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Abstract: In 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 30 copies of this book were printed. Everyone would like to know why such a 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 30 copies were printed of the famed Outline of the History of Kazan Khanate published 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. 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.

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

According to this document Gaziz Salikhovich Gubajdullin was born in Kazan 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, madrasa, named Khalidiya. In this period, which began in 1899 and continued up to 1914, 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 rushing Europeanization of the country, etc. In the beginning of the twentieth century the whole of Russia was surprised at the newly invented technologies: telephone, cinematograph and photograph.

During this period Gaziz learned Koran, Islamic legal regulations by heart; studied Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages, read works of mediaeval authors and those of mediaeval Muslim philosophers in Arabic, in Turkish and in Persian. He is said to have come into contact with European culture through Turkish translations.

In 1905 just when the Russo-Japanese War ended in defeat for the Russian side, Gaziz told his father that he would not succeed to his profession and that he would like to go another way to acquire Western culture. Without his father's financial aid, earning money by the job of private teacher, he began to prepare for the entrance examination of classical gymnasium.

In 1912 Gaziz passed the entrance examination and became a gymnasist, i.e. pupil of gymnasium. However, as at that time apart from the Russian language the knowledge of other foreign languages was also required, Gaziz is said to have studied in this period Russian, German, French, Greek and Latin.

At last, in 1917 Gaziz successfully passed the entrance examination and entered into the Faculty of Jurisdiction of Kazan University (at that time, only ten State Universities had been founded all over the Russian Empire.)

Since the defeat of the revolution of 1905-1906 the voice of the reactionary Russian chauvinism was growing stronger under the slogan of Russia for Russians! stirring thus the awe and anxiety on the part of non-Russian inhabitants throughout the Empire including, of course, Tatars.

Amidst these disquiet situations Gaziz changed his course and entered into the Faculty of Philology, being finally determined to devote his efforts not for making Russia a civilized constitutional state, but for searching for the answer to the question, sacramental for Tatars, and for all of the non-Russian inhabitants as well within the territory of Russian Empire: Who are we? Where we have come from? Where we are going to? As the author of the above cited article put it.

According to this document, about the ideological development of Gaziz in this period wrote A. S. Alishev, a Soviet historian, as follows. His ideological development until the October Revolution was made under the influence of the social circumstances of the time, in which Tatar national intellectuals played certain roles. On the other hand, he underwent the ever-increasing influence of progressive and democratic movement especially among younger generations. He himself writes, that in the year 1908 the ideologies of Leo Tolstoy, of narodniki, that is, Russian populists, and of social democrats began to penetrate into these generations. He was a friend of Gafuri Kulakhmetov, was acquainted with Kh. Yamashev (one of the most famous Tatar bolshevist).

However, as for his own view, he had not attained the level of social democracy. His beloved teacher in the University, professor N. N. Firsov firmly stood on the position of narodniki. Outside of the University, G. Gubajdullin took part in many circles of progressive Tatar youngsters. His standpoint was near to that of F. Amirkhan and of revolutionary democrats. G. Gubajdullin never was a revolutionist.

In the year 1916 Gaziz published his first treatise under the title of Essay on Marco Polo in a magazine Shura, and then wrote his de facto graduation thesis Marco Polo As Historical
Sources of Mongols.

From 1905 to 1917 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. Mardzhanii and which, again, is said to be of special value mainly for Tatar history before the October revolution.

In the year 1916 Gaziz married and began to teach history incognito in one of madrassas Mukhamadiya which introduced newly reformed method of education.

In 1917 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 Nikolai II Aleksandrovich (Никола́й Алекса́ндрович) 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 (Радола Ге́йда) 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 Chelyabinsk a collision took place between Czechs and Austro-German POWs in May, 1919. On the pretext of this incident US President Thomas Woodrow Wilson (Томас Уудров Уилсъон) 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 8 August 1919 on their way toward the East belochekhs occupied Kazan and stayed there until the 19 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 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 1917 and 1920 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 19th century, after the end of feudalism it is not capitalist but a commercial-capitalist 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 1919 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 this doctoral dissertation was received under the title *Question about the Origin of Uzbek People*, and then he became a professor and dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Azerbaijan State University and at the same time became a member of State Council of Scholars of Azerbaijan. Chair-man of Central Bureau of Enlightenment of Academy Center of Uzbekistan, professor of the Muslim East Studies of Tashkent and Samarkand Universities, thus founding a school of orientalists.

In he was elected the regular member of the Scientific Research Institute of Ethnic and National Cultures of the Oriental Nations in Moscow.

When Gaziz returned to Baku, on the March he was arrested and all of the manuscripts of the works made in his latest years were confiscated, and lost once and forever. After many months of torture, he was shot to death in the jail by NKVD (Bureau of secret agents, notorious successor of former GPU) of Baku.

According to the protocol of his being grilled, it is reported that usually he underwent examination several times a month. Three times in the course of the whole period of his arrest the examination was continued for days and nights without interruption, during which he was not permitted to sit down, whereas inquirers, sitting down on chairs, often changed to rest. The examination covered every kind of crime inquirers could contrive, no matter how they may seem probable or not, only to make him guilty: whether he was not the agent of Turkey?, Germany?, Japan?, or whether he did not act to restore a constitutional regime of Russia?, regime of mediaeval caliphate?, or to found unified Turkish-Tatar state? or to found bourgeois-democratic state of Azerbaijan? etc etc.

This is the outline of the case of Gaziz Gubajdullin according to the document made by Moscow Council of Tatar Students.

Another cruel destiny very alike to that of Gaziz Gubajdullin awaited Mikhail Khudjakov ( خودیچکوف), a Russian historian born in Malmyzh on the river Oka. He is famous for his *An Introduction to the History of Kazan Khanate* of which, just as the case of Gubajdullin, only copies were published. According to internet materials written by Professor M. A. Usmanov in August Khudjakov was born in a family of Russian merchants. After he ended the first Kazan gymnasium he studied at the Historico-Philological Faculty of Kazan University. Then, he began to work at the Eastern Pedagogical Institute. Here he published a series of ethnographic and archaeological works concerning history of the nations of the region either of the Turkish or of the Finno-Ugrian origin. The abovementioned work concerning history of Kazan Khanate belongs also to this period, having been published in Moscow.

In the period from up to he studied in Leningrad in the graduate school and after the end of the course he was to devote himself to the further study of problems concerning the history of the nations settled in the middle reaches of the river Volga. In the year he was granted a degree of Doctor of History. However, his seemingly brilliant future was destined to take the worst turn: in the same year on September he was unexpectedly arrested as an of the people and prosecuted as a Trotskyist and on December, on the same day when he was pronounced guilty, he was shot to death just as Gaziz Gubajdullin was and all of the works were confiscated and destroyed just as at the time of the notorious Shi Huan Di (始皇帝).

However, according to Fauzia Bajramova, in the eighties of the century an existing copy happened to be discovered in the hands of a man, Bashikirov by name, who also has experienced both the national resurrection in the years after the fall of Tzarism and the days of following oppression. On the front page of this unique copy was written the autograph by the author which reads: To deeply estimated Alexis Stepanovich Bashikirov, from the author, L(eningrad). It is thanks to this unique copy that his capital work was saved from eternal oblivion. Perhaps it may be that Aleksej Stepanovich Bashikirov ( باشیکروو) who worked during the period in the Academy of History of Material Culture, and who was engaged in the study of architecture of ancient cities along the Black Sea coast, as well as the study of Muslim architecture of the Crimean Peninsula. Since then, this work has been reproduced several times, at least four times as far as the author knows, in Ufa in Kazan and in Moscow, and the whole text was included in the anthology.
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 МГУ in Moscow.

This work is about the history of Tatars from the formation of Kazan Khanate, until its fall by the cruel attack of Moscow headed by Ivan the Terrible in 1552.

Concerning his work historian of the Republic of Tatarstan Sh. F. Mukhamedjarov 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. Karamzin, S. M. Soloviov, V. O. Kljuevskij 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. Bajramova 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 destroying 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 Russians.

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 Tatars. 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 (Bolshevists) as of the 19th August 1945. 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 Horde, popularization of feudal epos of Idegee, 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.

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

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 Bulgarian-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 Kyrgyz, Oguz, Jemek, Bashkirs, Basmyls, Kaj, Jabaku, Tatar, Kyrgyz. Kyrgyz is nearest to China (Kashgarly Mi, vol. ). Again according to Zakiev, M. Kashgar also refers to the dialects of Kaj, Jabakus, Tayrats, Basmyls describing that they have their own languages though they speak Turkish well. Kyrgyz Kyfchaks, Oguys have different Turkish languages to which languages of Jemeks 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 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.

According to Khudjakov, until the end of 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 as the state religion.

In December Ivan Vasilievich IV (the Terrible), 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 (mitropolit since 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 a series of repeated sieges of, and attacks on Kazan, the capital of Kazan Khanate, had begun. On the second October Russians finally broke the wall of Kazan, entered into the city, and began elsewhere hand-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.

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.

I am very grateful to my colleague Bettina Begole, lecturer of our university, who kindly revised my English and gave me useful suggestions.


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Gafur Junusovich Kulakhmetov (Гафур Junusovich Kulakhmetov), writer, participated in the revolutionary movement at the beginning of 20th century as a propagandist of socialistic thoughts.

Khusani Mingazetdinovich Jamashev (Кhusani Mingazetdinovich Jamashev). He took part in the revolution of 1905-1906. In January 1905 he founded the first legal social-democratic newspaper Ural supported by Ural and Ufa committees of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party.

Shibabuddin (Shikhab ad-din) Mardzhani (Шибабуддин). 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.

Pseudonym of Rudolf Geidl. With the consent of Czech Government he worked in the Siberian Army under the command of Aleksandr Vasiljevich Kolchak (Александр Васильевич Колчак). A city along Trans-Siberian Railway, situated on the Eastern slope of the Southern part of the Ural mountains.