

An Introductory Note to Gaziz Gubajdullin's *History of Tatars* and His Age

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和文要旨：1994年にガジズ・グバイドリンの『タタール史』がモスクワで出版された。これは最初の本格的なタタール史であったタタール語で書かれたものの、ロシア語による抄訳であるが、驚かされるのはこれがわずか500部しか印刷されなかったことである。しかも著者その人はカザン大学を首席で卒業し、タタール人で最初のカザン大学の教授になり、学者としての令名も高かった人である。なぜそのようなことが起こり得たのかを知ろうとしたが、その過程で彼が1937年ソ連秘密警察によって拷問の上、銃殺されたことが分かった。汎トルコ主義者だというのがその罪名であった。それ以前にも名著として高く評価されていたフジャコフの『カザン汗国史要説』も1923年カザンでわずか1000部出版されただけで絶版になり目にするのができなかった。しかもフジャコフも秘密警察の手で、「人民の敵」として銃殺されていたのである。なぜこのようなことが起こったのかについて調べようとしたのがこれである。したがってこれは学術論文としての質を持つものでなく、単なる解説と推測に過ぎない。断っておきたい。

【キーワード】ガジズ・グバイドリン、フジャコフ、タタール史学者、銃殺

Abstract : In 1994 *History of Tatars* was published in Moscow. This is the abridged Russian translation of the main work of Gaziz Gubajdullin, who graduated Kazan University *summa cum laude* and for the first time among Tatars became professor of his *Alma Mater*. Moreover, it is astonishing that only 500 copies of this book were printed. Everyone would like to know why such an unbelievable phenomenon could occur. Searching for the reason it has come out, that he was brutally tortured and shot to death on charges of Pan-Turkism. Coincidentally, only 1000 copies were printed of the famed *Outline of the History of Kazan Khanate* published in 1923 in Kazan by Khudjakov, who, like Gaziz, was arrested by the hand of secret police, tortured cruelly, and shot to death as "an enemy of people". The aim of this paper is only to know the background of the age through which they had to live.

【Keywords】Gaziz Gubajdullin, Khudjakov, Tatar historian, being shot to death.

1. Introduction

In 1994 an abridged Russian translation of Gaziz Gubajdullin's *Tatar Tarihy* (Татар Тарихы, History of Tatars) was published by an anonymous publisher 'Moscow lycée (Московский лицей). It may seem incredible that only 500 copies of this work were printed on bad quality paper like pulp. It is no wonder to see, therefore, that its front page has a tiny label which reads as follows: *This book is the first translation of the tribal history of Tatars, unique up to this day. Its number of copies is 500, thus making it almost unavailable even at the point of its appearance.*

In this connection, on the back cover of the book we read, perhaps it may be the publishers' comment, that *G. Gaziz*

(Gaziz Gubajdullin) was born into family of a rich Kazan merchant and a famous patron of enlightenment and sciences. He graduated Kazan University summa cum laude, a writer and historian, the first professor among Tatars. In 1937 he was shot to death in jail as an ideologue of Pan-Turkism.

We are very anxious to know what circumstances have influenced the destiny of the author, as well as the age in which he had to live. This is the aim and the main motive of this introductory note.



2. Personal background

Materials telling about his personal background are rather scarce, among which we have an article titled *Gaziz Gubajdullin, our fellow countryman --- Gaziz Gubajdullin's two kinds of life* written by "Moscow Council of Tatar Students" (---).

2-1 Family of Gaziz Gubajdullin and his childhood

According to this document Gaziz Salikhovich Gubajdullin was born in 1887, as mentioned above, into family of a rich Kazan merchant. His mother was one of the daughters of Aituganov, also a famous millionaire of Kazan. Gaziz started his school life according to the will of his father in a school attached to the Muslim Mosque, *madrassa*, named "Khalidiya". In this period, which began in 1895 and continued up to 1904, there came to penetrate even into the wall of this strict and conservative religious school many kinds of secular topics: on the development of industries, on the construction of trunk lines of railway, on the

was born in

Sources of Mongols.

From 1914 to 1915 Gaziz put a great effort in research, in compilation of a collection of articles, which was the first fundamental historical work of Tatars, dedicated to the centenary of the birth of Tatar illuminator Sh. Mardzhani³⁾ and which, again, is said to be of special value mainly for Tatar history before the October revolution.

In the year 1914 Gaziz married and began to teach history *incognito* in one of *madrassas* " Mukhamadiya " which introduced newly reformed method of education.

In 1916 Gaziz graduated University, as mentioned above, *summa cum laude*. Nevertheless, he could neither enter graduate school nor work as a member of the University, perhaps because of his ' problematic ' political tendencies during his student life and, as he himself conjectured, because of his Tatar origin. Moreover, he was obliged to quit Kazan on the ' advice ' of the governor, that is, he was expelled from the city. He became a teacher of history of a private Tatar seminary in a small city of Troitsk.

The February revolution enabled him to come back to Kazan and enter the graduate school of Kazan University. In one of his autobiographies he is said to have confessed, that " The February revolution gave me possibility to recover my former enthusiasm for research in the field of science and literature. But this revolution has not given me the possibility to fill the chair of assistant at this University in order to prepare for professorship because until the October Revolution nothing had changed in the Kazan University. Only the October Revolution and liquidation of *belochekhs* from the Tatar country opened before me the way for the chair of assistant ".

It may be necessary to explain a little about *belochekhs*. The last Russian Czar Nikolaj II Aleksandrovich (1868-1918) attempted to make use of the hostility of Slavic people against the Austro-Hungarian Empire of the House of Habsburg and intended to throw the Czech legionary within Russian Empire under the command of Radola Gejda (1892-1948)⁴⁾ into the imperialistic war he waged then. After the Soviet Revolution, Soviet Russia at first allowed Czech legions to pass through Siberia to Vladivostok according to the Treaty of Brest Litovsk. However, on their way to the East at Chelyabinsk⁵⁾ a collision took place between Czechs and Austro-German POWs in May, 1918. On the pretext of this incident US President Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) proposed to jointly dispatch troops with Japan to rescue Czech legions asserting as thought they were on the brink of ruin. Japan dispatched troops to

Siberia, to Vladivostok. Meanwhile in relation with this incident Gejda took part in the anti-Soviet White Army because the Soviet Government intended to drive them out to the Far East. To evade Red Army pursuing after them the legions moved eastwards along the Trans-Siberian Railway laying siege to the cities and occupying them. Because of the brutal behaviors of the members of these legions they were called *belochekhs*, that is, " white Czechs ", with hate and, with contempt perhaps.

On the 7th August 1918, on their way toward the East *belochekhs* occupied Kazan and stayed there until the 10th September. During their stay they massacred hundreds of inhabitants by means of hanging or shooting. It is said, that all of the poles and pillars in the Petrova Park were hung with corpses of citizens or with their *quartered*⁶⁾ members. They also plundered almost all treasures - gold, silver, platinum, jewellery - throughout the city. Anyway, Czech legions finally arrived at Vladivostok and negotiated with the Japanese Army to be repatriated by sea. On their way home one of the ships was wrecked near Shimonoseki (Japan) while avoiding the attack of the typhoon. The ship was brought to Kobe to be repaired and the rescued passengers were brought to Kobe by train, and they are said to have been warmly accepted by the citizens.

Now, in the period between 1918 and 1925, there appeared fruits of the intellectual activities of Gaziz: complete works of his short stories (he is said to be called then " a Tatar Chekhov "), texts books, monographs, pamphlets etc. such as *History of Ancient World*, *History of Religion*, *History of Russia*, *History of Tatars*, *History of Classes in Tatar*, *Periods of Social Development of Volga Tatar*, and books such as *History of Tatars*, *From the Past of Tatars*, etc. The author described in these books the past of Tatars from the antiquity up to the 19th century.

Perhaps because of his point of view that in the 18th century, after the end of feudalism it is not capitalist but a commercial-capitalistic regime that was first brought into birth, which did not match with Soviet official view of historical development of the society, he was arrested in 1925 on charges of a criminal case. He was suspected of larceny! He was saved from his charge only by virtue of professors of the University who took pains to intercede with authorities.

This incident made Gaziz determine to leave Kazan and to move to Azerbaijan, to Baku, and thence he went to Moscow and Uzbekistan to teach history. In this period his interest became much wider to cover histories of all of the Turkish tribes.

In 1927 his doctoral dissertation was received under the title
Question about the Origin of Uzbek People

On the Contact of Continents and Civilizations, from the Experience of Formation and Fall of Empires in X-XVI Centuries, edited by I. B. Muslimanov and published in 1996, in Moscow.



3-2 What is his main work about Kazan Khanate?

This work is about the history of Tatars from the formation of Kazan Khanate in 1438 until its fall by the cruel attack of Moscow headed by Ivan the Terrible in 1556.

Concerning his work historian of the Republic of Tatarstan Sh. F. Mukhamedjarov⁹⁾ wrote in his introductory note in the above- mentioned anthology as follows: *As it is well known, even the history of tribes along the river Volga, having so intimate relation with Russia (Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvashes, Maris, Mordvins) has been only feeble reflection in the Russian historiography such as works of N. M. Karamzin⁹⁾, S. M. Solovijov¹⁰⁾, V. O. Kljuchevskij¹¹⁾ and others. It owes partly to their poor knowledge of their own past. However, the main reason of defect in their knowledge consists, as it seems, in their attitude to study history from the exclusively imperialistic point of view of Russo-centrism. This sort of themes always receded into the background and the fate of non-Russian people came into consciousness only when Russians waged war against them. The standpoint of the book written by M. Khudjakov is different from the official historiography and therefore it provoked great interest of the public of the time.*



F. Bajramova¹²⁾ commented about the work of Khudjakov as follows: *This book is the most honest and the most complete study of the history of Tatars, written in Russian by a Russian author. Neither before, nor after the appearance of the book still no work has been published comparable in its objectivity with this book. Perhaps, no such book will come out hereafter.*

Mikhail Khudjakov first in Russian history accused Russian State of destructing Kazan Khanate, calling its act as an outrage of invasion. He called first in Russian history Tatars as a highly civilized nation having had their own state and

described Tatars as desperate warriors, and pointed out that the fall and decay of Kazan Khanate was for Tatars such a tragedy, as is nothing comparable in the entire course of the history of the nation. M. G. Khudjakov consistently describes life of Kazan Khanate from the moment of its formation, its development up to its annihilation. He describes how long the Tatar State had been obliged to endure bloodthirsty attacks and the sieges of Russians¹³⁾.

This rather sentimental narration suffices for us to understand the pride and national pathos Tatars foster against Russians. Perhaps, as it seems, the fear of Russians for this pathos might be the true reason responsible for the death of this talented historian.

It may serve a testimony of such a view a passage written by M. Z. Zakiev in his *History of research for the origin of Tatars¹⁴⁾*. Here it is:

In the thirties communist party began to spread propaganda to fabricate the consciousness of unified Soviet Nation. Everyone, who intends to recover, to keep or develop his own national identity, was declared as an enemy to constructing communism, that is, as an enemy to Soviet people, and was alienated from the work, or got rid of physically.

Nevertheless, as the creation of the ethnic history of minor nations is in relation with the policy of resurrection and succeeding development of each nation, study of the ethnic origin of Tatars will not stop. However, active research in this field had to wait until the end of (so called) Great Patriotic War (i.e. Russo-German War of 1941-1945 - I.Y.).

Worried about the tendencies among minor nations within Soviet Union to pay attention to their own history, Moscow adopted a resolution to hinder non-Russian nations from the study of the history of their past. Such is the decree issued by Central Committee of Inter-Union Communist Party (Bolshevist) as of the 9th August 1944. "About the present state of affairs and resolutions to improve mass-political and ideological work in the Tatar Party Organization", the seventh point of which was "To offer Tatar District Committee of Inter-Union Communist Party to organize scientific research of history of the country of Tatars, to eliminate serious defects and errors concerning questions of nationality in elucidating history of Tatars which have been made by some individual historians and literary persons (beautification of Golden Horde¹⁵⁾, popularization of feudal epos of Idegee¹⁶⁾ in the period of khan's reign). To pay special attention to the study and elucidation of the history about the joint strife of Russians, Tatars and the

other nations within Soviet Union against foreign occupants, against czarism and against the oppression of landowners and capitalists. ”

4. Historical background

4-1 Origin of Tatars

Though the origin of Tatars has not yet been quite clear, views of historians seem to be not so different in that they are people of the Turkish origin and originally lived somewhere not so far from China. Because it is beyond question, that when Genghis Khan began to wage war against neighboring tribes, the number of Mongols under his banner could not be so great as to conquer whole of the two Continents. Therefore, it may be quite natural to think that he added elsewhere the conquered people to his army marching to the West. M. Z. Zakiev (*op. cit.*) wrote, referring to the Chronicle of Rashid ad-din: *In this passage of the Chronicle of Rashid ad-din¹⁷⁾, the author insists, describing about Turks, that in the above mentioned countries Turks are called Tatars. From the other sources we know, that it is not only Turks, but also all of the inhabitants of the Mongol Empire were called Tatars.*

However, according to Tatar Encyclopedia¹⁸⁾, from about 9th to the 10th centuries here came and built a state Volga Bulgars, which was conquered by the army led by Batu khan in 1236-1237 and then this district became a part of the Golden Horde (Kipchak Khanate) until in this territory was formed the Kazan Khanate in the 15th century. During the reign of the Golden Horde began to be formed the process of ethno-cultural consolidation of the Turkish people, finally resulting in the formation of Tatars as an independent nation.

4-2 Other theories concerning the origin of Tatars

The above-mentioned theory stated in *Tatar Encyclopedia* seems to assert that Tatars are descendants of people who formed at least the basic layer of the Golden Horde. This view seems to implicitly presuppose that, apart from the question of their racial origin, they are descendants of “ Tatars ” of the Golden Horde. This view may be called a Tatar-Tatar theory as M. Z. Zakiev put it (*op. cit.*).

Zakiev criticizes this theory as dilettante view. He supports the Bulgar-Tatar conception, which insists that fundamental element of Tatar was Bulgars inhabited on the river Volga. According to him, the first study on the ethnogenesis of Tatars is made by Makhmud Kashgar in his *Divanu lugat it-tjurk* (Collection of Turkish Dialects) written in Arabic, in which the

author describes, that of the Turkish tribes Pechenegs live in the nearest region to Byzantine Empire, then toward the East tribes of Kyfchak/Kipchak, Oguz, Jemek, Bashkirn, Basmyl, Kaj, Jabaku, Tatar, Kyrgyz. *Kyrgyz is nearest to China (Kashgarly Ml, 1992, vol.1, 28)¹⁹⁾*. Again according to Zakiev, M. Kashgar also refers to the dialects of Kajs, Jabakus, Tatars, Basmyls describing that they have their own languages though they speak Turkish well. Kyrgyz’ Kyfchakis, Oguzyys have different Turkish languages to which languages of Jemeiks and Bashkirts are similar.

From this description Zakiev concludes that *Tatars in antiquity lived somewhere side by side with Kyrgyz’, perhaps in Central Asia, in Mongolia maybe, but their languages were different from those of Bashkirs and Jemeiks.* Zakiev perhaps seems to want to say by this analysis that the Tatars living in Tatarstan and “ Tatars ” described by Zakiev are not the same, because “ the Tatars ” referred to by Kashgar used the language different from the language of Bashkirs nor from that of Jemeiks which belong to the Turkish language family together with the language of the “ modern ” Tatars.

4-3 Fall of Kazan Khanate

According to Khudjakov, until the end of 1540s Moscow had not the political ambition to conquer Kazan. But in the end of this period its policy toward Kazan was essentially changed. It was caused mainly by the religious fanaticism and racial hatred of the Christian priests who experienced the oppression of so-called “ Tatar’s yoke ”, hatred toward Tatars, toward this “ godless and pagan ” people --- Tatars adopted Islamism in 922 as the state religion.

In December 1546, Ivan Vasiljevich IV(1530-1584), later called Ivan the Terrible, who first took the title of Czar, following the advice of *mitropolit*, a metropolitan bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, named Makarij (1482-1563, *mitropolit* since 1542), declared that he had attained to his adult age and began to rule as a Czar. At the same time the clergy had begun to spread propaganda to put into this young man an idea, as if it depended on his conscience to go or not on a Crusade against heathens. Thus, since 1549 a series of repeated sieges of, and attacks on Kazan, the capital of Kazan Khanate, had begun. On the second October 1556, Russians finally broke the wall of Kazan, entered into the city, and began elsewherehand-to-hand fights, which ended with the slaughter of almost all men not excepting many children. As for women, some were slain, others were caught and raped, their treasures were

plundered and brought away, and the city was set on fire. In short, this prosperous rich capital was in the name of Christ reduced to nothing, together with its highly developed cultural heritage.

5. Conclusion

What we can conclude from this brief introductory note may be perhaps too little to understand the true reason for mutual distrust among Russians and other nations within the territory of the former Russian Empire. However, it seems to come up with an outline of the matter, though yet too subtle and delicate, like a shadow, to discern what it may be. It may be a kind of fear coming out of the vague memory of their history, the memory of the past rule of the Kipchak Khanate and of succeeding it, the Kazan Khanate on the part of Russians. It may be a kind of a physical antipathy caused by the memory of the tragic catastrophe suffered by Kazan or of the oppressive policies during the rule of the Communist system on the part of Tatars.

Anyway, in the materials collected by the author, we can find the sincere and scientific attitude of study of these authors facing up to the past of the country. We can expect good results from such research in the future.

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- 1) Gafur Junusovich Kulakhmetov (1881-1918), writer, participated in the revolutionary movement at the beginning of 20 century as a propagandist of socialistic thoughts.
- 2) Khusani Mingazetdinovich Jamashev (1882-1912), He took part in the revolution of 1905-1907. In January 1907 he founded the first legal social-democratic newspaper Ural supported by Ural and Ufa committees of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party.
- 3) Shibabuddin (Shikhab ad-din) Mardzhani (1818-1889). Theologist, philosopher, historian and illuminator. He was one of the first Muslim scholars, member of the Society of archeology, history and ethnography at Kazan University.
- 4) Pseudonym of Rudolf Geidl. With the consent of Czech Government he worked in the Siberian Army under the command of Aleksandr Vasiljevich Kolchak (1917-1920).
- 5) A city along Trans-Siberian Railway, situated on the Eastern slope of the Southern part of the Ural mountains.
- 6) *Chetvertiti*, a kind of capital punishment in Mediaeval Russia (up to the end of the 18th century) and in Europe,

according which four members of the convicts were, dead or alive, cut off and then their head too.

- 7) Now in Kirov prefecture, a plateau country West of the Ural Mountains.
- 8) Shamil' Fatykhovich Mukhamed'jarov (923-), historian working mainly with the history of Kazan Khanate, ethnogenesis of Tatars etc.
- 9) Nikolaj Mikhailovich Karamzin (1755-1826). One of the most famous historians in Imperial Russia. The author of *History of the Russian State* in 12 volumes (1816-1829).
- 10) Sergej Mikhailovich Solovjiov (1820-1879). Historian, member of Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, President of Moscow University (1871-1877). The author of *History of Russia from the Antiquity* in 29 volumes (1851-1879).
- 11) Vasilij Osipovich Kljuhevskij (1841-1911). Historian, Academician and honorable member of Academy of Sciences of St.Petersburg.
- 12) Fauzija Aukhadievna Bajramova (1935-), writer, one of the organizer and chairperson of the party " Ittifak (Unity) ".
- 13) *A book about the life of Mikhail Khudjakov*, " Azatlyk(Freedom), Social and political newspaper ", http://www.azatlyk.com/other/01_02r.html
- 14) Mirfatykh Zakievich Zakiev (1928-), linguist, specialist of history and language of Tatars. <http://bolgar.by.ru/ct/nesost.htm>
- 15) Kipchak Khanate.
- 16) Idegee or idegej, Tatar historical epos. Idegee narrates about the complicated period, full of contradictions, of Golden Horde from the end of 14th century up to the beginning of 15th. Idegee is the hero of this epos, carried a terrible fight with khan Toktamysch and expelled him from the country.
- 17) Fazlallakh ibn abu-l-Khajl Khamadani Rashil ad-din (1247-1318). A Persian Scholar, the author of *Collected Chronicles*.

18) *Tama*

- 19) Makhmud Kashgari (Makhmud ibn al Khusejn ibn Mukhammed) (11c.). *Divanu (dictionary)* was written in 1072-1074.

Moscow and Kazan
in the year 1820



A part of the map downloaded from
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