

**THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA IN HISTORY AND
AT THE PRESENT DAY, AN ETHNOLOGICAL
INQUIRY INTO THE PAN-TURANIAN PROBLEM,
AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL RELATING
TO THE EARLY TURKS AND THE PRESENT TURKS
OF CENTRAL ASIA**

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M. A. CZAPLICKA

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PREFATORY NOTE

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TO
R. R. MARETT

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THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA:
IN HISTORY AND AT THE PRESENT DAY¹

AN ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO THE
PAN-TURANIAN PROBLEM

The Pan-Turanian Movement.

THE Pan-Turkic or Pan-Turanian movement, supported by the most aggressive portion of Turkish and German public opinion, is a diplomatic activity, the object of which is to subjugate to the Osmanly Turks directly, and to the Germans indirectly, all those countries in which various Turkic languages are spoken. Although its purpose is probably strategical and economic—the acquisition of the cotton of Turkestan, the gold of the Altai, and Central Asian riches in general²—this is hidden beneath the cloak of fostering the supposititious desire of various peoples between Thrace and Mongolia for racial and national unity. Only a close study of the peoples whose tongues belong to the Turkic linguistic family can throw light on the moral side of this activity, and show whether the Pan-Turanian programme involves merely a desire for aggrandizement or whether it covers any other relationship, more

¹ The present work is an enlargement of a lecture delivered in the School of Oriental Studies in London on October 24, 1917.

² See Appendix A.



essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.¹

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.² Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and

¹ Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some 'details' of their programme. See Appendix B.

² An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses subject to their rule ; while these, again, by mixture and contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians did under similar conditions, and hence their chances of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered in Europe were almost non-existent even before the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which they look as a land of expansion and of compensation for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification for this change of policy was necessary, and this was easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan, Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the political atmosphere of our century which makes people revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt themselves at one even with their own Osmanly common people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

educated classes of the European countries, through a stage of 'folklorization' and 'nationalization' due to contact with the masses, who through their backwardness preserve more of their national traditions. Even the Revolution of the 'Young Turks' did not bring about the breakdown of the caste distinction, and it was, in fact, like all other events in the political history of the Osmanly, a mere imitation of the Western nations, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of national feeling against imperialistic government. There is no doubt that such a truly national movement did begin when some years before the Balkan War a literary attempt led by Ziya Bey, Ahmed Shinassy Bey, and Namyk Kemal Bey, was made to purify the Osmanly language from its Arabian and Persian admixture. It is noteworthy that two of those leaders, Ziya Bey (later Pasha) and Kemal Bey, when exiled from Turkey by Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz for their political ideas, found refuge in London. But, before their brilliant writings brought about any literary revival or social revolution, the movement was checked by the subsequent political action of the 'Young Turks', or strictly speaking by the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittikhad), after they successfully abolished the influence of the more sound rival group, the Committee of Unity and Freedom (Ittilaf). The Pan-Islamic propaganda—bound up as it is with the Arabic language and culture—when carried on by that party in non-Turkic Islamic countries, ran contrary to the attempts of the literary reformers to free themselves from foreign culture. Meanwhile, the political and economic dependence on Germany imposed by the ruling classes on the Osmanly country did not favour the further development of linguistic and other internal reforms.