

TURKISM AND THE SOVIETS

The Turks of the World and
their Political Objectives

Charles Warren Hostler

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Volume 24

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First published in 1957 by George Allen & Unwin Ltd

This edition first published in 2023

by Routledge

4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-33553-7 (Set)

ISBN: 978-1-032-37659-2 (Volume 24) (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-37660-8 (Volume 24) (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-34126-0 (Volume 24) (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003341260

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THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES



CHARLES WARREN HOSTLER
Colonel, USAF

LONDON
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1957

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
in 10 point Times Roman
BY BROWN KNIGHT & TRUSCOTT LTD
LONDON AND TONBRIDGE

FOREWORD

Preliminary thought and collection of material for this study began at the time of my first wartime visit to Turkey and the Balkans (1945 to 1947). Later, as a member of the early U.S. Military Mission to Turkey (1948 to 1950) under the Greek-Turkish Aid Program, it was possible to continue academic pursuit of my interest in this question. Returning from Turkey in 1950, I was assigned to the U.S. Air Force's far-sighted graduate-training program at Georgetown University to undertake a course leading to a graduate degree in international relations. In this period I had the good fortune to become associated with Dr. Stefan T. Possony, who guided me in writing a shorter study, '*The Pan-Turanian Appeal*.' This work was brought to fruition with the invaluable advice of an earnest scholar of Turkish affairs, Dr. Kerim K. Key. In 1951, while assigned to Headquarters, United States Air Force, in Washington, I was able to continue work at Georgetown University.

The United States Air Force, recognizing the need for trained Near Eastern specialists, assigned me to the American University of Beirut for a two year training program in 1953. Being again in the Near East was invaluable and the atmosphere of the American University of Beirut aided progress of the study. Of equal importance was the opportunity to travel to Istanbul, Ankara, Cairo, London, Paris, etc., where interviews and material otherwise unobtainable were secured. Full credit for assistance should be extended to the persons interviewed (mentioned in text), as well as to Professor Zeine N. Zeine, Chairman of the Department of History, American University of Beirut, and Dr. Nabih Amin Faris of that University for their guidance. Mr. Wlodzimierz Baczkowski provided certain translations, experienced advice, and the use of his private collection. Dr. Kerim K. Key of American University, Washington, D.C., Professor Enver Ziya Karal of Ankara University, and Dr. Stefan T. Possony of Georgetown University offered invaluable suggestions, corrections, and direction. Mrs. Martha Loughlin did a careful job of typing the final draft. Finally, tribute and thanks must go to my wife, who

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not only shared with the editing and typing, but sustained me in efforts to finish the project. In November 1955 the study was completed and accepted as a Ph.D. dissertation by Georgetown University, to whom full credit should be given.

Note on Sources and Methodology. The Turkish peoples, broadly speaking, live in three individual socio-political and cultural zones. The Anatolian Turks have their own state in which they form the dominant majority. The Turkish peoples in the Soviet Union are separated from each other by the Soviet policy of *divide et impera*, and are cut off from the outer world. The Turks in Sinkiang, Afghanistan and in Persia are underdeveloped politically and culturally and are oppressed in varying degrees by their respective non-Turkish governments. Availability of data was influenced by these factors.

Material dealing with the Ottoman (or Anatolian) Turks is plentiful in the chief European languages and covers nearly all fields of national life. Current data dealing with the Turks of Soviet Russia is chiefly in Russian and in the Turkic dialects of the individual Turkish peoples of the USSR, and is extremely biased. Soviet publications often extoll the Russian cultural and political achievements in the Turkish provinces of the Moscow empire. At the same time non-Soviet Turkological publications prepared by Turkish political émigrés from Russia and their European friends, often over-emphasize the various independence and anti-Soviet movements. Objective and purely scientific material is limited and obtainable only with the greatest difficulty.

Information dealing with the Turks in Sinkiang, Afghanistan, and Persia is very limited and chiefly scattered in periodicals. Even such an important area as Persian Azerbaijan is, in some aspects *terra incognita*. It is an interesting fact, for example, that the Turkmen minority in Persia, who are more accessible for research than their co-tribesmen in Soviet Turkmenistan, have not been studied for a long period. Baron Clement Augustus de Bode's article on the Yamud and Goklan tribes, written over a hundred years ago, in 1848, is still a most useful account of the Turkmens in Persia.¹

¹ Baron Clement Augustus de Bode, 'On the Yamud and Goklan Tribes of Turkomania,' *Journal of Ethnological Society*, London, 1948, Vol. 1.

FOREWORD

These differences in the scope and character of the literature dealing with the separate Turkish zones dictate different approaches to the analysis and description of the individual portions of the Turkish world. Thus, in order to avoid duplication, the treatment of the Anatolian Turks, is restricted to chosen problems, and many important but well known subjects are omitted. In relation to the Turkish area of Soviet Russia, on the contrary, I have included introductory data. An attempt has been made to secure Soviet and Turko-Tatar views and material (since the Western view is more accessible to us), therefore wide use has been made of these sources wherever possible.

Note on Terminology. The word *Turk* (Turkish, etc.) is used in this work to designate the Turkish population of Anatolia, plus the Tatars of Russia, and all other related peoples who use Turkic languages. The term *Turko-Tatars* or simply *Tatars* is used to describe the Turks of the USSR with the exception of the Turkestanians and Azerbaijanis (some Russian sources identify Azerbaijanis as Transcaucasian Tatars). To define the individual Turkish peoples and tribes in the USSR, Iran, Sinkiang, etc., their individual names are also used (*Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Yakuts*, etc.).



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ABBREVIATIONS

USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the official name of Soviet Russia.
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the largest component of the USSR.
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic. The USSR consists of sixteen Soviet Socialist Republics which are also called Union Republics. There are five 'Turkish' Soviet Socialist Republics: Azerbaijan, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Uzbek.
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Where national units are found within the RSFSR or of the SSR'S, there are smaller self-governing areas, with varying degrees of autonomy. The most important are constituted as ASSR's. There were six 'Turkish' ASSR's: Bashkir, Chuvash, Crimean (liquidated), Kara-Kalpak, Tatar and Yakut. The Balkarian portion of the Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR belonged to the Turkic speaking areas of the USSR, but was liquidated at the end of the Second World War.
AR	Autonomous Region. After the ASSR's are the smaller autonomous units, with very restricted autonomy within the RSFSR or SSR's. There were four 'Turkish' Autonomous Regions: Gorno-Altai (Oirat), Karachai (liquidated), Khakass and Tuvin.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Turkish world occupies a broad belt of territories extending across Asia from the Eastern Mediterranean to Mongolia and reaching in the north to the Middle Volga basin and the Siberian borderline of Kazakhstan. This enormous area is divided by the southern borderline of the USSR into two halves. This region forms one of the most important emerging geopolitical issues of our century. This fact has been generally unrecognized in the Western world owing to memories of the weakness and disorder which accompanied the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and the relatively late emergence of the question of the Turkish peoples in Russia, in Persia and in Sinkiang.

A most significant manifestation of the Turkish issue is connected with the so-called Pan-Turkist ideal which concerns Anatolia and the Turkic-speaking areas of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as other Asiatic territories (Sinkiang, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Persian Azerbaijan, etc.)

Pan-Turkism emerged as a significant political problem when the development of nationalism in the East actuated the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, and, later with the creation of Kemalist Turkey. The Russian Revolution of 1917 activated the nationalist and separatist inclinations of the Turko-Tatars and the other non-Russian peoples of the Russian Empire. This led to the transformation of the centralized Empire into a federative one, and to the creation of a number of republics with varying degrees of autonomy.

Among the Turkish peoples of the USSR there were organized:

Five 'Turkish' Soviet Socialist Republics—Azerbaijan, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and Uzbek.

Six 'Turkish' Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics—Bashkir, Chuvash, Crimean, Kara-Kalpak, Tatar and Yakut.

Four 'Turkish' Autonomous Regions—Gorno-Altai or Oirot, Karachai, Khakass and Tuvin.

The development of modern communication has diminished the geopolitical role of distance and has augmented the strategic significance of the Turkish regions of the Soviet Union and the Middle East. It is of military interest that the basic Turkish areas chiefly

involve the southern territories of the USSR and are a 'soft under-belly' of the Soviet Empire. Their economic importance is enormous, since for example, many Soviet oil resources are located in the Turkic speaking areas. The Baku wells produce about fifty per cent of all Soviet oil and form the richest asset of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. The so-called 'Second Baku' is located in the half-Turkish areas between the Volga River and the Urals. The third most important oil region—the Emba district—is located along the Emba River in western Kazakhstan. Other oil resources are also connected with the half Moslem and partially Turkish areas of the Northern Caucasus (Grozniy and Maikop). Coal and iron ore are abundant in the Caucasus and in Kazakhstan, and cotton is a major product of Soviet Central Asia and Azerbaijan.

The Turkish regions of the Soviet Russian Empire, historically and culturally, gravitate towards the Middle and Near East, the seat of Islamic civilization. The Turkish Republic, by its mere existence, affects the political and cultural life of the Turkish provinces of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, Turkey is naturally interested in the liberation of the Turkish peoples of the Soviet Union, though this interest is rarely manifested. This fact is of great importance since Turkey is the only militarily strong neighbor of the Soviet Union. At present the others are impotent, like Iran and Afghanistan, or unarmed, like Western Germany and Japan, or neutral, like India.

My aim is to consider the political potentiality of the Turkish world, as revealed by its population, by its history, and by its unifying ideals of Turkism and Pan-Turkism. I shall discuss certain pertinent questions including: Who are the Turkish peoples of Anatolia, Soviet Russia and other areas? Are they really a kind of 'nation in dispersion,' or are they only a galaxy of kindred, yet disunited and scattered tribes? What is the *spiritus movens* of these peoples? Is it nationalism, Communism, the slogan of independence, or is it a slow trend toward dissolution in the Slavonic world—or in Western society, in the case of the Anatolian Turks? What are the ideological and political ties of the Turkish area with the outer world? Does it hold Islamism, Westernism, or Pan-Turkism as a regional pan-ideal?¹

These questions will be considered in relation to the powerful influence of nationalism on present world society, and in relation

¹ It should be noted that it is *Pan-Turkism* to which reference is made, while *Pan-Turanism* is considered as improbable and a fantasy. This distinction will be clarified below. *Pan-Turkism* will be discussed in two aspects, as a maximum and as a moderate program.

to the potentialities of the Soviet Empire. Among the most potent forces operating in Euro-Asia, broadly speaking, is the assimilative pressure of the Soviet state toward the Turkish peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (and toward the other peoples of the Soviet Bloc). There is an assimilative pressure from the West toward Anatolian Turkey. A second potent force arises from the nationalist and independence movements of the individual peoples of Euro-Asia, including the trends of Turkism and Pan-Turkism.

The evolution of national policy in the USSR indicates that the Soviet assimilative processes are provoking opposition which demands permanent attention from the Soviets and drastic counter-measures. An example of this was the liquidation in 1944-5 of three political units in the USSR containing Turks (the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Karachai Autonomous Region, and the Balkar portion of the Kabardino-Balkarian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), as a repressive measure for the anti-Soviet attitude of the population in 1941-3.¹

In the Turkish Republic, nationalism forms a distinctive trait of its structure, constitution, and current policy. In times of war or revolutionary change within neighboring areas in the twentieth century, Turkish policy has historically moved toward Pan-Turkism. This was the policy of the Young Turks during the First World War, and after the Russian revolution of 1917. The politics of Enver Pasha during his adventurous exploits in Turkestan in 1921-2 followed this line. The same tendencies were visible in Turkey during the 1941-3 German offensive in the Soviet Union.

The above facts justify the assertion that in the case of a Third World War—or intensification of the cold war—or in case of internal troubles involving disintegration of Soviet power, Turkish nationalism (especially the Pan-Turkish variety of Turkish nationalism) will influence the policies of the Turkish republic and the action of the politically developed Turkish peoples of the Soviet Union.

¹ Some non-Turkish republics were liquidated for the same reason: the Kalmyk ASSR, the Volga-German ASSR, and the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. See Walter Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies* (London: George Philip and Son, 1953), pp. 67 f. and 185 f.

CHAPTER II

HANDBOOK OF THE TURKISH PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Origins and Physical Characteristics

Before going into the matter of contemporary Turkish groups, it is desirable to review the ethnic substratum of the Asiatic population of Soviet Russia, Euro-Asia and the neighboring countries. We find that groups of primeval men moved northward from their original home in the south-western corner of Asia and fanned out in three directions. Eventually they became concentrated in three main areas which are now the respective homes of the Mongol, Turkish, and Caspian 'racial groups'. These groups in time matured into the Mongol, Alpine and Nordic types. The Alpine type spread over the lands which became the home of the Slavs (a linguistic, not a racial group), and it is probable that there was some admixture of Nordic stock.¹

In the far north of the Soviet Union and in the lands to the east of the Volga, the native peoples are characterized by straight hair (usually black), and yellow-white, yellow-brown, or yellow-red skins; with the exception of the Eskimos, they have a mesocephalic² or brachycephalic³ head forms. They are of both Turkish and Mongol origin. It is an error to treat these peoples as an inseparable unit. According to *A Manual on the Turanians and Pan-Turanianism*,⁴ the

¹ J. S. Gregory and D. W. Shave, *The USSR, A Geographical Survey* (London: G. G. Harrap and Co., 1944).

² Mesocephalic: medium-headed, having a skull of which the maximum breadth is not more than eighty-one per cent, and not less than seventy-six per cent of the maximum length of the head.

³ Brachycephalic: short-headed, having a skull of which the breadth is eighty per cent or more of the length from front to back.

⁴ Great Britain Naval Staff, *A Manual on the Turanians and Pan-Turanianism* (London:1918), pp. 115 f. (hereafter referred to as the *Manual*). This is a valuable and unreplaced manual on the Turanian (Ugro-Finnish, Turkish, Mongolian, etc.) peoples of Euro-Asia and the Near and Middle East. Professor A. J. Toynbee states that this is a publication 'compiled by a distinguished English scholar', and prepared at the Geographical Section, Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty; see Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (London: Constable and Co., 1923), p. 355.

Prof. Z. V. Togan tells me this 'distinguished English scholar' was Sir Denison Ross.

difficulty of ethnographical demarcation is partly due to their physical affinity, and partly to the past condition of fluidity in Central Asia. In spite of many physical, ethnic, linguistic and habit links, there is no difficulty in distinguishing between Turks and Mongols since, practically speaking, they (Turks and Mongols) are different peoples. The Turks speak Turkic dialects, they are Moslem by religion, and fall within the Arabic-Islamic and, to some extent, European sphere of influence. The Mongols speak Mongolian, are Buddhist by religion, and fall within the sphere of the Chinese civilization. The Mongolian hordes of Chenghiz Khan (1162—1227) constituted only the nucleus of far more numerous Turkish hordes. The chief traces left in Europe of the Mongol invasion consist of the Turkic-speaking Tatars in Soviet Russia. The name of Chenghiz Khan's son Chagatai is commonly applied to a Turkic dialect in the region of the Oxus (Amu-Darya).¹

The Language of the Turkish Peoples. Linguists treat the languages spoken by the different Turkish peoples as belonging to one Turkish linguistic unit. They separate these languages from Mongol and Tungus (the nearest kindred linguistic groupings) and sometimes define the Turkish tongues (speeches) as 'Turkish languages', and sometimes as 'Turkish dialects'. The well-known French Turkologist, Jean Deny, in a contribution to a thorough collective study on the languages of the world, published in 1952 under the auspices of the 'Société Linguistique de Paris,' enumerates the different Turkish tongues under a title 'Répartition géographique des dialectes turcs'.² According to Deny the Turkish 'dialects' are divided into eight groupings:

1. North-Eastern: spoken by the Yakuts and Yakutized Dolgans; Turks of Mongolia; Tuva, Karagais and other small Turkish speaking tribes.
2. Hakas (Khakass): spoken by the small Turkish-speaking tribes of the Abakan and Minusinsk area.
3. Altaic: spoken by the small tribes of the Altaic Mountain region.

¹ J. K. Birge quotes G. E. Smith, the author of *Human History* (New York: 1929), p. 131, for whom the profound difference between the Mongol and the Turkish peoples cannot be too strongly emphasized. See John Kingsley Birge, *A Guide to Turkish Area Study*, (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, Committee on Near Eastern Studies, 1949), p. 37.

² *Les Langues du Monde* par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de A. Meillet et Marcel Cohen, nouvelle édition (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1952), pp. 334 ff.

4. Eastern-Siberian: spoken by the petty tribes of the Chulim River region, of Baraba steppe, of the Tobol and Tobolsk areas.

5. Volga-Ural: spoken by the Tatars of Kazan, Bashkirs and some other dwindling tribes of Mishars and Teptiars.

6. Central Asian dialects: spoken in Chinese Turkestan and in Kuldja, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan and in the Kara-Kalpak region.

7. South Western or Oghuz groupings: the dialects of the Turkmen, Azerbaijanis in the Caucasus and in Persia, dialects of the Northern Caucasus, Turks of Anatolia, small tribes of Gagaus in Rumania and other petty units.

8. Other dialects: Crimean Tartas, Chuvash Nogais of the Dobruja and Kuban region, Karaites, etc.¹

All of these Turkish languages, with the exception of Yakut and Chuvash, are related dialects of the Turkish tongue. 'Malgré . . . quelques changements'—writes Deny—'les langues turques (tchouvache et yakoute mis à part) sont . . . relativement peu différenciées.'²

Historical Sketch of the Turkish Peoples

The name *Hung-nu* appears in early Chinese sources (2,000 B.C.) and was applied to the people living to the west and north-west of China. Most likely this term described the Turks and Mongols plus nomadic peoples of related stock. The name *Tu-kiu* (Turk) was first used by the Chinese in the sixth century A.D. to describe a nomadic people who founded two empires stretching from Mongolia and the northern frontier of China to the Black Sea. The northern of these empires was situated near Lake Baikal in the region of the southern tributaries of the Yenisei River, and the Western Empire had its center near Urumchi (Chinese Turkestan) and to the north of Tashkent (in Soviet Central Asia). These empires were placed under the nominal

¹ Dr. Stefan Wurm is another authority who has classified the Turkish dialects of the USSR in his recent work *Turkic Peoples of the USSR, their Historical Background, their Languages and the Development of Soviet Linguistic Policy* (London: Central Asian Research Center in association with St. Antony's College (Oxford), Soviet Affairs Study Group, 1954). Dr. Wurm pays attention to the differences in minute dialects, treats tiny linguistic groups, and analyzes the overlapping linguistic areas and ancient Turkic languages which died out long ago. His classification is prepared for linguists. However, Dr. Wurm's historical sketch of the Turkish language as well as his brief descriptions of each Turkish dialect in Soviet Russia have practical value and are used in this work.

² *Les Langues du Monde*, p. 343.

suzerainty of the Chinese Tang Dynasty, but the Northern Empire regained its independence and held it until 744 A.D.¹

The oldest known Turkish inscriptions, the Orkhon runes are on stone slabs (steles) and were inscribed in honor of the khans (Princes) of the Northern Empire of the eighth century A.D. The slabs were found in 1889 in the valley of the Orkhon River in Mongolia, and in 1721 in the valley of the Yenisei River in Siberia. In these inscriptions the name Oghuz is used to refer to a tribal federation as well as to their ruling khans. The Uighur Turkish people are mentioned as living on the Selenga River in Mongolia, and the Kirghiz people as being on the Yenisei River.²

The slow withdrawal of the Turks from Mongolia forms an interesting portion of early Turkish history. In 745 A.D. the rule over Mongolia passed from the Oghuz to the Uighurs; the Oghuz migrated west and south.³ These Oghuz migrations explained the formation of the present group of south-western Turks, to which belong the Turkmen, Azerbaijanis and Anatolian Turks.⁴

The fate of the Uighurs who settled in Mongolia is an important fragment of early Turkish history. In the ninth century A.D. the Uighurs adopted the Manichean religion, which was spread amongst them by the Sogdians.⁵ The Sogdian system of writing was the basis for the Uighur script, which soon replaced the old Turkish runic script that had been used until then.

¹ a. Great Britain, *Manual*, pp. 124 ff.

b. E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tatars* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1924), pp. 1 ff.

c. W. Barthold, *Histoire de Turcs D'Asie Central*, adaptation Française par Mme. W. Donskis (Paris: Librairie D'Amérique et D'Orient, 1945), pp. 6 f.

d. *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, edited by M. T. Houtsma, A. J. Wensinck, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Heffening, Levi-Provençal, T. W. Arnold, R. Basset and R. Hartmann, 4 vols. plus supplement (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1913-1938), Vol. IV (1954) article on Turks by W. Barthold, pp. 900 ff.

² Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 f., 9, and Wurm, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 f.

³ Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 and 37, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 902, and Wurm, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 903 and Wurm, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f.

⁵ Sogdians: the people of Sogdiana, the ancient, civilized country in the basin of Zarevshan River in Central Asia, bordered by Baktria in the south and Khoresmia (Khiva) in the west. The capital of Sogdiana—Marakanda (today Samarkand)—was destroyed by Alexander the Great, who, after crossing the Hindu Kush Mountains in 329 B.C. conquered Sogdiana and Baktria. See *Istoria SSSR* (History of the USSR) edited by Professor V. I. Lebedev, Academician B. D. Grekov, S. V. Bekbrushin and Professor M. V. Necbkiwa (Moscow: State Social-Economic Publications, 2 vols., published in 1939 and 1940), Vol. I, pp. 28 f. This rather objective two volume Soviet University Manual describes the decline of the Eastern Turkish States and the Russian expansion.

Soon after, in 840 A.D., the Uighur state was destroyed by the Kirghiz. When the Uighurs were driven out of Mongolia they founded two new states, one in Kansu and the other in Bishbalik and Kara-Khodja.¹ The former of these two new states was conquered by the Tanguts in 1028, and the second lasted until Chengiz Khan's onslaught. The Kirghiz in their turn were driven out of Mongolia in 924 A.D. by the Kara-Kitai, who were of Tungus or Mongol stock. This marked the end of Turkish rule in Mongolia. Part of the Kirghiz migrated to the south, to the present Kirghiz region.²

Khazars. Mention should be made of the Turkish tribe of Khazars, who emerged from the Urals and created an empire which in the seventh century A.D. stretched to the Caucasus, and in the eighth century extended to the Crimea and the Dnieper River. This state lasted until the end of the tenth century when it was destroyed by the forefathers of the present Ukrainians and Russians. The Khazars were probably related to the Bulgars, who lived in the middle and lower Volga and were conquered by Chinghiz Khan in the thirteenth century. At an earlier period some of the Bulgars had conquered the Ukraine and part of the Balkans. In following centuries they were assimilated by the native Slav population; their name is preserved in the appellation of the Bulgarian people.³

Beginning of Islamization. The whole Near East was transformed by the Islamic conquests of the Arabs: after subduing Persia in 639, they spread to Transoxiana and in 659 were able to declare that they had annexed the whole Western Turkish world including Dzhungaria, Tashkent, Ferghana, Bukhara, etc. The process of Islamization was very slow and lasted until the twentieth century, when some Turkish nomadic tribes of Northern Kazakhstan and Western Siberia were converted to Islam by Kazan Tatar missionaries.⁴

During the next three hundred years (seventh to tenth centuries) the Arabs were supplanted in Central Asia by the Persians.

¹ Kansu, the third largest province of China, is situated in the north-west. The area is 125,483 square miles, but the population density is low. Islam penetrated here in the thirteenth century. Ilohou is the most important center of Moslem life in the province. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II (1927), pp. 719 f. Bishbalik (Five Towns) is a town in present Chinese Turkestan north of the Celestial Mountains. The site of the town was mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century A.D. Kara-Khodja is a town near the modern Turfan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I (1913), pp. 728 f.

² Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49 ff. and 54 ff., also *Istoria SSR*, pp. 58 f., 63 f.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 908.

Transoxiana became a part of the Abbasid Caliphate, and later of the Samanids' empire, until 999 A.D. when the Turkish dynasty of Karakhanides brought the country as far as the Amu-Darya¹ again under Turkish rule.² The presence of the Persians in Transoxiana and in the Caucasus explains Iranian influences on the ethnic groupings, the cultures, and the languages of this portion of the Turkish world.

The tenth century in Turkish history was marked by the rise of the dynasty of Ghaznevids at Ghazni (between Kabul and Kandahar) and the Uighur kingdom which included Kashgar and Khotan in Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan. The somewhat legendary Uighur leader, Bughra Khan of Kashgar (d. circa 960 A.D.) was converted to Islam; his state continued until 1120.³

The Seljuks and the Ottomans. The Seljuks were a section of the Oghuz tribal union. The Seljuk Khan Toghrul drove out the Ghaznevids and established himself as protector of the Abbasid caliphate, while the son of Toghrul, Alp Arslan, defeated the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071, and prepared the way for Ottoman conquests. Konya (in southern Anatolia) became the capital of the sultanate of Asia Minor, and various Seljuk dynasties established themselves in Kerman, and in Iraq and Syria.⁴

The Seljuks lost their domination over Iraq and Khorasan to their vassals, the Khans of Khiva, who were also known as the Khwarezm Shahs. They in turn had to contend with yet another arrival from the East, the Kara-Kitais, who conquered Khotan, Yarkend, and then Transoxiana. The Kara-Kitais pushed the Oghuz tribes before them into Persia and Afghanistan. The presence of several Oghuz Turkish tribes in both of these countries now is partially explained by the Kara-Kitais' onslaught.

The domination of the Seljuks over Anatolia was terminated by the rise of the Ottomans.⁵ The Ottomans, like the Seljuks, belonged to the Oghuz tribal union; their habitat was in the neighborhood of Brusa, near the shores of the Sea of Marmara. The Ottomans (or Osmanli or Osmans) rose to power in a section of Anatolia in 1326, and the Ottoman Empire grew steadily until it stretched from Algeria

¹ The Amu-Darya, the ancient Oxus, and the Syr-Darya, the ancient Jaxartes, are the two principal rivers of Soviet Central Asia. For a historical and geographical description see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV (1934), pp. 448 f., and Vol. I (1913), pp. 339 f.

² Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 66 ff. and 69.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62 f.

⁴ William Stearns Davis, *A Short History of the Near East* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943) pp. 169 f., 76 ff.

⁵ Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.

to Persia, and from Yemen to Crimea, Moldavia and Hungary. Except for the invasion of Timur (1402) the Ottomans did not suffer from the attacks of other Turkish peoples, and they were able to devote their strength to the conquest of the Byzantine Empire. The Ottoman Empire reached its maximum power in the 16th century. It was reduced in size after the First World War to the present Turkish Republic.¹

Chengiz Khan's Legacy. The influence of Chengiz Khan (born 1162 or 1155, died 1227) and his successors in Turkish history is enormous. The Mongol warlord subordinated many Turkish peoples to his rule and destroyed the Khwarezm (Khiva) kingdom. The territory of Euro-Asia as far as the Dnieper was conquered by his generals. After the death of Chengiz Khan in 1227 this empire was divided between his four sons. Juchi was given the western lands stretching from the Syr-Darya, across the Urals to the valleys of the Volga, and farther west (called the Golden Horde). Chagatai ruled Transoxiana, Ferghana, Semireche, and Sinkiang. Ugedei received the original lands of the Mongols, and Tului held territories in China. Batu-Khan, the son of Juchi, extended the territory of the Golden Horde to Crimea.

The Turkification and subsequently the Islamization of the Mongol invaders occurred under the rule of the successors of Juchi and Chagatai. The Mongols represented an elite who were the ruling minority in the enormous dominions of Chagatai and Juchi. These lands were populated predominantly with Turkish peoples who were already partially Moslemized; this process was far advanced in the Chagatai dominion and gradual in the Golden Horde. The first Khan of the Golden Horde who embraced Islam was Berke (d. 1266); but Islam did not become the official religion of the Golden Horde until the middle of the fourteenth century.²

The Golden Horde dissolved into three new Turko-Tatar states, the Kazan, Astrakhan, and Crimean Khanates. The first two were conquered by Russia in 1552 and 1536 respectively, and Crimea was made a vassal of the Ottomans in 1475 and finally crushed by Russia in 1783.³

¹ Wurm, *op. cit.*, p. 4, Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 ff. and Lord Eversley, *The Turkish Empire, 1288-1924*, Abridged by Shaikh Abdur Rashid (Lahore: Shaik Muhammad Ashraf, second edition, 1952), pp. 3 ff.

² *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 906 and Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff., 123, 136 ff.

³ Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff. See the sub-chapters on the Kazan and Crimean Tatars (below) and map of these Khanates (herein).