eye-witness accounts of the Volga region, Ibn Fadlan frequently mentions Turks in addition to Khwarizmians, Khazars, Pecheneg, Bashgird, Slavs, and Bulgars. His mission's purpose, conversion of the king of Bulgar to Islam, failed, but the journey provided Ibn Fadlan with numerous opportunities to comment on religious allegiance and customs of the places he passed. The presence of Muslims was of prime concern. For instance, he stated that the Khazar capital on the Volga was divided into two parts, one of them reserved for Muslims and governed by a Muslim subject of the king. The presence of a mosque with a minaret is noted.

In the city of Bulgar, five thousand converts had a mosque built and prayed there, but could not read Islamic Scripture: Ibn Fadlan reports that he taught them reading; his recitation of the Qur'an is mentioned often. Apparently, it attracted the attention and curiosity of non-Muslims and provided welcome opportunities for worship to believers. During his stay in Bulgar, Ibn Fadlan personally converted a man, followed by his wife and children: to the traveler's amusement, they all assumed the name Muhammad.

Besides the formal signs of religious affiliation, Ibn Fadlan's attention is drawn to customs which constitute the ritual part of Islam: washing (non-Muslim Turks disgust him for omitting ablutions on occasions prescribed by Islam or, indeed, at any time), funeral rites (his description of the elaborate Slav ritual is famous), ritual slaughter of animals, marriage customs, and women's behavior.

Other religions are mentioned: Jews among the Khazars, Turkish terms for God, idolaters among the Slavs and their neighbors, and occasionally unspecified *kuffar* ("unbelievers"). The destruction of a church in the Khazar capital in the year 310 AH (923 CE) is recorded by Ibn Fadlan without personal comment. There is a story of lapse from Islam, related as matter-of-factly as another one, of a zealous convert.

Beyond religious terms, cultural attitudes were occasionally displayed through evaluation of speech (that of Khwarizmians is "wild"), dietary customs (a Turkish convert eating lice is obviously repulsive to Ibn Fadlan), or social behavior (Gog and Magog copulate "like wild beasts").

A century later Abu Hamid describes the Bulgar as Muslims who had defended their new religion in the face of Khazar pressure. They collect *jizya* (poll tax on non-Muslims) and border on the people called Wisu who pay them *kharaj* (land tax). The distinction seems to imply that the Wisu had not converted to Islam, but their religion is not named. In Kiev he met Pecheneg Turks whose Islam was so superficial that Abu Hamid taught them Friday prayer and *khutba* (sermon). In Hungary, he

dealt with two groups of Muslims: Pechenegs whom he taught Arabic and instructed in Islamic prescriptions, and Khwarizmians who pretended to profess Christianity while in the royal service.

Abu Hamid displays considerable zeal in his capacity as instructor in Islam. His career as Muslim missionary and preacher at Saksin on the Volga prepared him for complexities of non-Islamic environment and tactful perseverance. When the king of Hungary attacked Byzantium, he encouraged Muslim mercenaries to participate in this jihad; but when Muslim Turks were encountered on the other side, drafted into the Byzantine army, Abu Hamid advised their return to Konya. (Relative freedom of religion in Byzantium and Hungary is briefly debated in this connection.) A more serious issue was raised by Abu Hamid's application of Islamic law, such as allowing (and practicing) polygamy and concubinage while prohibiting wine-drinking in a Christian country. During his service to the King of Hungary, Abu Hamid combined the soldiers' instruction in the Shari'a, Islamic sacred law, with recruitment of Turkish archers. He criticized the ruler of Derbend (on the Caspian) for allowing what appears to be Zoroastrian practices without collecting *jizya*, which is obligatory for non-Muslims (in the Muslim state). Yet his curiosity was strong enough that he planned to visit Constantinople; political intrigue rather than religious bias stopped him.

It was at the end of this tour of service that Abu Hamid decided to perform pilgrimage to Mecca, which brought him to the Levantine coast then dominated by Crusaders. Pilgrimage also motivated the journey of Ibn Jubayr. The bitterness which the latter displays toward the Crusaders is quite striking in comparison with the measured, although non-compromising, tone of Abu Hamid. The reverse may have been understandable, since the Latin conquest of Syria and Palestine, begun in 1097–9, was much more recent at the time when Abu Hamid came to the Near East for study (1117–23) or for the performance of *hajj*,¹² the required Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca (1155). It is possible that encountering the conquerors in the very progress towards Mecca was particularly upsetting to Ibn Jubayr. It is also likely that the successive waves of Almoravid and Almohad movements reasserting the conservative Malikite rite of Shari'a law in the Islamic West turned attitudes of the native of Granada towards the extreme. However, as a resident of Spain, where he was born in 540/1145, he was certainly accustomed to Christian presence and could be expected to show a more balanced demeanor. On the other hand, it has to be kept in mind that the Mediterranean was, more obviously now than before, a war frontier. Ibn Jubayr's resentment of Christians becomes apparent early in the book – in fact, as

¹² See for context – Francis E. Peters, *The Hajj. The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1994; Ahmad A.M. Shboul, *Al-Mas'udi and His World*, Ithaca Press, London, 1979.

soon as the first party of Muslim prisoners-of-war is encountered at Capo San Marco (in Sicily).

The proximity of the Crusader states to the route of the hajj is brought home by the participation in the pilgrimage of a wife of the high government official whom Ibn Jubayr calls “the king of the regions of Cilicia, Armenia, and the countries neighboring on the Rum (Byzantium).” War was a constant presence: Ibn Jubayr became a witness of one of Saladin’s forays against a Crusader fortress. In Damascus, he observed the arrival of Muslim armies with enormous booty and then the entry of Saladin himself (the mass slaughter of Christian and Jewish prisoners on the occasion of this victory is reported without apparent sympathy). Even so, Ibn Jubayr conceded that business went much as usual, with Muslim caravans passing through Christian territory unmolested. Taxes were paid reciprocally by both sides, Muslim princes intrigued against their own rulers, and “the goods of this world went to the conqueror.”

At Acre Ibn Jubayr witnessed the distressing flow of Muslim captives toward Frankish countries, while captive Franks were being carried to Muslim markets. The lord of Acre was reportedly called by Muslims “Pig,” and his mother, sovereign of Tibnin (Thoron, east of Tyre), “Sow” – both names being horrible Muslim insults, since pigs are unclean animals in the eyes of Islamic law. Although Ibn Jubayr apparently merely reported local usage, it is hard to believe he did not delight in the act, since his own “Allah destroy her!” follows. In a later passage, Ibn Jubayr seems to delight in reporting that the Pig “whom they call king,” is in hiding due to leprosy. He calls the regent, the king’s maternal uncle, “cursed.”

The next episode of resentment occurs in the description of Sicily: Ibn Jubayr concedes that the Christian ruler of the island is extraordinarily considerate of Muslim residents, urban and rural. He employs troops of black Muslim guards and appoints high officials from among Muslim eunuchs, including the trusty post of kitchen supervisor. Hardly anyone has found it necessary to convert to Christianity. What upsets Ibn Jubayr is that the slave women of the palace are all Muslim, and even Frankish women, upon their induction into the harim of this “polytheist” king quickly convert to Islam. He also regrets the manner of Muslim women of Palermo, who dress up and appear in the streets as the Christian women do, ready to engage in badinage.

At Tyre, Ibn Jubayr spent eleven days, which enabled him to describe the city’s port and fortifications and to observe, with indignation, the Muslim residents of the enemy’s city mixing with Christians in the streets. He states emphatically that the Muslims have no excuse staying in “the city of unbelief.” He is vexed by the fate of Muslim captives who are treated by the Franks “like slaves.” Ransom for prisoners

“from the west” is his special concern, and conversion of a former fellow-traveler from the Maghrib to Christianity is cause for deep distress.

As Ibn Jubayr’s itinerary progressed towards Egypt and then the Red Sea, he briefly found himself near the African frontier of Islam: black tribes, specifically Baja (Beja), are named and their “strange” ways commented on. Here, in the domain of Islam, the traveler also judges strangers according to Islamic criteria. Although these people profess the creed, their ignorance of religion and proper manners extract from Ibn Jubayr disparaging remarks: they are inferior to cattle in intelligence and righteousness, men and women go about naked, lacking in morals and inviting divine curse.

Finally, Ibn Battuta sketches personal reminiscences of the totality of the Muslim universe he had traversed. Although he, too, was a pilgrim and visited Mecca at least four times, he satisfied his urge to travel in many remote areas reached by diverse routes and pursued a legal career in India. Scholars are not yet certain whether he visited the land of Bulgar and China, as his *Rihla* claims, but the confirmed routes overland in West Africa, India, Central Asia, and north of the Black Sea provided him with plentiful opportunities for professional and personal contact with ethnic, cultural, and occasionally military frontiers of Islam.

The perpetuation on the frontier of the central model of cultural interaction necessary for effective linkage, is clearest of all in this instance, since Ibn Battuta made his living as a judge and legal expert. His learning and employment required that he actively maintain the Shari’a on a communal scale. Yet in reality he was faced with relative weakness of Islam on a remote periphery of the empire, and with the newness of the Islamic norm in the areas where Islam was actively expanding by jihad in Ibn Battuta’s time, as from Kilwa on the East African coast or from Delhi in India. The view of the frontier from this jurist’s perspective focuses on social custom, women, and non-Islamic religions. Nowhere in the book is a spirited condemnation of other religions to be found; more frequently the behavior of Muslims, including Islamic princes, is judged negatively (e.g., cruelty, mutilation, lack of charity, acceptance of non-Islamic tradition). Ibn Battuta’s serious concern, as a moralist and judge, was with the free manner in which non-Arab women of the Muslim world behaved in public¹³. He was struck by the Turkish women’s freedom of mobility and social intercourse, and their lack of veiling. Their spirited bargaining for jewelry in the market of Tabriz scandalized him, while their open hospitality to strangers like himself repeatedly benefited him. The women of West Africa and South India

¹³ See Marina Tolmacheva, “Ibn Battuta on Women’s Travel in the Dar al-Islam” in *Women and the Journey. The Female Travel Experience*, Bonnie Frederick, Susan McLeod (eds.), Washington State University Press, Pullman, 1993, pp. 119–40.

vexed him by refusing to cover their bodies, and he conceded that as a judge he was only able to make them drape themselves in his presence; their free socializing with men, even when married, was still difficult for him to accept after almost a quarter century of travel.

The wars which Ibn Battuta noted were either among Muslim rulers or the Muslim jihads against unbelievers; the resulting flow of slaves occasionally aided Ibn Battuta and his coterie. Strangely, he never comments on the wars between Muslims and Christians. As he travels in the cortege of the Greek wife of a Mongol Khan of the Golden Horde toward the Byzantine frontier and then to Constantinople, the only hint of hostilities transpires out of the princess's concern over his safety during his stay in the Christian capital. There is no echo of the continuing Turkish advance against the declining empire. In 1348 the return route took Ibn Battuta west from Damascus by the sea to Morocco and then to Spain. Probably because naval warfare continued on the Mediterranean long after the last Crusader fortress in the Levant fell to the Muslims, Ibn Battuta's greatest concern was over pirates: he does not discourse on the subject of Christian villainy even though Christians were then more secure in the western part of the sea than at any previous time since the advent of Islam.

It may also be thought that his mood at the end of the journey is darkened by the sight of the ravages of the Black Death and the death of his mother in the epidemic: but the account of Ibn Battuta's hazardous return to his home in Morocco is brief and uneventful. Yet clearly the experience of the frontier has not tired or distressed him, since it is after his return from the east that he decides to venture across the Sahara into the Country of the Blacks (Sudan).

It has been shown elsewhere that the geographic boundary of the rule of Islam, especially in conjunction with the foreign populations belonging to different races and ethnic groups and speaking unknown languages, was sometimes viewed as a cultural boundary as well. More than a dividing line between peoples, it was a line dividing cultures, not infrequently perceived as a line dividing civilization from barbarism.

Islam never developed a frontier theory, maybe because the frontier was supposed to be ever-expanding and to disappear in the end. Ibn Khaldun's theory of culture was based on environmental and socio-political distinctions, not religion. In stretching his model to the limit, endless frontiers could be fitted within the Islamic empire, radiating from the periphery to the center as the rising dynasties aspired to displace old ones and become the center themselves. Such is not the case of the frontier which stays on the periphery and involves a truly foreign cultural encounter.

It appears from the texts studied to this point that personal identification with Islam is not only a major determinant of the author's personality and attitudes

displayed within the Islamic society of which they are part. In placing themselves on the geographical periphery of the Islamic state, the authors position themselves as ambassadors of Islamic law and judges of the outside world. In times of Islam's relative security and in the environment disposed to tolerate, if not accept, Islam (the cases of Ibn Fadlan and Ibn Battuta), their judgments are moderate and untainted by zealotry even while as individuals they are diligent in their practice of Islamic observances and assertive in promoting Islamic faith. When pressures are eased, consideration is afforded to such cultural elements as speech, dress, personal adornment, and appearance.

By contrast, in areas and periods of active confrontation (with Christians or polytheists), the notion of jihad colors judgment. Positive aspects of the enemy's country are conceded grudgingly; nothing can be truly good unless it somehow benefits Muslims. The historically-rooted sense of loss of what used to be Muslim to the Christians causes ache, resentment, and grief (Ibn Jubayr). Christians fighting against other Christians provided Muslims with chances to conduct jihad against both parties (Abu Hamid al-Andalusi). The war against barbarians who "have no intelligence" is a positive exercise of Islamic duty by a wise ruler (Ibn Battuta). Whether by reason of their choice of religion, aggression against or obstinate resistance to Islam, the frontier encounter is not a meeting of co-equal opponents. The enemy, particularly the successful enemy, is denied basic value as a member of civilized humanity by the visitor to the area. The stranger maintaining a separate identity is evaluated in terms of otherness incompatible with legally defined tolerance. In practice, tolerance is born out of long coexistence, sense of weakness, or Islam's enveloping victory which brings the umbrella of Islamic law to throw the shade of Islamic civilization over the farther reaches of the empire.

**90 YEARS SINCE THE BIRTH OF THE POET
AND PLAYWRIGHT BAHTIYAR VAHABZADE**

National and Spiritual Values of the Turkic World and Bahtiyar Vahabzade

Nazım MURADOV

Although extensive researches have been carried out about Bahtiyar Vahabzade, his poetic world and his poetry have not been systematically analyzed. The fact that when the poet attracted the attention of the Azerbaijani poet Samed Vurgun when he stepped in the literary world in the nineteen- forties, and the literary critics of that period began to express their views about him and his works, constituted the announcement of a good news introducing a new and different voice into the world of literature. This voice was capable of violating and ignoring the rules of “socialist realism” which represented the official view of the state on art and literature. It was a voice that stressed its dependence on the Party, yet it covered different “popular” concepts. Not only the form, but also the contents of this voice reflected national characteristics of Azerbaijani literature. Furthermore, the dependence of the owner of this voice on the Communist Party was only a formal matter.

Living in the proud Soviet Union, a country with one party which was victorious in World War II, and at the same time opposing the Soviet system was rather difficult. The USSR Communist Party had established the duties of literature as early as the beginning of the 1930s and limited its “freedom of mobility” and had entrusted literature with the task of promoting and making people accept not only the official, but also the moral sovereignty of the Party. Bahtiyar Vahabzade, who had been living in Baku since he was nine years old, had become a witness to being sent to “the point of no return” in 1937–38 of those who were ambivalent to such a policy of art and literature of the Party and even those who did not demonstrate any reaction to it. He also had learned that more than twenty thousand Azerbaijani intellectuals had become victims of massacres. None of those intellectuals who had survived the massacres in 1937–38 were so comfortable at all. Those who were conscientious suffered spiritual pain and many were trying to find a way out of this situation; he who succeeded was acknowledged as an able person. The World War II which was resulted in the death of more than fifty million people had begun in such an atmosphere. And the war that had just started was a war after all. However, it was not more horrific than the years of collectivization and the massacres of the years between 1937 and 1939.

Even during World War II literature fulfilled the task entrusted to it by the Party. The Communist Party seemed to have passed the metaphoric and elegant name of the war onto the literature – “Velikaya Oteçestvannaya Voyna” meaning ‘The Great Homeland War.’ This name in Azerbaijan was “Böyük Veten Müharebesi”. This “Velikaya oteçestva” meaning “the great homeland” was equal to one sixth of the area of the earth and it was called the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Literature had to convince every citizen that every inch of this “Great Homeland” is sacred and if needed citizens should sacrifice themselves for every inch of it. To put it briefly, literature had to explain these to people who had no entertainment other than literature. The reason for socialist literature being national in form is the fact that the Soviet Union was a multi-national state. The aim was, above all, to spread socialist ideals and to convince and mobilize all “citizens” to fight for every inch of “the Great Homeland” rather than giving all peoples and every ethnic group the freedom of developing literature in their mother tongue.

During the beginning of the War, Samed Vurgun who, while being a flatterer of the Communist Party, was a talented national poet, wrote:

Bilsin ana torpaq, eşitsin vətən	Let the motherland know, and the homeland hear
Müsəlləh əsgərəm mən də bu gündən	That I am an armed soldier as from today.

These lines are an expression of the slogan “everything for homeland, everything for victory!” It is at the same time, an example of “epic poetry” which had not fully developed its heroic property. Samed Vurgun, together with his call for mobilization to the front under the directives of the Party, has written about the back part of the front called “the labour front”:

Toprağa düşməsin havayı birdən	May a grain would not fall into soil in vain
Çörək bol olarsa basılmaz vətən	When bread is abundant motherland will be invincible.

These lines summarize the poetry of Azerbaijan at that time, as well as the socio-political contents and aims of the poem. We presented examples only from Samed Vurgun’s poems. In these lines one may notice patriotism, love of homeland and labour, and feeling of conscientiousness. These feelings are sincere and at the same time one may easily notice the existence of political orders which are covered up in the lines of poems.

The “literature of heroism” of World War II would begin to increase in the second half of the years of war. At the beginning of the war that began in the Soviet Union (June 1941 – December 1941), at the time when the USSR armed forces were destroyed and nearly annihilated by Hitler’s fascist German army, “epic tunes” about soldiers of an army that were not able to show any heroism, could only depict heroism of certain individuals. Because Germans in the west and north had reached the capital

Moscow, they had sieged the old capital Leningrad, had invaded Ukraine and Belarus and had it under control. In the east and south they had advanced up to Mozdok (North Caucasus).

On the other hand, the rather emotional samples of Soviet literature which did not have the courage to condemn the war, full of losses and misinformation and went on for years, began to be seen. Samples of literature which revealed the hidden aspects of the war and the pain it had created in the minds of people also began to be noticed. Poems like the one written by Ehmed Cemil entitled “Can nənə, bir nağıl da de” “Dear mum, tell me a story” which were overloaded with emotion, did not depict only “the war fields,” they also showed the horrible side of the war that had made thousands of children orphans. Bahtiyar, who had lost his elder brother Isfendiyar and other close relatives in the front, was one of the thousands and millions of unhappy children of “the country of the happy people.”

Bahtiyar Vahabzade had also seen whom the Soviet regime had annihilated before and during the war. He had also learned how the Southern Azerbaijan National Government (12 December 1945 – 12 December 1946), set up under the leadership of Seyid Cafer Pişeveri (1892–1947) had collapsed through a revolt recorded later in history books as “the 21st Azer Operations.” He learned about it and also about the approach of the Soviet Union to this issue after he personally heard it from Azerbaijani intellectuals who had to take refuge in the North Azerbaijan. These intellectuals were “the democrats with green passports who had no right to elect or be elected.” Bahtiyar Vahabzade also knew that despite the fact that millions of people wished their homeland which was divided by Tsarist Russian Empire, to be ruled at least as a colony of one state, the neo-emperor Stalin had said: “I do not wish to begin the World War III for the backward Muslims!” An historic opportunity was lost by the USSR that was victorious in the war and Azerbaijanis had to suffer for it.

The collapse of the Azerbaijan National Government led by Seyid Cafer (Cavadzade) Pişeveri is not a fortuitous and casual event. Ahmed Gavamu’s-saltana, the prime minister of Iran at that time, paid an official visit to Moscow in March 1946. He promised to give the right of exploration and operation of oil fields in the north of Iran to the USSR. This offer whetted the appetite of the Soviet Union; the USSR immediately accepted the conditions put to them by Iran. The conditions put to the USSR were as follows: 1. Soviet armed forces should leave Iran until the end of March this year (1946); 2. The USSR would regard the issue of Southern Azerbaijan as internal issue of the state of Iran¹.

¹ Bije Rəhimli, Əkrəm, *Mübarizə Burulğanında Keçən Ömür – Seyid Cəfər Pişəvəri (Həyatı və İctimai Fəaliyyəti)*, Nurlar Nəşriyyatı, Bakı, 2009, p. 168.

This meeting was a turning point in the issue of Southern Azerbaijan and the protagonists of the unchanging aspects of the old games had been revealed: in the *Gülüstan* (1813) and *Türkmençay* (1828) Agreements the two sides were Tsarist Russia and the government of Iran represented by the Kajars; the 1946 Moscow agreement was between the USSR and the government of Iran represented by the Pehlevi regime. The consequences of the new agreement were tragic. The national government established by the Azerbaijan Demokrat Fırkası (Azerbaijan Democratic Party) collapsed after one year (1945–1946). This was followed by innumerable murders, imprisonments and exiles as well as the process of eradication of Turkic cultural values. Some of the literary figures of Soviet literature who were not much involved in politics and followed the rules of the Party, were to some extent supported by the government. Some of these literary figures, who attached importance to their national values, openly expressed their views about this cultural tragedy. For example, “After the removal of the government of Pişeveri, Iranian authorities began to collect books published in Azerbaijani Turkish and burn them in town centres. Samed Vurgun, in his poem entitled “The Burnt Books” called the Iranian officials ‘the executioners’ and harshly criticised the Persian chauvinism of the Iranian government”².

Bahtiyar Vahabzade regarded Samed Vurgun, who, beside pro-Party poems, wrote poems with harsh contents, as his master, and saw himself as a son of a divided homeland. It was not difficult for him to understand the state of his homeland being divided as well as the double standard used by the Soviet administration. As an individual from divided Azerbaijan, Vahabzade would not have been taken in by such bombastic rhetoric as “*velikaya otçestva*” used for the Soviet Union which went on growing immensely after its invasions during World War II. Bahtiyar Vahabzade’s view on how this “Great Homeland” was “created” was different from others. After “communist” Pişeveri was killed in the communist Soviet Union by the Communist Party, the concepts of “Communist Party,” “homeland” and “citizen” had changed for Vahabzade. Let us pay attention to a poem by “Soviet poet” Bahtiyar Vahabzade:

Vətəndaş – nə gözəl səslənir bu söz,	Citizen, how beautiful resounds this word,
Yəni bir vətənin övladıyıq biz.	Meaning, we are the children of the same
	homeland.

Anamız eynidir – qardaşıq demək,	Our mother is the same – it means
	we are brothers,

Sən mənə arxasan, mən sənə kömək!	If you are my supporter, I am your helper.
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In these lines, “homeland” is not “*Velikaya Rus*” (the Great Russia); it is in fact the divided Azerbaijan; citizen is someone born of the same mother and brothers with the same blood, same language and same religion. As a citizen of the divided

² Yavuz Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları*, Dergâh Yay., İstanbul, 1994, p. 191.

homeland Vahabzade later in his life had challenged this situation which was brought about by the existing regime. He said “Orda Şəhriyaram, burda Bəxtiyar!” meaning ‘I am Şəhriyar over there and Bahtiyar here.’

Thus, the love of the Turkic world developed with a longing for “a single Azerbaijan” in young Vahabzade who had stepped in the world of literature in the early nineteen-forties. His first two books of his poetry *Mənim Dostlarım* ‘My friends’ and *Bahar* ‘Spring’ were published in 1949 and 1950. The fact that the publication of the books had coincided with the last years of the rule of Stalin and his unexpected death in 1953 was a blessing in disguise for young Vahabzade who attached great importance to his freedom. Death of Stalin had shocked thousands of people and it was a relief for many others. One of those who enjoyed a great relief was Bahtiyar Vahabzade. The long rhyming poem *İki Qorxu* ‘Two Fears’ which the poet had written earlier and published it towards the end of the 1980s, was an important book due to the fact that it explained the psychology of the years up to 1953 when Stalin was in power. These years seemed to be the repetition of 1937–1938.³ In fact this book reflects a 30-year period from 1924 until 1953 – the Stalinist period.

The nineteen-fifties were important years in poetry and scholarly work for B. Vahabzade. The poet wrote his doctoral thesis on *The Lyricism of Samed Vurgun* in 1951 and became a “candidate of Sciences.” In 1964 he defended his thesis on “Life and Creativity of Samed Vurgun” and received his professorship.

Later, in one of his poems he expresses his feeling with all his modesty about being a poet more than a scholar:

Qatlayıp dizinin altına qoyar,
Alim Bəxtiyarı şair Bəxtiyar.

The poet Baxtiyar will bend his knee
And put the scholar Baxtiyar under it.

Furthermore, Vahabzade continued to show this modesty in his poetry too:

... Bizim sənət dünyasının qırq telli
sazıyam,
Bircə ondan razıyam ki, özümdən
narazıyam.

I am the musical instrument with snapped
strings of our circle of art,
I am only satisfied with the fact that I am not
happy with myself.

“The musical instrument with snapped strings” expresses his pessimism. We believe that the poet does not do justice to himself, because Vahabzade is a great poet and would not promote pessimism.

³ For more information about how this work came about and full text of this work, see Y. Akpınar, *Azeri Edebiyatı Araştırmaları*, pp. 394–415.

One of the most important events in Vahabzade's private and literary life is his long poem *Gülüstan* published in the newspaper called *Şəki Fəhləsi* (Labourer of the Town of Sheki) in 1957. This poem helped him gain popularity and at the same created problems for him.

Generally speaking, a noticeable issue in Azerbaijani literature is the fact that as from the mid-thirties many writers and especially poets dealt with the subjects relating to Southern Azerbaijan. In other words, the only poet that dealt with this issue "which conformed to the foreign policy of the USSR"⁴ is not Bahtiyar Vahabzade, and *Gülüstan* is not the only literary work. While there were so many literary figures and literary works concentrated on this subject,⁵ what makes Vahabzade's *Gülüstan* different from other literary works that sometimes assumed to be written on "Party's order?" Would *Gülüstan* not be regarded as one of the hundreds of literary works on "south?" Was it the prohibition introduced by the state against this poem that made it so popular, or was it the literary, political, historical and ideological aspects of this poem that attracted the attention of the people? Why did the Socialist Realism have to keep troubling the literary works that expressed political, historical and social reality of the people?

We will try to answer questions regarding the *Gülüstan* poem, which have at least ten answers:

1. Bahtiyar Vahabzade, the writer of the poem *Gülüstan* was an honourable person. Despite his young age and the fact that he had no supporter (if the spiritual support of Samed Vurgun is not taken into account) he was a reliable person and had proved that he was different from the poets and writers who had been passivized from 1939 until 1950. People who had "enjoyed the freedom" (M. E. Resulzade) in 1918–1920, later were completely disappointed and depressed. They were longing at least for their spiritual freedom. Vahabzade, who was working hard for this freedom, was in the limelight of public attention.
2. The name of the poem is taken from the name of the agreement (between Iran and Russia) after which Azerbaijan was divided. Unlike the didactic book *Gulistan* by the 13th century Persian poet Sadi Shirazi, the work (*Gülüstan*) of Vahabzade stresses the tragedy of the divided homeland.
3. Vahabzade had dedicated this book to the honourable memories of Səttar Xan, Şeyx Məhəmməd Xiyabani and Pişeveri who fought for the unity and independence of Azerbaijan. The dedication was openly written in the book. This was an open preference and the poet did not prefer the ruling authorities; he was on the side of his divided homeland and nation.

⁴ Akpınar, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

⁵ For more information see Y. Akpınar, *Çağdaş Azərbaycan Şiirində Milli Bir Mes'ele Olarak Güney Azerbaycan*, 1994, p. 175–197.

4. It was difficult to adapt this work to “socialist realism” which reflected the understanding of the ruling party in connection with art and literature. The poem does not praise the Communist Party (rejects the partisanship) and follows the populism in the real sense, not in the way the Party requires. It has a traditional form, but its contents are not ‘socialist.’ This means that the poem was not written as recommended by the Party, but far from it, it had ignored the rules and prohibitions of the Party.
5. The poem *Gülüstan* was presented not on the basis of imaginative and subjective speculations of the poet; it was based on reality and objectivity of diachronic events and was reflected by new interpretations which were contrary to official understanding of history.
6. The poet has surpassed the routine approach and used a harsh and interrogating style. He puts forward ‘rhetorical questions’ the answers to which everybody knew. In this poem the poet accuses people whom history had entrusted with the duty of judges and makes them stand a trial themselves.
7. He presents the micro-nationalism which was utterly fostered in the Soviet system⁶ with a macro-nationalistic approach and uses the term “great nation” instead of “small ethnicity.”
8. He stresses that the home of “this great nation” is not the separate parts of the divided homeland, but “that side and this side of a single united Azerbaijan” and the division is realized only on paper. He underlined the fact that “both Tebriz and Baku are parts of one Azerbaijan.”
9. He proves that both Tsarist Russia and Bolshevik Russia share the same quality; they both were colonialists and bear imperialistic ideas. He also believes that they set up their kingdom and pomp and glory at the cost of misfortune of other people.
10. Using a “reflecting style” with clear and at the same time emotional and romantic expressions as well as philosophical generalizations, the poet has managed to avoid giving the poem an ideological structure full of slogans and succeeded in creating a work with high literary quality that made readers think.

The poet in his poem *Gülüstan* says:

Hanı bu ellərin mərd oğulları?	Where are the brave sons of this land?
Açın bəzələri, açın yolları.	Remove the obstacles and open the roads.
Bəs hanı bu əsrin öz Koroğlu-	Where is then the Koroğlu (epic hero)
	of this century?
Qılınç Koroğlu, söz Koroğlu.	The Koroğlu of the sword, the Koroğlu
	of the words.

⁶ A. Yağmur Tunalı, “Şeki’ye Kar Düşende” <http://www.haberkademi.net/default.asp?inc=makaleoku&hid=9634:2>.

In these lines the poet says the “closed door of brothers” (borders dividing Azerbaijan into two parts) should be opened. He believes that to realize this ideal intelligence and power as well as sword and pen are simultaneously needed. With the expression “Köroğlu (epic hero) of the words” he explains that he himself has undertaken this task.

As mentioned above, this poem has taken its name of the village where an agreement was signed between Russia and Iran (to be more correct, the Qajar dynasty) in 1813.⁷ This agreement has laid the foundation of the injustice resulting in division of Azerbaijan. This poem of Vahabzade became one of the greatest literary, social and political events of the 1950s and later years. The poem which was published in the newspaper *Şeki Fehlesib* became very popular and constantly changed hand among people and this popularity brought imprisonment of some of its readers. After that issue of the newspaper was confiscated by the government, hand-written version of the poem was widely spread among the Azerbaijanis and many intellectuals had memorized the poem.⁸ When I think of the historic value of the poem *Gülüstan*, the following comes to my mind: In 1391, Seyfi Sarayi, the Altın Ordu (Kipchak) Turkic poet translated from Persian into Kipchak the *Gulistan* of Sadi Shirazi which was written in 1258. This shows that in the middle ages Turkic people attached great importance to didactic values. *Gülüstan* of Bahtiyar Vahabzade which was written 700 years after Sadi's *Gulistan*, is, to a large extent an important poetic work due to the fact that it depicts literary and political facts of the 20th and 21st centuries. This significant literary work needs to be translated into other languages and especially into the Persian language.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade had comprehensively analyzed cultural concepts such as history, alphabet, religion, civilization, art and music and the abstract concepts like right, truth, ethics, honour, conscience, belief, faith, suspicion, lie, love, suffering, hatred, fear and others, thus exalting our national and spiritual values and making the youth enjoy them.

⁷ *Gülüstan* is a village of the Göranboy district in north of Azerbaijan.

⁸ In the 1980s, before the collapse of the USSR, my father who was a teacher in a village showed me the *Gülüstan* poem which he had written by hand in Cyrillic and allowed me to read it.

The poet, expressing his views on our music with philosophical and poetic language in his poem entitled *Muğam* (musical mode), has, to some extent, presented the philosophy of the *Muğamof* Azerbaijan at the level of a musical expert and has analyzed the historical, philosophical and esthetic dimensions of the basic elements and concepts that make up the internal structure of every song, every tune or generally speaking every *muğam*. When we take into account that *muğam* occupies an important place not only in the musical culture of Azerbaijan, but also in the music of the Turks, Uygurs, Uzbeks, Turkmens and Iranians, we realize that the poet does not concentrate on national and traditional culture of Azerbaijan, he also represent Eastern music in the East-West cultural conflict. In the poem *Muğam* the poet has revealed the philosophy of this musical mode in Azerbaijani, Turkish, Uzbek and Uygur music and at same time he has explained the psychological effect of the music on human being and the fact that music was an indispensable element of every nation.

The poet exalted Oriental cultural values not only in the poem *Muğam*, which deals with Azerbaijani traditional music, but also in his other literary works. His poem entitled *Qorxu* 'fear' was dedicated to the artistic personality of the late composer Qember Hüseynli:

Sonra dindirərdi astadan tarı
Muğam naxışları, muğam xalları
Süzülüb axardı barmaqlarından,
Külçə götürərdi səs dağlarından⁹

Then he made the tar speak low,
Muğam trill and cadence slow.
And there slipped from his fingers, fine
Gold from the sound mountain mine.¹⁰

He continues:

Güya saz avazı, güya tar səsi,
Ulu dədələrin ulu nəğməsi
Uyuşmur zamanın öz ahənginə,
Əsrimiz sığışmaz saz ahənginə!
Ruhumuz qovuldu musiqimizdən
Uyduq uzun illər caz ahənginə.
Bir soran olmadı, ay gərdaş nədən
Axı baş yerinə ayaq tərpadən,
Bizi səmalardan yerə endirən
Özgə qapısında veyilləndirən
Dayaz Rok en rollar göyə ucalsın
Üzeyir məktəbi yetim mi qalsın?
Hara çəkirsiniz musiqimizi?
Nədən mi sandınız bu qədər bizi?

As if the sound of saz, the sound of tar,
And the great songs of our ancestor bards
Are out of tune with our music now.
Their music in this age seems not to fit;
Our soul has with our music split;
Because for years we fell for jazz's beat;
There was no-one to ask why move your feet
And not your head, why, brother, why
Do you now bring us toppling from the sky
And shallow rock-and-roll that made us sway
At strangers' doors now raise to heaven, Oh pray?
And leave bereft and orphaned Uzeyir's school?
Where are you dragging us?
D'you take us for a fool?¹¹

⁹ See, Akpınar, *op.cit.*, p. 395.

¹⁰ Versified by Richard Govett.

¹¹ Versified by Richard Govett. See Akpınar, *op.cit.*, pp. 396–397.

In these lines the poet expresses his view on traditional music. He depicts it as a music that has philosophical and spiritual depth and makes one think about what one hears. He defines irritating foreign music as a cultural product which is good for nothing but shaking the body.

According to Bahtiyar Vahabzade a composer may express what a poet is not able to say with words. The language of music is older, more aesthetic, deeper and more reliable than the language of poetry. Bahtiyar Vahabzade wrote the following lines addressing Habil Aliyev, the Azerbaijani violin player:

Habil! Ay insafsız, ürəyimizi	Habil! O cruel one, what is your intention
Yandırır yaxmaqla qəsdin nədir, nə?	When you burn our heart?
Niyəyandırırsan atəşsiz bizi?	Why do you burn us without a fire?
Bu haqqı kim verib, kim verib sənə?	Who has given this right to you? Who?

The poet wrote his famous poem Şəhidlər ‘the martyrs’ after the Soviet army massacred Azerbaijanis in Baku on 20 January 1990, in this poem the poet pleads to Ramiz Quliyev, the famous master tar player of Azerbaijan:

... Ramiz, bas sinənə sən qoca tarı	... Come, Ramiz, place the splendid tar on your breast,
Bu təzə güşədə çal, sənə qurban!	Play in this new corner, we beg you, gurban!
Şəhidlər qanına boyanan səsi	Let the sound stained with the blood of the martyrs
Zabul segâhına sal, sənə qurban!	Flow in Zabul Segah's mode, we beg you, gurban!
Pərdələr qoy təzə güllər bitirsin,	Let the strings flourish and new roses grow
Şəhid anasına təsəlli versin.	Let them the mothers of the martyrs console.
Haqqın fəryadını dilə gətirsin	And let the music you've freshly composed
Təzə yaratdığın xal, sənə qurban!	Utter the cry of justice, we beg you, gurban!
Xəzər pəncələşdi öz sahiliylə	See the Caspian clawing at its own coast line
Danış dərdimizi səsin ziliylə	Speak of our suffering with pitiful whine
O təzə günəşin atəş diliylə	And with tongue of fire from out that new Sun
Zülumdən qisası al, sənə qurban!	Avenge all this cruelty, we beg you, gurban! ¹²

The lines in the above two poems demonstrate the profound musical knowledge of Vahabzade. These and other similar poems of the poet depict the power of music and show that he is aware of this power and explains that music is a means of relieving his pains.

According to Bahtiyar Vahabzade, the music created by the people, constitutes the fact that people learn their language and the language of nature and turn the language into sounds and place it onto the seven notes and make it possible to speak the language of nature with musical one. In his poem Muğam the poet writes:

...Ney üstündəyeydi səsin	... On the flute are serried hollows
Oyuq-oyuq yuvaları	Of the seven sounds of the reed

¹² Versified by Richard Govett.

Nədir belə? Bəlkə elə Balaları perik düşən Qaratoyuq yuvaları...	But what are they, The notes of the ney? Are they like nests of the blackbirds, Whose young have all scattered abroad?
Səslər qırıq bir arzunun can səsimi? Yuvaları dağıdılmış Çolpaların naləsini?...	Sounds of the voice of a broken wish of my soul? Is it the squealing of chicks, Whose nests have all been destroyed? ¹³

It is not a coincidence that the poet writes about ney- the musical reed instrument. It is not possible to think of the Turkish classical and Sufi literature and classical Azerbaijani literature without the concept of Ney. The *ney*, together with *rebab* (or with *tar* – NM) “...moans like a dervish overwhelmed with emotion and gets more and more profound... The fact that Fuzuli assumed his body resembling a *ney* may not be a coincidence”¹⁴.

Tar (or with its more popular name *rebab*) is the main instrument of the musical Muğam. Bahtiyar Vahabzade, after justifying the importance of thetar in the traditional music, says that it preserves the sound of the soul of people in its strings:

...Ürəyinin tellərindən Tellər çəkib tara xalqın. O tellərin nəğməsində Öz ruhunu,öz qəlbini ara xalqın...	... Take to thee the people's lyre Tune it with strings of the heart In the music of those strings Seek the people's soul and heart. ¹⁵
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In his poem entitled “Hâbil Segâhı” (The Segah of Habil) the poet gives a detailed property of the second most important instrument of the muğam music called *Kaman* (viola) and familiarizes his readers with this instrument, thus making it understandable why the sound of this musical instrument soothes the soul of the listeners:

Kamanın qolunda yatan xalların Hər biri qəm yurdu, hicran yuvası. Bir qolun üstünə cəm olup min-min Nəsimi üsyanı, Vaqif nəvası...	'Twixt each fret of the kaman, Lies the home of sorrow and sigh; On its strings in thousands swarm Nasimi's riot and Vaqif's cry... ¹⁶
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According to Vahabzade the muğam of Azerbaijan is “as old as both his grandfather and his grand-child.” The poet expresses his views in these lines:

... Gâh səşində göy gûlrayır Gâh inləyir həzin həzin. Həm babamın yaşıdır həm nəvəmin	...Now it voices thunder's rage, Now it softly, sadly sighs. And it has the selfsame ageas my grandfather And grandchild. ¹⁷
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¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Cihan Okuyucu, “Fuzûlî’yi Yetiştiren Kültür”, in *Bu Alâmet ile Bulur Beni Soran – Fuzûlî Kitabı, Hazırlayanlar, Hanife Koncu – Müjgân Çakır*, Kesit Yay., İstanbul, 2009, p. 174.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Versified by Richard Govett.

The following lines depict the reflection of the beautiful aspects of nature expressed in sound:

Çiçəklərin öz rəngində, öz ətrində
Nəğmədəki səsləri gör, xalları gör

In the colour and the fragrance of the flowers
See the sounds of melodies, the changing
modes,

Enib qalxan keçidləri,
Cığırıları, yolları gör.

Their rise and gentle fall,
Their little paths and wider roads.

The poet also believes that the music of every people is tantamount to their finger print:

Tanımaqımı istəyirsən
Görmədiyin bir xalqı sən?
Əvvəl onun nəğməsinə sən qulaq as,
onu öyrən.
Öz sözünü, sorğusunu
Xəyalını, duyğusunu
Xalq yaşadır nəğməsində...

Do you want to know
The people whom you have not seen?
Firstly, listen to their song
And learn it.
People make their words, questions,
Imagination and feeling
Live in their songs...

In his famous poem *Gülüstantoo*, Vahabzade points out that the classical and traditional music of Azerbaijan are two inseparable values in the minds of people and with the following lines he openly explains that political boundaries have devastating impact on culture by limiting it. He also believes that a divided country would have divided music and culture and such a division would be more dangerous than political division:

Taxta dirəkləri toprağa deyil,
Qoydular Füzuli divanı üstə.
Yarıya bölündü yüz, yüz əlli il
Gəraylı, bayatı, muğam şikəstə

They put the wooden poles not on the ground,
But on the book of Fuzuli's poems.
Over one hundred or hundred and fifty years
Musical modes Gəraylı, Bayatı, Mugam and
Shikeste were divided into two.

It is believed that Mawlana Jalaleddin Rumi had made a comment about the poet Yunus Emre to the extent that whenever Rumi reached a spiritual stage, he noticed the foot-print of that distinguished Turkmen (Yunus Emre). When the political pressure of the Soviet system was quite effective, the novella *Deyirman* 'The Mill' by Mövlüd Süleyman (who later had written the famous novel *Göç* 'Migration') was discussed and analyzed at the Writers' Union of Azerbaijan. The novella was harshly criticized by the Soviet Azerbaijani writers for not conforming to the "principles" of the socialist realism. Bahtiyar Vahabzade, who regarded the principles and conditions

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

of socialist realism as an obstruction to the development of national literature interfered the discussions. His action reminds us of the modest comment of Jalaleddin Rumi about Yunus Emre. Vahabzade said “I wanted to reach the lofty high position of Mövlüd, but I noticed that Müvlüd had flown to our literature from that position.” Vahabzade’s comment on a talented Azerbaijani writer which expressed his modesty had saved the writer from the ruthless oppressions of the Soviet period.

Yunus Emre, who is known not only as a Turkish poet, but also universally distinguished literary figure, is a master whom Vahabzade had profoundly admired and studied. In a world in conflict with NATO and Warsaw Pact in two extremes, at the time when Turkey as a member of NATO was regarded as a hostile country, Vahabzade was not influenced by the official Soviet ideology in connection with Turkey. He wrote his notes about his trip to Turkey and in 1978 published *Axtaran Tapar* ‘One Who Seeks Finds’ and his memoirs entitled *Sadelikde Böyüklik* ‘Greatness in Simplicity.’ In his extensive introduction to an anthology called ‘Türk Halk Şiirinden Seçmeler’ ‘Selected Folk Poetry’ published in Baku in 1980, Mehmed Aslan, the famous Azerbaijani poet, assessed Yunus Emre as a “great representative of the philosophy of understanding oneself,” and explained that “in the poetry of Yunus Emre the idea makes up a perfect totality together with words, form and rhyme”¹⁸. Vahabzade wrote a preface entitled *İkiZirve Karşısında Düşünceler* ‘Thoughts about Two Giants’ to the book by Mehmet Aslan called *İki Zirve* ‘Two Giants’¹⁹. This has enabled him to introduce Yunus Emre and Aşık Veysel to the Azerbaijani readers with a style peculiar to him, thus widening certain aspects of the spiritual life of the young generation of that period. Bahtiyar Vahabzade believes that he was influenced by not only the poetry of Yunus Emre and Aşık Veysel, but also by the personality of these Turkish poets. He has written poems about these personalities. In his poem “Yunis Kârvanı” ‘Yunus’ Caravan’ Vahabzade analyzed the philosophy of the poetry of Yunus. He ends this poem as follows:

Duyan könlüldə od-ocaq çatsın,
İnsandan baş alan Tanrı sevgisi.
Qəflət yuxusundan bizi oyatsın
Yunis kârvanının zıncırov səsi.

In feeling hearts may fire and fireplace join
With love of God that starts in humankind.
And may the bells of Yunus' caravan
Ring us awake, bring us to our right mind.²⁰

Bahtiyar Vahabzade has written about Ahmet Yesevi, Mevlana, Nesimi, Fuzûlî, Aşık Elesger, Mirza Elekber Sabir, Abdullah Tukay, Şehriyar, Mehmet Akif Ersoy,

¹⁸ Akpınar, *op.cit.*, pp. 206–207.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ Versified by Richard Govett.

Musa Celil, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Nazım Hikmet, Aşık Veysel, Behcet Kemal Çağlar, Cengiz Aytmatov, Oljas Suleymanov, Yavuz Bülent Bakiler and other literary masters both in poetry and prose. Whenever he expressed his views about the above-mentioned literary masters of the Turkic world orally or in writing, he proved that he was a skillful master of literary analysis as well as criticism.

Despite the fact that Vahabzade was born in the Soviet Union and lived 65 years of his 83–84 year-long life under the Soviet regime, he had never become a Soviet poet and conceded nothing from his noble stand against that regime and he had always been serving not only the Azerbaijani Turks, but the whole Turkic people and whole humanity. This attitude made him a popular person not only as an important ideologist of the fight and movement for national independence, and also as a symbol of the dignity of this movement²¹.

In the basis of the independence of the present Turkic republics as well as other republics of the USSR lies the “unacceptable” works of the great masters of words who did not follow the rules of “socialist realism” and with their highly lofty artistic characteristics managed to trample on the limits put by the regime. In the process of independence which was planned first and implemented afterwards, the intelligentsia who had trained people with “free thinking, free conscience and free knowledge” played an important role. At the bottom of all political ideologies that created the national states, lies a literary idea. We learn about this idea with all its political, literary and scientific and ideological aspects from our great poets and writers.

Our greatest and most lyrical poet Fuzûlî comes out as protagonist of his own poems. Therefore, we may come to the conclusion that this might have been a tendency in our post-Fuzûlî literature. As a fan of Fuzûlî, Bahtiyar Vahabzade too was the lyric protagonist of his own poems²² and this protagonist has shaped our literary ideas as well as our social, political and ideological thoughts.

Not only was Vahabzade a poet, he was also a learned philosopher. Today we know Ahmet Yesevi, who was a great poet of his time (12th century) more as a great thinker and his hikmets (philosophical poems) in *Divan-ı Hikmet* which constitute one of the most valuable examples of Turkish poetry, reflect his philosophy. The

²¹ Nizami Ceferov, “Bextiyar Vahabzade yaxud Milletin Şairi”, in *Seçilmiş Eserleri – II*, Bakı, Elm, 2007, p. 176.

²² B. Vahabzade’s literary and scholarly views about Fuzûlî were expressed in his famous poem *Şeb-i Hicran* (The Night of Separation).

poetry of Vahabzade may not be as didactic as Yesevi's, but it could be assessed as valuable example of the hikmets of the contemporary Turkic literature. He was not only contented with skillful use of his mother tongue and taking all the risk, he also demonstrated his linguistic fanaticism wherever he was on a platform. In a way Vahabzade was a poet of "mother tongue." According to him our mothers, through our mother tongue, present us with the most elegant music of the world – their lullaby:

Dil açanda ilk dəfə "ana" söyləyirik biz,	When we begin to speak we utter "ana"
	(mom) first
"Ana dili" adlanır bizim ilk dərsliyimiz.	Our first book is called "Ana Dili"
	(mother tongue)
İlk mahnımız laylanı anamız öz südüylə	Our mother feeds our soul
İçirir ruhumuza bu dildə gilə-gilə...	With our first song – lullaby

In 1954 the great poet who was a defender of our national language, addressed those who did not know their own language and preferred other languages (especially Russian):

Ey öz doğma dilində danışmağı ar bilən	O you who feel ashamed of talking
	in your mother tongue,
Bunu iftixar bilən	You idiot followers of fashion
Modalı ədəbazarlar.	Are proud of what you do.
Qəlbinizi oxşamır qoşmalar, telli sazlar.	Folk poems and stringed instruments
	do not appeal to you.
Qoy bunlar mənim olsun,	Let those be mine.
Amma vətən çörəyi	May the bread of motherland
Sizlərə qənim olsun!	Become your enemy! ²³

Defending the national language required great courage at a time when the Russification policy of the Soviet system was intensified. Not many intellectuals had the courage to do that...

Bahtiyar Vahabzade who appropriated the views of Mehmet Emin Resulzade, the founder of the People's Republic of Azerbaijan and chairman of the National Council and attached great importance to what his comrades –in- action had done for Azerbaijan, had placed the idea of freedom and independence inside the lines of his poetry and had created the most beautiful examples of poems with social and political themes. The poet has a clear approach to Mehmet Emin Resulzade. It was

²³ Bahtiyar Vahabzade, *Seçilmiş Eserleri – I, Müasir Azərbaycan Edebiyatı serisi, Milli Kitabxana, Tərtib edeni və redaktoru Azer Bağirov, Önsözün yazarı Çingiz Aytmatov, Öndər Neşriyyat, Bakı, 2004, pp. 8–9.*

at least different from the approach of the present government of Azerbaijan. In his poem he wrote in 1990 entitled “Məhməd Əmin Rəsulzadə'nin Xatirəsinə” ‘In memoriam Mhmet Emin Resulzade’ he says:

...Borclu ikən Vətən sənə, xalq sənə Hər şey döndü tərsinə. Bu topraqdan verəmmədik Bir məzarlıq yer sənə... Heykəl – məzar! Biri zora söyləyibdir, biri haqqa, şərəfə! Davamlıdır qəlbimizə köçüb gələn o məzar Postamenti nifrət olan Yüz heykəldən yüz dəfə!...	... With Motherland and people in debt to you, Everything turned out askew. Place for one graveyard From our land we could not give you... Statue and grave, one based on violence, The other on justice and honour! One hundred times more lasting is the grave that's moved into our heart Than one hundred statues Whose pedestal is hatred. ²⁴
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When he was 17 or 18 years old (1942), he passed the university entrance exam and finished his university education when he was 22 years old in 1947. In 1950 he began teaching at the university and continued this job until the beginning of the 21st century. All his life he was in close contact with young conscientious university students. The Azerbaijani young students who were educated by reading his poetry and listening to his lectures were those who destroyed the “Iron Curtain” and re-established the independent Republic of Azerbaijan. The late Ebülfez Elchibey who had played an important role in achieving the independent statehood of Azerbaijan, had frequently called Bahtiyar Vahabzade one of the architects of the independence and one of the greatest teachers of the nation. He had admired Vahabzade's efforts in achieving the independence.²⁵ Bahtiyar Vahabzade enjoyed the happiness of seeing the independence of his country and he was a witness to the great success of the students he had taught. He was seen off to his eternal resting place wrapped in the national flag of Azerbaijan and today he is resting in the shadow of his national flag. Vahabzade, the great martyr of our independence defines the flag as follows:

Torpağım üstünə kölgələr salan Mənim varlığımın cılası – bayraq. Zəfərdən doğulmuş Göytürkdən qalan Qurdbaşlı bayrağın balası bayraq.	It casts its shadow on the soil of my homeland It is the lustre of my being – this flag; Scion of victory, heir to the Göktürk, It is the young of the wolf's head flag – this flag.
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²⁴ Versified by Richard Govett.

²⁵ For more information on this subject one could refer to the article of Prof. Dr. Necati Demir entitled “Ülkesinin Bağımsızlığını Taşıyan Şair!”, in *The Poet Who Led His Country to Independence – B. Vahabzade* (<http://www.necatidemir.net/images/demir/bkosem/vahapzade.pdf>); for Vahabzade's literary views on Elchibey see the article by Prof. Dr. Mehman Musaoğlu entitled “Bahtiyar Vahabzade Şiirinde Türkiye” in *Gazi Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Bahar 2010, no.6, pp. 105–106.

Üçrəngli bayrağın kölgəsində mən
Qaraca torpağı vətən görmüşəm.
Zəfər güllərini dövri-qədimdən

Bayraq işığında bitən görmüşəm.
Bayraq mənliyimdir, bayraq kimliyim
Bayraq öz yurduma öz hakimliyim.
...Daim ucalasan! Savaş günündə

Əsgər silahıyla səni tən görüm.
Yalnız zəfər çalmış şəhid önündə

Səni alqış üçün əylən görüm...

And here in the shadow of this tricolor
I recognise the black soil as my homeland.
Higher and higher may you soar! On battle's
day

Equal to warrior's weapon I see thee.
Bent before victory's martyr in homage
Bent to express admiration I see thee.
May you go higher and higher! On the day
of battle,

I saw you equal to the weapon of soldier
I wish to see you bent before the martyr
of victory,

Bent to express your admiration.²⁶

Bahtiyar Vahabzade is not a poet of panegyrics; he cannot tolerate injustice, he demonstrates high sensitivity to social issues and is a brave citizen. In his poem “Görən Hara Gedir?” ‘Where Does the One Who Has Seen Go?’ written in 1989, he summarizes the political chaos of that time, the double standard of the Soviet administration and the spiritual betrayal of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan as follows:

Həftələr dəyişdi, günlər dəyişdi,
Tərəflər dəyişdi, yönlər dəyişdi.
Qiblələr dəyişdi, dinlər dəyişdi.

İtə ot verilir, ata et, Allah...

Weeks changed and days changed,
Destinations changed and so did directions
Direction of Mecca changed, so did
the religions.

Grass is given to dog and meat to horse. O God!...

In one of the stanzas of a long poem the poet had written for Musa Yaqub in 1999, he says:

Dünya bir bilməcə, dünya bir təzad

Arifin dərdi çox, bir qəmxarı yox.

İxtiyar sahibi – vicdandan azad,
Vicdan sahibinin ixtiyarı yox.

The world is a puzzle, it is full
of contradictions.

The leaned suffers pangs and has no one
to care for him.

One who has power has no conscience,
One who is conscientious has no power.

During the Soviet period the poet continued protesting against the regime and defending not only Azerbaijan, but also other Turkic peoples such as Kyrgyz (“Bayram” ‘Festivity’, 1963), “Xalq Düşmənləri” ‘Public Enemies’ (1969), Crimean Tatar (“Kırımda Tatar Qəbirləri” ‘Graves of Tatars in Crimea’, 1966), Uzbek (“Qəribədir” ‘It Is Strange’, 1973). He showed the courage to harshly criticise the Soviet system.²⁷

²⁶ Versified by Richard Govett.

²⁷ These poems will be analyzed in the the section of this article entitled “Voices from the Boxes” (NM).

Bahtiyar Vahabzade has written all his works in an attempt to highlight the lofty values of our national, spiritual, moral, political and cultural history. His poem *Gülüstan*, as explained above, was written to deal with a historical fact that was imposed on us. It was written in a harsh language that reflected the national feeling and the sensitivity of the citizens. The poem *Şeb-i Hicran* ‘The Night of Separation’ about the poetic philosophy and spiritual world of the great poet Fuzûlî, is presented to the readers with a classical and at the same time contemporary interpretation. This poem of Vahabzade is one of the most effective literary work written about Fuzûlî.

Vahabzade’s poem *Feryad* ‘Cry’ is about the poet Nesimi whom Vahabzade admired profoundly. This is a poem written in the light of Sufism and Hruî and Mevlevî sects of mysticism. This is written after a comprehensive study of the ideas of Sufi figures like Şems Tebrîzî, Mewlana Rumi, Yunus Emre, Hacı Bektaş Veli and others as well as mystic issues pertaining to the present and future world.²⁸

The long poem *Qiymet* ‘Value’ reflects the spiritual sphere of the university students of the Soviet period. This poem depicts pure and honourable feelings, imaginations and ideals of the university students and stresses how their ideals were nullified by some debauched, depraved and bribe-taker “teachers” who had somehow managed to find a position at universities. The poem with a lofty social and literary value, does not only depict these obnoxious creatures, it also criticizes the political system that helps them thrive with their immoral activities at universities. *Qiymet* is a valuable literary work due to the fact that it reflects the mistakes of the Soviet system of higher education. It also deals with bribery and favouritism at university entrance exams as well as quizzes and final examinations. The poem also explains the spiritual disasters these immoral activities at universities cause. Vahabzade spent most of his life teaching at university. In this poem he does not write about what he heard from other people; he writes about what he had personally witnessed at work.

B. Vahabzade’s poem *Atılmışlar* ‘The Rejected People’ deals with issues regarding family which is one of the most important sociological problems. According to Vahabzade, every family is a small state, and boundaries of this state must be strong and reliable. In order to be sound and strong a family must enjoy sound environmental factors and have strong national and spiritual as well as religious and social background. Those who are deprived of these values leave their children in the mosques or on the street, or give them to the Society for the Protection of Children; in such families children may feel relieved after their parents are taken to an old people’s home.

²⁸ See B. Vahabzade, *Otobiyoğrafım*, p. 11.

The poet concentrates on the roots of such cases of rejection and with a beautiful language and style depicts the tragedy of rejection and abandonment.

Chingiz Aytmatov was a good friend of Bahtiyar Vahabzade. The son of Kazangap, one of the favourable characters in Aytmatov's novel *The Day Lasts More than a Hundred Years*, insists in having his father buried somewhere whatever the circumstances may be, thus making his father a "dejected dead." Here, the son, who had been spiritually incapacitated by the Soviet system, is not different from those who leave their babies on the street or send their parents to old people's home. In this sense the works of Vahabzade called *Atılmışlar* and *Qiymet*, like the novels Aytmatov wrote after the 1970s, do not present everything so optimistic as required by Socialist Realism. Far from it, they could be assessed as literary works dominated by heart-breaking disappointment.²⁹

The above-mentioned poem of the poet *İki Qırxu* 'Two Fears' could be assessed as a literary work written under the influence of feelings like remorse and disappointment. B. Vahabzade has dedicated this long poem to his friend, the great composer Qember Hüseynli (1916–1961), who had composed musical pieces like *Şirin Yuxu* 'Sweet Sleep', *Cücelerim* 'My Chicks' and many other important compositions. In this poem the poet "reveals the games played on culture, history and homeland of his people. At the same time he explains a slant of his life experience in the years when the terror of Stalin tyrannized the whole country."³⁰ Moreover, Vahabzade created the literary portrait of the artistic personality of his friend who wrote music to his lyrics and died at the age of forty five.

Voices from the Box: It is not possible to summarize all the literary works of Bahtiyar Vahabzade one by one. However, we will to some extent focus on a collection of poems of the poet called *Sandıktan Sesler* 'Voices from the Box' or *Sandık Şiirleri* 'Box Poems'. Although all of these poems were written at the Soviet period, none of them published at that time. He had mentioned these poems in his poem called *İki Qırxu* 'Two Fears' written in the 1980s:

...Keçdi ürəyimdən bu dəm ah nələr

Məni aparmağa nə vaxt gəlsələr
Yəqin arxiviməbaş vuracaqlar

Thoughts went through my mind ah
at this moment,

Whenever they come to take me away,
Certainly, they will go through my archive.

²⁹ Assist. Prof. Dr. Sabahattin Çağın in his article entitled *Cengiz Aytmatov və Gün Olur Asra Bedel Roması* says that some of Aytmatov's novels "are literary works where disappointment or frustration is a dominant factor." I believe that in this sense the above-mentioned poems of Vahabzade resemble Aytmatov's works. (NM)

³⁰ Akpınar, *op.cit.*, p. 394.

Yazımı, pozumu axtaracaqlar.
Düşündüm, nəyim var qaradan, ağdan
Baxdım öz içimə bir an yad kimi.

Gecənin yarısı qalxıb yataqdan
Tökdüm qabağıma şeirlərimi.
Gördüm ki, İlâhi, çapa getməyən
Nə qədər şeirim var, yazı pozum var.

They will check my writings and rough draft.
I thought of what I had as black or white,
I beheld inside me for a moment like
a stranger.

Getting out of the bed in the middle of night
I scattered before me all my poems.
O God! I noticed I had so many unpublished
poems and notes and rough drafts.³¹

Let alone the publication of such poems, information about their being written and even being thought or planned was a heavy crime. Vahabzade had courageously written about the danger of his archive being checked by someone, but later he had destroyed some of those poems. In the third part of his poem *İki Qorxu* ‘Two Fears’ he talks about the poems he had to destroy due to the pressure of Soviet system and calls himself a murderer for “having burnt the reality he had faith in”:

... Gördüm ayrılmışam öz fitrətimdən
Gördüm sığınmışam dözümə, ya Rəb!

Qənim kəsilməmişəm özümə, ya Rəb!

Qorxmadım, yandırdım bir qatil kimi
Mən öz gerçəyimi, həqiqətimi.³²

I noticed I was distanced from my own nature,
O God I noticed I had taken refuge in my
tolerance!

I have turned into an enemy against myself
O God!

Without a fear I burned like a murderer,
My own fact and my own reality.

The poet was emotionally strained to the limit for burning his “opposing” poems, but he managed to preserve some of them inside his mother’s artificial limb:

Bir neçə şeirimə qıymadım o gün,
Saralmış vərəqlər durur bu gün də.

Həmin şeirləri gələcək üçün
Gizlətdim anamın protezində.

I spared a few of my poems on that day,
Today they lie on the papers that have
turned yellow.

I hid these poems for the future
In the artificial limb of my mother.³³

Vahabzade presents the poems which he hid inside the artificial leg of his mother, the poems he called *Voices from the Box* as follows: “I was born and brought up in a family that was uneducated but open-minded who were the enemy of the Soviet Regime and would never make peace with this regime; while praying they always cursed the system and wished this regime would collapse. When I was a child I saw the tyranny and oppression of the Soviet regime (the Sheki uprising in 1930, massacres that followed the uprising, political pressure, arrest of my father and uncles) with my own eyes and assessed in my mind. I began to develop a strong hatred towards this regime in my childhood. This feeling was later turned into poems. The more

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 402.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 404–405.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 405.

I was successful in writing poems and attained experience, the more profoundly developed my hatred towards the existing Soviet regime. To express these feelings I sought different ways. I wrote my first poems not to have them published, but to keep them in my archive... Therefore, I believe that the collection of poems which came about under the name of *Sandıktan Sesler* 'Voices from the Box' occupy an important place in my poetic adventure.³⁴

In fact readers could easily notice similar excitement, discontent and rebellion between the lines of the poems that were not kept in the box and were published in innumerable books. The "Box" poems of B. Vahabzade not only express anti-regime ideas, they also defend the rights of other Turkic peoples and protest at injustice. Poems like "Nağıl-Həyat" 'Story-Life', "Hörümçək Tor Bağladı" 'The Spider Set up Its Web', "Qorxu" 'Fear', "Belə Olmaz" 'It Shouldn't Be Like This', "Diz Üstə" 'On the Lap', "Səbr Elədik" 'We Showed Patience', "Lal-Kar" 'Deaf and Dumb' and other poems could be given as examples of poems written in support of Turkic peoples.³⁵ Here, the poems "Bayram" 'Festivity', "Kırım da Tatar Qəbirləri" 'Tatar Graves in Crimea', "Kirov'un Heykəli" 'Kirov's Statue', "Qəribədir" 'It Is Strange' will be briefly discussed.

The poem "Bayram" 'Festivity' was written in 1963 as a protest against the Kirgiz people who celebrated the day of their captivity as a festivity:

Bu gün bayram edir Qırğız elləri.
Yadın caynağına keçəndən bəri
"Ağ günə çıxıbdır..."
Buna bax, buna!
Sevinir, fəxr edir qul olduğuna.

The Kirghiz are marking a festival today.
Since falling into aliens' clutches they say:
"Halcyon days are here..."
Hey! this is mad!
They are proud to be slaves, really glad.³⁶

Actually the poet's reproach is not only for the Kyrgyz people, he also rebukes those who celebrate their captivity and slavery by kissing the handcuffs on their wrists. Courage, tendency to challenge and depicting the political scene of the Soviet period in these poems transcend politics.

The poem "Kirov'un Heykəli" 'Kirov's Statue' (1966) explains the feeling of the poet in front of the statue of the Communist-Bolshevik invader Sergey Mironovich Kirov on the highest hill of Baku and emphasizes that not only the Soviet system, this stone statue too threatens Azerbaijan:

Başımızın üstündə
Sıyrılıb qılınc kimi
Hədələyir o bizi.
Deyir "mənimdir ölkə-

Over our head,
like a sword unsheathed,
Threatens us.
It says "the country is mine,

³⁴See www.vahabzade.net.

³⁵For the full text of these poems see B. Vahabzade, *Seçilmiş Əsərləri, I*, pp 231–242.

³⁶ Versified by Richard Govett.

Bu göy, bu yer, bu dəniz!
Başınızı vuraram
Ayaqlarım altından
Başınızı çəksəniz!
Ayağım altındadır
Namusunuz, arınız.
Başınızı sürüsün
Daim ayaqlarınız.”

So is this sky, earth and sea!
I will chop your heads,
If you move your heads
From the bottom of my feet!
Your honour and dignity
Are under my feet.
Always your legs
Must drag your heads.”

However the poet is not pessimistic and as if he knew that this statue would collapse one day, ends the poem as follows:

Mən istərəm tarixə
Bu gündən də iz qala,
O heykəlin yerində
O heykəli yıxanın
Tunc heykəli ucala...

I wish that history
Would record this day
And in the place of that statue
Would stand the bronze statue of
The one who destroyed it...

The poet, even as early as 1966, believes that the statue of Kirov on the highest hill of Baku represents the Soviet regime and wishes that this statue would fall and this system would collapse.

The tragedy of the Crimean Tatars was reflected not only in the poems of Bahtiyar Vahabzade, but also in the works of Resul Rıza, Memmed Araz, Memmed İsmayıl, Sabir Rüstəmxanlı and other Azerbaijani poets. The poem “Kırım’da Tatar Qəbirləri ‘Tatar Graves in Crimea’ written by Vahabzade in 1966 is one of the poems of the poet which stands out with its harsh style. The exile of the Crimean Tatars on 18th May 1944 and the fact that Crimean Tatars had not returned to their homes when this poem was written, had annoyed the poet and made him condemn the injustice committed by the Soviet system:

Torpağınaltında yatır yerlilər
Üstündə gəlmələr kefdə, damaqda.
Yerlinin dərdini yersiz nə bilər?

Yerlinin haqqını o tapdamaqda.
Gəlmə haqlı bilər özünü, haqlı!
Yerlinin – yurduna yolları bağlı...

Under the earth lie the natives
Over the newcomers roam in high spirit
How would a newcomer would know
the native’s grief?
He is trampling down the right of the native.
The newcomer believes he has all the right!
The road for the homeland is closed
for the native.

While these realist and tragic depiction continues in the poem, later we notice the harshness of the style of the poet. The poet calls on the graves to vengeance for the compatriots who were forced to leave their homeland:

Məzarlar bu yurdun öz sahibləri
Niyə bu zillətin bağı sökülmür?
Toprağın üstündə sahibkâr kimi

The graves are the genuine owners
of this homeland
Why an end is not put to this abasement.
Why do they not dump into the sea

Gəzən gəlmələri dənizə tökmür?...

The newcomers who walk on earth
like the owners?...

“Qəribədir” ‘It Is Strange’ is a four-line poem that Vahabzade wrote in 1973. In this poem he deals with the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet regime and the ordeal of the Uzbeks in struggling to fulfil this plan. The poet explains the suffering of the Uzbek people in the context of history of Turkic peoples:

Dövrən bizi tarixdə veyilləndirən oldu
Bir yerde donub göl kimi lilləndirən oldu.

This period made us loaf around in history
Stopped our progress like a frozen lake
turned blue.

Dünyaya Uluq Bəy kimi dahini verən xalq

People who presented to the world
a genius like Ulug Bey,

Bir qul kimi yad millətə pambıq verən oldu.

Had to give cotton to foreigners like a slave.

This poem depicts the reaction of the poet to the disrespectful attitude of the Soviet system to the history of Turkic peoples.

We notice a similar reaction in another four-line poem entitled “Xalq Düşmənləri” ‘Public Enemies’ (1969):

Xalqa neçə-neçə tələ qurdular
Başımız cilova keçəndən bəri.
Qəsdən bilə-bilə adlandırdılar
Xalqın dostlarını xalq düşmənləri.

They set up multiple traps for the people
Since our heads were placed in the bridle.
Intentionally and knowingly they called
The people’s friends, public enemies.

At the time when Stalin was in power, there were so many “public enemies” and “traitors of the nation.” These people’s wives, children and close relatives were deprived of basic human rights, the right to elect or being elected, education and other rights. Bahtiyar Vahabzade, has, in a way written his note in history and has enlightened the dark pages of history.

Ekrem Eylisli, an Azerbaijani writer, in the first decade of the collapse of the Soviet Union expressed his view as follows: “Many writers and poets were complaining about the oppression of the Soviet Union and said that this system obstructed publication of our valuable works. The Soviet system collapsed, but from no one’s box came out an ingenious work.” It is not possible to oppose the view of E. Eylisli, but this assessment of the famous writer does not include Vahabzade’s above-mentioned work “sandık şiirleri” ‘Poems from the Box’ may not be ingenious from literary point of view, but they are highly valuable works if we take into account the time they were written, their opposition to the regime, their style and linguistic properties. They are also valuable from social and political point of view.

The Great Poet of Syllabic Metre: When we examine the works of Vahabzade written over a period of nearly seventy years, we notice that his poetry is written mainly in syllabic metre as in the traditional poetry of Turkic peoples. Syllabic metre is regarded as a traditional literary measure widely used in oral and written Turkish poetry. This metre attracts the attention of the reader due to its diversity in the poems of Vahabzade. According to Vahabzade what determines the metre in poetry is the context itself, not the poet. In this respect the poet says: “As means of transport are chosen according to the weight of the items to be transported, means of expression are used according to the context. The form does not determine the content, on the contrary, content determines the form. All through my experience with poetry, I never made a plan for the form of the poem in advance. I always thought profoundly. After the ideas and feelings that would make me excited to write a poem made up a path of movement for me, I took up my pen and wrote them on the paper. The form had never seemed so tight for my ideas. Since my idea and the nature of the content determined the form, I managed to say and wrote whatever I wanted to say within the limits of the form...”³⁷. This means that a variety of syllabic metre we notice in the poetry of Vahabzade, get settled in the subconsciousness of the poet and stay ready to be used. The events that affect the poet turn into an idea in his mind and are expressed in a poetic language and the metre resembles an attire to the poetry and the poet uses it skillfully. The fact that B. Vahabzade is a professional poet of syllabic metre is noticeable in the way he uses various syllabic metres and determines the stops in the lines of poems so skillfully.

As is known “the mostly used syllabic metres are those with seven syllables, eight syllables, eleven syllables and twelve syllables.”³⁸. Vahabzade has frequently used these metres; he has also written good poems in other metres.

The poem that Vahabzade wrote for his grand-son called “Babası kimi” ‘Like His Grand-Father’ has five syllables with content similar to *oxşamalar* ‘carressings – a form of poetry used to love children in Azerbaijani folk literature’ and the structure resembling Yunus Emre’s *ilâhi ‘hîmn’*. Here is the poem:

Mənim bir gözəl
Körpə nəvəm var.
O da Bəxtiyar,
Mən də Bəxtiyar.
Biz baba-nəvə

I’ve a lovely
And nice grand-son.
He’s named Bahtiyar
I am too Bahtiyar.
We are grand-dad and grand-son

³⁷ Vahabzade, *Otobiyografi*m, p. 5.

³⁸ Cem Dilçin, *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi*, TDK Yayınları (8. baskı), Ankara, 2005, p. 42.

Adaşıq, adaş.
O, mənə vüqar
Mən ona sirdaş.
Mən bir ağacam
Nəvəm qol-budaq.
Mən onun kökü,
O, məndə yarpaq
Xalqa vuruldum
Mən şair oldum,
Bilmirəm ancaq
O nə olacaq?
Nə olur olsun,
Kim olur olsun,
Babası kimi
Xalqa vurulsun...

We have the same name.
He is my pride
I'm his companion.
I am a tree,
My grand-son its branch.
I am his root,
He is a leaf on me.
Devoted to people,
I became a poet.
But I do not know
What he will become.
He be whatever he'll be,
He be whoever he'll be.
Like his grand-dad,
May he devote himself to his
people's destiny.

The “oxşama” in Azerbaijani folk literature called “Bu Balama Qurban” ‘I Will Sacrifice Myself for My Child or I Love This Child’ too has the same syllabic structure:

Dağda darılar,
Sünbül sarılar,
Qoca qarılar,
Bu balama qurban.
Bir bölük atlar,
Çəməndə otlar,
Ərsiz arvadlar,
Bu balama qurban.³⁹

Milletts on the mountains,
Yellow ear of corns,
Really old elderly ones,
All love this child of mine.
A herd of horses,
Grazing in the meadow,
Widows too,
Love this child of mine.

The hymn by Yunus Emre with “redif” (word repeated at the end of every couplet) as “var” also has five syllables:

Yar yüregim yar
Gör ki neler var
Bu halk içinde
Bize güler var.
Ko gülen gülsün
Hak bizim olsun.
Gafil ne bilsin
Hakk'ı sever var.⁴⁰

Ah my heart O beloved
See what is there.
Among these people
Some laugh at us.
Let them laugh if they want.
Let us be right.
How would the heedless know that
There are people who love Lord Almighty.

As is seen in the examples given above, in these poems with the caesura as (2+3) or (3+2) there are only some small differences in the forms of “redif” and rhyming words. The poem of Vahabzade reads as abbb, abcb, abcb, aabb, aaba whereas in “Oxşama” it reads as aaab, aaab and in Yunus Emre's hymn it rhymes as aaba, bbba,

³⁹ See Anar-Akpınar, pp. 5–6.

⁴⁰ Dilçin, *op.cit.*, pp. 42–43.

ccca, ddda. Of course, the contents of these poems and the messages they convey are different from each other.

The poem “Vətən Var” ‘There Is Homeland’ which was recorded with Vahabzde’s own voice is regarded as a good example of the poems with six syllables. The structure of caesura of this poem is (3+3), (2+4) and (4+2):

Vətən Var
Hardaysa bu dəmdə
Dəryada batan var.
Vardırsa köməksiz
Fəryada çatan var.
Dünyada alandan
Əvvəlcə satan var.
Atəş öz-özündən
Birdən-birə yanmır.
Bir şey bu cahanda
İzsiz və səbəbsiz
Bihudə yaranmır.
Vardırsa yaranmış,
Mütləq yaradan var.
Varsansa... özündən
Əvvəlcə atan var.
Dünya quru bir səs,
Qəm çəkməyə dəyməz.
Yüz-yüz itən olsun,
Min-min dəbitən var.
Şükr eyləyalım ki,
Bizlərdən həm əvvəl,
Həm sonra vətən var!

There Is Homeland
Wherever he may be at this moment
Someone is drowning in the sea.
If there is no help for him
Someone will respond to his screams.
In the world there is seller
Before the buyer.
Fire does not burn
By itself suddenly.
Something in this world
Without any cause or reason
Will not come about in vain.
If something has come about
There is absolutely a creator.
Even if you exist
There is your father before you.
The world is only a hollow noise,
It is not worth worrying.
There might be losses by hundreds,
But there is creation by thousands.
We must be thankful that
Both before us and
After us there is homeland!

The poet Yunus Emre wrote 700 years ago with the rhyming word “Kim gelir?” has similar structure to the poem above:

Şol benim şeyhimi
Görmeğe kim gelir?
Zevk ile safalar
Sürmeğe kim gelir?
...Ah ile göz yaşı
Yunus’un haldaşı
Zehr ile bu aş
Yimeğe kim gelir?⁴¹

Who will come to see
This Şeyh of mine?
Who will come
To enjoy life with pleasure?
... Laments and tears
Are Yunus’ companion
Who will come to eat
This food mixed with poison?

⁴¹ Dilçin, *op.cit.*, p.43.

The poem with seven syllables is a widely used form of the poetry in all periods of Turkish literature. The “Bayatis” and “Manis” in folk literature are the best examples of poems with seven syllables. Poems in the *Divanu Lugati't-Turk* of Mahmud Kaşgari, like the elegy of Alp Ertunga, poem about the battle against Uygurs, poem about the battle against Basmils and a poem depicting spring are all written in seven syllables:

“Elegy of Alp Ertonga”

Alp Er Tonga öldümü?	Has Alp Ertunga died?
İsiz ajun kaldımu	Has the wicked world remained behind?
Ödleleğin aldımı?	Has time taken its revenge?
Emdi yürek yırtılır...	Now our heart is broken to pieces.

“Battles against Uygurs”

Kimi içre oturup	Sitting inside the ship,
İla suvın keçtimiz	We crossed the River İla.
Uygur taba başlanıp	Moving towards the Uygurs
Mınglak ilin açtımız...;	We conquered the land of Mınglak.

“Battles against Basmils”

Basmıl süsin komıttı	The Basmils motivated their soldiers;
Barça kelip yumıttı	They all came and gathered.
Arslan taba emitti	They moved towards Arslan,
Korkup başı tezgindir;	They feel dizzy from fear.

“Depiction of spring”

Yaybaruban erküzi	When snow melted at the end of spring,
Aktı akın mundızı	It flowed like fast flood.
Togdı yaruk yıldızı	Morning star rose;
Tıngla sözüm külgüsüz. ⁴²	Listen to my odd explanation without laughing.

Vahabzade is one of the masters of the poems with seven syllables. The structure of the lines of his poems written in seven syllables are strong despite the fact that they deal with diverse social subjects and express different psychological situations. His poems “Yaşamağın Təmölü” ‘The Basic Issues of Living’, “Mən – Özümün Düşməni” ‘I – the Enemy of Myself’, “Yuxuluyam, Yuxulu” ‘I Am Sleepy’, “Kirov’un Heykəli” ‘Kirov’s Statue’, “Millətim” ‘My Nation’, “Azadlıq” ‘Liberty’, “An – Min İl” ‘A Moment – One Thousand Years’, “Lal-Kâr” ‘Deaf and Dumb’, “Bir Salama Dəymədi” ‘It Was Not Worth A Greeting’, “Ağıl-Göz” ‘Mind-Eye’, “Ümidə Heykəl Qoyun”

⁴² Caferoğlu, *op.cit.*, vol. II, pp. 44–47.

‘Set up A Statue for Hope’, “Ürəkdəki ‘Saatlar’” ‘Clocks in the Heart’, “Nöqtəyə Döndərərdim” ‘I Would Turn It into A Point’, “Azərbaycan Oğluyam” ‘I am A Son of Azerbaijan’, “Fikir Qanadlarım” ‘Wings of My Thought’, “Meşin Qapılar” ‘Leather Doors’, “Babamın Kôması” ‘My Grand-father’s Cabin’, “Unutdurdun Sən Mənə” ‘You Made Me Forget’, “Nəğmə Olub Gecələr” ‘Nights Have Turned into A Tune’ “Ağıla Sərhəd” ‘Limits of Mind’, “Ağlayan Pəri” ‘Weeping Fairy’, “Bəsdir” ‘It Is Enough’ and other poems are all written in seven syllables. As one may notice from the titles, subjects of the poems are diverse and most of them have social content:

Boşalıram, dolmuram	I am emptied, I don't get filled,
Çəşdirmişəm sağ solu.	I am confused about right and left.
Axtarıram, bulmuram	I search, but I do not find,
Allaha gedən yolu.	The path that leads to Allah.
Necə çatım mən ona?	How can I reach Him?
Şeytan girir min dona.	Satan is always in disguise.
Daş atır haqq yoluna	Throws stone at the path of Truth
Azır Allahın qulu.	The servant of God goes astray.
Özüm özümə qənim	I am the enemy of myself,
İçimdədir düşmənim.	My enemy is inside me.
Yolumu kəsmiş mənim	Garden fences and mountain shrubs
Bağ çəpəri, dağ kôlu.	Have obstructed my path.
Hər bütə ram olmuram,	I do not surrender to every idle,
Dönüb səcdə qılmıram.	And do not return and prostrate.
Daş dəyir, ayılmıram	A stone strikes me and I do not wake up,
Yuxuluyam yuxulu.	I am sleepy, deep in sleep.

The poems with seven syllables have an attractive musicality. Many of Bahtiyar Vahabzade’s poems have become lyrics of songs by Azerbaijani composers. Most of these lyrics have seven syllables in every line. Here are some of the poems of Vahabzade with seven syllables that have become lyrics of songs: “Bu Gecə” ‘Tonight’, “Biri Sənsən Biri Mən” ‘One Is You and One Is Me’ “Dodaqda Gəz” ‘Stroll on the Lip’, “Kölgən Qədər Yaxınsan” ‘You Are As Close As Your Shadow’, “Göydə Yanar Aypara” ‘Crescent Is Shedding Light on the Sky’, “Durna Qatari” ‘Train of Cranes’, “Mən Yandım, Sən İsindin” ‘I Burned, You Got Warm’, “Qızım” ‘My Daughter’, “Qisas böyütsün səni” ‘May You Grow up with the Feeling of Revenge’ and other poems with seven syllables.

The eight-syllable metre known as *geraylı*, *varsaqı* and *semâi* is one of the most rhythmical and most widely used metres in the tradition of Turkish poetry. A significantly large number of the poems in Divanu Lugati’t-Turk of Mahmud Kaşgari are written in eight syllables: *Ke/çe/ tu/rup/ yo/rır/ er/dim/ Ka/ra/ kızı/ bö/ri/ kör/dim/*

*Ka/tıg/ ya/nı/ ku/ra kör/dim Ka/ra/ kö/rüp ba/ku/ ag/dı*⁴³. Yunus Emre, Cevherî, Erzurumlu Emrah, Karacaoğlu and Koroğlu too use the eight syllabic metre. An example of a poem with eight syllables by Yunus Emre:

Karlı dağların başında
Salkım salkım olan bulut
Saçın döküp benim için
Yaşın yaşın ağlar mısın?⁴⁴

O clouds hanging in bunches
Over the snow- capped mountains,
Would you spread your hair
And shed tears for me?

The content of Bahtiyar Vahabzade's eight-syllable poems is different from Turkish traditional and classic poems. There are differences in "redif", rhyming and caesura. Poems like "Azərbaycan – Türkiyə", "Özümdən Narazıyam" 'I am Not Happy with Myself', "İnsan – Göydə Ay Kimidir" 'Man Is Like the Moon on the Sky', "Ağıl Başqa, Ürək Başqa" 'Thought and Heart Are Different Entities', "Yağma Yağış" 'Rain, Stop Pouring', "Ana Yurdum" 'My Motherland', "Ömür Qatarı" 'Train of Life', "Külək-ot" 'Wind-Grass', "Şairləri Öldürürlər" 'They Kill the Poets', "Nə Sən Gülsən Nə Mən Bülbül" 'Neither You are A Rose, Nor Am I A Nightingale', "Utanıram" 'I Am Embarrassed' and others are examples of poems with eight syllables:

Bir ananın iki oğlu
Bir amalın iki qulu.
O da ulu, bu da ulu
Azərbaycan – Türkiyə.
Dinimiz bir, dilimiz bir,
Ayımız bir, ilimiz bir.
Eşqimiz bir, yolumuz bir
Azərbaycan – Türkiyə.
Bir milletlik, iki dövlət
Eyni arzu, eyni niyyət
Hər ikisi cumhuriyyət
Azərbaycan - Türkiyə.
Birdir bizim hər halımız
Sevincimiz, mələlimiz.
Bayraqlarda hilalımız
Azərbaycan – Türkiyə.
Ana yurdda yuva qurdum
Ata yurda könül verdim.
Ana yurdum, ata yurdum
Azərbaycan – Türkiyə.

Two sons of one mother,
Two servants of one idea,
That is great, this one too,
Azerbaijan – Turkey.
Our religion is the same, so is our language.
We have the same months and years.
We share the same love and the same path,
Azerbaijan - Turkey.
We are one nation and two states.
Our wish and intention are the same.
Both of them are republics,
Azerbaijan – Turkey.
We are the same in spirit,
Our joy and sorrow are the same,
So is crescent on our flags,
Azerbaijan – Turkey.
I am settled in motherland,
I gave my heart to the fatherland,
My motherland and fatherland,
Azerbaijan – Turkey.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

⁴⁴ Dilçin, *op.cit.*, p. 353.

The main syllabic metre Vahabzade uses in his poetry is the eleven-syllable metre. This metre is defined as follows: “Used extensively in every period of Turkish literature; epic stories, “tekke” (dervish lodge) poetry and other various forms of folk poetry are written in this metre.”⁴⁵ In the traditional dervish literature, lyrics of the music of itinerant folk singers are also in eleven syllables. The following poems of Bahtiyar Vahabzade are all in eleven syllables: “Təklik” ‘Being Alone’, “Vüsaldə – Hicran” ‘Separation in Communion’, “Şəhid Anası” ‘Martyr’s Mother’, “Kimdir Mənim Düşməim” ‘Who Is My Enemy?’, “Ana Hədiyyəsi” ‘Mother’s Gift’, “Şairlər” ‘Poets’, “Mən Türkəm” ‘I Am A Turk’, “Riyakâr” ‘Hypocrite’, “Oğrular” ‘Thieves’, “Səhəndə Məktub” ‘Letter to Sehend’, “Məndən Xəbərsiz” ‘Without My Knowledge’, “Bayraq” ‘Flag’, “Qəribə Deyilmi?” ‘Strange, Isn’t It’, “Nöqsandan da betərmiş” ‘It Was Worse than Shortcoming’, “Bayram” ‘Festivity’, “Kırımca Tatar Qəbirləri” ‘Tatar Graves in Crimea’, “Nəfsimiz” ‘Our Soul’, “İntihar” ‘Suicide’, “Tənha Məzar” ‘Solitary Grave’, “Qul Bazarı” ‘Slaves’ Market’, “Bahar Havasıyla” ‘With Spring Weather’, “Bayatılar” ‘Bayatis’, “Yağmasa” ‘If It Doesn’t Rain’, “Vəcdən Xəstəsiyik” ‘We Are Ill in Conscience’, “Şəhidlər” ‘Martyrs’, “Son” ‘End’, “Yada Abidə Ucaldı Dedik” ‘We Said the Monument Was Raised for a Foreigner’, “Böl Görüm” ‘Let Me See You Divide’, “Dünyanın” ‘Of the World’ and others. I believe that the poems of B. Vahabzade which are the most loyal to the tradition from the point of view of the content, are those that are written in eleven syllables. For example when we read the poem “Dünyanın” ‘Of the World’, no matter how philosophical it may be, we feel the tune of the poem and think that it is written as lyrics for folk songs:

Baş çıxarmaq həm çətindir, həm asan
İblisindən, mələyindən dünyanın.
Adam satdı bir buğdaya cənnəti,
Tora düşdü kələyindən dünyanın.

Nə gözəldir – ürək geniş, söz açıq

Yaşamadım bir sevdamı yarımçıq.

Əzab adlı dəyirmədən narın çıx,
Keçəcəksən ələyindən dünyanın.
Arzum üçün mələyən bir cüyürdüm,

O təpədən bu təpəyə yüyürdüm.
Niyə qorxum kəfəninədən? Nə gördüm
Beşiyindən, bələyindən dünyanın?

Ey Bəxtiyar, zaman ömrü əridər,

It is both difficult and easy to understand
The Satan and Angel of this world.
Adam sold paradise for one wheat,
Falling into the trap of the tricks
of the world.

How nice, heart is spacious and words
are clear,

I could not enjoy half of my experience
of love.

Get out clean of the mill called Pang,
You will pass through the sieve of the world.

To satisfy my ego, I was a kind
of abating gazelle.

I used to run from one hill to the other,
Why should I be afraid of the coffin?
What were the use of the world’s cradle
and swaddles for me?

O Bahtiyar, time makes life melt away,

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

Ölümümüz axan vaxta borc ödər,	Our death will pay its debt to the flowing time,
Arxasınca palaz kimi sürüdər	And if you seek protection from this world,
Bərk yapışsan ətəyindən dünyanın.	It will make you get dragged after itself like a door-mat.

This poem is rhymed as abcb, aaab... The poet's using his name in the last stanza is, in a way, a continuation of a rule of traditional poetry. What makes the structure of this poem different from the first stanza of the following poem of Aşık Ələsgər, is caesura in the lines –the caesura in the above poem is (4+4+3) while in Aşık Ələsgər's poem it is (6+5). In other stanzas normally they are different, but in some stanzas they might be similar:

Çərşənbə günündə, çeşmə başında	On Wednesday near the spring
Gözüm bir alagöz xanıma düşdü.	My eyes caught a hazel-eyed lady.
Atdı müjgân oxun, keçdi sinəmdən	She threw arrows of her eyelashes, they pierced my chest,
Cadu qəmzələri canıma düşdü.	Her entrancing looks overwhelmed my soul.

The poem of Bahtiyar Vahabzade ending in the stanza below could be assessed as one of his philosophical poems. Therefore, Vahabzade could be regarded as an “Aşık”, a bard, writing social and philosophical poems (also love poems) in the style of folk poetry:

Gözümü oxşayır çəmənlər, çöl, çayır	Meadows in the countryside appeal to my eyes;
Fələk hər keçəni ömürdən sayır	Destiny counts everyday past as part of our life.
Birsəs qulağıma hey pıçıldayır:	A voice is whispered constantly in my ear:
Bəxtiyar, göylərdən en yavaş-yavaş.	Bahtiyar, come down from the skies slowly.

The Twelve-Syllableform of poems “seen in folk songs, a variety of poems, proverbs and idioms”⁴⁶ is a scarcely used metre in Turkish poetry. This meter is widely used in the “Hikmets” of Hoja Ahmed Yesevi:

İşk bâzârıuluğ bâzâr sevdâ harâm	The bazar of love is grand; trading is thought unclean;
Âşıklarga sendin özge kavga harâm	Any cause other than You for lovers is banned there;
İşk yolığa kirgenlerge dünyâ harâm	The world is unclean for those on the path of love;
Her ne kılsañ âşık kılğıl perverdigâr. ⁴⁷	Whatever You do, make me be in love O Creator.

⁴⁶ See Dilçin, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

⁴⁷ Yusuf Azmun, *Hoca Ahmed Yesevi*, Divan-ı Hikmet, Tek-Esin, 1994, p. 157–192.

Zâlim eger zulm eylesemanga yığla,
Yaşing saçıp manga sığnıp biling bağla

Harâm şübhe terk etiben yürek dağla

Zalimlara yüz ming belâ berdım mına

If a tyrant practises cruelty, weep to me,
Shed your tear, take refuge in me, tighten
your belt,

Forget the unclean and suspicion, burn
your heart;

I have punished tyrants a hundred
thousand times.⁴⁸

This metre, which seems to be made up by two sets of six syllables, is seen in B. Vahabzade's poems. We notice twelve syllables in some of the lines of his poems such as "Yazıq Vətən" 'Poor Homeland!', "Nəsənsə Özün Ol" 'Be Whatever You Are' and "İki Mühacir" 'Two Immigrants'. This use may be an extension of eleven syllables. Let us examine the first few lines of "Nəsənsə Özün Ol":

Sizey bizdən sonra şeirə gələnlər

Bu çətin yollarda uğurlar sizə!

Eşqiniz – gələcək

Yaşınız – səhər

Qəlbınız işıqlı, fikriniz təzə.

Oh you who after us do poetry pursue,
On these thorny paths good fortune and adieu!

Your love is the future,

Your age is early morn,

Your heart is illumined, your thought fresh
as the dawn.⁴⁹

In this poem only the first line has twelve syllables because the mono-syllabic Arabic şe'r شعر is pronounced as a şeir with two syllables in Azerbaijani Turkish. The other lines of this poem have eleven syllables. Previously, the letter "ayn" in Arabic words were shown with an apostrophe like şe'r, recently it has changed to şeir, thus being pronounced in two syllables. Since other lines of this long poem⁵⁰ have eleven syllables, we call the lines with twelve syllables as lines with extended syllables.

We notice lines with twelve syllables in various parts of Vahabzade's poem Muğam 'Musical Mode':

Bəlkə Muğam bir nağıldır, əfsanədir;

Biri hünər, o birisi göz yaşıdır;

Çarpalanan çapıq-çapıq qaşlara bax;

Bayandur'un, Köroğlu'nun dəliləri;

Təbiətin özü çalır "qaval daş"ı;

Xallardakı xəyallarla, fikirlərlə;

Aydan arım, sudan belə durum mənim;

Mugam is a story or a legend, maybe;
Is one half of it art and one half tears? Tell me;
See the touching eyebrows on the frowning
faces;

Bayandur's and Köroğlu's raving loonies;
Nature is now playing the tambourine rock
Fantasies and meditations in its melodies.

Oh, beloved, purer than moon and clearer
than water;

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 138/75.

⁴⁹ Versified by Richard Goveett.

⁵⁰ Vahabzade's poems are generally long. However, despite their length there is no irregularity in the poems; they are well-organized and the wide-spread ideas at the beginning of the poem are skillfully gathered on one point as the main idea. From this point of view there is a parallelism and structural similarity between the poetry of Vahabzade and the prose of Cengiz Aytmatov which should be researched.

İstərəm ki əlvən-əlvən çiçək olub
Dolaşdığın pərdələrə mən səpiləm;
Nənələrin toxuduğu xalıların,
Xanasında xanalandın, xınalandın
Göygölümün ləpəsində sonalandın...

I would turn into a blushing flower;
Scatter on the strings where'er you wander;
On the carpet square our grandmas wove
You alighted on the loom and like a drake
You swam there iridescent on
my Blue Lake.⁵¹

Another metre which Vahabzade has used in his poems is the metre with fourteen syllables. The poem “Ana Dili Şairi” ‘The Poet of Mother Tongue’ which appeared as the first poem in many of the books of Vahabzade and was so popular in the Turkic world, has fourteen syllables:

Dil açanda ilk dəfə ana söyləyirik biz	When we begin to talk, our first word is “ana” (mum)!
“Ana dili” adlanır bizim ilk dərsliyimiz.	Our first course book is called “Ana dili” (mother tongue).
İlk mahnımız laylanı anamız öz südüylə İçirir ruhumuza bu dildə gilə-gilə...	Our first tune is lullaby and with it our mother Feeds our soul with drops of her existence...
Bu dil bizim ruhumuz, eşqimiz, canımızdır	This language is our spirit, our love and our soul,
Bu dil–bir-birimizlə əhd-i peymanımızdır.	It is means of our agreement with each other.
Bu dil tanıtmış bizə bu dünyada hər şeyi	This language introduced to us everything in this world.
Bu dil–əcdadımızın bizə qoyub getdiyi	It is the most valuable inheritance our ancestors had left
Ən qiymətli mirasdır, onu gözlərimiz tək	For us and we must protect it carefully,
Qoruyub nəsilərə biz də hədiyyə verək...	To give it as a gift to the next generations...

The poems “Axı Dünya Fırlanır” ‘World Is Revolving after All’, “Dağda Şəlalə Kimi” ‘Like a Waterfall in the Mountain’, “Yalan Bazarı” ‘Market of Lies’, “Nekroloq” ‘Obituary’, “Tələtüm” ‘Dashing Together of Waves’, “Qara Saçlar, Ağ Saçlar” ‘Black Hairs, White Hairs’, “Ağlar Ürəyim, Səs Gəlir” ‘My Heart Is Crying, Its Voice Is Heard’ and other poems of the poet constitute the most beautiful examples of the poems with fourteen syllables of not only the Azerbaijani Turkish literature, they are also the best examples of this kind in Turkish literature in general. The fourteen-syllable metre which has long been used in Turkish traditional literature consists of two seven-syllable parts (7+7). The following poem by Yunus Emre is a good example of poems with fourteen syllables:

⁵¹ Versified by Richard Govett.

Bir kez yüzünü gören ömrünce unutmaya	One who sees your face once will not forget all his life;
Tesbihi sen olasın ol ayruk din tutmaya...	May you be his prayer beads, so he may not choose another religion..
Yunus seni seveli beşaret oldu canı ⁵²	Since Yunus loved you, his soul has been overwhelmed with beauty,
Her dem yeni dirlikte ömrünü eskitmeye	And he will not let himself get old at any moment of his life.

The above poem is known as one of the most beautiful hymns of Yunus Emre. Vahabzade was an admirer of Yunus Emre and he, in a way, is one of the contemporary classical poets who continued the style of that great Turkish classical poet.

It is a well-known fact that the poems with seven syllables (*mâni*, *bayatı*) and with eight syllables (*geraylı*, *semâi*, *varsagı*) are widely used both by anonymous and known poets in our literature. It is also known that the poems with these two different metres get together and set up the fifteen-syllable metre. In folk songs, Bektashi “nefes”(hymn) and satiric poems, the fifteen-syllable poems with caesura as (8+7) and (7+8) are widely used. Our contemporary poet Vahabzade too has written poems with a variety of contents using this metre. His poems “Təyyarələr” ‘Planes’, “Vətən Marşı” ‘Homeland’s March’, “Atatürk” ‘Ataturk’, “Bu Qədər Saldı Məni...” ‘He pushed Me down So Much...’, “Bilə Bildiyin Qədər” ‘As Much As You Would Know’ are written in this metre. Vahabzade had also used this metre when he wrote “Şəb-i Hicran” ‘Night of Separation’ which was dedicated to the great poet Fuzûlî and he used it in his long poem “Muğam” ‘Musical Mode’. Here we present the poem “Atatürk” each line of which have fifteen syllables:

Atatürk’ün atası! Adi, cəfəkeş bir ata.	Ataturk’s father was a normal hard-working father.
Öz kiçik külfətinin cövrünü çəkmiş bir ata.	He was a father overwhelmed with the pain of his task.
Bir bölük millətə ancaq ata əkmış bir ata.	He was a father who provided a nation with a father.
Atatürk’ün anası! Adi bir insan, bir ana;	Ataturk’s mother was a normal human being, a mother;
Zaman ötdükçənədən səcdə qılar hər kəs ona?	Why is she revered as time goes on passing?
Bir böyük millətə bir gün ata doğmuş o ana.	She gave birth to the one to be a great nation’s father.
Atatürk’ün sinəsi – yurdun alınmaz qalası	The heart of Ataturk is the nation’s unconquerable fort.

⁵² Dilçin, *op.cit.*, pp. 55–56.

Atatürk millətinin həm atası, həm balası.	Ataturk is both the father and the son of his nation.
Nədir arzum, diləyim, Tanrıdan imanla bu gün	What I faithfully wish God would do for me today,
Talanan, bağrına dağlar çəkilən xalqım üçün:	For a nation who are robbed and suffered a great deal,
Yeni fikrin küləyindən qoca millət darana	Is that our nation would enjoy the breeze of new ideas,
Bizi birləşdirəcək bir Atatürküm yarana!	And an Ataturk would come about to unite us!

Vahabzade, who would never think of the form of the poetry, is a one of the poets that could manage to create a great poetry from sixteen – syllable lines that express syntactic concepts. In fact, the sixteen- syllable lines are used the “geraylı” (semâi) form of the traditional Turkish poetry. The line with sixteen syllables seem to have been made up by two eight-syllable lines in “geraylı.” The caesura of sixteen-line metres is (8+8). Some of the sixteen-syllable poems of B. Vahabzade which we could establish through our limited sources, are as follows: “Mənim Anam” ‘My Mother’, “Yenə Bağlar O Bağlardır” ‘Those Gardens Are Still the Same Gardens’; parts of the poem Şəb-i Hicran ‘The Night of Separation’ have been written in 16 syllables:

Yine bağlar o bağlardır, fəqət bağda gülüm yoxdur	Again, gardens are still the same gardens, but I do not have my rose in them.
Gülüm yoxdur–bu dünyada ayım yoxdur, ilim yoxdur.	I do not have a rose, therefore in this world month or year do not mean anything to me.
...Səninlə Bəxtiyaram mən, ayım sənsən, ilim sənsən	... I am Bahtiyar (happy) with you; you are month and year for me.
Bu dünyada mənim sənsiz ayım yoxdur, ilim yoxdur.	In this world, without you, there is no month or year for me.

Şəb-i Hicran ‘The Night of Separation’ also has sixteen syllables:

Hindistan’dan, Türkiyə’dən, Azərbaycan ellərindən	From India, Turkey and the land of Azerbaijanis,
İran, Özbək mahalından, Türkmənistan çöllərindən	From Iranian and Uzbek regions and deserts of Turkmenistan
Min-min insan seli gəlmiş, “o mənimdir, mənim” deyə –	Came people in thousands saying “that is mine” –
Füzuli’ni qəbr evinə – son məskənə ötürməyə	To carry off Fuzuli to his tomb – to his last resting place.
Şair gedir... Bu gün dua əvəzinə həzin-həzin	Fuzuli goes ...today instead of praying, they sorrowfully
Oxuyurlar Şəb-i Hicran qəzəlini Füzuli’nin...	Read the poem ‘Night of Separation’ of Fuzuli...

Poems with Irregular Numbers of Syllables in Every Line: Some of Vahabzade's poems consist of lines which do not have equal numbers of syllables. This cannot be seen as a shortcoming for the poet who is not a strict follower of the rules concerning the form of poetry. The irregularity brought about by the flow of poetic thought, could be noticed in some of Vahabzade's poems. The poem "Kimdir Mənim Düşmənim?" 'Who Is My Enemy?' resembles a white verse.

Kimdir mənim	Who is my
Ən qorxulu düşmənim?	Most fearful enemy?
Kaş biləydim bunu mən.	I wish I knew this.
Kimdir mənim düşmənim?	Who is my enemy?
Yaxşımı qoyub yamanımı danışanımı?	Is that the one ignoring my goodness, talks about bad side of me?
Yox!	– No!
Eyiblərimi deyib	Is that the one talking about my shame
Arxamca gülənmi?	And laughing behind my back?
Yox!	– No!
Mənim nöqsanlarımı məndən yaxşı	Is that the one who knows my shortcomings
bilənmi?	better than I do?
Yox! Yox! Yox!	– No! No!No!

In Vahabzade's poems "Həsərət" 'Longing', "Fikir Axtarışı" 'Seeking Ideas', "İki Mühacir" 'Two Immigrants', "Söz Alağı" 'The Wild Grass of Words', "Satqınlıq" 'Betrayal', "Sürət" 'Speed' and "Yox Düşmürəm, Qalxıram" 'No, I Am Not Descending, I Am Ascending' there are lines with no equal syllables. A profound analysis of this kind of poems would establish whether these irregularities are a shortcoming or a literary success. We only dealt with the number of syllables of such poems and some irregularities in the lines of these poems. Long poems of the poet too yielded significant results when the number of syllables was taken into account.

The Syllabic Structure of Vahabzade's Long Poems

Bahtiyar Vahabzade continued the issue of epic long poem he had started with *Gülüstan* until the end of his life and used the opportunities this poem had created. The poem which provided him with freedom in content and form as well as structure for expressing himself, was regarded as a standard for the profession of the poets in Azerbaijani literature. Beside his plays in verse, Bahtiyar Vahabzade wrote poems with different subjects such as *Gülüstan*, *Şəb-i Hicran* 'The Night of Separation', *Ağlar Güləyən* 'Weeps "Guleyen" – nickname of the Azerbaijani poet Sabir, or One Who Laughs Too Much', *Qiymət* 'Value', *Muğam* 'The Musical Mode', *Atılmışlar* 'Rejected Ones', *İki Qorxu* 'Two fears', *Şəhidlər* 'Martyrs' and other

long poems. These are examples of the most beautiful epic poems of not only the Azerbaijani literature, but also significant examples of the poetry of Turkophone peoples. It is possible to make a comparative study of the long poems of Vahabzade and the Turkish epic stories in verse. However, these stories are anonymous and have different styles, whereas Vahabzade's style is immediately noticeable in all of his epic poetry.

We tried to study the above-mentioned epic long poems of the poet in connection with the syllabic structures of the poems and managed to reach significant conclusions. We noticed that the poems in the second volume of Vahabzade's book *Seçilmiş Əsərlər*⁵³ had used the syllabic metres as follows: **I. Şəb-I Hicran** 'The Night of Separation': 11; 14 (7+7); 16 (8+8); **II. İstiqlal** (second part of the poem *Gülüstan*): 11; 6; **III. Ağlar Güləyən** 'Cries One Who Laughs Too Much': 7; 11; **IV. Muğam** 'The Musical Mode': 8; 12; 11, 15; 14; 7; **VII. Atılmışlar** 'The Rejected Ones': 11; 14; 7; **IX. Şəhidlər** 'Martyrs': 14; 11; 7; 8.

As it is demonstrated above, among the long poems that we studied in connection with their syllabic structures, *Muğam* is the richest and "Qiymet" and "Atılmışlar" are the poorest poems.

Linguistic Properties of the Poems of B. Vahabzade

There are too many reasons for the challenging spirit of the poems of Bahtiyar Vahabzade being admired even in the Soviet period. The poems with perfect linguistic properties avoid repetition and are loaded with ideas that broaden readers' thoughts. The poems also give comfort to the readers and make them enjoy the experience and happiness of freedom while reading the poems. The language is articulate and flexible and expressions are clear with established target. When attractiveness of the subject and style is added to these properties, rare examples of artistic works come about in Vahabzade's poetry.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade loves his mother tongue and is one of the poets who use it with utmost skill. Especially the way the philosophical and abstract concepts, and the reality of this world and the next as well as life and death are expressed with a different outlook, could be regarded as some of the attractive aspects of the poetry of Vahabzade.

Various small elements that make up great features in the language of Vahabzade are broad, colourful and comforting in his poetry. The poet who, in a style peculiar to him, has, in many of his lyrical and epic poems, used the natural and philosophical quality of the sound, has also been able to reflect the polyphonic wealth of the phonetic

⁵³ Bəxtiyar Vahabzadə, *Seçilmiş Əsərləri – II*, Bakı, Öndər Nəşriyyatı, 2004, 320 pages.

system of Turkish language in his poems. The poems of Vahabzade are worth studying and analyzing in connection with their phonetic properties. The use of morphology of our language, types of words in Turkish, postposition, constructive suffixes and suffixes for inflection in the poetic language of Vahabzade, and the system of use as well as harmony, lack of repetition and other features are worth paying attention to. Vahabzade also has a rich vocabulary. It is possible to present the “internal features” of a poem with statistical results by using the facilities of the contemporary technology. The result expressed by figures will enable us to get closer to understanding the limits of the poetry of Vahabzade. The construction of the sentences of the poetry of Vahabzade is also perfect. To find a wrong sentence in the writings of Vahabzade which add up to thousands of pages over 65–70 years of his creativity, is nearly impossible. Sentences which are rich in meaning in the poetry of Vahabzade require a scholarly research to be carried out. When such research is properly carried out, it is possible to express objective ideas about the language of the poetry of Vahabzade and what it had contributed to the Turkish language. We believe that young Turkologists, who are familiar with technology, will successfully fulfill the task of such research by using contemporary methods.

Phraseological Aspects of the Language of the Poems of B. Vahabzade

We notice the perfect structures and harmony of phraseological expressions, proverbs and idioms in the poetry of Vahabzade. Furthermore, these proverbs, idioms and stereotyped expressions are all inflectional. They have syntactic functions and since they have different places in a sentence (especially in the text of a poem), the extent of their accentuation is also diverse. This means that various forms of the use of these units in the sentence play a role in effectiveness of the poem. When we establish proverbs, idioms and stereotyped expressions in Vahabzade’s not so lengthy poem (about twenty lines) called *İki Qorxu* ‘Two Fears’⁵⁴ we notice the wealth and strength of metaphore in the language of the poet.⁵⁵

- a) **Proverbs:** *Yüz ölç, bir biç; Ağrımayan başına dəsmal bağlama; İsti aşına soyuq su qatma; İnsan çiy süd əmibdir; Həqiqət yansa da məhvolmaz; Həqiqət incələr, qırılmaz;*
- b) **Idioms:** *dillərdə gəz-; xoşuna gəl-; ilham al-; zamanla döş-döşə gəl-; sözü dəyişdir-; söhbəti təzələ-; söhbətdən yan keç-; yüz ölçüp bir biç-; əzap çək-; kâmu gözündə qal-;*

⁵⁴ Akpınar, *op.cit.*, pp. 395–415.

⁵⁵ It is not possible to find the exact equivalents of all of the Azerbaijani proverbs, idioms and other expressions. Therefore, we decided to present the examples in the language of the poet – Azerbaijani-Turkish.

yaziya pozu olma-; can at-; ürəyi sıxıl-; canına işlə-; içində kök at-; özünü-sözünü bilmə-; şübhəsini dağıt-; -ə qənim kəsil-; yada düş-; -in qəsdinə dur-; söz al-; ürəyindən keçəni söylə-; dilini saxla-; güdaza ver-; qurban ver-; ürəyindən keç-; baş vur-; ürəyi sıxıl-; dərisinə saman təp-; ürəyi əs-; qan ağla-; yolunu kəs-; gâh mixa, gâh da nala döy-; yolunu az-; -in fikrini azdır-; arzuya köklən-; başını bula-; qəzəbi sönmə-; meydan oxu-; özünü baha sat-; beyni kütləş-; başını itir-; kini soyuma-; ələkdə qal-; bədəni əs-; üzünə dur-; başa düş-;

- c) **Phraseological and Stereotyped Expressions:** *amma neyləyəsən; ahənginə sığış-; baş yerinə ayaq tərpat-; bir soran olmadı;... məktəbi yetim qal-; barut kimi açıl-; -i pis günə sal- (qoy-); həvəsdi bəsdı; birdən birə tutul-; sözü, əsiri ol- (sözünün ağası ol-); sözünün əsiri ol-; bu hal (sahnə) sənə tanış deyil; dədəsini sat-; rütbə sat-; qara kâbus kimi gəz-; -in atı yeyin ol-; gözündən qorxu saçıl-; -dən əsər qalma-; həqiqəti boğ-; ürəyində həqiqət ağla-; ürəkdən dilə gəl-; həqiqət mayallaq aş-; mütləq hakim ol-; çiyindənən daş kimi asıl-; birdən birə tutul-; divarlar, üstünə gəl-; ay evi bərbad; dilindən söz çıx-; azad et-; söhbət sal-; mən axmaq da; yorğan döşəkdən bədəninə tikan bat-; ürəyində matəm tutub ağla-; mən onlardan artıqam?; dağ başında süzərkən çamura düş-; dilindən tora düş-; ola bilməz; özünü yerə endir-; xeyri-şəri ol-; bir şeydən hali ol-; düşüncə içində qovrul-; dolup boşal-; ev başıma dolandı; soyuq tər bas-; Şükür Allaha; xatadan sovuş-; çarmıxa çək-; ağzını kilitlə-; qaradan-ağdan nəyim var; çapa get-; xəyalı göydə qanadlan-; fikri, xəyalı qalibə sal-; çərçivə tanıma-; könlü sarsıl-; əlimdən bu gəlib; yaxası -in əlinə keç-; əlacım nədir?; dünyada bir gün görmə-; ömür sür-; qərar ver-; -i -ə müftə sat-; həqiqətlə döş-döşə gəl-; hədəfini bəllə-; bədəni üşüyüb ürəyi əs-; kifayətədi, ta bəsdı; kölgədə yatan olma-; hay-küiyə aldan-; -in ağzına daş bas-; əslı budur ki; dərinə işlə-; dayaz ol-; rəhmin harda qaldı; mən yetim, fikrini, düşüncəsini boğ-; səmtini dəyişdir-; çəpər bağı dolanacağına bağ çəpəri dolandı; öz içindən oyul-; zamanın hökmünə bir bax; xəyalı zirvəyə çək-; göyə qaldır-; vaxtın ələyində ələn-; mənim üzü qara -ım; üz ağlığı ol-; hüddud tanıma-; sərhəd bilmə-; qılıncı qına qoyma-; bəxtimizə asi deyildik; dərd budur ki; elə bildik; qayda belədir; gerçəyin adı kitablarda qal-; üz qızar-; düşüncəyə dəmir pərdə çək-; -in əlində alət ol-; düşüncəsini əlindən al-; gerçəyin izi silin-; de hara sığışar?; gör nə günə saldı?; ay anam hardasan?; tarixini dolaşdır-; damğa vur-; babasını dan-; bu da bəs deyilmiş; şamı qaral-; çeşməsi bulan-; bir deyən olmadı...; ağzını yum-; əsil məğzi gör-; o ki var; yas tut-; göz bərəlt-; ona canımız qurban; -in başında turp ək-; köçünü çək-; yaddaşdan silin-; ruhu əsil, qanı əsil ol-; damarında -in qanı ax-; düşmən kəsil-; at çap-; kök unudul-; vicdanına and ver-; bir baş bilsin, bir dodaq; tək güman yeri ol-; mən nə qələt elədim; -ə taqəti olma-; söhbəti ayrı səmtə yoz-; ağ yalan; demə; görünüür...*

Examples of Vahabzade's Aphorisms

Yaşamaq – yanmaqdır, yanasan gərək / Həyatın mənası yalnız ondadır / Şam əgər yanmırsa, yaşamır demək / Onun yaşaması yanmağındadır; Bir elin ruhunu, dilini ancaq / Kâğızlar üstündə bölmək asandır; Bayraq – öz yurduma öz hakimliyim; Ölümdən qorxmayan de kimdir, de kim / Mənasız yaşamaq ondan qorxulu; Həyat, sən nə şirinsən!; Həyat səni güldürəndə gülmüsən / Hünərin var ağladanda gül görüm!; Bəxtiyar, göylərdən en yavaş-yavaş; Özgə anasından süd əmənləri / Özgə qulluğunda duran görmüşəm; Nəfsimiz ağırmış qeyrətimizdən; Vətəninə uzaqda tapılan “səadət” / Adı səadət olur, özü fəlakət olur; Vətən – namus, namusu / İtə atsan it yeməz; Həyatı həyat kimi yaşamaq istəyirəm; Həyatın sevinci də, kədəri də gözəldir; Hər kədəri səadət, hər sevinci qəm izlər / Əsil könül həm qəmi, həm sevinci əzizlər. / Tələtimsüz ürəklər qovuş kimi boş olur / Daim sevinc axtaran, daim qəmə tuş olur; Yaşamaq – yaşamaqdır! Bəs bu ‘birtəhər’ nədir? / Mən düşmənam, düşmənam belə ‘ölü canlar’a / Gündən qaçıb həmişə kölgə axtaranlara; Öz səsi olmayanın ölümü səssiz keçər / Min-min dəfə ölənə matəmi yassız keçər; Ağlasan hönkür ağla, gülsən qəhqəhə çək gül / Gülsən də, ağlasan da tamam doysun qoy könül; Həyatın boranları daim yaşadar məni; Bircə ondan razıyam ki / Özümdən nərəziyam; Çox ağırdır amal yükü / Çəkə bilsən şərəfi var; Vardır sa yaranmış / mütləq Yaradan var; Dünya quru bir səs / Qəm çəkməyə dəyməz. / Yüz-yüz itən olsun / Min-min də bitən var. / Şükr eyləyim ki / Bizlərdən həm əvvəl / Həm sonra Vətən var; Göz yaşım axan yer qürbətində / Qanım axan yerlər öz vətənimdir; Təqvim baharını neyləyirik biz?!; Göydə aramasın Allahı insan / Hər kəsin vicdanı öz Allahıdır; İnsan, insan olur öz hünəriylə / Millət, millət olur xeyri, şəriylə; O, saata baxır, zamanı görmür; Öz hissini dustaq eləyən Bəxtiyar olmaz; Əzab adlı dəyirmədən narın çıx / Keçəcəksən ələyindən dünyanın; Arxasınca palaz kimi sürüdə / Bərk yapışsan ələyindən dünyanın; Yalanla həqiqət arasındakı / Halal sərhədləri dağıtdı qorxu; İnsan hər zülümə, vallah dözündü; Sənətkâr sənətkarı güdazə verəmi heç?; İdrak çıxırına düşəndən bəri / Çərçivə tanımır insan kəmalı; Kimdir həqiqətə baxan, ay yazıq; Həqiqət yansa da məhv ola bilməz / Sap kimi uzanar, qırıla bilməz; Təbiət əzəldən müdrik yaranmış; Zamandır hər fikrə yön verən ancaq; İnsanı yetirən vaxtdır həmişə; Bütün dövrlərdə müstəbid, qəddar / Ağıldan, kəmalıdan, fikirdən qorxar / Çünki o bilir ki fikir, düşüncə, / Nə hüddü tanıyar, nə sərhəd bilər. / Odur ki müstəbid hər şeydən öncə / Fikrə, düşüncəyə qənim kəsilər; İdrakın yolunu kəsmək çox çətin; Fikir azad olan bir məmləkətdə / Zülm öz atını səyirdə bilməz; Yalan danışmaqdan üz qızarmadı / Alqışdan qızartdıq əllərimizi; Bir dəyən olmadı, əlifbada mı / Qocaman millətin yeniləşməsi?!; Öz el-obasını tərk etdiyindən / Tək-tənha dolaşır bayquş bu gün də. / Köllərin dibində tək bitdiyindən / Boynu bükük olur bənövşənin də...

Criticism about Vahabzade

Vahabzade defends his mother tongue and makes a skillful use of the facilities the language provides thus contributing to broadening the scope of the national world

outlook. This has always attracted the attention of researchers who had established important aspects of the language and style of the poet as well as other relevant issues.

Here are some of the quotes about the poet: "... One of the masters of words who have contributed to strengthening of our contemporary literary taste and esthetic thought; he has painted a glowing picture of our spiritual values, thus providing future generations with valuable inheritance."⁵⁶; "... Since his position is the position of esthetic contrasts, it is emotional and powerful..."⁵⁷; "The Bahtiyar (a symbol of luck) of Azerbaijan"⁵⁸; "... the poet of the nation"⁵⁹; "A poet in the real sense of the word"⁶⁰; "... One of the fortunate (Bahtiyar) ones who has chosen to become the honour of a generation"⁶¹; "The great poet was the first Azerbaijani intellectual who was brave enough to communicate with cultural and literary circles in Turkey in the Soviet period."⁶²; "Theories and philosophies of both Lütüfî Zade and Bahtiyar Vahabzade which have assumed the quality of a commander, and rules and lines of their work which demonstrate the bravery of a soldier, have created history."⁶³ and many other similar assessments. These are only a few of the quotes by the famous literary figures of Azerbaijan about the great poet and all of them are correct.

Here is another quote from Turkish scholar Yavuz Akpınar assessing the poetry of Vahabzade: "... We come across the ideas of a thinker. These are written with the inspiration of an analytical intelligence that focuses on various problems of individuals and society...; a great importance has been attached to both metre and rhyme of the poetry as well as to its content. Special care has been taken in the poetry. The poems continue by developing the traditions of the classical poetry thus making the poet assume the quality of a man of profound wisdom due to the sensitivity he had shown when dealing with national issues and because he was the voice of the conscience of his people."⁶⁴

The poet had occasionally been criticized for his philosophical poems. Prof. Dr. K. Talıbzade, in an article he published in 1957 (the article was included in a book in 1974), while expressing his positive views about the poetic personality of the young B. Vahabzade, wrote the following comment: "It is time we reminded the

⁵⁶ Tofiq Hacıyev, "Düşünceli, İstidatlı Dil", in *Şiirimiz, Nesrimiz, Edebî Dilimiz*, Bakı, Yazıçı, pp. 106–130.

⁵⁷ Akpınar, *op.cit.*, pp. 83 and 394.

⁵⁸ Kâmil Veli Nerimanoğlu, "Azerbaycanın Bextiyarı, Bextiyarın Azerbaycanı", in *Özümüz, Sözümüz, Çınar-Çap*, Bakı, pp. 525–529.

⁵⁹ Ceferov, *op.cit.*, pp. 171–179.

⁶⁰ Kâmil Talıbzâde, "Şairane Düşünceler", *Edebî İrs ve Varislik*, Bakı, Azərneşr, 197, pp. 200–202.

⁶¹ Tunalı, <http://www.haberkademi.net/default.asp?inc=makaleoku&hid=9634>.

⁶² Ayvazoglu, <http://www.zaman.com.tr/yazar.do?yazino=816820>.

⁶³ Eliyev, <http://chudafarin.azeriblog.com/2009/03/04/bextiyar-vahabzade-yaradiciliginda-qeyri-selis-mentiq-nezeriyyesi>.

⁶⁴ Akpınar, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

poet of a point; having a tendency to philosophical generalizations beyond one's capacity does not always lead to success in artistic tasks. It will cause weakness in realism and harm the aestheticism. Being involved in philosophy leads the poet to abstractness, didacticism and repetition and the real reason for this might be the poet's distancing himself from the facts of life."⁶⁵

These assessments and critical reminders were useful elements that contributed to the development of the literary personality of the poet in the stressful path of poetry. Taking advantage of the creative aspects of useful criticism, Vahabzade developed a style which was peculiar to him and continued his task in the path that he believed was appropriate.

Conclusion

The creativity of Bahtiyar Vahabzade who, with the style peculiar to him and the path he always followed in his poetry and attracted the attention of literary circles, constitutes the most sensitive barometer of the recent and earlier history of Azerbaijan. The dates at the end of the poems of B. Vahabzade not only show the time these poems were written, they also depict not solely the poetry of Azerbaijan (or other places relevant to the poem), but also the social and political situation of the country. There is no serious social event that has not been reflected in his poetry. The poet skillfully reflects these sociological events and expresses his approach to these events. His approaches sometimes are rather harsh, sometimes they reflect his hatred and on other occasions they are emotional and overwhelmed with love. The common characteristics of these approaches which reflect the psychology of the poet are emotions that reflect his sincerity and lofty feeling of citizenship. Not only does the poet explain how he loves his homeland and his compatriots, he also utters the way they should be loved.

Translated by *Youssef Azemoun (Yusuf Azmun)*

⁶⁵ Talibzade, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

National Identity in the Poetry of Bahtiyar Vahabzade

Ruhangiz JUMSHUDLU

The multilateral creativity of Bahtiyar Vahabzade who was one of the most brilliant figures of modern Azerbaijani literature is remarkable as a set of thoughts and feelings regarding our nation's past, present and future, philosophical views on the life. A sense of loyalty on national, moral and ethical values of the Azerbaijani people, the national ideology, and fanaticism of Turkism form supporting columns of this poetry.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade, who tirelessly served sixty years of his life for the sake of poetry with his works called people to the national identity, noted that the nation always deserved love and respect, and stood above all the sacred ideals. Chingiz Aytmayev paying attention to this aspect wrote:

“Vahabzade’s culture of poetic thinking is national by nature. In addition, Vahabzade’s culture of poetic thinking is of a more superior importance and rises from the national to the universal level.”¹

Bahtiyar Vahabzade provided a broad artistic panorama about Azerbaijani reality, its socio-public, political, moral and ethical problems in his more than twenty large scale poems on historical and contemporary themes (“End of agony”, “Shabi-hijran”, “Gulistan”, “Simple men”, “My motherland”, “Mugham”, “Merit”, “Martyrs”, etc. His plays named “The conscience”, “The second voice”, “The scream”, “The sword cutting ourselves”, “The torture tree” attract attention with the rich artistic interpretation of the most pressing moral and national issues of the period.

Since 1950 Bahtiyar Vahabzade was one of our thinkers who worked for national culture, national language and national literature, in a word who defended national idea of Azerbaijan. During the Soviet period the attitude towards the national idea of Azerbaijan in the creativity of Bahtiyar Vahabzade was reflected in two directions: 1) in the division and occupation of Azerbaijan; 2) in the issues regarding the national language.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade had an important role in the strengthening of civic spirit in our national poetry, directing the search of nationalism in the art. At the root of

¹ Y. Garayev, *Azerbaijani literature: 19th and 20th centuries*, Science, Baku, 2002, p. 35.

poet's deep lyricism lies sense of citizenship, this patriotism takes a place in his poetry as an aspect completing his wisdom. An endless interest in the people's historical past, the courage to introduce people to today's progress without pulling off its national historic ground, keep it alive as a historical modernity in his works, and lift up the voice of truth in time regardless of social and political restrictions of the time and condition are the specific features of B. Vahabzade's poetry. In the poetry of the poet the confidence in the restoration of the historic territory of Azerbaijan is high. The poem "Martyrs" written with the tears within four months by the poet was written on the basis of the bloody scenes of his observation, smell of gunpowder of the horrible experiences in recent history. He tried to present the cry of our nation, the scream of our old grandmothers, tears of our mothers and sisters, young brides in a poetic language to the readers. The theme of Azerbaijan always took an important place in B. Vahabzade's work.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade as one of the leaders of the national liberation movement of the 60th in Azerbaijan threw himself to the square of the struggle for independence. The poet who expressed nation's troubles, whose national presence was violated during the Soviet regime through symbols, or various literary methods, in his works always promoted and immortalized the idea of patriotism. Vahabzade in his poem "Gulustan" written in 1959 expressed the historical tragedy of the divided into two parts Azerbaijan, praised the dreams of freedom of our nation groaning under the claw of Russian and Persian empires. For this poem the poet was faced with pressure, in 1962 was removed from his post at Azerbaijan State University labeled "Nationalist", and only after two years was recalled to his position. The poet in his poem "Gulustan" wrote "Don't you have courage in your blood" and considered the contract as a historical sin, and complication for our nation. The poem "Gulustan" became an echo in the north as the poem "Hello to Haydarbaba" by Shahriyar in the Southern Azerbaijan. In the poem the poet's courageous voice demanding nation's right rebels. The poet fighting for the rights of the people published his other brave works written with the spirit of national patriotism, and denouncing the Soviet dictatorship after the collapse of the Soviet Union under the heading "Voices from the box".²

A fanatic attitude towards our mothertongue attracts attention as one of the national and moral issues finding a profound solution in the poet's work. In his works the poet praises his own mothertongue as a memory of the past and a precious treasure of the future.

The poet's poems about universal problems and global issues concerning the world are originated from the nationality. At the root of all the supreme moral and ethical values, as well as humanity stands nationality.

² B. Vahabzade, *Voices from the box*, Baku, 2002.

The movement ongoing after the push by Mirza Fatali Akhundzada on our 19th century sense of national culture creates its most powerful “poetic resonance” with Bahtiyar Vahabzade in the second half of the 20th century. Not surprisingly, in his two poems dedicated to Mirza Fatali Akhundov in the sixties–eighties Bahtiyar Vahabzade brings to the center of attention the public and national awakening of consciousness, and chooses Mirza Fatali’s path “Awakening the East from the sleep of ignorance” as a model for himself.³

Remaining loyal to the national culture, national morality and national morale to this extent, to bring the deepest social features and modern tendencies in their forward movement to the fore are the main missions of the word Bahtiyar Vahabzade. The creative power of our cultural history reaches its peak in the creative work of B. Vahabzade. Vahabzade sees Azerbaijan in its yesterday’s, today’s and tomorrow’s integrity. On our way from the past to the future he considers respect for the inheritance of our national and social ideals as the highest model of civil morality. Most of all, before he presents himself, a poet of his Motherland in the mission of this morality carrier.

Azerbaijani major public figure B. Vahabzade was a patriot who protected our nation's presence in its most critical days, whose literary identity was inseparable from his practical activities, even in the smallest poems embodied the truth.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade’s last period creativity as a philosopher–artist is characterized by writing the perfect works reflecting his greater scale civil attitude to the events of his time. The sacred purpose of his whole creativity always remains Azerbaijan and its independence. Bahtiyar Vahabzade’s poetry establishing “poetic history” of the period of Azerbaijan's independence gets wise enough at this stage. The occupation of Karabakh and independence of our country – as two historical facts that deny each other in Bahtiyar’s poetry is presented as the greatest contradiction in the historical destiny of Azerbaijan. The poet illustrates this dramatic situation with heartache. He believes in the truth of this idea that the complete victory of the ideals of independence will reach its triumph only with the liberation of Karabakh, ensuring the country's territorial integrity.

It is impossible to imagine the history of the recent semicentennial evolution of Azerbaijani poetry without B. Vahabzade’s creativity. The subject of motherland and its fate in the creativity of the poet is not a stage or a period: it is a leading issue continuing throughout his entire creativity. All the life he felt himself as the national poet of the whole and great Azerbaijan and was proud to be the bearer of this mission. The poet wrote the tragedies occurring to our country throughout history with heartache.

³ B. Vahabzade, *Selected works*, Ganjlik, Baku, 1967, p. 195.

B. Vahabzada wrote his poem “Mugham” not only for showing that values of Azerbaijani classical music culture needed to be respected, but also with the purpose to raise mugham art to the top level of the world culture. In general, there is no significant event of Azerbaijani history and culture, towards which B. Vahabzade expressed his attitude in the original form.

B. Vahabzade’s poem “Mugham” was created from the admiration for the power of our national and moral values. The poem is completely compatible with the artistic credo of the poet stable throughout his entire creativity, his desire to serve as a citizen for the national and moral awakening. In this sense, the poem might be considered as one of the artistic works preparing a wave of a strong national identity, and national revival in the half of the ‘80s. This work by Bahtiyar Vahabzade was met by critics as a literary event, its idea and aesthetic essence was properly assessed. Well-known scholars quite rightly focused their attention on the national and moral factor there:

“The main subject of the poem is people, the problem of approaching people’s moral values with care and respect. Mugham is the history, a chronicle of the fight of the people in the analytical and emotional poetic description and interpretation of the poet: it’s his moral outlook and psychology, his spiritual world. Mugham is people’s moral memory.”⁴

The millennial cultural heritage created by people, to appreciate mugham, a desire to awaken love towards mugham in the youth on the one hand, and an intention for cognitive factors, i.e. to perceive mugham, to open its miraculous magic on the other played a significant role in writing this poem.

B. Vahabzade deeply felt the exceptional importance of mother tongue in the growth of national consciousness and during his entire creativity struggled for its defense. In the opinion of B. Vahabzade who appreciated the language as a spiritual world, feature of people and therefore considering language separation as a spiritual, psychological and moral separation, an odd attitude towards mother tongue is an odd attitude towards ourselves, our own national presence.

The poet in the “Introduction” part of his book named “Voices from the box” published in 2002 tells about his struggle:

“My biggest struggle was a consistent fight for our trampled under the feet mother tongue during the Soviet regime both in my practical work and creativity. I’ve devoted dozens of articles, poems and poetry to this subject.”⁵

The poet in all of these writings highlighted the idea of “No language, no nation” and in every sphere of his creativity, either poetry and drama, or publicistics conducted

⁴ Y. Garayev, Sh.Salmanov, *Perfection of poetry*, Yazichi Baku, 1985, p. 114.

⁵ B. Vahabzade, *Voices from the box*, Baku, 2002, p. 112.

his struggle on the basis of this program. Although in those times it was prohibited to speak or openly write about the suppression of the mother tongue, B. Vahabzade who was always under control for the damage of word caused to the Soviet empire, was never afraid of repressions and wrote a poem on this subject named "Latin language" in order to prevent the language, history and culture of an ancient nation to be destroyed by dark forces. In this poem he underlining the issue of a dead and alive language, conditionally changed the solution of the problem, in fact using the Latin language could very skillfully show the indifferent attitude of the then government towards the Azerbaijani language. In his poem called "My Mother" written in January of 1960 the poem intentionally identifies the concepts of mother and mother tongue. B. Vahabzade's opinions regarding mother tongue are not limited to just his poetry. He is also an author of publicistic articles on the protection of the purity of our mother tongue. "My mother tongue – my root", "History, language, tradition", "Mother tongue", "Survey on Language", "Again about the mother tongue", "Mother tongue as a state language", "Language and alphabet", "the name of our language and nation", "Naturalness and beauty in the language", "Our language is our literature".

Patriotism is the main line and main purpose of B. Vahabzade's creativity. This selfless poet who possesses high moral features like love for his nation, patriotism and bellicosity, citizenship and intelligence, bears a tragedy of nation inside, his warlike spirited poetry calls each citizen to struggles and moral unity for the sake of people's freedom and integrity. In his publicistic article called "Love for Motherland" B. Vahabzade wrote:

"Love for Motherland is the most supreme and holy humane feeling. A man loving the country he belongs to finds himself and his debt in front of the society. A man loving Motherland loves life, the world."⁶

In the poem "Citizen" the poet compares a man's debt in front of his Motherland with a human debt in front of Allah. B. Vahabzade's poems on patriotism deeply impressed Azerbaijani youth's mind, and formed a national ideology. The poet wrote: "The nation should gain independence with its own struggle, and be prepared to make sacrifices on its way". Bahtiyar Vahabzade's poetry is focused on the idea "To die for the sake of goal, faith is to live forever."

The subject of Azerbaijan being divided into two parts, Southern and Northern, plays a leading role in the creativity of Bahtiyar Vahabzade. Repeatedly appealing to the subject of Azerbaijan's integrity in the master's works that have highest artistic values makes the problem massive. Bahtiyar Vahabzade considers the division of the people and land as the biggest injustice. The idea of seeing Azerbaijan entire in the literature starts from the poetry of Bahtiyar Vahabzade.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

In the poem “From Motherland to Motherland” (1962) the poet turned the regret created in the history, fate and spiritual world of Azerbaijan into an artistic word.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade in the most of his poems like “Gulustan”, “Independence”, “To Shahriyar”. “From master Shahriyar to Suleyman Rustam”, “I’m between Baku and Tabriz” etc. touched the problem of Azerbaijan’s integrity.

In the poem “Gulustan” the author in a high poetic manner made an artistic excursus in the history of division and colonization of Azerbaijan, and created the picture of a horrible tragedy that empires caused to people. This step that was very courageous for that period caused a great resonance not only in literary cultural but also in public and political arenas. With this poem Bahtiyar Vahabzade broke all ideological stereotypes in all the Soviet Union.

The spirit and essence of the poem “Gulustan” dedicated to the memory of Sattar khan, Sheikh Muhammad Khiyabani, and Seyid Jafar Pishavari who fought for the integrity, independence of Azerbaijan expresses a will for integration of a country divided into two parts.

In the poem “Gulustan” besides focusing the main attention on the historical facts, the spirit of calling people to fight against slavery, for freedom, independence and integrity is very vivid. The poet considers the split of Azerbaijan as an insult to the spirit of Tomris, Babek, Koroghlu. In each verse of the poem the pain of poet’s troubled heart, the scream of his conscience is very clear. The Motherland divided with iron wire over Araz by the empires is entire in Bahtiyar Vahabzade’s thinking. The spiritual ties of this land that has one religion, one history, one blood, one culture, and one spirit can not be broken at any time. The fact that his poem finishes with the quote from master Shahriyar’s poem “Hello to Haydarbaba” shows how optimistic the poet is about Azerbaijan’s integrity and how entire is his artistic mind.

It should be noted that, this optimistic spirit in the poetry of B Vahabzade, preservation of the national idea of Azerbaijan under the symbol of integrity of the Motherland demonstrated itself in other poems and poetry. In this regard, the cognominal poem that B. Vahabzade dedicated to Jalil Mammadguluzada’s work “My mother’s book” is very edifying.

First of all, Bahtiyar Vahabzade who preserved the idea of national independence in the name of issue of Azerbaijan’s integrity in his poem “Gulustan” showed the political and ideological causes of the split into two parts Motherland. In this poem, the poet revealing that both two parts of Azerbaijan were under occupation expressed a serious protest against Soviet Russian slavery.

Prominent Azerbaijani poet and admiration of all literary and scientific activities to promote the national idea is the concept of the main line. The concept of promotion and admiration of the national idea draws up the main line in all the literary and

scientific activities of the prominent Azerbaijani poet Bahtiyar Vahabzade. Both the poetry and drama, as well as publicity attract attention as a diversity of expression of the common national concept.

As B. Vahabzade was an sensitive poet living with the problems of the period and time, he also showed an active attitude towards the processes happening in our national and cultural life. Since the poet lived with the problems of the government and society and expressed their artistic and publicist solution in his works written in corresponding genres. Therefore he had a great moral position and honorable place in society. N. Jafarov wrote:

“By exploring the creativity of the poet who could very skillfully show historical roots, logical solutions of national issues in his works, it is possible to be aware of the glorious pages of the struggle history for national independence written with blood and issues in the socio-political life of Azerbaijan since the last decades of the last century to the present day”⁷.

Bakhtiyar Vahabzade played an important role in the preservation of our language and culture. B. Vahabzade's poetry is inseparable from his identity. Vahabzade was one of the poets who was in a relentless opposition with the epoch and world after M.A. Sabir. “Hophopname” by genius Sabir transmitted “Realize yourself” call and scream to the people he addressed. B. Vahabzade as a wise poet, and as a philosopher said making sometimes an irascible, sometimes filled with anger and sometimes full of anger and rebellion call: “My people, realize yourself, think, find a way out of these disasters following you for centuries, take a lesson from history.” A person who loves his own nation, who is proud of its historical past, and who sees the tragedies, unceremoniously condemns it, as well as shows intolerance to any injustice towards it.

The poet was a leader of national unity, common Azerbaijanism in our poetry. The national unity, the idea of seeing Azerbaijan indivisible start from Vahabzade's poetry in the Soviet period. His poetry calls his people to intellectual and spiritual renaissance.

⁷ Y. Garayev, *Azerbaijani literature...*, p. 65.

Bahtiyar Vahabzade and Samed Vurgun

Aslan SALMANSOY

One of the Bahtiyar Vahabzade's bright and unforgettable destiny pages is closely related to Samed Vurgun; in this case we observe the close relations of the young poet and the young post-graduate student, undertaking first steps in the science with the well-known poet, which will determine his literary and scientific way in future. It is to be noted that these close relations, i.e. his ways crossed with the great poet, his belonging to the literary school established by the great master (he considered S. Vurgun as a master as many other writers and stressed many times this formula depending on the situation), and not only his appurtenance to this school, being the most talented representative of this school and beginning to his scientific creative activity namely by the research of his works and extending this ways during a long term, – it is to be accentuated that he has defended the both thesis based on S. Vurgun's works, – and mainly he was “in love with” his works, resulted in tasting the national love for S. Vurgun and on the other hand, experiencing the very serious critics aimed at his works, and these attacks were not restricted with Azerbaijan, S. Vurgun was criticized by the All Union, concretely the Moscow journalists; because of all these facts, once this abnormal attitude was reflected in the satirical magazine “Kipri” (“hedgehog”).

The schoolchildren and young people of S. Vurgun's period expressed with pride that they were brought up namely in the spirit of this well-known poet's poems, being a source of the endless love for humanity and the young poets acknowledged that their main goal was to be Samed Vurgun in the poetry, but they didn't cope with this aim (M. Araz). As to B. Vahabzade, he acknowledged that his greatest wish in childhood was to meet with this poet. And soon his wish came true, so, in 1944, the 19 years old young poet published his first poem “the green meadow, under a tree and a strong tea” in the newspaper “Literature”. In a day the poet Z. Jabbarzade informs Bahtiyar Vahabzade that Samed Vurgun (the chairman of Azerbaijani Soviet Writers' Union) wished to meet with him. I became very happy and I lost myself by the joy. The strange fact was that I couldn't imagine that once he decided to meet with me¹.

¹ B. Vahabzade, *I am grateful to him. He will live forever in this world (Memories on Samed Vurgun)*, Azerbaijani State Publishing House, Baku, 1973, p. 12.

In the envisaged meeting Samed Vurgun puts questions to him, mainly in connection with his poems, i.e. when did he start to write poetic texts etc. and praised his poem for the qualities such as, the analyzed text is far from a pan enabling him to describe the very concrete panorama and at the same time he expressed his own ideas about the perfectness of the literary text, which will not be a stencil or template and writes a recommendation for him to be a member to the Union of Writers².

There were moments when B. Vahabzade hears critical opinions from his master. In several months after the publication of the first poem he came to meet S. Vurgun with the new poems and waits impatiently his ideas about these texts.

“When I came in his room, I understood immediately that he didn’t approve my new poems. He returned back the poems to me keeping always silence. There were notes in margins of the pages. He said me regretfully:

Despite there is something in these poems from the ‘Green meadow’, you are not devoted to yourself and the truth. The poet has absolutely to be faithful to the truth. You have time to think hereabout.

The words pronounced in this strained situation were a motto for all my works”³.

Once, Bahtiyar Vahabzade has appealed to his master S. Vurgun for the help later and as he acknowledged in one of his articles explores news matters for him both in their meetings and while reading S. Vurgun’s works. Even, in 1951, he worked out the poem “statue forever” once again according to the remarks made by S. Vurgun. Certainly, there were many unforgettable moments when he heard praiseworthy words from his master.

There were many young poets and writers whom Samed Vurgun helped to publish their poems, i.e. namely he was a “green light” for these poets. Bahtiyar Vahabzade was one of them. But, thanks to his enormous talent and the integrity of his identity since the youth he won sympathy of the master amongst the young writers. This fact is already confirmed numerously by the young poets participating in the literary debates of that complicated period.

Finally B. Vahabzade graduated from the University and admitted to the post-graduate program on philology. He began to write his Ph.D. thesis on the subject “S. Vurgun’s lyrics”. The young post-graduate student understood completely the tasks determined for him by the aforementioned study program. He understood that there will not be easy to analyze the Samed Vurgun’s complicated poetic system requiring strained researches, including revealing the secrets of the lyrical texts composed by Samed Vurgun. The young research fellow coped with the scientific tasks. “He has written a research useful for the young people who strive for studying Samed Vurgun’s

² B. Nabiyev, “Sketches on Samed Vurgun”, *Matters of 20th century Azerbaijani Literature*, II, Elm, Baku, 2008, p. 19.

³ B. Vahabzade, *I am grateful ...*, p. 13.

poetic secrets”, he defended his Ph.D. thesis in 1951. Despite the young research fellow has defended his thesis with great success he met with many problems. In 1951 and thereafter, concretely within two years S. Vurgun was exposed to heavy charges and persecutions (Indeed, the poet has experienced these heavy charges in 1930–1940s as well). According to the archive documents and acknowledges provided by the contemporary writers, M.J. Bagirov, the leader of the Azerbaijani communist party was very cruel towards many poets, especially to Samed Vurgun. He has given instructions to remove his books from library and the market; besides his works were banned to be demonstrated in theatres. The harshness confirmed by the leader of the country’s communists encouraged the other poets to be against him. The conflict with M.J. Bagirov was complicated based on very disgusting methods. The aforementioned methods included the spreading out of various rumors about him, the intentional stressing the signs addressed to M.J. Bagirov’s cruelty in some works. The well-known poem “Gazelle” by Samed Vurgun was used namely by this goal. Despite he was criticized in the media, the poet has read this poem in the philharmonic society in the literary meeting held in some days. The opponents of the poet explained that Samed Vurgun has read it intentionally, namely to take vengeance on for the criticism that has driven Bagirov into fury. And namely at this moment, Teymur Yagubov said in the congress that “our writers are now far from the reality. They lagged behind the life. Now they are engaged to oblige the young scientists to write thesis about them. As a result Bahtiyar Vahabzade praises Samed Vurgun to the skies. Sadi Afandiyev makes the same for Suleyman Rustam and Ismayil Shikhli for Mehdi Huseyn⁴”.

The furious appeal of M.J. Bagirov to the meeting participants caused joy in malevolent people and fear in Samed Vurgun. He said:

“After all, what S. Vurgun and Suleyman Rustam have made to praise them in the thesis? Who is Mehdi Huseyn. He is only in the beginning of the way. We have to exterminate all these ignominies.⁵”

It is true that these accusations were directed against the writers who have asked young scientists to praise them, but these young writers understood at once that they will be subjected to the punishment. The fact that Bahtiyar Vahabzade has finished and defended his Ph.D. thesis about two years ago didn’t release him from responsibility. Immediately after the meeting Jafar Khandan called Bahtiyar Vahabzade to his cabinet, informed him about the incident and added that from this day it will be difficult for you to be employed by the university. Perhaps you will leave Baku. Bahtiyar was in very difficult situation. About him there were written

⁴ I. Shikhli, “Separated ways and...”, in *Betrayer shells*, Yazichi, Baku, 1991, pp.191–192.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 192.

in the satiric magazine “Kirpi”. He was carrying in both hand the poem “Mugan” by Samed Vurgun. He was accused of hypocrisy as regards the Vurgun’s works.

“ ‘After the meeting with Jafar Khandan he was in my place to commiserate a misfortune.’

‘What do we do now?’

‘Nothing. We will wait for our turn to be dismissed from the University.’

‘Perhaps they will liquidate our thesis.’

‘I don’t believe. You have already defended your Ph.D. thesis. You are free... But they will prevent me.’

Chain-smoke. I encouraged him. He was a poet and is impressed in any ordinary situation. Bahtiyar left the room. But I could not sleep until the morning”.⁶

(I. Shikhli has defended his Ph.D. thesis soon, immediately after removal of Bagirov from the political power).

The ideas pronounced by I. Shikhli were expressing only the truth: in the 13th issue of the magazine “Kirpi” of 1954 there was published an “open letter” without the signature (signed by the magazine “Kirpi”) and a photo describing our late writer. In this article he was accused of the hypocrisy as regards attitude to Samed Vurgun (by words such as, “chameleon”). But the real reason of the open letter addressed to him was the high esteem of Bahtiyar Vahabzade to Samed Vurgun and his love for the great poet, so, according to B. Vahabzade’s ideas, Samed Vurgun meant our native land and the hypocrisy was a simple pretense. And it was not by chance that the aforementioned letter began to clarify some moments in the poem “ordinary people” which was related to the aforementioned “reason” (the epic poem was published in the 5-th issue of the magazine “Azerbaijan” of 1954). Let’s paid attention to the content of the letter:

“Hereby we would like to remember you some moments in your epic ‘Ordinary people’. We hope that before drawing up the list of the heroes of this epic poem you have compiled the list of your close friends and the upper area has been occupied by the aged and esteemed people, through this way you have demonstrated your ‘unique’ service. You know well that it is called both in the literary language and in spoken language a flattery we will touch upon later”⁷.

This article is full with the offensive words and expressions. The fact is that the epic poem was criticized because of the “conflictlessness disease”, the strange nature of the village described in this poem, as per their idea, the “idyllic poet” has spoken about the village of 1924. While analyzing the aforementioned epic work this article revealed the defects, such as, the absence of important attributes of the soviet society, i.e. tractor, communist, combine harvester and any other machine; the problem is that this village resembles to the villages existing before the revolution. All these defects, in

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ “The poet Bahtiyar Vahabzade (open letter)” in *Kirpi*, 1954, no.13, p. 5.

line with the opponents' opinion, were related to the vulgar interpretation of the life evidencing of the author's political instability. The author of the article based on all facts indicated above concludes:

"After giving strange definitions to explain the secrets of the poem you fall on your knee before Samed Vurgun:

The persons who are not in love for their native lands

They will not be in love in Vurgun's poems also!

Comrade Bahtiyar! You didn't understand the definition of 'native lands'. Samed Vurgun is one of the sons of the country, putting a sign of equality between his name and the native lands are only the political blindness. We know that Samed Vurgun is esteemed by the nation and read his poems willingly. I know that Samed Vurgun will not be agreeing with your political blindness"⁸.

The hypocrisy of the author of the said letter (i.e. "Samed Vurgun is a son of native lands, his poems are read willingly by the people...") is obvious and don't requires us to explain it. If we "translate" the expressions used in the letter, we will see the real panorama of the soviet reality; the author of the letter was against the high estimation felt by ordinary people towards Vurgun's poems and thus he accused B. Vahabzade of being against the party and the people. And it was the dangerous accusation to be resulted in very heavy punishment.

As we mentioned above, this matter was approached by V. Ponedelnik, the correspondent of "Literary newspaper" ("To combine all creative forces", March 10, 1955). The said journalist, using the method of the magazine "Kirpi" confirms the mastery of S. Vurgun and accuses B. Vahabzade of hypocrisy. This article was discussed in the two days conference held in May 1955.

It is to be noted that the jealous attitude towards S. Vurgun was extended within 1960s. The high estimation of the personality and the works of Samed Vurgun in the articles devoted to him bother some persons. Especially, in the works dedicated (after his death, hundreds literary works were dedicated to his personality) to him worried some persons that caused widening the rank of writers and poets, such as Ali Karim, H. Arif, Kh. Rza, M. Araz and Ashyg Shamshir esteeming highly Samed Vurgun. In these works dedicated to the memory of Samed Vurgun they tried to reveal the distinguishing features of S. Vurgun from other poets.

By the way, there will be appropriate to recall another moment: in the first volume of his "Selected works" (Baku, 2001), B. Vahabzade, in the preface (pp. 5–6) draws the attention of the readers to the fact that while compiling his selected works he has edited some poems and has given up some works. And the epic poem "Ordinary

⁸ *Ibidem.*

people” exposed to various attacks formerly was included to this volume that proves once again the high esteem of the poet to S. Vurgun.

Despite the pressures, B. Vahabzade decided to write his doctoral thesis on the life and works of Samed Vurgun and defended it in 1964, when S. Vurgun was already the subject of acute pressures and accusations. A. Jafar, in his speech in the defense procedure said:

“The value of the dice is in jeweler’s heart. This talented poet has comprehensively analyzed the works of the great poet. You know, in the opinion of Sabir, Firdowsi has received his real value, Goethe has been evaluated decisively by A. Huseynzade and Pushkin was revealed for the national readers thanks to Vurgun’s mastery. As Mirza Ibrahimov noted, the preference of B. Vahabzade is that he is a perfect researcher both from emotional and intellectual standpoint”⁹.

The persons taking speech in the meeting have highly estimated B. Vahabzade’s research work.

It is true that there were worked out valued research papers about S. Vurgun’s works, but the mentioned researches have been reflected only in the form of articles. As to B. Vahabzade’s scientific investigation, it has analyzed S. Vurgun’s works systematically. He has conducted his research works in the archives of the poet, as a result of which he has revealed some poems not published by Samed Vurgun. The original concepts of B. Vahabzade about S. Vurgun’s works are sufficient. The figurative comment of S. Vurgun’s works as regards the “formula of simplicity and originality” was given firstly by B. Vahabzade.

“S. Vurgun is such a charm that we are obliged to be prisoner of the texts that cannot be explained only by their form of content. I feel this charm in any time when I read his works. This art taken its source from the national folklore is rich and simple as the genius of the people. And this magic of simplicity amazes us”¹⁰.

The historical stages of the Samed Vurgun’s creative activity, its novelty, genre diversity, the problems of nationality and humanity and other matters have been systematically studied by Bahtiyar Vahabzade.

With the monographic researches conducted on the great poet’s creative activity, Bahtiyar Vahabzade has laid the foundation of Vurgun studies and his works were ranked amongst the valuable and reliable sources used by the next researchers.

In addition to being a scholar engaging in studies of Vurgun’s works was at the same time one of the most talented representatives of S. Vurgun literary school. It is to be noted that B. Vahabzade is a master being closely related to Samed Vurgun by his language, poetic spirit, thinking mode and even poetic figures. His works composed under the influence of S. Vurgun on the subjects of nature and love, even

⁹ Kh.R.Uluturk, *Fiery eyes and sweet voice*, Chinar-Chap, Baku, 2007, pp. 22–23.

¹⁰ “Let’s speak openly”, *Azadlig*, Baku, p. 142.

on the philosophical themes include his masterpieces. The most important quality acquired by him from Samed Vurgun is patriotism, i.e. love for Azerbaijan. To the mind of specialists, his epic poem “Gulustan” was written under influence of S. Vurgun’s poem “Azerbaijan”. Professor G. Guliyev writes: “... namely the emotion contained in Samed Vurgun’s poem “Azerbaijan” enabled the poet to write the epic poem “Gulustan”¹¹.

It is to be stressed that B. Vahabzade shed light upon S. Vurgun personality’s greatness and his art’s immortality by his monographs, scientific articles and the literary works in his speeches, especially those made in the events organized in S. Vurgun museum. To mind of Bahtiyar Vahabzade,

“for us Samed Vurgun is a great poet, as, he didn’t deny any previous great poets. One of the reasons is that Samed Vurgun’s art is based on the traditions of Fuzuli and Vagif. For all these reasons, Samed Vurgun is a sample for us and if the young poets of 18, 20 and 25 years old stay indifferent to Samed Vurgun’s traditions I will not believe their development in the literature. They are obliged to refer to the best traditions of the classic poets, including the great Samed Vurgun”¹².

To our mind, the main reason of greatness of B. Vahabzade art is that he has observed always the recommendations given by him to the young people, he has followed the ways of originality built by Samed Vurgun.

¹¹ G.Guliyev, “I am a kid, you’re a mother. Theme of Vurgun in the literary thoughts”, in *Azerbaijan*, 2011, no.2, p. 169.

¹² Fund of Samed Vurgun’s Museum.

National and Universal Ideas, Reflected in the Poetry of Bahtiyar Vahabzade

Aida FEYZULLAYEVA

Starting from 1990's, on the new chapter of socio-historical development of national poetry, a certain stereotype of national thinking, variation of genres and the sheer magnitude of artistic and poetic incarnation of national ideas were witnessed, taking universal direction and sounding. These characteristics of modern Azerbaijani poetry find a clear manifestation in the works and art of national poet Bahtiyar Vahabzade (1925–2009). Moral responsibility for the time he was living at – is one of the key characteristic signs of Vahabzade poetry. Concern and confrontation, which lies in the foundation of his active life poetry becomes a norm and a motto of everyday life and spiritual-moral behaviour.

Life is burning,
One must burn.
Only that is the meaning of life.
If the candle isn't burning, it isn't living.
It's life is it's burning.¹
("Life is burning")

Poet looks at the future through past, that is, past is accepted to him through a prism of new achievements. Without past there is no future – in that logic statement the connection of times is concluded.

I am – a branched tree,
...I grew on my root,
Today I look at my tomorrow,
From my yesterday,
("Root")²

The concepts of time and birthplace are connected to the image of light in the poetry of B. Vahabzade. Fire and light are considered the most ancient characteristics of our poetic tradition. Poet brings new shades of meaning into these characters. For the poet light is a symbol of speed, progress, motion and moral burning.

¹ B. Vahabzade, *All the Space for Soul. Poems and Narrative Poems*, Yazichi. Baku, 1985, p. 108.

² *Ibidem*, p. 195.

I am son of Azerbaijan,
I saw fire as god,
My mother is land,
My father – fire,
I am the embodiment of fire!..

Lines recount the poet's divine destiny, permeated by the fire of soul and blood.

Poet – pouring flood of thoughts,
Poet – singer of the truth.
Poet – talking tongue of nature,
Poet – rebel voice of society.
Poet – conscience of his time and century,
Poet – glory and honour of history,
Poet – word of time to this world,
Poet – mirror of truth and right!
(“Poets”)

Poet ponders about problems of time and modern man. Poetic cycle called “Human and time” consists of philosophical and artistic poetic creations regarding time and speed, time and universe, space... Comprehension of human and moral space, as poet thinks, is much more hard and complex.

Why the human comprehending skies and earth
Having difficulties comprehending himself?

Who never searches – never sees clearly. This wise proverb may give us some food for the thought. It is not by chance that poet considers the question “Why?” to be the wings of mind, referring to searches of truth and meaning. Truth owes to this question with its birth.

Ask me questions! To this
There might never be a taboo,
Because like wings to mind,
These entire “why?”-s and “why?”-s are important!³
(“Why?”)

Poet doesn't think of himself being without creative searches:

Respond, my line, like an echo,
To the thunder and whisper in crowd,
...Be in searches tireless,
And in your inmost moment
Bring me drop from the world,
But in drop bring me the whole world.
(“My Poem”)

³ B. Vahabzade, *All the Space...*, p.50.

Calls to searches and new fulfillments are also recounted in light, trembling lines of his poem titled “To my students”, with functional and imperative leitmotif:

Giving knowledge to all,
I was learning more about the world.

In the poetry of Bahtiyar the surprising merger of poetic “me” with world and universe can be traced, which finds its own expression in the confession that “Universe, you all—are my nature!” Road to this element lies through “open window”:

Don’t shut the window, please,
So the far seas visit us with wind.
Let it be wide open to the world,
Just like my open soul.
...Open window, unlocked door,
They—are eyes, wide open to the world.⁴
 (“Don’t shut the window”)

It is worth mentioning how poet turns into a “wakeful barometer in earthly world” when working behind his desk.

Like a torch—enthusiasm of inspiration in me
When I sit behind the desk till the morning.
And merging drops of black ink,
Pain of the world, like blood, drains from quill.
...I am a wakeful barometer in earthly world –
Of humanity, of a rising soul.
 (“Behind the desk”)

Poet ponders about secrets of man and about the comprehension of man as a part of nature and universe. Wondrous meeting with nature leads our poet to the bitter thinking about it, because of horrifying nuclear tests, and in particular the peculiar case when American bomber accidentally “lost” a bomb with nuclear load while flying over Greenland.

Yes, the air is clean in the mountains,
But what can we do,
When it is poisoned
In our souls?!
 (“We are your part”)

C. Aytmatov writes that “... Bahtiyar throws over bridges of thought, character bridges to abstractions of time and space, to the alarms of our days – to the nuclear threats against peace, each and every one of us and our descendants, again turning to humans, neighbours, to his hearth, and from his hearth and home – to Universe –

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

and thus develops and bears fruit the insatiable gift of a great poet, who reached his prime”.⁵

National spirit and universal significance can also be felt in B. Vahabzade’s narrative poetry. Each of them is an embodiment of national and humanistic ideas. They deliver the talent of a great poet and thinker with a full responsibility before the History and Time.

In one of his earlier narrative poems called “Four Hundred Sixteenth”⁶, poet tracks the battle route of famous and heroic 416th “Taganrog” division, which earned itself glory and immortality through the actions of bravery and entered the history of Great Patriotic War and heroic chronicles of Azerbaijani people. According to poet’s thoughts, all the disasters and calamities that his fighter-contemporaries were experiencing during the four years of war can possibly be equated to a century during the civil time.

Universal direction of poem in general predetermines the fighting spirit and dedication of fighters in the national division, confidence of each soldier – the heroic sons of their motherland and rectitude of their military duty in the name of peace on Earth.

Based on the direction of our research, the poetic series “Mugham”⁷, dedicated to the memory of U. Hajibeyov, is particularly interesting. The poet introduces us to the world of mugham which reminds us repercussions and resemblances of the nature in the prelude – the opening part of the poem:

Sounds and colours of Earth
With music in relation...
...Listen how in mountains
Stones fall of the precipices,
Like on edge of a rock
Sonorously breaks the ray,
Multiplies the buzzing with echoes
Of hollowly humming boulders,
Humming turns into groaning,
Groaning interrupts the whimper,
Listen to the voice of the mountain,
To the dragging cries of the cranes,
To the rustle of pheasant's enchantment,
And try to unravel
In the storm of elemental gammas,
The vaguely incipient mugham.
("Mugham")

⁵ Anar, “Eternity of Mugham”, *Literaturniy Azerbaydjan*, 2011, p. 3.

⁶ B. Vahabzade, *All the Space ...*, pp. 153–210.

⁷ B. Vahabzade, *Selected works in 2 volumes*, volume II, Ganjlar Nashriyyati, Baku, 2004, pp. 175–212.

Mugham, as the poet thinks, is a continuous consonance with nature and the uneasy fate of our people, its fairy tales, sagas, folk songs and bayati (folk poetry). It is “the groaning and calls of far centuries”.

Perhaps, a centenary patience – mugham!
Yearning, suspense and humility – mugham!
... Maybe, the fate of an era is concealed
In a short moment of a stringy sigh.

Poet calls mugham “the treasury of secrets, flowering gardens, where fruits of wisdom ripen” and advises uninitiated ears not to enter this mysterious and hidden world. He identifies the perception of mugham with clouds, bizarre and diverse.

Individual performance, perception and comprehension of mugham’s musical scale, harmony, moods and parts are complicated. Narrative poem “Mugham” contains commentary of poetic comprehension and revision of mugham from the metaphorical perspective – ecstatic and unsurpassed “Shur”, sad and mournful “Shikasta”, passionate, mighty, vehement and yet valiant and brave “Chargah” with its components such as “Berdasht”, “Hesar”, “Muhalif” and “Mansuriya”.

Poetic and philosophic commentary on metaphorical definitions of mughams like “Segah” and “Rast” are also interesting, ascending to universal comprehension.

You the milk of mother... Say what you want to utter,
Taking me from myself, understanding me, Segah.
Ascending to another limits from tight shackles of existence,
Changing seething riots of harmony, dipping me in them, Segah.
Lava of moods, groaning of strings, buzzing and humming of basses...
Fire burning the soul, aching wound – Segah.

In “Mugham” B. Vahabzade characterises different mughams in a colourful poetic manner. Of course that there can be other, completely different interpretations of each mugham, because they are fascinatingly rich with luxury of associations, emerging from the fantasies of listeners. The next lines, taken from the great essay written by Anar regarding mugham, conclude on comparative thoughts of eternity, sublimity and being unrepeatable: “Mugham – our rapture on happy minutes of gaining independence. Mugham – our consolation on mournful days of January bloodshed, Khojaly genocide, Karabakh tragedy... Mugham is eternal, just like the eternity of the nation that gave birth to it and saved it, preserving it for centuries and millennia”.⁸

This rare and excellent commented reading of mugham is the elevated pillar of Azerbaijani art, recreating surprising harmony between music and poetry.

⁸ Anar, “Eternity of Mugham”, *Literaturniy Azerbaydjan*, 2011, pp. 4–14.

Segah–Majnun, roaming the steppes,
And Rast is – father. Father’s voice – in Rast.
Rast is old age, maturity, thought,
Reproach of careless youth is – Rast,
Late insight of a lost soul,
And the passion restrained by the wisdom.
Rast – is a slow sea of existence,
Fogs of time hang over him.
In the depth of inmost thoughts,
Glimmers, concealing the worlds in itself.
Meditation – eternal companion of man,
Like joy and suffering and sadness,
Rast isn’t young. And in him, behind the milestones,
Lies distance of endless searches.

Vahabzade’s another narrative poem “Shehids” (“Martyrs”)⁹ is written with another poetic and artistic meaning in mind, dedicated to heroes – shehids, martyrs that became immortal and also dedicated their lives to their homeland – Azerbaijan, which stood up to struggle for honor and defence of lands.

He seeks truth and honour,
And name to that honour is – land!

Depicting “reality without embellishment”, poet recreates a golden image of someone who forced us to march “forward” and dictated to live with the law of lies and evil for seventy years:

And here it is, reality without embellishment,
And lies with evil stand naked before us...
That night it wasn’t us getting decimated with lead of Spetsnaz,
But our truth, faith and hope.
Where is the law of valiant warrior,
Where is the ancient knights codex?
... In the morning... from streets of grieving Baku
They were wiping the blood, so it looked tidy...
But can the indelible stains be removed
From the conscience of disgraceful regiment?

Poet is “tormented by motif” of fearless action of unarmed citizens, standing up and becoming shehids (martyrs) of national resistance, furious and brave in their actions. He thinks about their immortal feat:

But they went to meet bullets with bravery,
Not doing a special deed in their lives,
Their death became their deed!

⁹ B. Vahabzade, *Selected works ...*, volume II, pp. 275–316.

And then unfolds the greatness and historical significance of the event:

They told the world about rights,
Which we lost not once,
They killed the lurking fear,
Knowingly herded to compatriots by some.
That night, like a flood, pouring from ridges,
The nation was boiling – with fury and valor –
Stepped over a deep ditch
Of creeping and evil fear.

Sense of citizenship and socio-historical breaking point of poem is preserved in the translated version as well:

Here is the test of my homeland,
And our late insight,
Their feat was naive, but paramount
In fearlessness of citizen resolution.

This historical “insight” seems imminent from the hindsight, just like the consequences of it. Because of war that was ventured by Armenians for Karabakh, their claim for historical Azerbaijani lands and occupation of the latter is based on politics of lies and misleading, and is currently the part of attempt to create the “Greater Armenia” by the means of confiscating lands of others and glorification of Armenian nation in the expense of others. Today we are witnesses of an outrageous fact, that when leaders of “Karabakh movement” lie throughout the political spectrum, misleading international community.

Karabakh theme, becoming a national topic, finds an artistic incarnation in modern Azerbaijani literature. National stereotype of thinking pierces through the creative work of B. Vahabzade, who was formed on national roots and traditions in the first place. Strength and greatness of poet is in the fact that he does not get stuck on the narrow view of nationalist consciousness. He equally worries about the universal problems of humanity as well.

The Play “İkinci Səs” (The Second Voice) of Bahtiyar Vahabzade as the Perfect Specimen of Lyric-Psychological Drama

Farida Ramiz SAFIYEVA

The theme of lyric-psychological plays in which romanticism is equalized with realism are dominating and those written by one of the progressive and authorized poets of the 20th century of the Azerbaijani literature Bahtiyar Vahabzade, have been taken from our present day life. But the pen of the poet having poeticized daily ordinary events of life with self belonging masterfulness, has deeply penetrated the moral world of our contemporaries, their feelings and thoughts, and has approached the daily way of living from the position of higher humane ideals and on this basis touches upon very important social problems.

Psychological collisions, the conflict of human being with his/her inner world constitute the core of B. Vahabzade's plays. Confrontation of feelings with duty, non-adequacy of humane character with his/her position, the inner development of personality, opposing old-fashioned, back-advanced customs and traditions, create such conditions that a person, while carrying out his/her duties in life is confronted with misfortunes. Giving advantage to feelings does not bring them happiness either. The non-reciprocated feeling of duty in life always poisons happiness, because for the person, understanding the feeling of duty before the society, it is difficult to find happiness for his/her personal life. B. Vahabzade's plays “Vidən” (Honesty), “İkinci səs” (The second voice), “Yollara iz düşür” (The roads are marked with foot prints) are of this kind.

“The fact that human beings are rescued from the ruthless pressure of negative feelings and thoughts, that they are challenged to purity and positive will power are the major duties of lyric-psychological style”¹

and B. Vahabzade in his plays has successfully managed in dealing with such problems.

Learning the whole of inner feelings of a person is as important and interesting as learning the history of the whole of one people for B. Vahabzade.

¹ I. Rahimli, *Dramaturgiya və teatr*, İşıq, Baku, 1984, p. 214.

The personality of a human being by this time seems to be placed in the centre of reasons of different social and daily life coordinations. So, the conflict arising from the mutual influence of inner and outer reasons, features serves for the revelation of common idea. The first plays of B. Vahabzade such as “Vıcdan” – Alim olmaq asandır) (“Honesty”, – It is easier to become a scientists) brightly reflects strong and weak sides of the poet. In spite of the fact that theatre critic Mehdi Mammadov introduced this play “As a finest specimen of creating a vivid character, turning it to the main character of the play”², the art critic I. Rahimli writes that the play being the first experiment of the poet, from the view of requirements given to play writing is not so satisfactorily carried out as it should be desired. He thinks

“...the idea which the poet tries to solve is powerful. These ideas as contents are reflected in the play, but form has not been found, separation of form from the contents, their non conformity has not ensured B. Vahabzade’s successes as a playwright in this play. The idea which the play Vıcdan (Honesty) introduces to the society, on the ground of dramatic conflicts is unrevealed, literarily makes weaker impression”³.

We can justify the critic, because the idea put in the work “Vıcdan” (Honesty), B. Vahabzade continued and developed his ideas in another form in his play “İkinci səs” (The second voice), which we think, derives from the fact that solution of the problem, the perfectness of character did not satisfy the poet himself.

The essence of each personality manifests itself in the aim he/she preaches for and in his/her attitude to the social problems. His/her social, moral problems appear just on this ground as well. Solution of such problems which are very important for the personality has become one of the major issues standing before literature. Bahtiyar Vahabzade’s play “İkinci səs” (The second voice) has been devoted just to the solution of social-moral problems, to the attitudes between debt and duty, to the written and “unwritten” laws existing in the society.

The contents of the play “İkinci səs” (the second voice) have been set up on the basis of love of two persons. Happiness of Arzu and Rashad is impossible to take place for the reason that they easily understand each other, they look upon the world from the same moral racus, because Rashad’s family has got a moral debt-the debt of husband and father before this family.

The play, which seems to be devoted to family well-being problems at first view, in fact the author of the play within this theme avokes deep moral problem, philosophical views and solves them as to his own understanding of the problems. “It should be radically wrong to consider the theme of the play as the theme of

² Mehdi Mammadov, *Azəri dramaturgiyasının estetik problemləri*, B., Azərənəşr, 1968, p. 278.

³ I. Rahimly, *Dramaturgiya...*, 1984, p. 214.

family relations and life conditions. Here family conditions and daily life problems are at least ordinary colourings the author's main aim is to reveal the process of a person's reaching the highest level of moral perfection, and purity. The main idea of the play serves just to this”⁴.

In the play “İkinci səs” (The second voice) conflict with soul and honesty, debt before the society with the desire of free love, antagonistic struggle between passion and wit are reflected. From the beginning till the end of the play these ideas are turning to moving locomotives of the play, puts the love of the heroes, their honesty under trial. So, in the play “İkinci səs” the poet looks for the answer. Which one is to be justified “soul or wit?”. The idea and conviction of the poet “It is impossible to set up one's happiness on the basis of another person's misfortune” leads the heroes of the play to the moral victory and victory of honesty. In the play, B. Vahabzade speaks of the facts belonging to utterances taking place within the moral world of his hero, his inner thoughts, psychological cases peculiar to the analysis of his own dramatic style.

Symbolics to the poem is more peculiar to “İkinci səs” (The second voice) than to his other poems. This feature belongs to both outer and inner contents, to the essence of the main characters, including the names. Arzu acts as the representation of all her wishes, ordinary, old, real and unreal dreams of Reshad.

Reşad: – ...Sənin adın da Arzudur, özün də. Mənə elə gəlir ki, mən səni çoxdan, hələ dünyaya gəlməmişdən əvvəl tanıyıram.

Arzu: – Reşad, bu lap çox oldu, bir qədər azalt.

Reşad: – Məgər sənə elə gəlmir?

Arzu: – Elədir, axl biz eyni adamlarıq”⁵

(Reshad: – ...Your name is Arzu* and you are a dream yourself too. It seems to me that I know you long before. Even before you were born.

Arzu: – Reshad this is too much for me, a bit lessen it please.

Reshad: – Doesn't it seem to you so?

Arzu: – Yes, it is, aren't we the same people?)

Image of life is the symbol of life with full of contradictions, is the symbol of a thing killing the dreams of human beings, symbol of the instrument framing up the lives of human beings. Sometimes the thing which can't be done by heavy tragedies, the smooth, calm flow of life, daily-life moor can do this. In the play calm (tranquil) family life perishes Hayat. Now she hasn't got any other care except serving her husband, to live with the daily cares of her family. The spectator accepts her as a

⁴ Ş. Əkbərzadə, *Kimdir*, Bakı qəz., 13 yanvar 1982.

⁵ B. Bahabzadə, *Pyeslər*, 1987, p. 315.

* The Azerbaijani word Arzu in English means “Wish”, “Dream”.

person unable to see the other sides of the walls of her house, as a person indignant of the moral world of her husband.

“*Həyat*: – Rəşad, bəsdır, yalnız özünü düşünmə, hislərini cilovla, artıq cavan deyilsən, mənə də yazığın gəlsin, balana da. Evə təmir lazımdır... bağ da bellətməliyik”⁶.

(*Hayat*: – Reshad, that’s enough of you. Don’t think of only yourself, chain your feelings). You are not young already, have mercy on me and on you child too. The house needs repairing... We must have the orchard spaded too)

All sorts of commonness makes Arzu sick and tired the one who tries to move away from the daily routines, the one who longs for freedom, she is sorry for the people who cannot rescue from a frame of the life, who cannot leave the “box” into which he/she has been put, she thinks such life to be an artificial life. The life without troubles, anxieties seems to her nonsense, absurd. The word said to Malahat by Arzu sounds like a kind of words uttered by the soul of the poet himself.

“*Arzu*: – Əlbəttə, əzabdır, amma həyatın gözəlliyi də bundadır. Bəs sakitliyin, rahatlığın nəyi gözəldir, Həyatda ki, bir şeyin əzabını çəkmədin, nəsə bir şeyin həsrətilə yaxılıb-yanmadın, o nə həyatdır?”⁷.

(*Arzu*: – Certainly it is a torture but the beauty of life lies just in this. But what beauty have you found in calmness, comfort? Unless you taste trouble, unless you long for something, what a life is it?)

Arzu is rich as to her inner world, morally a pure person and essentially is discriminated from all in the play. In life, her highest criterium related to human beings is honesty. And as it is always, “...vicdanın səsinin qələbəsi ...tragic qələbədir” (“...the triumph of the voice of honesty ...is a tragic victory”)⁸.

Who is happier? Shukurbay, who lives her life in a “box” comfortably or Arzu, who leads life in hesitation and trouble. In answer to this question the author’s position overlaps with the position of Arzu. As to them, those who having heard the voice of honesty give advantage to debt more than love, to trouble than tranquility are happier. Such a philosophical meaning of happiness is not new for our national literature and it harmonically sounds up with the highest philosophy of great Fizuli, who praises troubles in the way of love and passion. Arzu is happy. But in comparison with moral happiness there is a tragic sign of happiness which always is together with it and constantly follows it.

The character of Arzu has derived from the necessity of creating by the poet an ideal image of woman living in the moral life and of which the author dreams.

But this ideal is far from being saint. The success of the author lies in the fact that in spite of the fact that the author has morally raised, but still is a living being,

⁶ B. Bahabzadə, *Pyeslər*, p. 315.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ Yşç. Garayev, Ş. Salmanov, *Poeziya*, 1985, p 213.

has created his character together with her mistakes, her hesitations, her negative and positive features. In this fierce battle by the victory over duty-love, passion leads Arzu to moral rise, rise to the peak of humanity and justice.

Arzu, who is proud of her "unstamped" love, and who is of romantic nature, having closely got acquainted with Hayat and having seen her tragedy with her own eyes, understands that her own love was placed in a "box".

"Arzu: – Gördünmü, bizim məhəbbətimizin bu dar otaqdan çölə çıxarmağa ixtiyarı yoxdur..."⁹

(Arzu: – Did you see, our love has no power to go out of the walls of this narrow room).

Arzu, who was unable to live with his love proudly, refuses his love. The notion of good life, happiness for him is not a separately taken notion of purity, honesty. He needn't having any kind of happiness, built up on the tragedy of another person.

"Arzu: – Utanıram, xəcalət çəkirəm... Bir qədər əvvəl biz sənin arvadının qabağında nə qədər misgin, nə qədər kiçik idik. O özü idi, amma biz oynayırdıq. Gördünmü, biz ikilikdə bir cür, onun qarşısında isə qeyri-cür olurdu. Sən bu ikiliyə necə dözsürsən? Axı vicdanımla məhəbbətim, hissimlə fikrim vuruşur"¹⁰.

(Arzu: – I am ashamed. A little ago how little, how miserable we seemed to be before your wife. She was herself, but we are dancing. Didn't you see when we were together you and me, had quite a different look, but before her we assume another look. How can you endure for such a double look? Don't you see that my love fights against my honesty, and my feelings against my thoughts).

For the character of Arzu nobility, taking care for the others, being far from indifference to other people are peculiar. The fact that he took back Hayat's letter from Zeynab, makes Hayat be at a loss.

"Həyat: – Axı o niyə bu yaxşılığı eləsin?

Məlahət: – Yaxşı adamlar yaxşılığı bir məqsəd üçün eləmirlər, onların təbiəti belədir..."¹¹.

(Hayat: – Why should she do such a goodness.

Malahat: – Good people don't do goodness for the sake of something, doing goodness is just in their nature).

Hayat who at first sight seems to be unwilling, disable creature, when the talk went on the dignity of a woman, she states her protest with a fighting spirit which is not characteristic for her:

"Həyat: – Fikrət, mən öz həyatımı ona (Arzuya) borclu ola bilərəm, ancaq izzəti-nəfəsimdən keçə bilmərəm. Yox, keçməərəm"¹².

⁹ B. Vahabzadə, *Pyeslər*, p. 64.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 78.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 72.

(*Hayat*: – Fikrat I can be in debt to him for my life, but I can't give up my passion, desire". No, I can't do this).

At the end of the play the resolution which she evinced introduces her to the spectators quite in different light.

(*Həyat*: – Mənə yazığın gəlir? Yox, gəlməsin. Mənə güzəşt lazım deyil, mən məhəbbət istəyirəm. Əgər yoxsa..."¹³).

(*Hayat*: – You have pity on me? No, don't have pity on me, I needn't any compensation, what I long for is love and affection. If you don't have them...).

At the moment when Hayat's attitudes with Reshad began to be cleared up, when the problem took up a new phase – an open conflict, the fact that with her determination Hayat, whose life always was spent in the kitchen, rose higher than Reshad was obviously felt. She understands that it is impossible to continue the false attitudes, existing in the family in this way and she states that she doesn't want to live like this.

It is clear that the genre of drama in comparison with other genres is more complicated. In the play the author is deprived of all kinds of explanation, of the analyses of the events taking place in the play or of the analyses of the heroes. This feature demands from the author to have artfulness to say more, else turning the work of art into the dramaturgy of "speaking" is inevitable. Unfortunately B. Vahabzade in this play "The second voice" cannot remain absolutely away from this danger.

B. Vahabzade's this mistake deriving from his poetic nature, to say his words directly to his readers is explained by I. Rahimli like this: "B. Vahabzade, in all his plays, or in all the acts of separately taken plays, gives description of lyric "I" which cannot keep the requirement of harmony of dramaturgy. This quickness leads Vahabzade to dry philosophical views. The fact that the characters express their philosophical views on ordinary life events, breaks the lyric harmony of development line, it also violates the speed-rhythm. This mistake shows itself in the dialogues between Arzu–Hayat, Reshad–Fikrat Shukurbay, in "Yollara iz düşür" (Roads are marked with foot prints) in the dialogues between Loghman–Alkhan"¹⁴.

From this point of view the character of Irada in B. Vahabzade's play "İkinci səs" (The second voice) is more successful. In spite of the fact that this character is relatively little dueet with, it is possible to consider this character as the most completed, the most lively character. The expression which she said: "Dayı, mən hər şeyi bilirəm" informs the reader that she is aware of the conflict taking place among Arzu–Rasad–Hayat. Just this character makes the spectator – the reader to

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

¹⁴ İ. Rəhimli, "Üslub problem" in *Qobustan*, no. 43, 1981, p. 44.

look for finding more meanings among the stingily uttered words. All through the play, except using such sentences Irada never lets the spectator know that she is aware of false relations between her father and mother. But behind these words stand heavy thoughts, bravery which is not peculiar for a girl of twelve. This patience of hers speaks of the fact that Irada, though being still a child, has got great and sensitive heart.

Irada in the play plays the role of bridge between Reshad and Irada. It turns to the only means of contact between the people, whose view points, thoughts and desires were absolutely different from each-other. It is just Irada who makes it impossible for Hayat to live between the walls of her kitchen and Reshad who is longing for high ideals, to divorce. Even in the happiest minutes of his life Rashad's thoughts about Irada, having separated him from Arzu, makes him return to his own house.

Arzu: – Reşad, vaxtdır, sən getməlisən.

Reşad: – Hara?

Arzu: – Bəs yadından çıxıb, İradə səni gözləyir”¹⁵.

(Arzu: – It's time, you should go home.

Reshad: – Where?

Arzu: – Don't you remember, Irada is waiting for you).

At the start of the play this episode which draws our attention in the end, is a hint to Irada's returning Reshad to his family.

Irada gives a lesson with her dignity to Reshad, who never could make a resolute step, who with her lack of determination gave tortures both to Hayat and Arzu. For the sake of reaching her aim, she tries with all her power. She, having taken exams re-enters the music school which she had to leave half way because of her illness.

“İradə: – Ata mən dediyimi elədim. Bax, hamısı beşdir. Daha adımlı dəyişməlisiniz ki?

Reşad: – Yox, qızım, sənın adın da İradədir, özün də (öz-özünə) Uşaqdakı iradə məndə olsaydı...”¹⁶.

(Irada: – Father, I did what I preached for. Look all are excellent marks, You won't change my Name, will you?

Reshad: – No my daughter your name is İradə and you are yourself an İradə (a will) /to himself/ I wish I had the will as much as she had).

The meaning of the word Irada in English is “will”.

Inner perfection maturity, dynamics in the character of Irada makes her one of the most successful characters of the play.

The play of B. Vahabzade “İkinci səs” (The second voice) results not by the solution of the problem, but it results with the transference of the spiral of the conflict

¹⁵ B. Bahabzadə, *Pyeslər*, p. 78.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

to a new turn of circle. In the end of the play the question “Is Reshad right?” remains open. Reshad’s return to his family is valued not as his understanding his duty before his family and children, but it is valued as his helplessness in opposing against the daily flow of events of life. This return does not create a background for happier future for Rashad and Hayat who have take a new turn in life. New situation awakes optimism in none of them. Most probably the existing cold relations in the family shall go on further on. The author’s giving advantage to debt but refusing his feelings is not accepted as victory at all and which saves the play from error which is peculiar for Yashar Garayev’s dramaturgy for the last years: In some of our dramas, conflict from the first minute becomes obviously clear, set up on the ground of negative and positive positions of the characters. There is not a single play, after having watched it, we don’t meditate, “who is to blame, who is to be justified” or we do not argue on such problems. Unfortunately, it is a very pity that the writers leave such troubles for us to solve “kimdir müqəssir, kimdir haqlı?” (Who is to blame, who is right?)¹⁷.

The play “İkinci sə” (The second voice) leaves the spectators to answer the question, “who is right?”. With the question whether “love is the main or the debt”. This is the dilemma for the spectators to answer.

As to the thought of Stanislavski the arts men, penetrating into the inner world of a person, being able to dispatch the moral wealth of the person to other people, the arts men being able to help the other people to understand him and the realities in the play, can say that they have profited the spectators, they have presented the spectators with the things which are very necessary and important for them¹⁸ Bahtiyar Vahabzade is just one of the such arts men.

¹⁷ Y. Garayev, *Səhnətimiz*, 1985, p. 24.

¹⁸ Горчаков, *Режиссерские уроки Станиславского*, Высшая школа, М., 1950, p. 22.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

***Contemporary Research in Turcology and Eurasian Studies. A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Tasin Gemil on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Stoica Lascu, Melek Fetisleam (Editors), Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, LXXVIII + 1056 p.**

A massive and impressive collection of contributions on Orientalism–Turkology–Ottomanistic (Ottoman Studies), as a septuagenarian anniversary, has been available for several months to the scientific community and other people interested in this subject: *Contemporary Research in Turcology and Eurasian Studies. A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Tasin Gemil on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Stoica Lascu, Melek Fetisleam (editors), Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013, LXXVIII + 1056 p. The homage volume was realised with the participation of international scientists from Europe and Asia. It was based on an extensive technical structure which completes the homage paid by this kind of scientific/didactic books: the painting of the celebrated septuagenarian prof. Tasin Gemil (painted by Constantin Nițescu, An Accomplished Life. Professor Tasin Gemil at the age of 70, p. XI); Laudatio (the life and work of the celebrated scientist)–Preface. The Scientific Career of a Leading Contemporary Romanian Historian, by Stoica Lascu and Melek Fetisleam, pp. XIII–XL; Publications of Tasin Gemil, pp. XLI–L; Introduction, pp. LI–LXXIII; Notes on Contributors, pp. LXXV–LXXVIII; 5 parts–chapters having a common topic related to Geography and History (pp. 3–933); Bibliography (a selective bibliography on Orientalism–Turkology–Ottomanistic (Ottoman Studies)), pp. 935–997; very useful and interesting Additional References. Festschriften for the Scholars in Turkologie and Central Asian Studies, pp. 999–1017 and Additional References. Books on Ottoman Empire (2000–2013), pp. 1019–1056.

The first section (*Part One: Central Asia. Middle East*) is a collection of 13 contributions referring to various ways of manifestation of pre-Islamic and Islamic world from western and central Asia, out of which 6 belong to Romanian authors. Thus, Marina Tolmacheva (*Middle Eastern Genealogy in Central Asian Islam. Belief, Legend, and Privilege*, pp. 3–14) presented aspects of Asian Islamic genealogy: beliefs, legends, privileges. Alice Y. Borisenko and Yulius S. Khudyakov (*Ancient Turkic Nomads Images on Bronze Plaques in Central Asia*, pp. 15–23) interpreted the symbols of the images of nomad Turkic people on bronze plaques. Albert A. Burhanov (*The Region of Middle Amudarja in Ancient Times and the Middle Ages. Historical, Archaeological, and Geographical Essay on Lebap Region of Eastern Turkmenistan*, pp. 25–48) gave a historical, archeological and geographical analysis of Amudaria–Lebap area between 3rd century BC and 19th century.

Bulat L. Khamidullin (*Khazars' Participation in Creation of an Independent Kingdom: Abazgsk (Abkhazia)*, pp. 49–56) underlined the historical-political role of Khazars in founding the Abkhaz Kingdom. Zulkhumor Mirzaeva (*The 1950–1990s: Uzbek's Literature as the Public Square of the "Ideological Struggle"*, pp. 71–92) outlined the details of the “ideological” controversy in the Uzbek literature in the second half of the last century. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont (*Aspects des sociétés des républiques musulmanes soviétiques et post-soviétiques d'Asie Centrale et du Caucase d'après les stèles funéraires locales*, pp. 93–122) expressed attitudes towards the preservation of the memory of the dead through written messages and images on the tomb stones from the last century Central Asia–Caucasus. Alieva Lala (*Historical Study of the Palestine Intifada Literature*, pp. 161–168) studied the literary forms of the Palestinian protest against Israeli rule.

In Part One the Romanian authors published scientific articles about the outlined geographical area from 13th to 20th Centuries. Rodica Pop (*Turkish Origin Vocabulary in the Secret History of the Mongols (13th Century)*, pp. 57–62) selected and analysed Turkish words from the fundamental history of the 13th century Mongols. George Grigore (*Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and his Visit to Nusaybin, Dara, and Mardin during the Artuqid Period*, pp. 63–70) presented the journey of the Arab globetrotter (the traveller of Islam) through the pre-Ottoman Anatolya in 1327. Vasile Soare (*The Islam in Azerbaijan. A Historical Evolution and Current Trends*, pp. 123–130) outlined the historical development of Islam in Azerbaijan between 7th and 20th centuries. Marian Zidaru (*Great Britain and the Moslem World at the End of the Great War: An Analysis Document of the British Cabinet*, pp. 131–154) published and interpreted a British document from 1917 about the political-ethnic organisation in the Islamic world from Near and Middle East. The other 2 contributions analyse Iran area in 20th century. Radu Ștefan Vergatti (*The Pan-Iranian Zone. Elements of Geopolitics, Demography, and History*, pp. 155–160) and Andreea-Paula Ibănescu (*Incremental Politics: Iran and Turkey's Post-1990. Cultural Diplomacy in Central Asia. Inferring New Concepts: Geo-Culture, Geo-History, and Geo-Religion*, pp. 169–189) insisted on the emergence of Iran and its relations with its neighbours, especially Turkey.

The second section (*Part Two: Crimea. Tatars*) includes 10 studies and articles, out of which 3 belong to Romanian authors. The topics of the second part refer to the Crimean Peninsula, its inhabitants, Tatars, relationships with neighbours between 14th and 20th centuries. Thus, Illnur M. Mirgaliyev (*The Sons of Tokhtamysh Khan in the Struggle for the Golden Horde Power*, pp. 193–196) presented the army dispute between Toktamış Han's sons for the rule of the Golden Horde beginning with 1406. Margareta Aslan (*Relationships between the Crimean Khanate and the Principality of Transylvania in Transylvanian Chronicles (16th–17th centuries)*, pp. 197–216)

offered an image of the Tatar-Transylvanian relations reflected in the Transylvanian chronicles of 16th–17th centuries. Nuri Kavak (*Daily Life in Crimean Tatars (17th–18th centuries)*, pp. 217–230) analysed the ordinary life of Tatars from the Crimean Peninsula of 17th–18th Centuries. Costel Coroban (*Charles XII's Retreat in the Ottoman Empire and his Contacts with the Tatar Khans (1709–1714)*, pp. 231–242) followed the tracks and problems after the retreat of the unlucky Swedish king Charles XII through the Ottoman territory to Sweden, after the adventure in Poltava (1709).

Sergean Osman (*Introduction à la documentation française sur le Khanat de Crimée. Recherche sur documents concernant l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (1739–1768)*, pp. 243–258) considered that the French documents from the middle of 18th century about Crimean Tatars represented the basis for the Tatar's image and the Tatar–Russian politics among the royal circles of the same period. Another image of the Tatars and their settlements was realised by west European travellers who visited Crimea in the middle of 19th century (Giuseppe Cossuto, *Crimea and Crimean Tatars in Laurence Oliphant's Description of Black Sea (1852)*, pp. 259–292).

The place and the ethnic-educational and identity role of Tatars in Tsarist Russian Empire in 19th century and beginning of 20th century were analysed by Melek Fetisleam (*Education and Identity Assertion of the Tatars in the Russian Empire (The Mid-19th – Early 20th centuries)*, pp. 293–300). Liliya F. Baybulatova (*Rizaetdin Fahretdin about Russian Muslim Community and its Problems since 1905: According to the Newspaper of Vakyt and Journal of Islam*, pp. 301–310) presented a Tatar journalist's activity in Russia in the first quarter of 20th century, who promoted the rights and interests of his countrymen. The religious and identity meanings of the “religious paintings” – şamayl/muhir, a kind of “icon” of Turks were revealed by Swetlana M. Czerwonnaja (*Tatar Shamayls in the Modern Culture of Turkic World*, pp. 311–322). The activities and results of the German war censorship from World War I of Tatar prisoners' correspondence were revealed by Iskander Gilyazov (*Scientists at the Service of War. The Perusal of Letters of the Tatar Prisoners of War in Germany during the First World War*, pp. 323–329).

Empire Ottoman/Turkey. Balkans is the title of the third part (Part Three), which presents 14 contributions, out of which 3 are written by Romanian authors. The topic of the chapter focuses on geographical areas and historical centuries specific to the Ottomans and the neighbour countries. The ethnic and linguistic phenomena from Anatolya and Azerbaijan during 14th–15th centuries were analysed by Shahin Mustafayev (*Ethno-linguistic Processes in the Turkic Milieu of Anatolia and Azerbaijan (14th–15th Centuries)*, pp. 333–346). For the European part of the Ottoman Empire, Paul Brusanowski (*Christians and Converts to Islam in the Balkan Peninsula during*

the Ottoman Rule, pp. 347–388) presented the motivations, conditions and consequences of adoption of Islam by the Balkan Christians. The Ottoman rule in Balkans had important influence on Christian medieval towns as well. Dragana Amedoski and Gordana Garić Petrović (*Transformation of a Medieval Town into an Ottoman Administrative Center. Case of Kruševac (Alaca Hisār)*, pp. 389–402) made an analysis of such a case.

The political-military aspects of the Ottoman-Christians cohabitation in Central-Danubian Europe were studied by Nagy Pienaru (*Sigismund de Luxemburg and the Islamic Orient (15th Century)*, pp. 403–418), Ioan-Aurel Pop (*The Extent and Revenues of the Ottoman Empire in Documents of Some Venetian Baili (16th Century)*, pp. 419–434), Gábor Kármán (*The Ahdname of Sultan Mehmed III to András Báthori, Prince of Transylvania (1599)*, pp. 435–446). The Hungarian historian's article highlights two facts: firstly, the Ottoman 'ahdnāme offered to Transylvanian princes really existed as legal documents in 16th century; secondly, the effect of the 1599 event was in fact null, because of the military intervention of Mihai Viteazul in Transylvania in October 1599.

The other studies and articles present various concrete facts belonging to the general topic of the chapter. Thus, Birsan Bulmuş (*Mustafa Feyzi Hayatizade Efendi's Treatises on Syphilis in the Ottoman Empire (1681–1682)*, pp. 447–452) presented two manuscripts about pox and the perception of this venereal disease by the Ottoman society at the end of 17th century. Selim Aslantaş and Judith Aslantaş (*Bericht des Franz Freiherrn von Ottenfels-Schwind über die Revolutionen in den Jahren 1807 und 1808 in Konstantinopel*, pp. 453–486) analysed a very little known German account on the events in Istanbul from 1807 to 1808. The complex situation from the mid 19th century Ottoman Empire, "the sick man of Europe", gave rise to various projects at the level of Chancellery of the great European powers for modernisation of the Ottoman society and state. The British, French and Russian projects were studied by Julieta Velichkova-Borin (*Premiers projets européens sur l'Empire Ottoman (1840–1853)*, pp. 487–504).

The other three contributions present concrete geographical and chronological aspects of the Greek-Ottoman-Turkish relations: Manos Perakis, *Capitulations Abolition Attempts in Crete during the Halepa Regime (1878–1889)*, pp. 505–518; Dalibor Jovanovski, *The Greek-Ottoman Crisis in 1888*, pp. 519–528; Dimitris Michalopoulos, *Constantin Caramanlis et l'affaire de Chypre: le nœud gordien à résoudre*, pp. 549–560. Kemal H. Karpat (*The Emigration of Turks from Romania to Turkey and Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver*, pp. 529–548) outlined the dimensions of immigration policy of Turkish-Islamic Tatars from Dobrudja to Kemalist Turkey beginning with 1935, and the involvement of the minister, a Turkish Ambassador in Romania, into

conducting the legal population transfer. Much of the novel information was based on personal memories of the author who was of Turkish origin from Northern Dobrudja, and who emigrated with his entire family to Turkey, being also a personal acquaintance of H.S. Tanrıöver. Boyka Stefanova (*Explaining the Electoral Preferences of the Ethnic Turkish Minority in Bulgaria (1991–2013): A Case of Ethno-cultural Voting?*, pp. 561–578) explained that the political vote of the Turkish minority from Bulgaria was based on various motivations and interests: economical, political, ethnic, social, cultural, religious.

In the homage volume to a Romanian Turkologist – of Tatar origin – who was born in Dobrudja, there must be also a chapter on Romanian Principalities. Dobrudja (Part Four). The fifth section gathers 14 contributions, out of which 13 were written by Romanian historians, and whose topics cover the Romanian Dobrudja between 16th and 21st Centuries. Thus, Laura-Adina Fodor (*The Image of the Tatars in the Moldavian Chronicle (1662–1743) of Ion Neculce: Deconstructing Negative Representations*, pp. 581–600) analysed the image of the Tatar in Neculce's chronicle, emphasizing the gradual change of Moldavian opinion on the Tatar from the East. Two geographical and temporal “case studies” were presented by Ionel Cădea (*Turks and Tatars in the Neighborhood of the Măxineni Monastery (Brăila County – 17th–18th Centuries)*, pp. 601–604) and Gabriel-Felician Croitoru (*Le kaza de Giurgiu entre les traités de paix de Passarowitz (1718) et de Svichtov (1791). Quelques aspects militaires et politiques*, pp. 605–622), insisting on religious, military, and political aspects of the respective evolutions. Ileana Căzan (*Administration et système fiscal – le modèle occidental et la tradition levantine en Valachie au XVIII^{ème} siècle*, pp. 623–630) studied the process of gradual modernisation of administration and fiscality during 18th century, with all their internal contradictions.

Regarding the 18th century, Călin Felezeu (*Between Phanariotism and the Movement of National Emancipation. The Cantemir Model of Approaching the Image of the Ottoman Empire in the Romanian Written Culture*, pp. 631–654) followed the steps and echoes of the way the Ottomans (state and individual) were viewed in Romanian historiography and culture. Veniamin Ciobanu (*Le problème des monastères dédiés, pendant le règne d'Alexandru Ioan Cuza*, pp. 655–678) presented the issue of Romanian monasteries and their properties which were under monastic Greek supervision, in the context of 1859 Union ruler's politics of applying the land reform and the secularization of monastic land reform. Daniela Bușă (*Les relations de la Roumanie avec l'Empire Ottoman dans les premières années après l'Indépendance*, pp. 679–684) explained the evolution and characteristics of bilateral Romanian-Ottoman relations immediately after 1878.

The other seven studies analyse various aspects of Dobrudja's complex history between 15th century and the beginning of 21st century. So, Gheorghe Dumitrașcu and Stoica Lascu (*Dobrudja under Ottoman Rule (With an Additional Bibliography)*, pp. 685–724) using a rich and useful bibliography, presented the main steps in the evolution of Lower Danube – the Black Sea area under Ottoman rule. Dan Prodan (*Franz Babinger et la Dobroudja ottomane dans les XVI^{ème}–XVII^{ème} siècles*, pp. 725–737) stated that the German Turkologist studied aspects of Ottoman history of the above mentioned territory, and formulated the conclusion according to which the ancient citadel Histria became a medieval town called Istrābāğī (in 16th century) or Isterabād (in 17th century); The German scientist also published Robert Bargrave's travel journal through Dobrudja and Romania (1652); Dan Prodan republished extracts from the British traveller referring to Dobrudja. Margarita Dobрева (*Muslim Primary Education in the Central and North Dobrudja (In the 1860s–70s)*, pp. 739–764) analysed the characteristics of Ottoman primary education in Dobrudja during the decades before the integration of this territory into independent Romania.

Adrian Ilie (*Tatars Involved in the Local Administration of Medgidia City (The Second Half of the 19th Century)*, pp. 765–778) presented the Tatar mayors' activity in Medgidia during the period. Lavinia Gheorghe (*The Collection Dr. Ibrahim Themo in the National History and Archaeology Museum of Constanța*, pp. 779–788) offered information about dr. I. Themo's Archives which could be found and studied at Constanta Museum. Stoica Lascu (*Aspects of Spiritual Life of the Turkish-Tatar Community in Dobrudja (1913–1915) – (With Two Appendices: The Turks and Tatars in Romania According to Censuses From 1899 to 2011)*, pp. 789–814) studied aspects of spiritual life of the Turkish-Tatar Community in Dobrudja, as well as the data of national censuses referring to the Turks and Tatars from Romania in the last 11 decades. Virgil Coman (*Archival Data on the Muslim Community of Medgidia in the Interwar Period*, pp. 815–829) offered archival information on the Tatar community from Medgidia in the interwar period.

The last chapter (Part Five: Varia) of the homage book gathers eight contributions (five belong to Romanian historians) with diverse topics presented chronologically. Szabolcs Polgár (*The Ethnonym Pecheneg Pecinaci, Pecenaci) in the Chronicle of Regino (The Beginning of the 10th Century)*, pp. 833–840) identified and analysed the meanings of the above ethnonym in an Italian chronicle from the beginning of 10th century. Andreea Atanasiu-Croitoru (*Navigation and Dangers in the Black Sea International Maritime Regulations (13th–14th Centuries)*, pp. 841–852) presented the Black Sea maritime regulations during the centuries of Venetian–Genoa domination and competition. Elizaveta Cvilincova (*Gagauz Variant of the Epistle about Lord's Day (Sunday) from the Point of View of Ethno–Cultural Interaction*, pp. 853–862)

studied the Gagauz translation of the above mentioned Orthodox apocryphal book and the ethno-cultural-religious impact on the Gagauz population from southern Basarabia, a Turkic ethnic group which was in the middle of a process of Christianization at the end of 19th century. Barbara Kellner–Heinkele (*Manuscripts from the Middle East in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the Former Royal Library*, pp. 863–872) made an inventory of Oriental manuscripts and documents from the famous library in Berlin.

In the same spirit of archives and historical sources, Ioan Scurtu (*From the History of Relations between the State Archives of Romania and State Archives of Turkey (1992–1994)*, pp. 873–892) recalled aspects of official contacts and concrete collaboration between the State Archives of Romania and of Turkey, where there are millions of novel archival pieces on the Ottoman-Romanian complex relations. Mieste Hotopp-Riecke (*“The Pasha of Magdeburg”: New Fields of Research and Teaching For German Turkologists between Regional History, Intercultural Studies, and German-Tatar Interferences*, pp. 893–906) outlined new directions of development of German Turkology with concrete extensions to Tatar studies. Raluca Iosipescu and Sergiu Iosipescu (*La Protection du Patrimoine Culturel Subaquatique en Roumanie. Quelques remarques préliminaires*, pp. 907–918) outlined coordinates of the project for the conservation of Romanian underwater cultural heritage (with maps and photos), almost unseen by the public, but which was always in the attention of archaeologists. Constantin Hlihor (*Geopolitics of National Minorities in Cyberspace Age. Are the Turkish-Tatars a Single Virtual Community in World Politics?*, pp. 919–934) launched an exciting question: are Turks-Tatars a virtual community in world politics? The answer: possibly, in the near or medium future.

This book also includes a rich bibliography of approximately 1,400 titles with themes on Orientalism – Oriental studies (Bibliography, pp. 935–997), as well as an additional bibliography on Ottoman studies (Additional References. Books on Ottoman Empire (2000–2013), pp. 1019–1056), with approximately 700 de titles. Of great novelty and usefulness is the list of other 340 homage books (Additional References. Festschriften for the Scholars in Turkologie and Central Asian Studies, pp. 999–1017) which were published and dedicated to scientists in Orientalism – Turkish Studies since 1950. A simple calculation indicates around 2,450 titles, an impressive bibliography on Oriental-Turkic-Ottoman studies! A huge bibliography, located in the same volume, a very useful tool for both professionals and individuals interested in the topic! The conclusions of scientific contributions and the immense thematic bibliography can be of interest to readers (specialists and people interested in the topic) only by reading the massive and exciting homage volume! At the end of the book there should have been some (other) historical maps with the territories and centuries studied by the authors of contributions. It would also have been useful

a General index on anthroponyms, toponyms, hydronyms, oronyms etc. for a quick orientation in the massive 1134 page volume, even though this segment (very practical and mandatory!) of the book would have meant other dozens of extra pages apart from the existing ones.

In conclusion, a homage volume (Festschrift) written with responsibility, professionalism, realism, in the spirit of the Western approach, with studies and articles in foreign languages, with a high value and quality, with international Euro-Asian participation and dissemination, an indicator of the current level of development of Orientalism–Turkology–Ottoman Studies worldwide researches, published in excellent graphic technical conditions (semi-vellum paper, maps, graphs, color photographs, firm binding). This historical contribution must be found in the great libraries in Romania and in the world, on the desk of scientists in Orientalist, Turkic, Ottoman studies, as well as in the hands of people interested in Turkology and Eurasian Studies. A notable contribution of Romanian historiography to the development of international Orientalism–Turkology–Ottomanistic (Ottoman studies). Another recognition of the world activity and scientific–management results of Mr. Tasin Gemil, director of the Institute of Turkish and Central-Asian Studies at Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca.

(Dan PRODAN)

Adrien Fauve, *Bienvenue á Astana*, Imprimerie Chirat, 2014, 115 p.

This, in size relatively reduced, but very consistent book of the young French author is dealing with the futuristic landscape of the Kazakh capital, Astana. This short, well-illustrated volume represents a synthesis of personal impressions and scientific research in Political History and History of Arts of Kazakhstan. The collaborator of the Centre D'Études des Relations Internationales used to be a post-doc in Post-Soviet Studies, having as his main field of research the evolution of post-soviet Kazakhstan, a large country with serious economic potential. Kazakhstan is called by its inhabitants “the country of the Mendeleev table” too, because all the elements of the Mendeleev table can be found on its territory. Especially the oil reserves are granting a serious income for the country, and since the greatest part of this income is centrally controlled, large sums can be directed toward investments in the country's image. An important part of this image, in the vision of president Nazarbaev and many others is represented by the modern, futuristic architecture of Astana, the country's capital. Fauve is the author of a series of articles concerning Kazakhstan's political life and symbols: this present essay is a synthesis for them.

The book is structured into a series of chapters, dealing with different aspects. The chapters themselves are not too long, but very consistent. The simple, yet eloquent style of the author makes the book to be easy to be read, but for understanding the subtle nuances, the reader has to pay serious attention.

The first chapter, *Almaty-Astana: de l'empire a la nation* is basically an introduction chapter, in which the background of the projection of a new capital city was conceived by the elite of independent Kazakhstan in 1997, instead of the all capital, Almaty. This case is unique for the new republics of central Asia. The author has a good point: the re-interpretation of history for creating and promoting a glorious past – including Tamerlane – is a parallel and complementary process with modernization. The following two chapters are dealing with the geographical setting of Astana. Then, in the following chapters, the planning and constructions of the new, artificially established capital is treated, separate chapters being dedicated to most of the details. For example separate chapter is dedicated to the issue of the scale-models for Astana, or the conceptions of Kisho Kurokawa, the Japanese master planner of Astana, and the way how they were applied during the construction of the city, since theory and practice – well-developed by the author in the part centered around the ideas of Amanzhol Tschikanaiev – were not often meeting each other.

The last main group of chapters is dealing with the symbolical role of the capital city itself. An interest chapter is in this sense – and maybe the most important one from the whole book – even if it is less than 2 pages – is the one dealing with the role of Astana in the invention process a a Kazakh “national esthetics” which has an integrative role in building of Kazakh national conscience. Another well-written chapter is the one which presents the role of Astana in Kazakh Sport Diplomacy. The comprehensive character of the book is even more deepened by the chapter – 5 pages – which is dealing with the “Borat effect” and how this affected the image of Kazakhstan and the self-perception of the Kazakh people. The book ends with Conclusions, which contains the interpretation of President Nursultan Nazarbaev’s ideas on Astana, interpreted by the author from the perspective of Astana’s possible future development.

Astana, with the AK Orda Presidential Palace, the Palace of Peace and Reconciliation, the Bayterek Tower, the Nur-Astana Mosque, the series of futuristic hotels and skyscrapers, astana is one of the modern futuristic cities of the globe. It is a planned city, like Brasilia, Canberra or Abuja, or – to mention a Stalinist planned city from the former Soviet Union, currently Russia – Magnitogorsk. It is a relatively new city, just as Adrian Feuve’s little pocket-book has an innovative character.

(Artur LAKATOS)

Andreas Gorzewski, *Die Türkisch-Islamisch Union in Wandel*, Berlin, Springer Verlag, 2015, 340 p.

This current book is dealing with a problem of a great actuality: the issue of Turkish identity approached from national and religious point of view, from the perspective of a German author. The central question of this current research is: what bounds and separates in Turkish identity the values of European identity and Islam one, which are the main perspectives for the orientation of Turkish foreign policy and what is probably the most interesting from the perspective of current migrant crisis: how the Turkish Diaspora in Germany could be integrated, which are the successes and failures of this integration process. The author is a good specialist in security issues of the Muslim world, so the bibliography of this volume is also a consistent one: he is using books and a series of articles of specialty published in Turkish, German and English. Another important category of sources are represented by the interviews. The main focus, as the title shows, is on the DITIB, the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs from Germany, which represents the federation of more than 896 Turkish mosques from Germany. As a consequence, it is the largest, most influential and most well-known Turkish and Muslim organization from Germany. As for its legal status, it is falling within the jurisdiction of Turkish Presidency of religious Affairs and has a great role in preserving and promoting Turkish culture in Germany.

The book is structured in 13 chapters, the last one getting, in a progressive way, more and more complex. The first one, *Unter Türkischer und Deutscher Flagge* (Under Turkish and German Flag) is basically the introduction chapter. The second chapter is dealing with issues of unity, sectarianism and cleavage inside the organization, through its status, values, declared mission and the way how its organizational structure works. The following chapter is dealing with the triangle of Religion, State and Authority of Turkish religiosity in German environment, naturally, through the activities of the DITIB. The next chapter is dedicated to migration issues, especially through the mirror of practicing Islamic religion. The next chapter is centered on the role of the DITIB as a provider of services related to religiosity and religious activities. For those non-Muslims who want to understand elementary aspects of religious practices – like the ritual of praying in the mosque and similar – probably this chapter will represent a great source for inspiration. The next chapter is dealing with the role of the DITIB in promoting integration of Turkish people in German society, while the seventh one is treating the role of the DITIB played in politics. A very well-written and complex subchapter in this case is represented by the number 7.2, *Die DITIB als politischer Akteur* (The DITIB as a Political Actor). Another interesting subdivision

is when Turkish reaction to the infamous caricatures about the Prophet Mohammad is presented.

The eight chapter is presenting the role of Islam, and the role of the DITIB in organizing it, in education, from the level of elementary schools till the university, separate subchapter being dedicated to Islam Theology. The last five chapters are also centered around some very specific and complex issues, like the role of minarets and mosques – both symbolical, as religious buildings, as their practical, social importance – the relations “between cooperation and adversity” as the Author formulates, of the DITIB with other Islamic religious organizations, the role of interreligious dialogue, the role of women in the DITIB and its approach to society. The final chapter is about continuity and change in the life of DITIB as organization.

Given that the author is a good specialist of Islam and Jewish studies, the quality of the information presented by this book cannot be contested. Its journalistic style makes it to be readable easily. It can be recommended for all those who are interested in the issue of the DITIB, and hopefully, the information presented and personal opinions of the author will be able to generate constructive discussions in the Academic life.

(Artur LAKATOS)

Timur Dabaev, *Japan in Central Asia. Strategies, Initiatives and Neighboring Powers*, Palgrave MacMillan Publishers, 2016, 190 p.

Even if Japan has the third largest state economy of the world, being capped only by the USA and China, less is written about its role in International Relations. In a way, this gap is filled by the present work of Timur Dabaev, which is dealing with the issue of Japanese aid and investment. As his own statement says, academic literature addressing Japanese foreign policy toward Central Asia is scarce and limited in its scope and scale of analysis. To overcome this tendency, this present book is axed on four major directions. First of all it is to give a frame to general conceptual issues with which Japan is dealing while designing its policies toward the Central Asian republics. Second, it presents the initiatives of Japanese foreign policy toward the five republics. Third, it is giving an insight toward security, economics and politics-related aspects of bilateral cooperation and the aspects which are determining them. Fourth, it is making a compared analysis with Russian and Chinese politics in the region.

The first chapter, between Idealism and Pragmatism, argues that Japanese foreign policy is usually trapped between these two doctrines. At one side is using the rhetoric

of the “Good Samaritan” and is offering consistent financial aid, at one side, is following its own economic interests, and as a result, a hybrid, mixed policy is between idealism and realism. However, Japan is confronting with a series of issues in imposing its interests, due to geographical distance, lack of infrastructure and Japan’s refusal to get involved in regional rivalries to speculate these, unlike its competitors – China, the USA, the Russian Federation – do. The authors mentions such a case: when the CAJ initiative was born, both Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan was hoping that Japan will recognize it as regional leader, Japanese diplomacy however did not act so, rather focused on irrigation issues and plans concerning salvation of the Aral Sea. As a consequence, Japan is perceived by many Central Asians as a benevolent entity, which is granting aids and loans, but it cannot be a strategic ally. Even so, and with all the fact that the relations are asymmetrical – Japan is investing in Central Asia, while Central Asians are not competitive in the Japanese market – a complex system of cooperation exists, in issues like combating terrorism, offering humanitarian assistance, granting technological assistance to farmers or cooperation in energy sector. However, as the author is pointing out: the Japanese strategy for this region is very incoherent, especially in comparison for example with the Chinese one.

Two chapters of this book are containing two interesting case studies: one is dealing with importance of Japanese investments in developing rural economics in Kyrgyzstan, the second one with Japanese implications and efforts in sense of developing a coherent and common strategy for water management among the republics of Central Asia. The last two chapters are dealing with the comparison of Chinese and Japanese presence in Central Asia.

The whole book is richly illustrated with tables and figures, and is based on a comprehensive bibliography. It definitely represents a contribution to understand Japanese foreign policy, and also the role of foreign powers in Central Asia.

(Artur LAKATOS)

Nuri Kavak, *Karasu Kazası (1683–1744). Kırım Hanlığı'nda bir yerleşme örneği*, Çanakkale, 2014, 271+34 p.

The Tatar Khanate of Crimea does not enjoy a rich bibliography meant to present to its genuine dimensions the history of this state that played an important role in the international relations of the eastern and central Europe during the 15th–18th centuries. The main reason consists in the scarcity of the historical sources, mainly of the Tatar internal chancellery documents. It is known that during the invasion of the Russian troops in Crimea between 1736 and 1737 there were tremendous

destructions and massacres. On that occasion, the state archive of the Crimean Khanate was deliberately set on fire. The history of the Crimean Tatars cannot be reconstituted unless based on the foreign documents and indirect or subjective sources. It is only after the disappearance of the U.S.S.R. that in St Petersburg a truly valuable collection was found consisting of 120 internal registers (two more registers can still exist) of the Crimean Khanate, namely the juridical or kadi Codices (*Kadı Sicilleri/Şer'iyye Sicilleri*). The first to study part of this register, found in copy at the "İsmail Gaspirali" Tatar National Library of Simferopol (Akmescit), was the great historian Halil İnalcık. The fear of the Crimean Tatars that the documents pertaining to their national history could be destroyed on purpose is to the present so high that even the 61 copies of the kadi codices found in Akmescit were quickly transferred to the State Archives of Turkey. Unfortunately, there are very few and fewer researchers who thoroughly studied these registers. Professor Nuri Kavak is the one who achieved until now the most solid work based on some of these Tatar juridical registers. He founded his work on four Şer'iyye Sicilleri referring to the region (*kaza*) of Karasu in the southern part of the Crimean Peninsula, at the crossroads of certain important commercial routes. These codices belong to the years 1094–1096 (1683–1684), 1110 (1698–1699), 1129 (1717), and 1156–1157 (1743–1744), covering a period of 61 years of the history of the Crimean Khanate. Such documents are known to be extremely rich sources in illustrating the complex daily life of a settlement of area, from one epoch or another.

In the introductory part the author refers to the Juridical Registers that he studied, then he briefly presents the history of the Crimean Khanate and makes some considerations on the geography and history of the Karasu region (*kaza*). The book is structured in four chapters, each destined for a specific topic, clearly illustrated by the historical sources considered.

In the first chapter, the administrative organization of the Karasu *kaza* is presented, as it appears from the research on the epoch documents. The second chapter presents the edifices mentioned in the Karasu kadi codices, among which the vakıf have a significant place. The third chapter is dedicated to the demography and social structure of the region, whereas the last chapter analyzes the economic and financial situation of the region. The author operates with lists and tables and graphics meant to provide an even more clear and precise view on the related topic.

It is important to notice also that in the Annexes we can find the transcription and photocopies of some illustrative documents, as well as a detailed map of the Crimean settlements, dated 20 October 1854, achieved by the Ottoman military authorities during the Crimean War. The work is completed by an Index, a Bibliography, an Abbreviation list and the List of Tables and graphics.

This book of Professor Nuri Kavak is a major scientific contribution to knowing well the history of the Crimean Khanate. It introduces many various documentary data meant to cast light on a series of unknown aspects, to correct certain preconceived opinions or wrongly formulated ones with regard to the existence and civilization of the Crimean Tatars in the 17th and 18th centuries. Therefore, for instance, we learn from this book that a kaza such as the Karasu one had in 1660 27,500 Muslims and 2,800 non-Muslims, which can give us a clue closer to reality regarding the entire population of the Crimean Khanate. The registers attest the fact that there was a displacement from Anatolia and Rumelia towards the Crimean Khanate at least in the 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, unlike the rest of the Islamic world, in Crimea the women continued to be respected in the society and had a word to say not only within their families, including on divorce cases, but also in the public life. These codices reveal that polygamy was practiced by the Tatars only as an exception to the monogamy rule. The author carefully studied the problem of the Tatar heritage reflected in these registers which also have a notary character, reaching the conclusion that there were few Crimean inhabitants that were terribly rich, as well as few very poor people. Although the Ottoman influence in Crimea was increasingly greater, the Tatar state intervened less and less in the economic life, compared to the Ottoman one. The codices reflect a productive economic and commercial life, rich and varied, taking place according to legal norms that were respected, where there was no discrimination on religious criteria. This was the heritage of the Golden Horde that is less known. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Khanate of Crimea continued to stay connected to great commercial roads of south-north and east-west.

I consider opportune the translation of the book in English in a possibly revised and enlarged edition with an updated bibliography.

(Tasin GEMIL)

Marie Favereau, Jacques Raymond, *La Horde d'Or. Les héritiers de Gengis Khan*, Editions de La Flandronnière, Lascelles, 2014, 239 p.+photos

Présenté en novembre 2014 à une librairie de Paris, le livre susmentionné est une *rara avis* dans le paysage éditorial occidental. Je ne pourrais pas dire dans quelle mesure sa parution a été influencée par la nouvelle politique agressive de la Russie dans l'espace historique des Tatars ?! Mais, sans doute cet ouvrage vient remplir un vide ressenti depuis longtemps dans la littérature de spécialité. Le livre emporte des données historiques et des informations actualisées pour comprendre le passé aussi que le présent de l'immense espace eurasiatique que le grand état de la Horde d'Or

a laissé comme héritage. L'identité de cet état impérial est encore discutée et disputée, bien qu'il soit clair pour tant d'historiens que le peuple Tatar de nos jours s'est formé et a évolué entre les frontières vastes de la Horde d'Or, sur la fondation d'un élément ethnique Kiptchak (Couman) prépondérant. Cela ne veut pas du tout dire que dans la Horde d'Or il n'y avait pas d'autres ethnies, d'origines et croyances diverses.

L'ouvrage veut répondre à une somme de questions liées au passé aussi qu'au présent des peuples et communautés de l'immense espace de l'Eurasie, compris entre les frontières de la Horde d'Or. Les questions existent depuis longtemps car les autorités russes tsaristes et notamment celles soviétiques ont persisté dans leur préoccupation de minimiser, diaboliser ou même nier le rôle de ce grand état dans l'histoire de l'Eurasie, particulièrement de la Russie. L'auteur de ce texte consistant, Mme Favereau énumère ces positions et essaye de trouver des explications et des réponses en appelant à l'histoire réelle, mais aussi à l'idéologie et politique qui ont été la fondation des falsifications prolongées opérées par l'historiographie russe et soviétique à ce sujet. Généralement, la démarche de l'auteur est salutaire. Mme M. Favereau présente des arguments pertinents et réussit de ranger d'une manière claire et précise beaucoup de problèmes encore controversés liés à l'histoire, civilisation et héritage de la Horde d'Or. Elle souligne le fait que l'histoire et l'héritage de la Horde d'Or ne sont pas exonérés ni de nos jours de l'intervention des jeux politiques dans la région, où l'idéologie slave orthodoxe nationaliste est remplacée maintenant par l'idéologie des nouveaux états indépendants. L'héritage de la Horde d'Or n'est ni linéaire, ni directe, dit l'auteur. Mais cela ne signifie pas que son héritage appartient à tous les peuples eurasiatiques, y inclus les Polonais, les Ukrainiens etc. (pourquoi pas les Russes aussi ?!), comme prétend Mme Favereau (« Ainsi tous ceux qui d'une manière ou d'une autre se reconnaissent dans ce passé et se sentent Touraniens – qu'ils soient Tatars, Kazakhs, Mongols, Ouzbeks, Karaites, Ukrainiens, Polonais etc – ont droit à partager cette histoire commune car aucun ne peut prétendre à l'exclusivité du récit. ») (p. 24; voir aussi pp. 218–220). En outre, selon mon avis, certains projets de grande envergure de nos jours, parmi lesquels celui eurasiatique promu par le régime du président Vladimir Poutine, utilisent précisément une telle idée délibérément exagérée de l'héritage commun de l'Horde d'Or.

À la disparition de la Horde d'Or en 1502, le Khanat Tatar de Crimée est déclaré officiellement le seul héritier de celui-ci et s'est comporté effectivement en tant qu'héritier jusqu'à ce que l'invasion russe a mis un fin à son existence en 1783. Autrement dit, les Tatars sont les héritiers de droit de la Horde d'Or, tout comme les Autrichiens (Allemands) sont les héritiers de l'Empire habsbourg, les Turcs sont les héritiers de l'Empire ottoman ou les Russes sont les héritiers de l'Empire tsariste etc.

Tous les autres peuples qui se trouvaient sur les frontières des ces empires ne le sont, ni se considèrent les héritiers de ces empires. Malheureusement, c'est dans cette confusion que se trouve la faiblesse essentielle de l'entière construction de ce livre qui a beaucoup de données intéressantes et des idées correctes, mises, hélas !, sur un fondement erroné.

Les photos de ce livre, créditées à l'autre auteur Jacques Raymond, sont nombreuses et du point de vue technique elles sont de haute qualité. Sauf, ces photos ont aussi été élues juste pour illustrer l'idée de l'héritage commun et la manque de progrès majeur dans l'évolution de ces peuples, qui restent encore fortement attachés au nomadisme ancestral. Or, la réalité dans cet aspect aussi est complètement différente y inclus les peuples et communautés qui en effet sont restées beaucoup de temps nomades, comme ils étaient par exemple les Kazakhs, les Kirghiz, les Turkmènes, les Nogaïs etc. Dans le même ordre d'idées, je regrette de signaler aussi le fait que les illustrations des places des sédentaires sont plutôt dominantes ou marquées par des symboles chrétiens, bien que l'espace eurasiatique étudié est/a été plutôt musulman que chrétien ou chamanique. Le livre aurait pu être d'une haute qualité scientifique et particulièrement utile si l'auteure n'avait pas démarré d'une prémisse erronée.

(Tasin GEMIL)

SCIENTIFIC EVENTS

**The participation
at the international celebratory session
occasioned by the anniversary of 25 years
since the creation of the Academy of Sciences
of the Republic of Tatarstan**

Victor SPINEI

At the invitation of the president of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, Miakzium Khalimulovich Salakhov, I participated between September 29th and October 2nd, 2016, together with Professor Tasin Gemil, in the international session dedicated to the celebration of a quarter of a century since the creation of the academic institution based in Kazan. We travelled by plane, a Turkish Airlines flight along the route Bucharest–Istanbul–Kazan and back, leaving the Romanian capital on the morning of September 28th, and returning on October 3rd, 2016.

The decree to found the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan was issued on September 30th, 1991, signed by the first president of the Republic, Mintimer Sharipovich Shaimiev, but its activity started effectively with the programming of the first general assembly of the institution on the 24th of January 1992.

The beginnings of academic preoccupations in Kazan are foremost connected with the ukaz/decreed of Tsar Alexander I from 1804, through which the bases of the University of Kazan were set, a cultural outpost of the Russian Empire towards the East. In a first stage, the professorial body of the academic centre was recruited from incoming specialists from Sankt-Petersburg and Moscow, with the support of whom a genuine “Kazan school” was established for various domains of science. The most famous representative of this school was the mathematician of international repute Nikolai Ivanovich Lobachevskii (1792–1856), rector of the University between 1828 and 1846. The Alma mater from Kazan has distinguished itself particularly in the field of Orientalistics, a speciality in which Ch. M. J. Fren (Frähn), O. M. Kovalevskii, Kh. Faizkhanov, V. P. Vasiliev, and N. N. Berezin excelled. The high education was open primarily to the Russian-speaking community of the city and of the surrounding regions, but not to the Tatar community, which was barred from living in Kazan.

A significant moment for the activation of the local scientific life was the establishment in 1921 of the Academic Centre of the People's Commissariat, which

employed 98 specialists. Even though its main purpose was to implant the Communist ideology, the Centre supported the expression of the cultural traditions of the Tatars. During World War II, the seat of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, together with around 2000 researchers, moved to Kazan, which influenced the structures of the academic institutions in the city, even more so given that prestigious scholars activated briefly here, such as P. L. Kapitza, L. A. Orbeli, L. D. Landau, D. S. Likhachov, I. V. Tarle, B. D. Grekov, etc

As in other constituent republics of the Soviet Union, in 1945, shortly after the end of the war, Kazan became the home of a local branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, with positive outcomes for the science and culture of Tatarstan. Major changes in this regard occurred after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, when – on the 30th of August, 1990 – the Declaration on the state sovereignty of the Tatarstan Soviet Socialist Republic was issued. According to the new constitution, adopted on the 6th of November 1992 on the basis of a referendum carried out a few months earlier, the Republic of Tatarstan enjoyed notable administrative prerogatives within the Russian Federation. In this new socio-political context, the Academy of Sciences acquired more important responsibilities, which required certain organisational measures.

The Academy is currently structured in seven branches: (1) Humanities, (2) Social-economical Sciences, (3) Medical and Biological Sciences, (4) Agricultural Sciences, (5) Mathematics, Mechanics and Machinery, (6) Physics, Energetics and Earth Sciences, and (7) Chemistry and Chemical Engineering. In what concerns the Humanities division, it supervises the “G. Ibragimov” Institute of Language, Literature and Art, the Institute of Tatar Encyclopedia and Regional Studies, the Institute of Archaeology, the Centre for Islamic Studies, the “Sh. Mardzhani” Institute of History, and the Republican Centre for Preserving the Traditional Culture, entities created gradually after the founding of the Academy of Sciences. Quite significant is that the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan asserts its founding not from the creation of the branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences – as other academic institutions from the former Soviet state –, but from a date associated with the establishment of the Republic of Tatarstan.

The first elected president of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan was the man-of-letters Mansur Khasanovich Khasanov (1930–2010), who fulfilled his mandate between 1992 and 2006. He was succeeded in this important position by the chemist Akhmet Mazgarovich Mazgarov in 2006–2014, and currently the Academy is led by physicist Miakzium Khalimulovich Salakhov.

The Academy gathers 40 titular members, 80 corresponding members, 29 members of honour, and 14 members from abroad. Accordingly, the total number of members of the Academy of Sciences from Tatarstan is 163 persons, of which 149 from the

Republic and 14 from abroad, for a population under four millions. This is very high compared with, for instance, the number of members of the Romanian Academy, which, according to law, cannot exceed 81 titular members, 82 corresponding members, 36 members of honour from the country, and 89 foreign members of honour, meaning that the maximum number of members can be 288, of which 199 from the country, for a population of slightly over 20 million inhabitants. Within the department of Humanities of the Academy from Tatarstan were co-opted seven titular members, nine corresponding members, four members of honour from various centres from the Russian Federation, and other four members of honour from abroad (N. Devlet and E. Ikhsanoglu from Turkey, I. Fodor from Hungary, and U. Schamiloglu from the United States).

The good organisation of the research work, the setting of precise strategic objectives, and the efficient support given by leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan have led to remarkable achievements in the publishing field. An essential input in this regard came from the research body composed of elements gifted with passion and tenacity. From among the publications in the field of Humanities, compelling for the scientific potential of the scholars from Kazan, we mention the collective volumes: Татары ("The Tatars"), Татарская энциклопедия ("The Tatar Encyclopedia"), История татар с древнейших времен ("The History of the Tatars from the Oldest Times") in seven volumes, as well as the atlases Tartarica, Bulgarica and Великий Болгар ("Great Bolgar"), elaborated for the most part by prestigious specialists from the Republic of Tatarstan. Some of the chapters of these voluminous works were written in collaboration with a number of historians from abroad¹.

Invited to the session dedicated to a quarter of a century since the creation of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan were the presidents and vice-presidents of similar academies from the Russian Federation, located in the vicinity of the Republic of Tatarstan, in Eastern Europe, Western Siberia and Central Asia, as well as several specialists from Kazan and other centres, with preoccupations tangential to those of the colleagues from Tatarstan.

A first meeting of a restricted number of participants to the session was programmed on September 29th, under the chairmanship of the president of the local Academy, Professor Miakzium Kh. Salakhov. The meeting occasioned a brief exchange of information on the professional objectives of the guests and the collaboration with academic institutions from Tatarstan.

The festive gathering dedicated to celebrating the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan took place throughout

¹ Республика Татарстан. Природа, история, экономика, культура, наука, Kazan, 2015, p. 160–175; Академия наук Республики Татарстан, 1991–2016, Kazan, 2016, p. 4–57

September 30th in the festivity room of the central compound of the Academy (Fig. 1, B). The meeting was graced by the presence of Mr Mintimer Sharipovich Shaimiev, the first president of the Republic of Tatarstan, with a mandate spanning a long period of time, from June 1991 to March 2010, who has special merits in supporting the founding and organisation of the Academy. The milestones of the important scientific and cultural institution from Kazan were expounded upon by the President of the Academy Miakziy Kh. Salakhov, the former president of the Republic M. Sh. Shaimiev, and the member of the Academy General Makhmut Akhmetovich Gareev. Their speeches foremost transmitted the goal of identifying the most adequate solutions for preserving the language and traditions of the Tatars, but also the availability to establish and maintain long-lasting collaborations with scientific fora from the Russian Federation, the Turkophone Islamic states and other countries.

These speeches were followed by the allocution of Ms Talia Iarullova Khabrieva, the vicepresident of the Russian Academy of Sciences, after which I was given the floor in order to present a message from the Romanian Academy. On this occasion I expressed the appreciation for the notable results of the colleagues from Tatarstan and for their aspirations to reach a level as high as possible, in accordance with the scientific achievements on the global level. At the same time, I made a brief foray into the most representative moments of the history of the Romanian Academy, which this year celebrated a century and a half since its founding. I stressed that the two academic institutions were founded in different historical circumstances and followed their own paths, but shared the same goals, notably the cultivation of the language and the reconstruction of the national history, as well as the production of eminent works in all major scientific domains. Delivered in English, my message was translated into Russian by Bulat Nogmanov, an expert from the Service of Foreign Relations of the Academy from Kazan, as to make it accessible for the entire audience.

Further on, speeches were given by several notable guest to the celebratory session: Ibrahim Guliyev, the President of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Igor Kolodeznikov, the President of the Academy of Sciences from the Sakha/Yakutia Republic, Zurab Dzhotovovich Dzahupua, the President of the Academy of Sciences from Abkhazia, Al'rus Gaiazov, the President of the Academy of Sciences from the Republic of Bashkortostan/Bashkiria, and by other representatives of academies from the eastern part of Europe and from Central and Western Asia, with fruitful collaborations with the Academy from Tatarstan. Also invited to speak was Uli Schamiloglu, professor of Turkic and Central-Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin (USA), currently a visiting professor at the Nazarbayev University from Astana, Kazakhstan.

At the reception dinner that followed the celebratory meeting, the floor was also given to Professor Tasin Gemil, who delivered a speech in Tatar, mentioning, among others, his preoccupations that focus on the history and culture of the Turkish and Tatar community from Romania. His proposal on organising a large itinerant exhibition with items lent from several European and Asian countries was received with great interest. In point of fact, the activity of Professor Tasin Gemil – director of the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies from the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca – is held in high regard on the international level, relevant in this regard being the numerous scientific gatherings to which he is invited to lecture, as well as by his works published in prestigious journals from abroad.

With respect to the strictly official facet of my presence in Kazan, I was presented with the opportunity to visit several historical monuments and museums, and to establish contact with leading representatives of the local academia. The main museum complex of the city is the undoubtedly the Kazan Kremlin (Fig. 1, B), consisting of a fortified stone enclosure fitted with defensive towers lying in-between the two curtain walls, and a wall-walk of stone and wood on the inside. The fortress was erected shortly after the conquest of the city by the armies of Ivan the Terrible in 1552, a campaign that ended with the crushing of the Khanate of Kazan and its annexation to the Tsardom of Muscovy. Most likely the Russian fortress made use of previous fortification works made by the Khanate, since it has a dominant strategic location on the bank of the Kazanka River, at a short distance from its confluence with the Volga. Validating this opinion would require archaeological excavations of a methodical character.

Inside the Kremlin there is a church, a mosque, museums, seats of academic institutions, the seat of the President of the Republic, and other buildings. From among the edifices of the Kremlin, I only managed to visit the Museum of the History of the Nationality of Tatar People and the Republic of Tatarstan, entering on this occasion into the cathedral with the traditional onion domes, as well as into the majestic mosque with four slender minarets. The Orthodox church – the Cathedral of the Annunciation (Fig. 2, B) – was designed in 1556–1562 by masters Postnik Yakovlev and Ivan Shirlai, and underwent major reparations and additions in 1836–1841. Raised in 1996–2005 on the place of the former mosques and tombs of several khans, destroyed after the Russian conquest, the Kul-Sharif Mosque is a true architectural masterpiece (Fig. 2, A), which certain local officials try to impose as the city's emblem. Postnik Yakovlev was one of the architects of Saint Basil's Cathedral from the Red Square. According to tradition – which closely resembles the legend of Master Manole from Wallachia –, after the completion of the works, Ivan the Terrible ordered that Yakovlev be blinded, so that he could never design anything as beautiful as the cathedral from Moscow.

Another museum of interest for my own scientific preoccupations, where I had the chance to examine the artefacts exhibited, was the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, located in a spacious building built in 1895 according to the plans of architect I. N. Kolmakov, for the use of the Kazan City Museum. Besides the rich collections of items dating from prehistory and the Scytho-Sarmatian period, the Museum holds artefacts relevant for the civilisation of the Volga Bulgars, of the Kipchak tribes, and of the Golden Horde.

After the collapse of Great Bulgaria, a state located to the north-east of the Black Sea, following the expansion of the Khazars in the seventh century, part of the Bulgar population moved to the Middle Volga, where it established a vigorous polity. Located along a very circulated trade route, the region prospered particularly when extensive urban centres appeared in the region, such as Bolgar and Biliar, which few cities in Western and Central Europe could have rivalled. In 922 Volga Bulgaria adopted Islam as the official religion. Its independent status ended in 1236, with the great Mongol invasion lead by Batu Khan. The region continued its positive evolution, as it was found near the seats of the Golden Horde khans along the lower courses of the Volga. During the fourteenth century, the political-military elite Turkified and Islamised, and the ethno-cultural process of consolidating the Turkophone elements intensified, leading to the emergence of the Tatar people. The centrifugal trends within the Golden Horde led to the breakup of the state, so that in 1438 the Khanate of Kazan was established with the capital in Kazan. It remained independent for only slightly more than a century, after which it became part of the Tsardom of Muscovy, and transformed into the Gubernia/Governorate of Kazan by Peter the Great in 1708. The progresses in the economical-social sphere of the region had a lesser impact on the Tatar population, as the Tsarist authorities constantly limited its rights².

From among the greatest benefits of the visit in Kazan I would above all mention the meetings with several of the most prestigious historians from the “Sh. Marjani” Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, namely with the director of the institution, academician Raphael Sibratovich Khakimov, an assiduous organiser, and with Ilnur Midkhatovich Mirgaleev, the director from the “M. A. Usmanov” Centre for Research of the Golden Horde and Tatar Khanates within the Institute of History. Even though he is still young, Ilnur M. Mirgaleev proved to possess vast professional expertise and outstanding spirit of initiative. Among others, he has initiated and coordinated the publications *Золотоордынская цивилизация / The Golden Horde Civilization* and *Нумизматика Золотой Орды / The Golden Horde Numismatic*, series for which he is the executive editor and R. S. Khakimov is the

² *Татарстан. Краткая иллюстрированная энциклопедия*, 2nd ed., editor-in-chief M. Kh. Salakhov, Kazan, 2015; *Республика Татарстан...*, 2015, p. 34–59

editor-in-chief. Since 2013, the “M. A. Usmanov” Centre for Research of the Golden Horde and Tatar Khanates has been publishing the journal *Золотоордынское обозрение / Golden Horde Review*, in which the editor-in-chief is the same tireless Ilnur M. Mirgaleev. One of the great merits of these publications is that the editors did not mean them only for issues of local history, but to an extensive range of topics. At the same time, the authors of the studies, as well as the members of the editorial council are recruited not only from medievalists from Kazan, but also from several other centres from Europe, Asia and America. Starting with the sixth issue of the series *Золотоордынская цивилизация / The Golden Horde Civilization*, corresponding to the year 2013, I was given the honour to be part of the editorial council alongside my colleague Tasin Gemil and others specialists from Russia, Kazakhstan, United States, Mongolia, Japan, etc.

Besides the abovementioned journals, during the last years numerous volumes concerning the Turkic and Mongol populations of the Middle Ages, of great scientific value, have been published under the aegis of the “M. A. Usmanov” Centre for Research of the Golden Horde and Tatar Khanates. Far from being an exaggeration, during the last half of decade the institution from Kazan emerged as the centre with the most important accomplishments in the field of investigating the Golden Horde and the Tatars from the entire world. A more dynamic and coherent distribution of the works published in the capital of the Tatarstan Republic would definitely lend more credibility to my claim.

The days spent in Kazan were also used for discussing various scientific themes and for testing possible opportunities for fruitful collaborations in the future with the colleagues met here: Ilnur M. Mirgaleev, Raphael Sibratovich Khakimov, Albert Burkhanov, Uli Schamiloglu, Zurab Dzhotovovich Dzhapua, Farit Sabitovich Manasyprov, Daniya Fatikhovna Zagidullina (Chief scientific secretary of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences), etc.

Translated by Ștefan Caliniuc



A



B

**Fig. 1. Kazan: A – The tower from the entrance into the Kremlin;
B – The main seat of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan**



A



B

**Fig. 2. Kazan – Kremlin. A – The Kul-Sharif Mosque;
B – The Cathedral of the Annunciation.**

IN MEMORIAM



György HAZAI (1932–2016)

At the beginning of this year we've said our goodbyes to a great international scientist, György Hazai – Turkologist, Orientalist, retired university professor, researcher, and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA). He was an emblematic character of a great Orientalist generation, not only Hungarian, but international too.

He was born on 30 April 1932, in Budapest. He started his university studies at Eötvös Lóránd University in Budapest having legendary professors like: Gyula Németh, Lajos Ligeti who have formed the hard-working student in the history of the Turkish people.

He continued as a guest teacher for 4 years in SoFia, followed by 4 years at the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA). In 1963 he became associate professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin, leading the German Academy of Sciences' Turfan research group for more than 11 years. After two decades, he went back to Hungary, in 1982, where he was the director of the Akadémia Kiadó Publisher between 1984 and 1990. From 1991 until his retirement, he was scientific advisor, and later research professor, of the Orientalist working community at the Research Institute for Linguistics (later Literature) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA).

His impressive scientific activity was registered between the years 1992–1999, while he was a senior department professor at the University of Nicosia, Cyprus.

In the national educational sphere, he was notable as the founding rector of the Andrásy University, which provided teaching in German language (2000–2003).

György Hazai was editor, co-editor or part of the editing team for many international journals and for a series of books. He was part of many Orientalist societies, either as founder, secretary, secretary-general or president. He was the founder of the so-called Comité International des Études Ottomanes et Pre-Ottomanes's academy, their last conference was held in Budapest in 2014. In 1991 he was elected as the

secretary-general of the International Association of East and Asian Studies, and in 2007 its president.

His academic achievements were acknowledged many times at home and internationally. In 1982 he became a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA), in 1995 he was elected full member. An honorary member of the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA), also an honorary member of numerous scholarly institutions and organizations including the Turkish Language Society (TDK), the American Oriental Society, the Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, and the Societas Uralo-Altaica. He received numerous academic and state honors and citations.

He filed an extensive research work in Turkology, placing great importance to the Turkish dialects in the Balkan area. Turkish linguistics and the history of the Turkish people caught his research interest. He contributed and followed the great Hungarian masters of Turkology: Ármin Vámbéry, József Thrúy, Lajos Fekete, Gyula Németh.

He worked on three major theories: the history of the Turkish people and their language, including the Balkan influence and interaction on the language, the research, publication and linguistics processing of the early Ottoman-Turkish linguistic records, he opened a new study domain for the opening and understanding of the Turkish linguistic records transliterated in Latin and Cyrillic. His life work of many books and hundreds of studies will remain for centuries.

He had said about his research methods, when he received the Order of Merit of the Turkish Republic, that: “the Turkish linguistic history is not a simple domain, because the Turkish language appears in an Arabic, Persian gown and this gown needs to be stripped off so that one can get to the Turkish ground.” He demonstrated that the linguistic records of certain periods can be approached using modern linguistic methods, first of all with the numerical one. The essence of this was that the researches counted the presence of some expressions in the records and they reached a conclusion about the given period. György Hazai was an important character not only in Hungarian Turkology or balkanism, but he was an irreplaceable individual in the collaboration on international territories and also of the diplomatic life in Budapest too.

He often visited the Turkish people, whose language and culture he was studying, and they never forgot to bring him a final tribute at his funeral. After a few months of illness, he died in his home at his native city, Budapest, at the age of 84, on 7 January, 2016. At his funeral, politicians and numerous scientists from Turkey participated, among the official delegation of the Turkish Embassy in Budapest. The academician and Turkologist, Mr. Ekmeleddin Mehmet İhsanoğlu, who wished

to emphasize Hazai's appreciable work, held an emotional speech. Colleagues and friends from Hungary and from foreign countries wished to be next to him on his last day on Earth.

His works can be considered as a great contribution to Turkology and Orientalism, in general, a real contribution to the Hungarian scientific domain, a precious information base for future researches. He was one of the most representative elites of his domain; he will be respected and esteemed internationally, his death leaving great emptiness in the Hungarian scientific space, and a great loss at international level.

Attached you will find the farewell letter written by the Director of the Institute of Turkology and Central-Asian Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca, a letter that I was supposed to read at the funeral, but I couldn't because of the large number of the speakers, so I decided to publish it, instead.

One of his former students remembered the professor, in his commemorative lines, as a person who treated everyone the same; he called his students his colleagues. He built the Department on the basis that they were all equally invested in the scholarship of their field, they all had a voice and a share in proceedings, from the learning arena to departmental policy matters.

Personally, I have heard many nice things about the great Turkologist and I had the chance to meet him at the annual conference dedicated to Ármin Vámbéry, held in Dunaszerdahely, in 2015. I found him sober, quiet, and preoccupied to discuss certain short and concise things with his present colleagues. He did not pay much attention to discussions. He had his hair combed in half, he had an active personality, even a few months before his death, this is the image of this great Turkologist that remained in my mind. At the same conference, in Dunaszerdahely, the Ármin Vámbéry Association commemorated his death in March 2016.

His name is connected to the monographic summary of linguistic and linguistic history researches, which is compulsory reading material in every Turkish department. He was one of the main initiator and attendant of the Turkish International Information Service's newest instruments, for example the *Turkologischer Anzeiger's* yearly issue.

György Hazai was one of the most eminent representative of the Orientalist generation in the research of the East. He was much appreciated around the world for the scientific work he had done in the field of researching the Turkish language. He made a base for the future Hungarian Orientalist talents, and he contributed substantially for their acceptance in the international spheres. With his death the Hungarian and international Turkology has suffered a great loss. Requiescat in pace.

Margareta ASLAN

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Kederli aile,

Dünyacı ünlü alim Profesör Dr. György Hazai'ın aramızdan ayrıldığını büyük üzüntü ile duyduk. Romanya'nın, Babeş-Bolyai Üniversitesi'ndeki Türkoloji ve Orta Asya Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Uluslararası Bilimsel Şura'sına Akad. Prof. Dr. György Hazai'ı kabul etmekle onur kazanmıştır. Dünya Türkolojisi için Profesör György Hazai'ın vefatı büyük bir kayıp olduğun yanısıra, bizim Enstitü ve emekdaşları için de bir acıdır. Profesör György Hazai çok değerli ve zengin eseri ile ebediyen var olacaktır ve parlak yüzü ile de gönlümüzde daima yaşayacaktır.

Vahid ve ulu Allah'tan rahmet ve yakınlarına da sabır niyaz ederiz.

Yattığı yer Cennet olsun!

15.01.2016

Derin saygılarımla,

Prof.dr. Tasin GEMİL

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The second, third and following citations:

- Uzunçarşılı, 1974, pp.175-178.
- Benningsen et al., 1978, pp.11 9-123.
- Iorga, 1934, p.382.

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