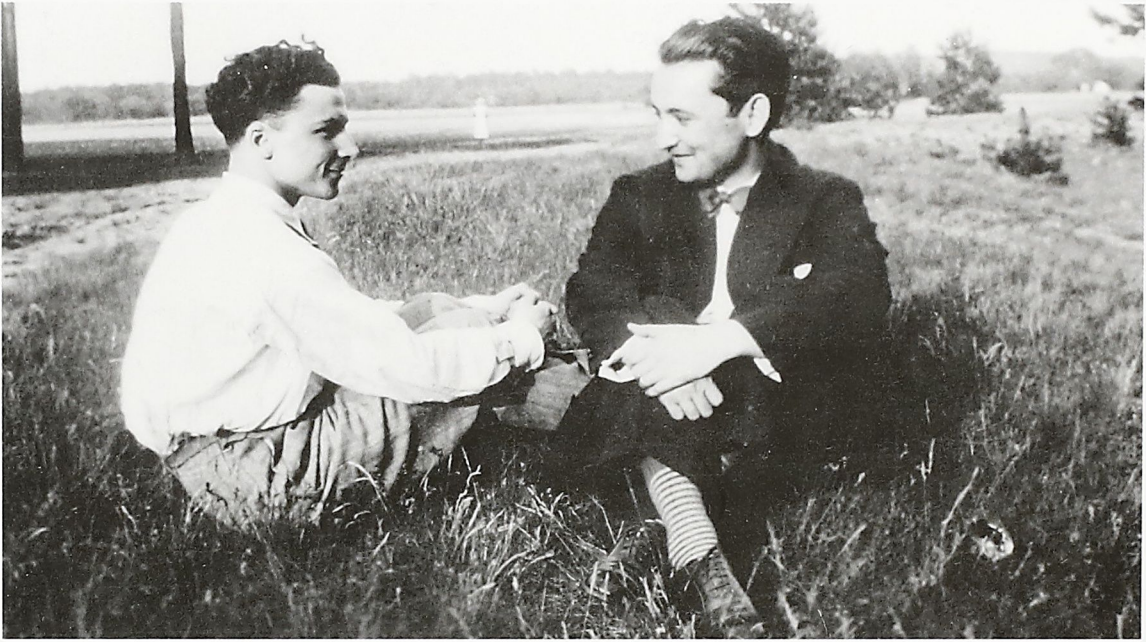


Settar Cabbar Kurtuluş Yolunda

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Orient-Institut der DMG, Istanbul

Beiruter Texte und Studien 66





This book presents an analysis of a text written in the 1930s on a number of Central Asian Turkic poets of the early part of this century. The text is of significance due to the "mixed" nature of its language. It presents the first and only written evidence of a system that evolved from a mixture of Turkish and Uzbek, the native language of the two authors respectively. In addition to the manuscript itself, the book contains a linguistic analysis of the text-language, notes on the historical events of the period covered in the text as well as commentary on some of the poets mentioned therein.



Settar Cabbar

KURTULUŞ YOLUNDA

A work on Central Asian Literature in a Turkish-Uzbek mixed language



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KURTULUŞ YOLUNDA

A work on Central Asian Literature in a Turkish-Uzbek mixed language

by Settar Cabbar

edited, translated and linguistically revisited by

A. Sumru Özsoy
Claus Schönig
Esra Karabacak

with contribution from

Ingeborg Baldauf



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To

SETTAR CABBAR

and

HAYRİ TOKAY

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List of abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
agr	agreement
gen	genitive
KY	Kurtuluş Yolunda
loc	locative
nom	nominative
NOM	nominalizer
pl	plural
poss	possessive
sg	singular
ST	Standard Turkish
ttu	Turkish
uzbC	Modern Standard Uzbek
uzbL	Uzbek as described by GABAIN 1945

Preface

This book presents an analysis of a Turkish-Uzbek text, written in the early 1930's by two speakers of two Turkic languages—Turkish and an Uzbek variety—in Berlin, Germany. The text was intended to be a literary criticism of the Uzbek literature contemporary with the book. However, neither of the authors was a literary critic; in fact, neither was a 'man of arts', as the saying goes. The task they undertook in attempting to present a critical approach to literature probably far exceeded the qualifications of the two young students, each having arrived from his respective country to study at Berlin University, the Uzbek a student of chemistry at graduate level and the Turk an undergraduate in economics. The significance and uniqueness of the text, however, lies in the fact that, in it we find the first-hand expression of the reflections, reactions and concern of a young intellectual for the historical events taking place in his home country, as well as all over Central Asia, in the 1920's and early 1930's—changes that had significant impact on the social, political and economic structure as well as the intellectual milieu of the region for the next seven decades.

The text is also of significance for the linguistic system in which it was composed. The output of the collaboration of the two young students who met each other coincidentally in an environment which was not native to either resulted in the first written version of two Turkic languages in contact. Long before the writing activity started, however, the system had already emerged as a daily language to meet the immediate communicative needs of the two interlocutors. There are, predictably though unfortunately, no records of this spoken version of the language represented in the text. The only data we have of this 'mixed' system is the one contained in the book.

In the following, we present an analysis of the language of the text, the text itself, its English translation, as well as some preliminary comments on the authors of the text, a brief introduction to the historical events that led up to and were contemporaneous with the text, and some biographical notes on some of the poets mentioned in the text. Part 1 contains preliminary comments, Part 2 the linguistic analysis, Part 3 the text and its English translation. The Appendix contains a German text written by the Uzbek author.

The linguistic analysis in Part 2 is presented in two sections. Section 1 contains a discussion of the patterns and paradigms found in the text that deviate from those of Standard Turkish. Section 2 accounts for

the Uzbek reflexes observed in the text. Not analyzed in either of the sections is the language of the poems given in the text, i.e. Uzbek. Also, in neither of the sections should the discussion be considered to represent the complete investigation of the phenomena observed in the data. In fact, it may even be more to the fact to consider both of these analyses at their preliminary stage, for, in parts, the investigations seem to raise more questions than they answer. We nevertheless feel that we have addressed the major significant issues in the data and therefore would like to present both our analyses as well as the text to those who would like to approach the phenomena from other perspectives.

Chapter 3 contains the text and its translation. The text is presented in an unedited form. There are two pages (64 and 77) of the original copy missing. Page 64 was probably the cover page for the discussion of Magjan Jumabay. As for page 77, it is possible that a copy of the page was never included in the typed version Settar Cabbar gave to Hayri Tokay in Berlin; maybe he simply forgot to make a carbon-copy of the page as he was typing; or maybe the page got lost within the last six decades in which it never surfaced. However, since the missing page is neither the first nor the last page of the manuscript, the latter possibility is dimmer than the former.

The corrections and changes in the text are those that were made by (one of) the two authors, some even as late as a few years ago by Hayri Tokay. In many cases, however, it is extremely difficult to tell which author is responsible for which correction. In our analysis, we have therefore made references to the corrections, in many cases without identifying the corrector.

The translated version has been aligned with the original text to ease the text-matching. We would like to thank Michael Hess for his translation of the Uzbek poems.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Hayri Tokay, who, by presenting the text to us, made this research possible. It is only because of his loyalty to his long-lost friend, Settar Cabbar, in holding on to the text for all these years as well as his remembrances of the experiences they shared in Berlin as young students that this book has come into existence.

We would also like to extend our gratitude to the Research Fund of Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, and the Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for supporting the research that led to this publication. The research was partially supported by Boğaziçi University Research Fund, preproject 95S0055. As all things stand, academia can only exist as long as there are institutions that believe in funding research.

1. Preliminaries

1.1 On the Authors and the Text of *Kurtuluş Yolunda*

Settar Cabbar, alias SUBUTAY, was one of the students sent by the Turkestani state in 1921 to study in Germany. Between the years 1921-1930, he was enrolled at Berlin University, where he studied, consecutively, German and chemistry. After completing his undergraduate degree in chemistry, Settar Cabbar continued with graduate studies in the same field. Originally on scholarship from his home state, Settar Cabbar soon lost this financial support when the social and political changes that eventually led to the annexation of his homeland to Russia started, and, like many other students from Turkestan, Settar Cabbar found himself in constant need for money. At times, he even received support from the Bureau of Financial Aid for Students in Germany. It was in an effort to provide some modest income for himself as well as to draw the attention of the western world to the changes that were taking place in Central Asia, which eventually resulted in the formation of the two distinct Turkic states, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, that Settar Cabbar started submitting articles on Turkestani poets, writers and other literary figures to be published in German newspapers and journals. The turbulent times at home brought news of the burning down of Tashkent Library, daily riots and demonstrations against the invasion by foreign forces, and an increase in the amount of pressure on the families of students abroad. Occasionally, Settar Cabbar received news that yet another member of his family had been exiled to Siberia.

In order to complete his studies, Settar Cabbar had to provide the 200 RM necessary for doctorate studies at a German university at the time. His coincidental meeting with the young Turkish student from Istanbul—Hayri Tokay—at an Azeri restaurant in Berlin inspired him with a plan. Hayri Tokay had recently come to Berlin to study economics. Just like Settar Cabbar, and many other foreign students in Berlin at the time, he too was suffering from lack of funds. The two decided to write a book on literary criticism of Turkestani literature wherein they would also relate the significant contemporary events occurring in Central Asia. Shortly after meeting Hayri Tokay, Settar Cabbar realized that the events of Central Asia were not of common knowledge to the citizens of the Republic of Turkey. Consequently, the two decided to write the book with the ultimate aim of having it published in Turkey. Settar Cabbar

and Hayri Tokay worked on the text for over six months. They would meet in the evenings at a restaurant situated on top of the stables in the Tiergarten, frequented mainly by students from the Middle Eastern or Central Asian countries, and work on the book.

The two developed an intriguing method of collaboration. Settar Cabbar dictated the contents of the book to Hayri Tokay, in the linguistic system that the two had developed to communicate between themselves as an Uzbek and Turkish speaker respectively. Hayri Tokay wrote down the dictated text in Latin script. At the end of each session, Settar Cabbar would take the handwritten pages from Hayri Tokay and type them on a German typewriter in his professor's laboratory the following day. Settar Cabbar made two copies of the text and gave one to Hayri Tokay when the text was completed on March 11, 1931. He is assumed to have taken the original copy with him to Turkestan, when he was forced to return to Tashkent at the end of March 1931, without being able to finish his studies when the news of his father's sudden and unexpected death arrived.

After his return to Tashkent, Settar Cabbar was heard from only once. In a letter sent to Hayri Tokay, Settar Cabbar indicated that he had started teaching at Tashkent University. Expressed in a code that the two had agreed upon prior to Settar Cabbar's departure, the letter also contained references to the favorable quality of life in Tashkent at the time. No further communication took place between the two authors after that. Hayri Tokay never received a reply to the letter he sent in response to Settar Cabbar's message. In an effort to get some news of the whereabouts and well-being of his friend, Hayri Tokay visited the coffee-shop that was the meeting place of the Turkestani students in Berlin several times. On one of his later visits, Hayri Tokay was advised by the Georgian shop-owner not to pursue his attempts further but to wait for news from Tashkent. A last visit to the coffee-shop several months later brought the news that Settar Cabbar had been exiled to Siberia.

The present text of *Kurtuluş Yolunda* is the copy that was left with Hayri Tokay in 1931, and as far as we know, it is the only existing copy of the text. This is the first time that it is being made public. It is a text about Uzbek poets, as told by an Uzbek speaker to a Turkish speaker, written down by the latter, and typed on a German typewriter by the former. The ultimate aim of the book was for both of the authors to make enough money on its publication to be able to continue with their studies. The fact remains that the two young students desperate for money did not make any on the text. The text, however, now remains as the first written record of a 'pidgin' developed by two speakers of two Turkic languages, Uzbek and Turkish, an example of a linguistic system that obvi-

ously met the needs not only of oral communication for daily use but of writing as well. That the system is underlyingly Turkish is obvious. What is significant about this is that, beyond the fact that it was, after all, the aim of the book to introduce the historical developments of the period to the Turkish speaking people of the Republic of Turkey, the linguistic system that was developed by the two users conformed more to the patterns and paradigms of Turkish. The deviations from these basic patterns and paradigms of Turkish, on the other hand, present evidence for the nature of the Uzbek substratum as well as other sources.

In this context it is important to note that the translation of the words *Türk*, *Türkçe*, and *Turki* presented one of the major problems in translating this text. The editors are well aware of the fact that *Turkic* is a term borrowed from linguistics and is generally not used in other contexts. In order to provide a smooth translation we most often used the term *Turkish*, even where the author does not refer to Turks or Turkish in Turkey. In most cases the meaning becomes clear from the context.

1.2 The Historical Background

In the year 1500 Muhammad Shaybani Khan led the Uzbek confederation from the steppes of Kazakhstan southward into the country of Mawarannahr, conquered the towns of Bukhara, Karshi and Samarkand, expelled the last Timurid rulers, and established Uzbek rule over Western Turkistan. Although the Uzbek army was crushed in 1510 near Merw by the Kyzylbash troops of the Safavid dynasty—Muhammad Shaybani Khan was killed on this occasion—they kept control in their newly gained homeland, which from this time on deserved the name “Uzbekistan”.

Because the Shaybanid dynasty led a lot of wars against their neighbours, Uzbekistan became more or less isolated from the rest of the Islamic world. At the same time dervish orders—prominently the Naqshbandiyya—gained an important position within the Uzbek state. Under their influence Bukhara could develop as one of the centers of Muslim religious scholarship, but on the other hand non-religious intellectual life came to a standstill. The Shaybanid state broke off into the Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara. In the early 17th century another state, in which Uzbek groups played an important role, was founded—the Khanate of Khokand in the Fergana basin. This was the political situation, when in 1714 Tsar Peter the Great sent a Russian army into the Transcasian steppes.

Up to 1847 the Russians were without success in their attempts to invade Western Turkistan. After they had overcome the Kazakh khanates

the Russians systematically started to build a line of fortresses along the borders to the three states in Western Turkestan. These were weakened by internal struggles between sedentary and nomadic tribes and a common economical decline. In 1856 the Russians conquered Tashkent from Khokand and 1868 Samarkand from the Bukharian Emirate. The Emir of Bukhara was forced to sign a treaty, which made his country a Russian protectorate. In 1873 Khiva followed. 1875 the Khanate of Khokand was attacked and after its defeat in 1876—as being the most dangerous enemy of the Russians—abolished; it became a district of the colonial government in Russian Turkestan. The Russians tried to isolate the muslims of Turkestan from the other muslim nations of their empire, mainly from the more modernized Turks of the Volga region and Crimean peninsula. Thus, isolated from the most advanced political ideas of this period the Uzbeks remained religiously conservative and developed a national consciousness relatively late—last but not least due to the interests of their feudal rulers.

Turkestan as a country of deserts, steppes and oases was not a region to be colonized by the Russians at a large scale. But when Russian colonists came into the country, since fertile soil and water are very limited, even a small number of them was enough to cause serious conflicts. On the other hand quite a lot of Russian workers were brought into the Uzbek towns to work in the newly founded textile industry. They—together with officials of the colonial government—lived separated from the Uzbek population in “European quarters”, as well known from other colonial towns in Africa or other parts of Asia.

Because of the conservatism of Uzbek society the first attempts of the Uzbeks to throw off the Russian rule in the eighties of the 19th century bear the character of religious “holy war” against the “infidels”. Most of them were of a spontaneous character, badly organized and easily crushed. At the beginning of the 20th century Russians gained such a strong control of the Turkestan region that the wave of rebellion came to a standstill.

Around this time began the period of reform movements. Due to the personal initiative of the Crimean Tatar Ismail Bey Gasprinski and his scholars ideas of reform and Turanism—a pan-Turkic nationalist movement—entered Turkestan. Under strong Volga Tatar influence the Islamic reform movement of “Jadidism” (*ĵädidçilik*) came into existence even amongst the Uzbeks. After 1908 under the influence of the Young Turks of the Ottoman empire, the movement of Young Bukharians was founded. Generally speaking one can say that the defeat of the Russians in the war with Japan led to an awakening of self consciousness amongst the colonial peoples of the Tsarist empire. The Uzbek movements now

started to ask for more political freedom. Several secret societies were founded, and others like the Young Bukharians, started openly with revolutionary activities.

The February revolution of 1917 gave the opportunity in Turkestan to assemble a muslim congress in Tashkent and to found a national committee. This committee founded a government in Khokand and tried to get control of Turkestan. However, in 1918 the Russian Soviet of Tashkent sent its troops to Khokand, which within a short time conquered the town and plundered it. The next two years saw the rule of Russian communists instead of Tsarist governors over the Uzbek population in Turkestan. In 1919 the Red Army invaded West Turkestan and put an end to the Khanate of Khiva (December 1919) and the Emirate of Bukhara (February 1920), which became "People's Republics".

Bolshevik rule in Western Turkestan had to face two dangers. One was the movement of the Basmachi (*basmači*), which came into existence in the mountainous region east of Bukhara. It was a movement comprised mainly of the inhabitants of the countryside with anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik devices. In 1925—even before better equipped troops of the Red Army were brought into this region—this movement slowly lost intensity, some of its members fled to Afghanistan, other groups went on fighting up to 1936. The other danger was the fact that most of the—sometimes radically nationalistic—Uzbek reformers joined the communist party. Many of them had the idea of founding a Muslim Turkic state, which even should include the Volga region. The Bolsheviks acted quite carefully against these. In 1921 Turkestan communists were expelled from official functions. In 1924 Turkestan together with the People's Republics of Bukhara and Khorezm (former Khiva) were transformed into the Socialist Union Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan—to put an end to the dream of a united Turkestan. 1930—followed just a short time later.

Stalin took over the Soviet Union, and the purge of Turkestan from "conter-revolutionary elements" started. It lasted up to 1938, and many of the intellectuals of Turkestan died—like the author of our text.

1.3 On some of the Poets¹

Miri (Muhammad Očildimurod Ne‘matullo ũgli, 1827-1908)

Miri was born into a farming family in Kattaqūrğon in 1827 and studied at Bukhara for about ten years. He finished his studies at the age of 32, returned home and became *imam* in Kattaqūrğon. In 1889 he was appointed *qadi* of Kattaqūrğon (*volost* of Kattaqūrğon *uezd*), where he remained until his death in 1908.

Miri began to write Chagatay and Persian poems at an early age. After Ali Shir Navai appeared to him in a dream, Miri tried his hand at *muxammas* on some of Navai’s *ğazals*. Evidently out of personal experience with the milieu, he wrote satirical poems on Muslim religious leaders to point out their immorality.

In later years Miri sought new sources of inspiration and new poetic means of expression. He referred to objects of modern life in his poems and made use of hitherto unknown metaphors. His first awkward attempts to write in prose are still encumbered with traditional bombast. However, for the sheer effort he put into his work Miri has been called the “last renewer of Chagatay literature”.

Siddiki (Sayd Ahmad Xūja Siddiqi, “‘Aǵzi”, 1864-1927)

Orphaned at an early age, Siddiki grew up in his grandfather’s home and received some primary education before starting to earn his livelihood as a weaver. During this time he wrote traditional style poems, which he is said to have later burnt. Around the turn of the century he sold his heritage, set out for the hajj and worked as an interpreter at a consulate at Jedda for some time.

In Tiflis Siddiki became acquainted with Sabir and Ĵälil Mämmäd-guluzadä and the circle around the satirical magazine *Molla Näsräddin*. Back in Turkestan, he opened up a *jadid* school in Halvoi/Samarkand where even Russian children studied. This school still exists. In 1914 Siddiki founded the *Zarafşon* Library in Samarkand. In the very same year the *qadim ulema* accused him of apostasy and of russianizing Muslim children.

¹ For the sake of consistency, the poets’ names are cited here as they appear in Subutay’s text. The Uzbek versions were added in parantheses.

Throughout this time Siddiki kept to the traditional style and genre of writing. The content of his works, however, was heavily influenced by enlightenment and modernism. Some poems which convey anti-imperialistic ideas are said to have inspired the 1916 liberation movement. After the 1917 February Revolution Siddiki wrote poems opposing the Provisional Government's militarism. He was appointed deputy of the Bolshevik workers' union *Ittifoq* of the city *duma* of Samarkand. He welcomed the October Revolution which he credited with creating a new and positive social order. Until 1922 he held various positions in regional juridical and educational bodies. After retiring from these posts, he continued to work as a teacher in his school in Halvoi until 1926. He died in Samarkand in 1927.

Siddiki's *Turki* and *Forsi* enlightening and utopical works of the 1910s as well as the many poems, which he wrote for Uzbek satirical magazines in the 1920s, testify to his deeply humane concern for social matters. He accuses the Turkestanis of his day of refusing modern knowledge and economy, which ultimately results in their becoming enslaved by foreign powers. In the early Soviet years, when the Jadidists were still predominant in the Uzbek educational apparatus, and in the years of NEP, such ideas were well received. With the decline of these policies, however, Siddiki's work was doomed to disdain. Posthumously he fell victim to political repression. It was possible to mention his writings again in Tajikistan in the early Khrushchev era and in Uzbekistan from 1962 onwards, and they were even studied on a rather modest level. Only after the perestroika years did Siddiki's work arouse slightly more interest.

Sofizade (Süfizoda Muhammad Šarif, 1869-1937)

Sofizade was born into a family of craftsmen. He frequented poetic circles in his hometown Kokand and began to write satirical *muxammas* at an early age. In 1915 he slipped away from *qadim* pressure and pursuit by the authorities and left for India. He found refuge at the Afghan court for some time. On his return to Turkestan in 1918, Sofizade joined the Party. He supported the Soviet cause with poems that kept to traditional forms and with essays in critical feuilleton writing. Most of his literary works were devoted to various political campaigns of the day (women's lib, land reform...). In 1926 he was awarded the rank of "the people's poet of the Uzbekistan SSR."

As the first generation of Turkestanian intellectuals who had joined and supported the communist party was gradually replaced by cadres of the Stalinist brand, Sofizade retreated from public life.

Hamza Hakimzade (Hamza Hakimzoda Niyozi, 1889-1929)

Hamza, one of the most popular poets and dramatists of his day, was for decades celebrated as “the founder of Uzbek Soviet literature”. He attended both a traditional and a Russian school in his home town Kokand. He composed a divan out of poems which he had written between 1903 and 1914—some of them in Persian. The subjects and form of these poems meet the taste of the 19th century. In the mid-1910’s Hamza joined the *jadid* enlighteners and he committed himself to social reform. He was active as a founder of, and teacher at some of the new method schools. By 1917 he had already produced the first samples of prose and lyrics inspired by the new mode of thinking.

Starting in 1918, Hamza developed what he finally became most famous for, namely his talent of setting on the stage shows committed to the cause of the new social order. He made use of traditional prank motifs and engaged popular buffoons, comedians, and singers. Thus he made a new, critical repertoire palatable to an audience who were not otherwise sympathetic to his cause right from the beginning. Themes like the corruptness of the social establishment and the institutionalised discrimination of women in Central Asian life had been set on stage by others before him. Hamza, however, presented an emphatically socialist point of view upon which he developed, from “We are workers” (1918) and “The Capital” (1919) until “The Last Days of the Global Capital” (1927). Some of Hamza’s agitprop works, whose performance would sometimes cause an uproar amongst the audiences of the day, have outlived the day-to-day occasions about which they had been composed. Those dramas in which Hamza articulated a deep and humanist social concern can still arouse enthusiastic emotions among an Uzbek public. The long-lasting success of some of Hamza’s dramas has been significantly influenced by the fact that they were, by state order, revised at the end of the 1930’s by the dramatist Komil Yašin. These dramas, the original scripts of which had been lost, or preserved only as preliminary notes, were thus successfully adapted to meet the needs of the modern stage.

Hamza took an active part in the expropriation campaign and in the anti-religious propaganda which gained momentum from 1928 on. In 1929 he was lynched for reasons that have never been clarified. His premature death saved him from later derogation, which would otherwise have been inevitable in the early 1930s, because of his Jadidist connections and his activities as a first generation native communist. It also earned him a prominent position in the canon of Soviet Uzbek literature.

Tevalla (Tavallo, Tūlagan Xūjamyorūf, 1882-1939)

Tevalla was closely connected to the *jadid* circles in Tashkent, i.e. Jadidists who were more directly inspired by Tatars than their colleagues from the south. He contributed to the official, state-managed Turkestani press and played an active role in the formation of a local press led by Central Asian intellectuals. In his journalistic works he advocated the main *jadid* ideas such as the need for reform of Muslim society by means of modern education, for the participation of natives in official state life regardless of Russian domination, and for the renewal of social morals. In his writings Tevalla tried to hold the balance between tradition and innovation by presenting modernist ideas in familiar, though essayistic, poetry.

In Soviet times Tevalla contributed to the satirical press. However, he no longer managed to match or to outdo his former colleagues as in the past.

Fitret (Abdurrauf Fitrat, 1886-1937)

Fitret was educated at one of the *madrasas* of his home town Bukhara. In the early 1910's he left for Istanbul, where he continued his studies. Back in Central Asia he began to write pamphlet-like contributions to the local press, first in Persian and later on in *Turki* as well. His writings were of marked Jadidist inspiration. He tried his hand at textbooks and wrote a scientific work on the history of Islam.

Fitret was a member of the radical wing of the Young Bukharans from the 1910's on; he became Minister of Education of the newly founded People's Republic of Bukhara but was dismissed soon afterwards under dishonorable accusations and finally left for the Turkestan ASSR. He had been in close contact with Turkestani intellectuals for some time, especially after 1919, when the *Čigatoy Gurungi* ("Chagatay Forum") came into being, a circle of poets, intellectuals and people interested in cultural politics. Between 1923 and 1924 Fitret studied at the Lazarev Institute of the Academy of Sciences (Moscow); from 1926 to 1930 he worked for the Scientific Center of the Education Commissariat of the UzSSR; from 1931 to 1933 he held a position at the Institute of Culture Building, and then from 1934 until the 1937 repression he was a professor at the Institute of Language and Literature.

Fitret had a profound knowledge of a wide range of scientific subjects. Some of his works on Central Asian cultural history (music, chess etc.) have not been surpassed up to this day. However, his study on the

Qutadğu Bilig has been almost totally ignored, as have his works on Chagatay and Persian literature. Fitret participated in the discussions regarding the nature and construction of the Uzbek and Tajik literary languages, as well as in the heated debate on which alphabet should be used for these new languages. In all instances he joined the respective “radical” wings. Fitret was barred from public discourse in Uzbekistan from 1925 on and in Tajikistan from 1928 onwards.

Fitret’s literary opus includes some poetry, which keeps to the traditional style but promotes modernist ideas, a number of dramas, and some short prose novels. The thread that runs through all his literary works from 1911 to 1928 is the appeal that man should be aware of his liberty in thought and action. No wonder that such words were neither welcome to followers of the Bukharan amir, nor to the protectors of the newly stabilizing Soviet order.

Following Fitret’s rehabilitation in the Khruščev era, some of his works were studied again in Uzbekistan—although they were gravely misinterpreted in many cases. Starting from 1988, Fitret’s scientific and literary work has received much attention, some of it under the auspices of the new Uzbek nationalism. Central Asians abroad often reduced Fitret’s philosophical and political ideals to a simplistic “nationalist, anti-imperialist” attitude, which in fact had been important in his work during the early 1920s only.

Batu (Botu, Mahmud Hodiev, 1903-1940)

When in 1922 the “Young Uzbek Poets” came up with lyrical poetry of a hitherto unknown quality, Batu was the youngest member of that pleiad, in which such prominent figures like Fitret, Ćolpan and Elbek were united. In contrast to his colleagues’ outspokenly anti-imperialist poems—which, starting from 1924, earned them harsh criticism—Batu wrote mildly pro-Soviet rejoinders whose “optimistic tone” recommended their author for co-operation in the educational system and in the culture building in the young UzSSR. His affirmative attitude towards party and state policies was enhanced by some years of study in Moscow (1921-27). Back in the UzSSR, Batu was assigned key positions in cultural life. As a leading figure of the *Qizil Qalam* (“Red Pen”) he considerably furthered two poetic anthologies of that poetic circle. Batu’s career culminated in 1929, when he became editor-in-chief of *Alanga*, a journal originally founded in 1928 for the propagation of the new Latin script, which, however, under Batu’s leadership came to be the most important literary and cultural organ of the UzSSR.

Batu's lyrics of the early and mid-1920's testify to the poet's subtle handling of style and meaning. His increasing strife for political correctness in the course of the later 1920's, however, misled him onto agitprop lines. His poems written for such causes as women's liberation or the cotton campaign never reached the high level of his earlier writings.

Elbek (Elbek, Mašriq Yunus, 1898-1939)

In the early 1920s Elbek joined the "Chagatay Forum", where his radically purist position in the language building issue made him a distinct figure. From 1921 to 1923 he wrote textbooks for language and literature education and published translations of major pedagogical works of his day from Tatar into Uzbek.

Elbek was the weakest limb of the "Young Uzbek Poets" pleiad. The quality of his poetry never really conformed to his zeal when it came to style, poetic taste, or depth of meaning: while Čolpan's poems were poetic and Batu's were beautiful, Elbek's rhymes would be just wordy and would testify to endeavor at best. On the other hand it was perhaps exactly this mediocrity that allowed him to hitch a ride on the "socialist platform" of the new Soviet Uzbek literature in 1928-30, while his former colleagues had already been thrust aside. Nevertheless a campaign against Elbek that referred to an "anti-soviet" poem of his, written in 1922, was started in 1929.

While working for the Commissariat of Education, Elbek did research in folklore and published an important collection of folk songs. When in 1928 Uzbekistan voted for the Latinization of its script, Elbek collected materials on the history of the Latinist movement, whose leader he became for a while. He actively contributed to language politics up to 1929, when the interdialectal option was pushed through. One of Elbek's latest activities in official cultural politics was the editorial work he did for the 1930 Uzbek-Russian dictionary which reveals some undeniably purist inspiration.

Elbek survived the 1937 repression, only to perish in a labor camp a few years later.

Čolpan (Čölpon, Abdulhamid Sulaymon, 1893-1937)

If we choose to call Fitret the great thinker of Turkestan/Uzbekistan, Čolpan has to be given the rank of its poet. From his early youth Čolpan

joined Jadidist circles of his home town Kokand and gave samples of his poetic talent.

Čolpan was the leading figure of the “Young Uzbek Poets”; he wrote a number of lyric volumes in the early 1920s, and had his lyrical poetry published in every Uzbek journal until 1927. In all of his poetry Čolpan proves to be the literary genius of his day, combining autochthonous lyric traditions with elements of folk poetry and inspiration gained from the study of contemporary Russian and oriental literature. Čolpan’s short stories of the mid 1920s are the earliest examples of worthy non-humoristic and non-satirical Uzbek prose. In terms of poetic beauty, matched with high demands for freedom of art and thought, very few, if any, Uzbek poets have been able to match Čolpan even today.

By 1924 the poet faced more and more hostility because he had supported the cause of his homeland’s political autonomy. He partly escaped from political pressure by leaving for Moscow, where he worked as a correspondent for several Uzbek journals. Čolpan assisted the *Ўzbek drom truppassi*, a theatrical company whose members were educated in Moscow along principles such as outlined by Vakhtangov and Meyerhold, and who performed, amongst others, Čolpan’s play *Yorqinoy*.

In his Moscow years Čolpan translated works by Shakespeare, Gorky and Tagore into Uzbek, and he also did a lot of translation work in practical fields such as agriculture.

After many years of silence Čolpan published a lyrical volume, *Soz*, in 1935. However beautiful many of these poems may be, one can hardly recognize the poet of the early 1920’s in this book. On the other hand, this is not the case with his novel “Night and Day”, which Čolpan submitted to a writers’ competition in honor of the decennial of the Soviet Union: This mature, lengthy novel, whose first part was published as a book in 1935, displayed for the last time Čolpan’s poetic ingenuity.

2. Linguistic analysis

That the target language of the text of *Kurtuluş Yolunda* is intended to be Turkish is unquestionable. The text, however, contains a number of deviations from the basic patterns and conventions of Standard Turkish which are significant for linguistic research in that in a large number of instances the deviations exhibit systematic patterning indicative of rule governed behavior. Whether these deviations in fact reflect the possible linguistic patterns that may be emerging at the point of contact between speakers of Turkish and Uzbek is a question that needs to be raised and would only be ascertained by further research, which, with the recent social, political and economic changes in Central Asia, has now become more feasible for scholars to undertake. The analysis presented here is, however, strictly restricted to the discussion of the linguistic phenomena observed in the text, making no claims for the generalizability of these observations for all instances of language contact between Turkish and Uzbek speakers. The discussion leaves the verification of this to further research on the topic.

The organization of the chapter is as follows. The next section presents a discussion of the deviations from the patterns of Standard Turkish as observed in the text. Section 2 investigates possible Uzbek reflexes in the forms to account for some these deviations.

2.1 Deviations from Standard Turkish

In the text of *Kurtuluş Yolunda*, deviations from the structures and conventions of Standard Turkish (ST) are observed in all components of grammar; phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, as well as orthographic. For the purposes of this analysis, deviations in the phonetic/phonological patterns have been identified on the basis of the deviance in the conventionalized representation of the sounds in the Turkish writing system. To avoid the potential methodological pitfall of ascribing the status of phonetic/phonological deviance to what may be a simple case of typographical error, only those cases that consistently show the same pattern of typographic representation in more than one occurrence in the text have been taken into consideration. Similarly, not considered in the analysis are those deviances which can be ascribed not to linguistic but to extra-linguistic sources, i.e. Turkish being typed on a

German typewriter, which predictably is not expected to possess the symbol for some of the Turkish sounds. Of particular significance in this context are the symbol for the high back unrounded vowel / ɪ / and the symbol that represents vowel length and the zero variant of the voiceless velar plosive in ST, i.e. ğ. Hence, those cases in which *i* instead of *ı* and *g* instead of *ğ* occur in the text have not been taken into consideration in the analysis. In this part of the analysis, we will investigate the nature of the deviations in these categories, i.e. phonetic/phonological, morphological and syntactic, as well as lexical and orthographic, treating the last two categories first.

2.1.1 Orthographic deviations

There are a number of deviations from the orthography of ST in the text. While some of these seem to be attributable to sporadic spelling errors, others present patterns of deviation which show systematicity throughout the text. Further, as mentioned above, deviations that can be attributed to the lack of symbols *ı* and *ğ* on the typewriter the text was typed on have been disregarded in the analysis.

Sporadic deviations

Some examples of sporadic deviations are *Pa-ris* (1) with an unpredicted hyphen in the root, *bu gükü* (1) with the *n* missing in the root but hand-corrected as *bu günkü*, *tahata* (69) with *a* in the second syllable, and *şidetli* (73) with degeminated voiced dental plosive as the second consonant in the ST root *şiddetli*.

The ST form *giriyordu* occurring as *griyordi* (6) with the vowel in initial syllable having been deleted constitutes another example of this category. In fact, this final example is very similar to instances in which vowel deletions in the text yield patterns of sound correspondences between the forms in the text and their counterparts in ST which will be discussed in detail in one of the coming sections shortly. However, while those forms show consistent deviations throughout the text, the form *griyordi* (6) is an isolated instance of the root vowel having been deleted. Therefore, it has been categorized as an instance of sporadic deviation rather than of a systematic pattern.

Other examples of this category are forms like *origenal* (2) (instead of the ST spelling *orijinal* for this borrowed item), *dingleyen* (11) and *rus-*

yapon (5). Note that the last example is one in which the symbol for the palatal glide *y* rather than the expected voiced affricate *j* occurs in initial position. Whether this reflects the Germanic pronunciation of the word *japon* is a question that needs to be determined. Similarly, whether the sequence *ng* rather than the dental nasal *n* in *dingleyen* is intended to reflect a velar pronunciation of the nasal or is simply a misprint also needs further investigation.

Other deviations

The major patterns of deviation from the orthography of ST, on the other hand, seem to be analyzable in the following three categories: (i) deviations from the regular spelling conventions of Turkish, such as use of hyphens to mark morpheme boundaries and occurrence of small letters in proper nouns, (ii) deletion of vowels interconsonantly, and (iii) insertion of vowels into corresponding consonant clusters in ST.

Deviations from the spelling conventions

One very striking deviance in the conventions of ST is that of the occurrence of small letters in the place of capitals in initial position in proper nouns. Some of the examples are *siddikin*, *ruşca*, *türkcü*, *cin*, *rus*, *afgan* (1), *rusiya* (8), *abdul rauf* (10), *türk* (12) and *balkan* (5).

Another recurrent pattern of deviation in the spelling conventions is the writing of the compound verbs like *nesr etti* (4), *bis eden* (8) separately rather than together as is the convention in ST. In this same category can be cited those cases in which the ability morpheme *-(y)Abil* is written separately from the verb stem, i.e. *ögrene biliniz* (79), *taşıya bilen* (80), *ala bilir* (80), *vure bildikini* (82), *gece bilse* (89), *toplaya bildi* (89), *seyahat yapa bilen* (99). Of particular interest here is of course the form *yol ala bilirsiniz* (98) in which all three components of the compound verb have been written separately.

The pattern of writing the components of compounds separately is also observed in the spelling of compound proper nouns as *Sofî zade* (6) and *Hakim zade* (6). These, however, also have their conforming alternates in other parts of the text and therefore should probably be taken as sporadic instances of deviations.

Hyphen. The hyphen seems to serve two functions in the text. In some cases, it is observed to mark morpheme boundaries between the stem and a clitic, e.g. *kalkanlar-la* (2).

However, this occurrence of the hyphen does not seem to be restricted to clitic boundaries in the text. In the forms *bir-er* (7) and *aferin-lerini* (33), it is used to mark morpheme boundary which does not involve a clitic.

The hyphen is also observed to mark glottal stop in some borrowed words as in *mes-ut* (2), *tel-in* (3). In ST, there exist two patterns of pronunciation of these roots. One is similar to the pattern represented in the text, i.e. with glottal stop in the position marked with the hyphen in the orthography of the text. The presence of the glottal stop is usually represented with the diacritic apostrophe in ST. This pattern of production in ST of course conforms to the production of the corresponding forms in the lending language, i.e. Arabic.

The second pattern of production for these forms is with no glottal stop in this position, so that in this latter pronunciation the second syllables of the words *mesut* and *telin* are produced with the sounds *s* and *l* in syllable initial position respectively. No diacritics are employed in the orthographic representation of this pronunciation.

Lack of *y*. A last pattern of deviance from the spelling conventions of ST to be mentioned is the $\emptyset \sim y$ correspondence exhibited by the lack of *y* before the clitic *-le* in the text. In ST, the buffer *-y* occurs before clitics when attached to stems ending in a vowel. Similar environments in *Kurtuluş Yolunda* lack this sound. Consequently, this phenomenon seems to yield a case of \emptyset / y correspondence before clitics in the text. Consider the following forms taken from various parts of the text of *Kurtuluş Yolunda*: *kamçılarile* (7), *şiiirile* (10), *yüzbaşılarile* (13), *parasile* (17), *birile* (7), *yardemile* (17), *inceliklerile* (17), *kabilayatile* (17), *hisabıla* (19), *sözile* (19), *ruslerile* (8), *gençlerile* (1), *teşvikile* (17), *adile* (70), *niyatile* (4), *Istanbul Türkçesile* (52), *tiyatrolerile* (62).

Vowel Deletion. In a number of instances in the text, no symbol for a vowel can be found in a root corresponding to a root which would have a vowel in that position in ST. This lack of a vowel symbol between consonants has the following phonological effects on word structure. It gives rise to initial consonant clusters, yields intermedial 3-consonant clusters and results in potential resyllabification in forms where the vowel of a syllable has been omitted. These are respectively exemplified in the following discussion.

Those vowel deletions which yield initial consonant clusters are observed in the spelling of some proper nouns, i.e. *kırım* (5), *rmazan*, as well as some common nouns cf. *byitinde*, *yabancı* (11) and the adjectival stem like *buzktir* (7).

Lack of a vowel symbol between consonants is also observed in intermedial position, in stems of both proper and common nouns as well as well as other lexical classes. These have the effect of yielding 3-consonant-clusters in intermediate position. Consider the following forms illustrating this phenomenon: *Samrkent* in (4), *Moskva* (23,30,33, 44, 97), *sevgli* (5), *esrlerini* (6), *inklabden* (10). Although of the proper nouns, *Samrkent* frequently alternates with the regular spelling in the text in accordance with the conventions of ST as in *Semerkant'ta* (2,33) or with slight modification as in *Semerkent*, the spelling *Moskva* for *Moskova* is almost invariant, alternating only with the metathesized form *Moskav* on p 34 and the hand-corrected form *Moskova* in some of the above contexts. (In fact, in one of these hand-corrected instances, the inserted *o* is wrongly placed between the consonants ...s-k... yielding the form *Mosokva* (31)).

Similarly, for the examples of common nouns *sevgli* (5), *esrlerini* (6), *inklabden* (10), there are instances in which the forms are found with the conforming spelling *sevgili*, *eserlerini* and *inkilapden* respectively, indicating that these might actually be spelling errors rather than patterns which reflect rule governed behavior. Other examples along these lines are the forms *entersan* and *ışk* where the former has a 2-consonant-cluster in intermedial position and the latter a two-consonant-cluster in final position.

Vowel insertion. In a number of instances, the unrounded high vowel *i* has been inserted into initial consonant clusters, giving rise to a new pattern in syllabification.

kilasiklari / *kil* (2) *çar Rusiyasının* *tirenl(er)* (31)

What is significant is that this is also a common strategy observed in breaking up initial consonant clusters in borrowed words in ST. ST, however, shows variation between the front and back high vowels as well as rounded vs unrounded vowels in these instances, whereas the inserted vowel is invariantly *i* in the text. Although the non-occurrence of the symbol for the high back unrounded vowel is predicted on the basis of the nature of the typewriter used in the typing process, the nonoccurrence of the rounded as opposed to the unrounded vowel symbols is noteworthy.

d-z correspondence. In a number of items in the text, dental plosives occur instead of dental fricatives, as is the case in the corresponding ST forms. The forms where this correspondence is observed are *ötkür* (4) and *hidmet* (85, 86, 95) which are respectively *özgür* and *hizmet* in ST.

2.1.2 Lexical deviations

The text also contains a number of lexical deviations, i.e. forms that are not to be found in the lexicon of ST. These deviations involve single forms as well as idiomatic expressions and compound forms.

A pattern commonly observed in the formation of compound verbs is the use of the ‘auxiliary’ verbs *yap-* and *kıl-* in place of the ST *et-*. This is true for compound verbs formed from borrowed nouns like *tesir yap-* (3) ‘to affect’ as well as from Turkish roots like *yasak kıl-* ‘to prohibit’. Consider the following forms found in the text and their correspondences in ST:

KY		ST
<i>tesir yapmak</i> (3)	‘to affect’	<i>tesir et-</i>
<i>teslim yapmadi</i> (12)	‘to turn in’	<i>teslim et-</i>
<i>temin yapılmıştır</i> (22)	‘to provide’	<i>temin et-</i>
<i>müdafaa yapiniz</i> (22)	‘to defend’	<i>müdafaa et-</i>
<i>umit kilar</i> (13)	‘to hope’	<i>umit et-</i>
<i>iftihar kilar</i> (69)	‘to be proud of’	<i>iftihar et-</i>
	‘hand-corrected to’	<i>iftihar eder</i>
<i>yasak kil</i> (??)	‘to prohibit’	<i>yasak et-</i>
<i>tasvir kilişi</i> (26)	‘(his) description’	<i>tasviret- (edişi)</i>

Among other lexical anomalies are noun compounds like *dogus guni* (1) for ST *doğum günü* ‘birthday’ and *cihan/dünya (v)uruşu(nde)* (6, 7, 10, 21, 44) for ST *dünya savaşı(-nda)* ‘world war’, adjectives like *agirdir* (6) for ST *zordur* ‘difficult’, and *yahşi* (20) for ST *güzel* ‘beautiful’.

The text also contains a number of occurrences which can be identified as neologisms in ST. Among these are forms like *meydana attigi* (5) ‘put forth’, *sahnalari kazanan* (20) ‘(one) which became popular’ and *uzak sur-* ‘take a long time’. The ST forms for these are *ortaya attığı* or *tavsiye ettiği*, *meşhur olan* and *uzun sür-* respectively.

Similarly, the participle *adlanan* (22, 69, 70) ‘called’ derived from the root *ad* in the structures .“*kızıl ordu*” *adlanan rus askerlerinden* (22) ‘from the Russian soldiers called “the Red Army”, “*Milli Yol*” *adlanan mecmuasi(nin)*... (69) ‘his journal(s) called ‘The National Path’ and “*Türkistan*” *adlanan şiirinden* (70) ‘from his poem called “Türkistan”’ is used in place of the corresponding participle *denen* derived from the root *de-* in ST.

ST idiomatic expressions *açıktan açığa* ‘quite blatantly’ and *el ele verip* ‘hand in hand’ appear in the text as *acıktan acik* (19) and *ele elverip* (89) respectively. As can be noted, both of these expressions show morphological differences from their corresponding forms in ST. In both, the case suffix on the second element has been left out.

In the adverbial *ayni o zamanda* (5) ‘exactly at that time’ (with *o* added by hand), lexical substitution seems to have applied with the ST *tam* having been replaced with the particle *ayni*. The corresponding adverbial expression in ST is *tam o zamanda*.

In the text, a number of items exist which have no formal correspondences in ST. These items are *tamıştır* (21), *taratdığı* (22), *telkunlarını* (45) and *yaras bitiginde* (85). For the last two forms, the ST correspondences are given in parentheses as *dalgı* ‘wave’ and *sulh muayedesinde* ‘peace treaty’ respectively. The forms *uyuşmaya* (23) and *salıştıralım* (56), though they exist in ST as well, are used in unconventional meaning in the text. In the sentence *Rusler uyusmaga mecbur oldiler* (23) ‘the Russians were forced to surrender’, the corresponding embedded verb in the ST sentence would be *antlaşmağa*. Likewise, in the sentence *her iki türk şivesini birbirine salıştıralım* (56) ‘let us compare the two Turkic dialects’, the corresponding predicate in ST would be *karsılaştıralım*.

The form *isvecer* in the compound *isvecer daglarından* (19) ‘from the Swiss mountains’ showing both lexical and morphological deviation from ST is probably an attempt at borrowing the German word *schweizer*, and similar to the case of *yapon* discussed earlier, probably reflects influence of the dominant language in the social environment within which the text *Kurtuluş Yolunda* was composed, i.e. German.

2.1.3 Phonetic/Phonological deviations

In the text of *Kurtuluş Yolunda*, deviations can be observed in all of the most salient phonological properties of ST. These involve different sound correspondences in roots, differences in the properties of root internal and external vowel harmony as well as of devoicing of consonants in suf-

fix-initial and root-final positions, and lack of a sound unit in a given lexical item in the text corresponding to its presence in ST. Variations observed in sound correspondences in roots involve the voicing quality of consonants in initial position, particularly the velar stop, and height and rounding features of vowels.

A consequence of these deviations is that some of the sound alternations of ST seem to be neutralized in the text, yielding nonvariant forms for those cases in which the corresponding form in ST exhibits variation. Typical environments of neutralization correspond to those of devoicing of root-final consonants, vowel harmony and voicing assimilation of consonants in suffix-initial position in ST.

Final devoicing of obstruents

In ST, there are a number of roots which show alternation between voiced and voiceless counterparts of the non-velar plosive obstruents in final position; in word final position and before a suffix with a consonant in initial position, the voiceless variant occurs; in all other environments, the voiced variant appears. Hence, the following pairs of alternations exist in Turkish:

-p/b	<i>cevap</i>	<i>cevap-ta</i>	<i>cevab-a</i>
-t/d	<i>şehit</i>	<i>şehit-te</i>	<i>şehid-e</i>
-ç/c	<i>ihitiyaç</i>	<i>ihitiyaç-ta</i>	<i>ihitiyac-a</i>

Many of the roots in which this alternation is observed in ST, however, do not exhibit this property in KY. Most of these roots in the text occur either invariantly with the voiced counterpart of the sounds, or as in some cases, show an alternation between the voiced and voiceless counterparts in environments in which only the voiceless sound would occur in ST. Among these forms are, notably, *ihitiyaç*, *mekteb(lerine)* (10, 99)/*mekteplerde* (98), *iktisad* (33), *aid* (36,90, 95)/*ait* (98), *cevab* (78), *şehid* (50) / *şehit* (91), *sahib* (57)/ *sahipi* (87), *mensub* (65), *yahud* (75), *umidvar* (81), *feryad* (82), *kagadları* (84), *inkilabdan* (85)/ *inkilap* (85), *imdad* (90). It is interesting to note that the form *mekteb(lerine)* (99) with the voiced bilabial plosive in a preconsonantal position at morpheme boundary is also found in an identical phonological environment in its conforming form *mekteplerde* (98). The fact that the voiceless labial obstruent occurs correctly in exactly the same environment, i.e. before the plural suffix, might be indicating SUBUTAY's consciousness of the phenomenon of voicing alternation in ST.

The same pattern of co-occurrence of both the conforming and non-conforming forms of the lexical items in the text is evidenced in the cases of *şehid* (50)/ *şehit* (91) and *inkilabdan* (85)/*inkilap* (85). Whether the occurrence of the symbol for the voiced alveopalatal affricate in word final position in the word *ihtiyac* is due to the neutralization process that seems to have applied in the other cases or whether it is simply due to the fact that the author's typewriter lacked the symbol *ç* of the voiceless counterpart is not clear; however, what is significant is that no correction by hand has been made to this form, as has been commonly done in other instances of *c-ç* correspondences in the text.

The forms *yahud* (75) and *aid* (36, 90, 95), which occur quite frequently throughout the text, appear almost invariantly with the voiced member of the plosives in final position, with the form *ait* (98) constituting one of the few exceptions to the generalization. The fact that there is a version of *aid* hand-corrected as *ait* on p 72 indicates that the author consciously corrected the form, providing evidence to his consciousness of the phenomenon as in the case of *mekteplerde* discussed above.

Initial voicing

In ST, suffix initial alveolar plosives and alveopalatal affricates assimilate in voicing to the final sound of the stem. This is a purely phonological process which applies to suffixes attached to nominal as well as verbal stems. Thus, the past morpheme *-DI* 'past' of the verbal inflectional paradigm and the two case suffixes in the nominal inflectional paradigm which have alveolar plosives in initial position, i.e. *-DA*, 'locative' and *-DAn* 'ablative', the participle forming suffix *-DIK* as well as purely derivational suffixes which have alveolar plosives in initial position all exhibit voicing assimilation of their initial sounds, yielding paradigms such as the following:

-DI 'past'

gör-dü
'he saw'

oku-du
'he read'

git-ti
'he went'

+DA 'loc'

ay-da
'on the moon'

oda-da
'in the room'

at-ta
'on the horse'

+*DAn* 'abl'

ay-dan

'from the moon'

oda-dan

'from the room'

at-tan

'from the horse'

-*DIK* 'part'

gör-düğ-ümüz

'the one we saw'

oku-duğ-umuz

'the one we read'

+*CI* 'agentive'

kitap-çı

'bookseller'

koşu-cu

'runner'

Similar to the case of devoicing in final position discussed above, this voicing variation involving the alveolar plosives and alveopalatal affricates in morpheme initial position in suffixes is also observed to be neutralized in many cases in KY. In the neutralized contexts in the text, the morphemes occur mainly in the form of the voiced variant. Thus, in the text, forms like

uğrasdı (7), *elde etdiler* (24), *çıkdı* (74), *yetisdi* (76), *ösdirdi* (79), *yetisdi* (76), *gecdi* (89), *başlamışdı* (96) for the ST *-DI* 'past' suffix which is expected to have the forms *-tI* in these environments, (cf. ST. *uğraş-tı* for *uğrasdı* (7))

oğrasmakdalar (22), *calismakdadır* (62) for the adjunct forming suffix *-mAkTA* 'in the process of' of ST. This suffix in fact shows no allomorphic variation between the voiced and voiceless dental plosives in ST since the sound occurs immediately after the voiceless velar plosive /k/ (cf. ST. *uğraşmak-ta-lar* for *oğrasmakdalar* (22))

halkdır (87), *demekdir* (94), *yokdır* (95), *tanınmışdır* (26), *calismışdır* (62), *başılmışdır* (69), *kullanılmışdır* (69), *dimekdir* (69), *yazmışdır* (65), *kalmışdır* (65), *habs edilmişdir* (74), *unutilmayacaktır* (74), *kalkmışdır* (89), *yaratılmayacaktır* (94) for the predicative suffix *-DIr* which is predicted to occur with the voiceless dental plosive in these forms (cf. ST *halktır*)

türklesdikçe (65), *beklemekden* (70) for the ST adjunct forming suffixes *-DIkÇA* 'as' and *-mAktAn* 'from', the latter of which shows no allomorphic variation between the voiced and voiceless dental plosive in ST since the sound occurs immediately after the voiceless velar plosive /k/, as in the case of *-mAkTA* (cf. ST *Türkleştikçe* for *türklesdikçe*)

vaziyatda (65), *tarihda* (70), *siyasetda*, *temuzde* (73), *akmacitde* (72), *halkdan* (74), *saatda* (75), *boyundurakdan* (71), *işde* for the ST case

suffixes +*DA* 'loc' and +*DAn* 'abl' both of which are predicted to have the voiceless dental plosive in the environments given above (cf. ST *vaziyette* for *vaziyatda* (65) and *halktan* for *halkdan*)

etdirmek (71) for the causative suffix -*DIr*, which is predicted to have the variant -*tir* when attached to the root *et-* (cf. ST. *ettirmek* for *et-dirmek*)

yapdigi (24), *yapdiklari* (72), *cekdigi* (80), *yapdiklari* (75) for the ST participle suffix -*DIK* and the form *cikdigini* (74) for the ST nominalizer -*DIK* both of which are predicted to have the forms -*İğ-* in these examples (cf. ST *yaptığı* for *yapdigi* (24) and *çıkışını* for *cikdigini* (74))

and the purely derivational agentive suffix -*Dar* which is predicted to occur as -*tar* in *tarafdari* (96), (cf. ST *taftari*)

all have the voiced dental plosive in initial position.

Alongside with these nonassimilated forms, however, the text also contains assimilated forms of morphemes with alveolar plosives in initial position, i.e. forms that conform to the phonological processes of ST. Some examples of these latter cases are *parcalanmistir* (1), *almaktadirlar* (1), *meydana attigi* (5), *yapilmistir* (22), *yapmistir* (24), *gecmistir* (25), *vaziyette* (90), *boyunturugundan* (99), in which the dental plosive in initial position of the predicative -*DIr*, the participle -*DIK*, the locative +*DA* and the ablative +*DAn* morphemes has undergone voicing assimilation to agree with the immediately preceding sound in the stem. What is apparent from the list above, however, is that the non-assimilated forms of suffixes with dental plosives in initial position occur more commonly in the text than the assimilated cases. This fact, together with the fact that some of the occurrences of the voiced alveolar plosives in the examples were corrected by hand by the author, can be argued to indicate that while the author was probably aware of the assimilation process in these contexts, he suffered performance problems. What is also interesting is that in a very small number of cases in the text, we also come across examples of reverse voicing, i.e. voiceless alveolar plosive occurring in contexts where the voiced counterpart is predicted: *agirti* (75), *etildikdan* (76), *cesaret etemediler* (76).

Vowel Harmony

One of the most prominent features of Turkish phonology is vowel harmony. Vowel harmony applies root internally as well as across morpheme boundaries in a Turkish word. Root internal vowel harmony assimilates

noninitial vowel(s) in a root in rounding and frontness-backness to the vowel of the preceding syllable. A distributional constraint restricts the non-high vowels in non-initial syllables to agree only in frontness/backness with the preceding vowel, non-high round vowels not occurring in non-initial syllables (in a Turkish root; loan words constitute an exception to this distributional constraint, as will be discussed below).

Vowel harmony across morpheme boundaries applies in a manner similar to root internal vowel harmony. The vowel of the suffix agrees in frontness/backness and roundness with the last vowel of the stem. With respect to the nature of their vowel, Turkish suffixes are phonologically subgrouped into two categories; (i) those that have a high vowel, and (ii) those that have a low vowel. Examples of these two classes are as follows:

High Vowel Suffixes

-DI 'past'	<i>gel-di</i>	<i>çağır-dı</i>	<i>duy-du</i>	<i>gör-dü</i>
+(y)I 'acc'	<i>ebe-yi</i>	<i>ayı-yı</i>	<i>abu-yu</i>	<i>ütü-yü</i>

Low Vowel Suffixes

+LAr 'plural'	<i>ev-ler/*-lar</i>	<i>oda-lar/*-ler</i>
+Dan 'abl'	<i>ev-den/*-dan</i>	<i>oda-dan/*-den</i>

There are a number of exceptions to both types of vowel harmony in Turkish. Exceptions to root internal harmony are the non-harmonizing loan words, i.e. forms like *ihimal* and *gayet*, in which the final vowels do not agree with the features of the vowels in the preceding syllable. Similarly, borrowings like *radyo*, *televizyon*, *şoför* violate the distributional pattern of the non-high round vowels.

Exceptions to root external vowel harmony are presented by the non-harmonizing affixes, i.e. prefixes and suffixes which possess invariant forms. Examples to the former are prefixes like *na-* and *bi-*, which are attached to adjectival stems to yield their negated forms, eg. *bi-gane*, *biçare*, *na-mütenahi*, etc. An example of nonharmonizing suffixes is the clitic *-ki*, which forms the pronominal form of possessives as well as of some temporal phrases; *benimki*, *onunki*, *onlarınki*, *yarınki*. A suffix which violates the distributional pattern of the non-high vowels in Turkish is the progressive suffix *-Iyor* the second vowel of which is the invariant *o*, violating both the distributional as well as the agreement features of vowels in Turkish.

Now consider the following forms from the text which violate the vowel harmony rules of ST:

Root internally:

evval (ki) (6), *devlat* (1), *seray* (6), *pencasine* (6), *hizmatlar* (7)

Root Externally:

High Vowel Harmony: *nufusunin* (1), *dogdi* (1,2), *onin* (4), *yurtin i* (4,6), *öldikten* (4), *göriyordi* (4), *oni(n)* (4), *soninci* (5), *öldi* (5), *doldurdiler* (6), *oldi* (6), *okudigimiz* (8), *kadilik mühürinde* (3), *olduguni* (3).

Low Vowel Harmony: *alimlar* (1), *sirlar* (4), *dinlayan* (45), *isteyan* (7), *imande* (100), *yillerce* (4), *oyunlerine* (6), *bununle* (8), *ruslere* (8), *kasidaler* (8), *onden* (8).

Note that in KY neutralization of both high and low vowel harmony is observed in both root internal as well as across-morpheme-boundary environments. Violations of Root Internal are observed mainly in the non-assimilated low vowels in non-initial syllables. The items listed above have the following corresponding forms in ST: *evvel*, *devlet*, *pençesine*, *hizmetler* with the vowel of the second syllable agreeing in frontness with the vowel of the preceding syllable.

What is interesting is that there a number of forms in the text in which Root Internal Vowel Harmony seems to have applied, although the corresponding forms in ST are non-harmonizing. Consider the following: *kuvvatli* (11), *davat* (29), *alat* (5). These all occur as *kuvvetli*, *davet*, and *alet* respectively in ST.

Cases involving Root External Vowel Harmony in ST, on the other hand, exhibit violations of both Low Vowel Harmony and High Vowel Harmony. As can be observed in the examples given above, suffixes with high vowels occur almost invariantly with the unrounded high vowel throughout the text; i.e., suffixes like the past *-DI*, genitive *+nIn* and participle *-DIK* occur as *-di*, *+nin*, and *-dik* respectively, only in very few instances assimilating in roundness to the preceding vowel (non-assimilation in backness is not taken into consideration here due to the typographical constraint mentioned earlier). The items in the list above have the following assimilated forms in ST: *nufusunun* (1), *dogdu* (1, 2), *onun* (4), *yurdunu* (4, 6), *öldükten* (4), *görüyordu* (4), *onun* (4), *sonuncu* (5), *öldü* (5), *doldurdular* (6), *oldu* (6), *okuduğumuz* (8).

Similarly, violations of Low Vowel Harmony are observed in suffixes with low vowels, these exhibiting variation between the front and back counterparts only in a restricted number of contexts. Several suffixes which show alternation between e/a in ST occur mainly with the front vowel in the text. Notable in the examples above are the plural *+LAR*, loca-

tive +*DA*, and instrumental +*LA*, all of which would have the corresponding forms in ST; *isteyen, insanda, yıllarca*.

Whether neutralization applies partially or totally in a stem, i.e., whether all or only some of the vowels in the stem are neutralized, seems to be unpredictable in the text. Thus, examples in which neutralization has applied to high vowels in a lexical item in an “across the board” manner, i.e. to all the non-initial vowels in the stem, are forms like *sustirilmişti* (7) in which none of the non-initial vowels has undergone rounding assimilation. Examples of forms in which vowel harmony seems to have applied only partially are provided by such forms as *kurtaracaklerinde* (81), *olmadigindan* (75) (in the latter form, front/back harmony of the high vowel *i* also appears to have been neutralized in the morphemes -*dig* ‘nominalizer’ and +*i* ‘possessive’; however, this is difficult to confirm due to the fact that the German typewriter probably lacked the symbol for the high back unrounded vowel).

Cases in which the neutralization effect of rounding harmony is only partial, applying to some but not all non-initial high vowels are examples like *göriyoruz* and *düzülmüştür*. In the former, the high vowel of the progressive -*lyor* suffix shows no agreement in rounding, while that of the person suffix -*uz* does. Similarly, the vowel of the passive -*Il-* in *düzülmüştür* agrees in rounding (as well as fronting) with the vowel of the root, but that of the aspect marker -*mİş* does not. The last suffix on the stem, the predicative suffix +*Dİr*, on the other hand, agrees in rounding with the preceding non-harmonizing aspect marker -*mİş*. Similarly, in the form *buzuldukten*, the high vowels of the second and third syllables agree in rounding and backness with the root vowel, but the low vowel of the ablative suffix which forms the last syllable of the stem remains invariant.

As mentioned earlier, in cases of root internal harmony as well, there are instances in which the appropriate vowel harmony seems to have applied, cf. *en muhumleri, kuvvalli*, and *mavzu’a* in which the rounding harmony as well as the front/back harmony have applied appropriately to the noninitial vowels in the roots. There are, however, also instances in which the variant of the vowel predicted by the harmony rules does not occur, cf. *mecmue, şöyla*.

Sound correspondences

The text also contains instances of sound correspondences between some roots and affixes in the text and their counterparts in ST. These correspondences are observed both in vowels and consonants.

One such correspondence involves the voiced/voiceless counter parts of obstruents in initial and final position. A prominent example of the voiceless continuant in initial position corresponding to ST voiceless continuant is found in the root *zülük* (3) which occurs as *sülük* in ST.

Similarly, the conjunctive gerund *-(y)Ip* of ST with voiceless bilabial plosive in final position corresponds to *-ib* in some forms in KY—*akib* (7), *yapib* (6), *alib* (12).

The reverse of voicing correspondence is also observed in the text; i.e. several lexical items which have the voiced velar plosive in initial position in ST occur with its voiceless counterpart in the text; *kösterir* (5), *kelmekte*, *kününin* (12), *bu küngi* (4), *küreşine* (12), *körmekte* (13), *kibi*, *kebi* (10), *keçici* (23); *keçirmek* (23), *köklere* (25) (cf. ST *gösterir*, *gelmekte*, *gününün* ...).

Sound correspondences that involve vowels show variations in both height and rounding features. Height variations are observed both in instances of high vowels of ST corresponding to low vowels in KY as well as low vowels of ST corresponding to high vowels in the text. Examples of these two categories are as follows:

a. KY non-high/ ST high vowel correspondence

KY		ST	KY		ST
<i>e</i>	↔	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	↔	<i>u</i>
<i>getmekte edi</i>		<i>gitmekte idi</i>	<i>oyanış</i> (5)		<i>uyanış</i>
<i>zencire</i> (11, 25)		<i>zincire</i>	<i>bolundu</i> (2),		<i>bul-</i>
<i>edi</i> (95)		<i>idi</i>	<i>boldi</i> (4)		
<i>netekem</i> (6,7)		<i>nitekim</i>	<i>boreye</i>		<i>buraya</i>
<i>yene</i>		<i>yine</i>	<i>ograşan</i>		<i>uğraşan</i>
<i>gebi</i>		<i>gibi</i>			
<i>hec</i>		<i>hiç</i>			
<i>Engliz</i> (22)		<i>İngiliz</i>	<i>ö</i>	↔	<i>ü</i>
<i>eken</i> (12,86)		<i>iken</i>	<i>ölke</i> (1)		<i>ülke</i>
<i>bekleyorlerdi</i> (33)		<i>bekliyorlardı</i>	<i>gozel</i> (4,11)		<i>güzel</i>
<i>ceverdi</i> (33)		<i>çevirdi</i>	<i>göclisi</i> (5)		<i>güçlüsü</i>

b. KY high/ ST non-high vowel correspondence

KY		ST	KY		ST
<i>i</i>	↔	<i>e</i>	<i>u</i>	↔	<i>o</i>
<i>iteldikten</i>		<i>edildikten</i>	<i>uni</i>		<i>onu</i>
<i>ipice</i> (10)		<i>epeyce</i>	<i>buzulduktan</i>		<i>bozulduktan</i>
<i>hisapsız</i> (10)		<i>hesapsız</i>	<i>kuyu</i>		<i>koyu</i>
<i>idilerek</i> (6)		<i>edilerek</i>			
<i>sil kibi</i> (10)		<i>sel gibi</i>			

With respect to Category (a), in addition to the examples given above, there are some isolated instances of *a/e* ↔ *ı*, *a* ↔ *e*, and *e* ↔ *a* correspondences in the forms KY *yekeldikten*/*yekildikten* (11) ↔ ST *yıkıldıktan*, KY *tankit* ↔ ST *tenkit* and KY *tesvir* (4), *teref* (4, 11), *debe* (8) ↔ ST *tasvir*, *taraf*, *daha*. The adverbial suffix *-(y)IncA* of ST is realized as *-ance* in the form *baglananceye*. Also noteworthy in this context are the two forms *bekleyorlerdi* and *yaşıyordu* in which the vowel of the of the syllable preceding the progressive suffix *-Iyor* is spelled with the low vowel symbols *e* and *a* respectively. The corresponding forms in ST are *bekliyordu* and *yaşıyordu*.

In category (b), on the other hand, although the *i* ↔ *e* correspondence is observed mainly in the vowels of initial syllables, there are a few instances in which it is also found in non-initial syllables. Thus *değerli* (7) 'valuable' and *gazitesi* (7) '(its) newspaper' in which the vowels of the penultimate syllable in the former and that of the anti-penultimate in the latter items correspond to *değerli* and *gazetesi* respectively in ST.

The following sets of examples involve front/back and round/un-round correspondences of vowels which may in fact involve vowel harmony effects as discussed earlier. Consider the forms:

a. KY back/ ST front vowel correspondence

KY		ST	KY		ST
<i>a</i>	↔	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	↔	<i>a</i>
<i>hakikatan</i>		<i>hakikaten</i>	<i>meişetini</i>		<i>maişetini</i>
<i>kuvvatli</i>		<i>kuvvetli</i>	<i>agızden</i>		<i>ağızdan</i>
<i>sadaçe</i>		<i>sadece</i>	<i>aguze</i>		<i>ağıza</i>
<i>mausu'a</i>		<i>mevzusuna</i>			
<i>muhtalif</i> (1)		<i>muhtelif</i>			
<i>masguldır</i> (6)		<i>meşguldür</i>			
<i>yokatmak</i>		<i>yoketmek</i>			
<i>böyla</i> (5)		<i>böyle</i>			

b. KY rounded/ ST unrounded correspondence

KY		ST
<i>u</i>	↔	<i>i</i>
<i>muhumleri</i>		<i>mühimleri</i>
<i>furset</i>		<i>fırsat</i>
<i>karsu</i> (10)		<i>karşı</i>

The reverse in rounding correspondence is also observed. That is, unrounded vowels in some stems in the text correspond to rounded vowels of ST. This correspondence is observed mainly, but not exclusively, in suffixes, thus constituting violations of External Vowel Harmony of ST. Consider the following:

KY unrounded/ ST rounded correspondence

KY		ST
<i>i</i>	↔	<i>u</i>
<i>gönilden gönile</i> (10)		<i>gönülden gönüle</i>
<i>uni</i>		<i>onu</i>
<i>buzktir</i> (7)		<i>bozuktur</i>

In the above list, while *gönilden gönile* (10) exemplifies rounding correspondence in roots, the rest illustrate round/unround correspondence in suffixes.

2.1.4 Morphology

The major areas of deviation from the morphology of ST are anomalies in the inflectional paradigms of nominals and verbals. Deviations in the nominal paradigm are observed in the agreement patterns as well as the case marking system. Deviations in the verbal paradigm are observed in the voice system, tense/aspect markers and participle constructions.

Nominal paradigm

Deviation in the agreement pattern within the NP and in case assignment features of ST are the two major categories of deviations in the nominal inflectional system of the text.

Nominal Agreement in ST

In possessive constructions in ST, the possessor and the possessed are marked with the genitive and the agreeing possessive suffixes respectively. Number and person distinctions are overtly marked in both sets of suffixes; the rich morphology makes it possible for the possessor not to be overtly present in the structure. The canonical genitive possessive paradigm in ST is

(i)	-Gen N+Poss	-Gen N+Poss+Number
1sg	(<i>ben-im</i>) <i>el-im</i> ‘my hand’	1pl (<i>biz-im</i>) <i>el-im-iz</i> ‘our hand’
2sg	(<i>sen-in</i>) <i>el-in</i>	2pl (<i>siz-in</i>) <i>el-in-iz</i>
3sg	(<i>o-nun</i>) <i>el-i</i>	3pl (<i>o-nlar-in</i>) <i>el-ler-i</i>

Those cases in which the possessor is lexically present but the head noun is not marked with the possessive suffix are possible only under specific morphological, semantic and discourse conditions, i.e. in those cases where the possessor is non-third person, the head noun is not inalienable and the appropriate discourse conditions hold, i.e. the context is informal and colloquial. The following illustrate the grammaticality patterns of agreement within an NP in ST:

ii.a	<i>ben-im araba-(m)</i>	‘my car’
ii.b	<i>biz-im ev-(imiz)</i>	‘our house’

but

iii.a	<i>Zeynep-in ev-*(i)</i> ,	‘Zeynep’s house’
iii.b	<i>sen-in anne-*(n)</i> ,	‘your mother’
iii.c	<i>biz-im kardeş-*(imiz)</i>	‘our sibling’
iii.d	<i>ben-im el-*(im)</i>	‘my hand’

Note that in (iii-d), i.e. those involving third person possessors as in (iii-a), inalienable possessions like kinship relations (iii-b-c) and body parts (iii-d), the deletion of the possessive suffix on the head noun is not possible.

Grammatically, the nominal agreement paradigm also appears in subject-verb agreement in embedded clauses, with the definite subjects of embedded clauses functioning as sentential subjects and objects (and in some cases as adjunct clauses) being marked with the genitive suffix and

the embedded verb with the agreeing possessive marker, as illustrated in the following example:

Asker-ler [kumandan-ın emir ver -me -si] -ni bekle-di -ler.

soldier-pl commander-gen command give-NOM-3poss-acc wait-past-3agr
'The soldiers waited for the commander to give a command.'

Nominal Agreement in *Kurtuluş Yolunda*

In *Kurtuluş Yolunda*, there are a large number of instances in which the nominal agreement paradigm of ST is violated. These violations involve both the genitive and the possessive markers.

Genitive marker. Of the former, four main patterns of deviation in the agreement system of nominals are observed in the text: (i) lack of the genitive marker on the specifier of the NP, (ii) lack of the final -n in the 3sg genitive, (iii) overuse of the initial n- in the 3sggen and (iv) use of the 'buffer y- rather than n- in the genitive.

Lack of overt genitive marker. In a number of instances, there is lack of an overt genitive marker on the possessor of the NP. This zero genitive marking is not category sensitive in that proper nouns, common nouns, pronouns as well as nominalized verbs functioning as possessors in complex structures may have zero marking of the genitive suffix, as illustrated respectively in the following:

(i) proper nouns as possessors: *Hazrat Babaetti in ___ kabrini* (7), *Fitret ___ şiirleri* (11), *Zelinski ___ emrile, Türkistan ___ çökmesinden sonra* (10), *Türkistan ___ istiklali yolunda* (12), *Kozgalancılar ___ başına geçti, Çolpan ___ arkasındadır* (98), *Çolpan ___ tesirinde* (99).

(ii) common nouns as possessors: *muharebeler ___ kilinc, kalkanlarla ___ yapıldığını* (2).

(iii) pronouns as possessors: *Biz ___ medeni kuruluşumuz devrinde onun diline şeklen ___ ihtiyacımız vardır* (62).

(iv) nominalized verb as possessor: *Bunların de milli olmasını ___ ölçüsü vardır* (94).

(v) subject of embedded clause: *Türkistan ___ çökmesinden sonra* (10), *Fitret ___ Türkistani ruslerden ve unlerin baskuninden korumak için yazdığı güzel fiirinden* (11)

In all of the corresponding structures in ST, the appropriate form of the genitive marker is obligatory in the positions represented with underlin-

ing in the examples above. Thus, the corresponding forms in ST would be: *Babaettin'in*, *Fitret'in*, *Zelinski'nin*, *Türkistan'in*, *Kozgalancılar'ın*, *Çolpan'ın*, *muharebelerin*, *Bizim*, *olmasının*.

Lack of the final -n. Instances in which the genitive marker of third person possessor lacks the final *-n* result in homophony with the accusative suffix. Some examples of this are:

gordigimiz Fairleri ___ en modernisi (6)
hayatın ___ son yıllerini (5)
arabalar ___yanında
ölkeleri ___yardimi
ahalini ___ kanini (84)

What is interesting is that in contrast to the former pattern which holds across categories, lack of the final *-n* in the genitive is observed only in those cases where the head noun is a common noun, as exemplified above, or proper noun, as in *Türkistani___ muhtaryatı kutluk bolsun*. No instances of lack of the final *-n* on the third person pronoun *o* functioning as the possessor were observed in the text, this item mainly appearing in the form of *unin*.

-y as buffer. An additional context in which the difference between the genitive and the accusative suffixes seems to be neutralized with respect to the corresponding forms in ST is observed in the case in which the buffer *y*, rather than *n*, appears on the possessor, as in *bu beyannameyi ___ ne oldigini açık gösterir* (22). In ST, the buffer that appears in those cases in which the accusative suffix *-(y)I* is attached to stems which have a vowel in final position is *y*, with *n* functioning as the buffer before the genitive marker in the same phonological context. However, as exemplified above, *y* appears as the buffer occurring before the genitive marker attached to the stem *beyanname* which has a vowel in final position. Note further that the same stem also lacks the final *n* for the genitive suffix marked with underlining in the above example, thus constituting another instance of the deviation pattern discussed earlier.

n- in preconsonantal position. In a number of cases, deviation is observed in the spelling of the genitive with the initial buffer *n-* as *-nin* rather than *-in* after a stem ending in a consonant. This occurrence of the variant which is attached only to stems ending with a vowel in ST is observed both with proper nouns and pronouns, as illustrated in the following respectively; with a proper noun, *ruslerninkinden*, and with a pronoun

sizlerin hakleriniz. Whether the fact that in both of these cases the immediately preceding morpheme on the stem is the plural marker *-ler* is significant for this deviation needs to be investigated.

Possessive marker. Deviation from the nominal agreement pattern of ST is also observed in the case of the possessive marker attached to the head noun in a possessive construction. The most frequent pattern of deviation is the reduplication of the possessive marker on the head noun in noun compounds and superlative forms of adjectives, both of which involve the occurrence of the possessive marker on the head noun in ST.

ST prohibits reduplication of functionally similar morphemes on stems (cf. Kornfilt (1984)). This phenomenon blocks the occurrence of forms like **Ahmet-in okul kitab-ı-sı* in Turkish, otherwise predicted by the structural properties of the construction, in which the first possessive marker is part of the noun compound structure and the second is assigned by genitive-possessive agreement. Kornfilt accounts for the non-occurrence of such forms in terms of the Stuttering Prohibition which blocks the reduplication of the possessive marker on the head noun *kitab-ı*. She notes that the morpheme retained in the structure in these cases is the non-alternating one.

In ST, the only exception to the constraint on reduplication of the possessive marker is the indefinite pronoun *bir-i-si* 'someone'. KY, on the other hand exhibits violations of the Stuttering Prohibition in both of the contexts. Consider the following examples for the text:

(i) superlative of adjectives *gordigimiz şairler ___ en modernisi* 'the most modern of the poets we have seen',

(ii) noun compounds *Fitret medresede fars ve arapceyi ANADILISI Türkçe kibi konuşirdi* (17) 'At the meddresah, Fitret used to speak Persian and Arabic like his native tongue Turkish', and *keçit resmisi* (83) 'a march', *asker başisi* (85, 85, 86) 'commander of soldiers'.

The deviation pattern observed in the occurrence of the double possessive marker in the nouns *anadilisi* and *keçit resmisi* (83) seems to indicate that, in a possessive construction, the inner possessive marker is not available for analysis but is in fact taken to be part of the lexical item in the noun compound structure functioning as the head in the possessive construction. As such, it is available for further suffixation, including the possessive marker. This may in fact, explain the occurrence of the *-y* buffer in the head noun of the compound to which the accusative suffix has been attached in the following example: *keçit resmiyi kim görmüşse*. Note that if it is indeed the case that the possessive marker of the compound is not

visible syntactically, the occurrence of *-y* rather than *n-* as the buffer is predicted.

Similarly, the functional transparency of the suffixes seems to be reflected in the case of *en modernisi* in which the double possessive marker is found. Note that in this case, the inner possessive in this case seems to be analyzed as part of the superlative structure and the second as the true possessive marker. Similar to the case of *anadilisi*, then, *en modernisi* would also be explained in terms of the surface regularization of case assignment in NPs.

Case. ST possesses a rich case morphology. Nouns are overtly marked with one of the seven case markers appropriate for the grammatical role of the NP in the sentence. The case markers in ST are

+ \emptyset	'nominative'
+(y)I	'accusative'
+(y)A	'dative'
+DA	'locative'
+DAn	'ablative'
+nIn	'genitive'
+(y)LA	'comitative, instrumental'

The \emptyset -marker appears on subjects and indefinite internal arguments. Verbs assign accusative marker to their definite internal arguments under government. There are also a number of verbs which assign dative, ablative or comitative to their internal arguments inherently; thus, these case markers, in addition to their adjunct function, also mark the internal arguments of a number of verbs. The patterns of case marking of the verbal arguments in ST are illustrated in the following examples:

+ \emptyset -marker	
<i>Koşucu +\emptyset hızlı koşuyor.</i>	as subject marker
<i>Çocuklar +\emptyset kitap okuyor.</i>	as indefinite object marker
+(y)I	
<i>Çocuklar -\emptyset kitab-ı okuyor.</i>	as definite object marker
+(y)A	
<i>Adam kadın-a baktı.</i>	as inherent case marker
+DAn	
<i>Adam sigara-dan vazgeçti.</i>	as inherent case marker

+(y)lA
Adam kadın-la konuştu. as inherent case marker

The occurrence of an overt case marker on the internal argument is therefore obligatory in ST unless the object is an indefinite noun phrase. Proper nouns, nominalized verbs as well as pronouns and definite noun phrases obligatorily occur with an appropriate overt case marker assigned by the governing verb when functioning as the internal argument of the verb.

There are two patterns of anomalies in case assignment properties of noun phrases observed in the text. These involve, first, absence of an overt case marker in those cases in which the accusative marker would be obligatory in ST and, second, overgeneralization of the function of a case marker.

Lack of an overt case marker. In the text, there are a number of instances in which there is no overt marker for the accusative suffix on noun phrases that function as the internal arguments of verbs. This is observed in the case of simple nouns as well as embedded verbs functioning as objects of higher predicates. Thus, in the following structures, the item *kanin* and the coordinated sentential complements of the predicate *isteyorlar* are obligatorily marked with the accusative in ST, but are lacking an overt case marker in the text:

common noun as object : *kanin ___emen* (3)
 nominalized verb as object: *dagılmasın___, ... geri verilmesin___, tanılamasın ___ isteyorlar* (80), *Paşa askerın toplanıp hazır olmasın___ beklemeksizin* (90)

Similarly, in the sentence: *Onu___ milli tarihi___, coğrafıyayı___, bilhassa milli “şuuru”___ tanımak lazımdır* (70) (hand corrected to *onun ___ tanımı lazımdır*) the genitive marker on the possessor *onu* as well as the accusative marker on the complements *milli tarihi, coğrafıyayı, bilhassa milli “şuuru”* are missing. For the latter, the corresponding forms in ST are *tarihini, coğrafıyasını* and *milli “şuuru” nu* and for the former, *onun*.

Lack of an overt case marker is observed in at least one other instance that involves a case relation other than the internal argument. Consider the following sentence: *Kozgalancılar Cizzakin ön ve arkasındaki temir yolını bozmuş ve bu yöller___ çalışan bütün memurleri öldürmüş ediler.* (74) ‘The fighters had demolished the railway in front of and behind Jiz-zak and had killed all the employees working on these roads.’ Note that

in this sentence, the locative adjunct *yöller*___ is missing the locative suffix *-DA*; the corresponding form in ST is *yollarda*.

The following sentence involves passivization of an inherently case marking verb *baskın yap-* 'to raid' which assigns dative to its internal argument in ST. In ST, this inherently case assigned argument retains its dative marking even in those cases in which passive has applied to the structure. However, the internal argument of the verb *baskın yap-* appears with no overt case marker in the following example taken from the text: 1920 *avguŝt de Buhara ŝehri rusler tarafinden birden bire baskın yapıldı ve ...* (23) 'in August 1920, the city of Bohara was suddenly invaded by the Russians'.

-N/-Y/N- in accusative marker. A very interesting pattern of deviation in some cases of accusative marking involves the occurrence of the sounds *n/-y/-n*, which result in formal similarity between the genitive and the accusative markers. In the following set of examples, the first illustrates the occurrence of *-n* as opposed to *-y* as the buffer that precedes the case marker when it is attached to stems with a vowel in final position and the second, the reverse, i.e. when *-y* instead of the predicted *-n* occurs as the buffer since the morpheme immediately preceding the accusative suffix is the possessive marker. Consider:

- (i) *en nurlu sahifeni acan* (6); *250 000 kiŝini Türkistane gönderdi* (22)
- (ii) *kecit resmiyi kim gormise* (83)

A third set of deviation in this category involves the occurrence of *-n* in the final position of the accusative, making the accusative look formally similar to the genitive marker. These are illustrated in the following three cases:

- (iii) *ve kendilerininn komunist ahlakına uygun kadınlardan ayırmak için* (29)

Butun Türk Türkistani, ...; diğer taraftan Türkiye Türklerinin ve bununle bütün türk dünyasının istikbaline hayatinin maddi ve manavi bağlamak istemekte iken ... (8)

Kokan Muhtariyati biz Tutkun (Esir)ların gendisinin hur tebesi olarak saydiklarınn; ... vad yapıyorlerdi (80)

Biz bu münasebetiyle burada Türkistanda Türk kadın-kızlarının vaziyetinin yakından tanımak isteriz (28) (hand corrected as *vaziyetini*)

bilhassa fars ebiyatının bütün inceliklerle kavramıştı (17)

For all of the above examples, the corresponding forms in ST would occur with no *-n* in the positions underlined.

Overgeneralization. Overgeneralization of the function of a case marker is observed in the use of some of the adjunct case markers, particularly of the locative *-DA* and ablative *-DAn* suffixes.

The use of the locative-*DA* in place of the ST dative *-yA* is exemplified in the following examples:

memleketteki iceri vuruşlar, rus hakimiyetini bu Türk ülkesinde yerleştirmeye sebep olmuştur ‘the internal conflicts in the country caused the Russian domination to settle in this country’ (the goal argument *ülkesinde* is marked with the locative rather than the dative)

Ceza firkalarının basbugi general Ivanoff askerlerinde vermiş emrinde yazıyor ... (74) ‘The commander in chief of the regiments General Ivanoff writes in his commend which he gave to his soldiers’, the form *askerlerinde* ‘at the soldiers’

In ST, both of these sentences would be grammatical only in those cases in which the dative *+(y)A* instead of the locative *+DA* would be assigned to the positions marked with boldface characters in the stems *ülkesinde* and *askerlerinde* respectively.

Similarly, the occurrence of the ablative suffix *+DAn* in place of the locative *+DA* is observed in the following: *doğru cennetten yer alırlarm* ... (71) ‘it seems that they are placed straight in heaven’ Here, the locative adjunct *cennet* ‘paradise’ is marked with the ablative suffix instead of the locative suffix *cennette* ‘in heaven’.

In the following example, the object *bu* of the verb *haber al* ‘hear’ is marked with the ablative instead of the accusative, as would be the case in ST: *Bundan haber alan şehir kumandanı Binbasi Rukin ...* (75) ‘City Commander Lieutenant Rukin who heard about this’. The following, on the other hand, exemplifies the occurrence of the accusative rather than the dative marker on the complement of *inan- ...erişdireceğini inanmıştı* ‘he had believed that he would be able to get it there’ where the ST corresponding form would be *...erişdireceğine inanmıştı*.

Verbal Paradigm

Deviations in the verbal paradigm are observed in the voice, tense/aspect and the conditional markers.

Passive

In ST, passive is formed with the appropriate form of the suffix *-Il-* attached to the verb stem. The logical object is marked with the nominative suffix *+Ø*, and the logical subject in the agentive *tarafından* phrase. *-Il-* has three allomorphs, the distribution of which is phonologically conditioned; *-n* occurs after stems ending in a vowel, *-In-* after stems ending in *l* and *-Il-* elsewhere. Internal arguments that are inherently case marked with the dative *+(y)A* or ablative *+DAn* retain their case markers in a passive construction.

Lack of the passive morpheme, overuse of the passive marker, use of the wrong allomorph of the passive marker and overuse of the double passive marking are some of the categories of deviation observed in the passive structure in *Kurtuluş Yolunda*.

Lack of the passive morpheme. Examples to the first category are *Türkistande kullanan edebi Türkçe* ‘the Turkish used in Turkestan’ and *aylık mecmuesinde basan Türk barsine ait* ‘the article about Turkish culture which was published in the monthly journal’. In both of these structures, the participles *kullanan* and *basan* respectively lack the passive morpheme. The *-(y)An* marker on the embedded predicate in both cases would indicate that the head noun of the participle is coreferential with an NP that bears the subject relation to the respective predicates; however, note that the coreferential NPs in the embedded clauses are interpreted to be the internal argument, not the subject, of the embedded verb.. In ST, the occurrence of the passive suffix is obligatory in these cases; i.e., the embedded verbs would have the forms *kullanılan* and *basılan* respectively.

An isolated instance of deviation in the passive construction is the lack of the nominal postposition marking the agent of a passive structure, where the postposition *tarafından* would be predicted to occur in the position marked with underlining in the following: *„, hatta yukarda “Maarif ve Okutguci” ___ basılan makalasinda diyorki (97) ‘what’s more, he says in the article published by ‘Maarif and Okutucu’.*

(Over)use of the passive marking. Overuse of the passive marker is also observed in *Çar hükümeti vuruş başlandıktan sonra* ‘after the Czarist government started the war’ where the predicate of the complement of the

postposition is marked with the passive suffix. However, the agent *Çar hükümeti*, marked with the nominative marker, is functioning as the subject of its clause, therefore no change in the grammatical relations of the predicate has taken place. The predicted structure is one where the predicate is active, not passive as found here. The following sentence exemplifies overuse of the passive at the matrix sentence level: *Hatta çagatay edebiyatinin adini agizlarına almaktan korkuluyor* (96-7)

Case marking. The text contains a number of deviations in the case marking properties of the passive structure as well. Note that in the following sentence, *Buhara şehri*, i.e. the goal argument of the predicate *baskın yap-*, would be marked with the dative suffix in ST: *1920 august de Buhara şehri rusler tarafından birden bire baskın yapıldı*. (23) ‘in 1920, the city of Buhara was suddenly raided by the Russians’ The goal argument in the above sentence, however, is lacking the dative suffix. The reverse case is observed in the example *Hatta çagatay edebiyatinin adini agizlarına almaktan korkuluyor* (96-7) ‘It is even feared to mention Chagatay literature’ where the passive marker on the verb *almaktan* embedded under the passive verb *korkuluyor* is obligatory in ST, but lacking in the text. An alternative construction in ST would be *Hatta çagatay edebiyatinin adinin agizlara alınmasından korkuluyor* where the embedded predicate would also be passivized.

Overuse of the double passive marking is observed in the form *işletilebilir* (72) ‘it can be operated’ where the predicate is marked with the passive marker twice, one preceding the modal marker *-(y)Abil-* and one following.

Wrong allomorph. The allomorphic variation present in ST passive morpheme is on the whole neutralized in the text with the *-Il-* allomorph occurring predominantly. Consider the following forms from the text: *okulur edi* (27), *okulan* (44), *okulacakdir* (91), *okulmakda* (99), *tanılan* (47), *tanılamasın* (47). In all of these, the stem ends in a vowel, the phonological environment of the *-n* allomorph of the passive morpheme in ST.

Causative

The causative marker deviates from the pattern of its counterpart in ST in that lack of the causative suffix, difference in the conditioning factors of the allomorphs and the use of a non-Turkish causative structure are some of the properties observed in *Kurtuluş Yolunda*.

Allomorphic deviation. Consider the following causative forms of the predicates *yik-itip* (82) and *dur-duttiler* (82). Both of these predicates are marked with the *-Dir-* allomorph of the causative in ST. However, both *yik-* and *dur-* occur with the allomorph *-It-* in the text which, in ST, is the allomorph that is mainly but not exclusively attached to roots with final consonant clusters, eg. *yik-itip* (82) and *dur-duttiler* (82) (cf. ST *y,kt,r,p, durdurdular*). The causative marker on the latter would yield the form *durdurttular* in ST. Whether the form in the text is a deviation or an instance of misprint with the *r* of the first causative morpheme having been left out is not certain.

The predicate *dog-*, on the other hand, is marked with the allomorph *-dur-* in the text instead of the ST *-ur-*; cf. *dogdur* (57, 80). Consider the following sentence in which the verb is illustrated *Bu rubu dogduran ve milli iradesine sahip Türkistan* (57) ‘Turkestan which has given birth to this spirit and possesses national consciousness’.

Other deviations. In the example *rusleri şaşırان Paşanın yanında* (90) ‘next to the Pasha who surprised the Russians’ the causative suffix is missing on the verb. In ST, the intransitive psychological predicate *şaşır-* has as its transitive counterpart *şaşırt-*, the latter derived by marking the verb with the appropriate variant of the causative suffix. Hence, the participle in the above example is predicted to occur with the causative suffix as *şaşırtan*.

Overuse of the causative suffix is observed in the structure... *gazita-sında bir bastıran makalasında ...* (92) ‘in an article of his published in the newspaper...’ where the embedded verb *bastıran* is marked with the causative marker.

Similarly, in the following example, the causative marker *-t* on the verb *kavuştursa* is ungrammatical in ST: *Yere düşen ve ayak altında çignenen kari varlık (tabiet) nasıl küneşile tekrar köklere çıkarır ve istiklale kavuşturse, ...* (25).

Finally, in the sentence *Bu milli sekle proletar mündericati kirgizilmişmi?* (95) ‘has the proletarian been angered at this national form?’ the causative predicate *kirgizilmişmi* is not an existing form in ST.

Participles

The most significant pattern of deviation from the relative clause structure of ST is the variation noted in the relative clause strategies. The two major strategies in ST, the *-(y)An* and the *-DIK* strategies, distinguish between the grammatical functions of the noun within the embedded clause coreferential with the head of the relative clause. In those cases in which

the head noun is coreferential with the definite/specific subject of the embedded verb, the verb is marked with the *-(y)An* suffix; otherwise, the verb occurs with the *-DIK* suffix. *-yAn* also occurs in those cases in which the embedded subject is non-specific and the noun within the relative clause coreferential with head is the possessor of a locative phrase (cf. Underhill, 1972; Hankamer and Knecht, 1976; Özsoy, 1994). Morphologically, the two strategies differ from each other in the number and nature of the morphemes on the verb stem after the participle suffix. While *-yAn* cannot be followed by a person agreement marker, the *-DIK* suffix is followed by the appropriate possessive marker agreeing with the subject of the relative clause.

The text deviates from the pattern of relative clause strategy in ST in that in a number of cases the subject marker *-(y)An* rather than the *-DIK* participle occurs on the verb. In the following structure, the subject of the embedded predicate is in the participle clause, blocking the *-(y)An* strategy in ST; however, as can be noted in the corresponding structure in *Kurtuluş Yolunda*, the embedded verb is marked with the *-(y)An* suffix:

(i) *Fitnet'in ... yüreğinde saklayan haycanı* (20), 'the excitement that Fitret hides in his heart'

Unin Türkistanda ilk yazan ilmi, edebi,... eserleri (17), 'the first scientific and literary works he wrote in Turkestan'

and

(ii) *Türkistan Türklerinin de ... yazılan eserler*. 'the works written by Turkestan Turks'

Similarly, in the sentence *Bu gibi şiirler biz isteyen proleter medeniyetine kılmet kila olurmu?* (95) 'can poems like these serve the proletarian civilization that we want?' the subject of the embedded clause is the pronoun *biz*. As can be noted, contrary to the relativization process in ST, the verb is marked with the *-(y)An* suffix in the text. What is significant is that the subject of the relative clause *biz* is not marked for genitive agreement, which indicates that the occurrence of the *-(y)An* suffix on the embedded verb is not a simple misprint, but reflects a basic difference in the relativization strategy.

The aspect markers *-mİş* and *-Ir* can also function as participle suffixes in ST. In the case of the participle formed by *-mİş*, the head noun of the relative clause is coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause. In those cases in which the subject of the participle remains in the relative clause, the whole structure has to be embedded under the higher predicate

ol- which then is marked with the *-DIK* participle suffix. Consider the following example taken from the text in which the participle is formed with the suffix *mİş*: *Ceza fırkalarının basbugi general Ivanoff askerlerinde vermiş emrinde yazıyor ...* (74). The embedded verb *ver-* is marked with the *mİş* participle suffix. The subject of the embedded clause, *General Ivanoff*, on the other hand, is present in the structure. The predicted structure in ST is for the whole participle structure to be embedded under the predicate *ol-* yielding the structure *...general Ivanoff askerlerine vermiş olduğu emrinde yazıyor*.

An anomalous occurrence of the aorist suffix *-Ir* as the participle marker is observed in the following example. *görer ve hayrette kalar sen* (93) ‘you who has seen and become astonished’. In ST, the aorist functions as participle suffix in lexicalized forms like *açılır kapanır masa* ‘portable table’. However, the participle in the above example has a pronoun as head noun, therefore is not an instance of lexicalized participle. The corresponding form in ST would be with the *-(y)An* suffix, the whole structure being *gören ve hayrette kalan sen*.

Conditional

The morphological distinction between the realis and irrealis conditional structures of ST is lost in one instance of the conditional construction in *Kurtuluş Yolunda*. In ST, the distinction between these two categories of conditional constructions is marked with the presence vs lack of the aorist suffix on the conditional predicate; the presence of the aorist *-Ar* on the subordinate predicate marking the realis structure its lack the irrealis structure. This morphological distinction is, however, neutralized in this context in which realis is expressed with the lack of the aorist suffix. Consider the following example:

Rusler, vaziyet daha ağırlaşsa, ... (81) ‘the Russians, if the conditions get more serious...’

Tense/aspect

One example of deviation in the tense/aspect markers is provided by the following example where the compound tense referring to a non-definite past occurs with a temporal adverbial; *1922’de vuruşurlerdi*. The corresponding form in ST would be marked with the definite past suffix *-DI* as in *vuruştular*.

2.1.5 Syntax

Nominalization processes and word order phenomenon are the two main categories of deviation observed in the syntactic patterns in the text.

Nominalization

Deviation is also observed in the nominalization strategies employed in sentential objects and subjects. Although ST possesses inflected complement clauses similar to those of Indo-European languages, these are restricted to occur as complements of predicates denoting supposition, such as *zannet*, *san*- which also allow other types of clauses to occur as their complement. The canonical complementation strategy of ST is nominalization wherein the embedded verb is marked with one of the members of the two nominalizing suffix pairs, *-mA/-mAK* or *-DIK/-(y)AcAK*. The choice between the *-mA/-mAK* or *-DIK/-(y)AcAK* suffixes is determined by the nature of the matrix predicate. While some predicates, like *iste*- 'want', assign only the *-mA/-mAK* suffixes to their embedded verbs, others, like *tahmin et*-, *zan*-, assign only *-DIK/-(y)AcAK*. Similarly, predicates that are subcategorized for sentential subjects assign one of the two sets of the nominalizing suffixes to their embedded verbs (Özsoy, 1996).

The following sentence taken from the text is an interesting example of deviation in the subcategorizational properties of the main predicate with respect to the nominalizer suffix that is attached to the embedded verb of the complement clause of the predicate *baslarine getir*:-

onlerin teşkilate sahip olmadıkları başlarına bu çok ağır yeniş getirdi
(82).

Baslarine getir- subcategorizes for the *-mA/-mAK* suffixes in ST. Therefore the predicted form of the embedded verb *ol*- is *olmamaları*, not *olmadıkları* as it appears in the text. (Note that there is a further omission of the latter half of the word *yenilgi*, which might be due to a typing error).

Word order

ST is a head final language. Thus, in sentences as well as phrases, heads follow their complements and adjuncts.

Although the basic word order of constituent phrases as well as sentences in *Kurtuluş Yolunda*, adhere to this basic order, an interesting deviation from the word order pattern of ST is observed in the noun phrase structure *İşte Türk yeni edebiyatında yeni hadise!* (28). In this construction, the adjunct *yeni* in the phrase *Türk yeni edebiyatında* occurs between the two constituents of the noun compound *Türk edebiyatı*, thus violating the constituent order in a noun phrase in ST. The modifier of a noun compound precedes the first constituent in the compound in ST; thus *yeni* is predicted to precede the first element of the compound *Türk edebiyatında* yielding the structure *yeni Türk edebiyatında*.

Significant, however, is the fact that structures similar to this example becoming common in ST as well. There is an increasing tendency to place the adjunct between the two constituents of a noun compound in those structures that refer to a title, such as *Dışişleri bakanı*. Thus, in these cases, the adjective appears in a position immediately preceding the head noun, cf. *Dışişleri eski bakanı* rather than the structurally predicted *eski Dışişleri bakanı*.

As one final example illustrating some of the syntactic and morphosyntactic anomalies in the text, let us consider the following: *Oradan Buhara yi çar diriltikten sonra memleketini kendine geri verileceğine umitle yaşamaktadır* (23) 'he lives there with the hope that his country will be given back to him once the Czar resurrects Bukhara'. The sentence contains anomalies in case marking, genitive marking, subcategorizational features as well as phonological phenomena. The locative adjunct *orada* occurs with the ablative marking in sentence initial position. The item *memleketini* ___ 'his country', i.e. the subject of the embedded sentence *memleketini kendine geri verileceğine*, lacks the genitive marking obligatory on embedded subjects and the embedded verb *verileceğine* is marked with the dative suffix instead of occurring with no suffix since it is the non-head component in the noun compound *verileceği umidi*. The item *umitle* 'with hope' should be marked with the possessive suffix marking the noun compound structure in ST.

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2.2 The Uzbek language and its reflexes in the text

The aim of this short description is to analyse the linguistic background of the author Settar Cabbar. As we know, Settar Cabbar was of Uzbek offspring, and as we can conclude from the peculiarities of the text, he belonged to those parts of the Uzbek population who spoke a more or less Iranized dialect. This becomes clear mainly from the phonetic features of the Uzbek as well as the Turkish parts of the text. These features become evident through 'mistakes', i.e. deviations from the orthographic norm of Turkish - and in peculiarities of Cabbar's way of writing Uzbek.

Of course it is necessary to give a short description of Uzbek grammar. But of which Uzbek grammar? As the reader can see in one of the following chapters, the modern Uzbek standard language came into existence and changed several times after our author had left Turkestan to study in Germany. So we can assume that the standard language he had learned and which he was used to must have been that written in Arabic letters and been still close to Chagatay—the literary language of Central Asia since the late 13th century. This becomes clear from some peculiarities of the text.

I have decided to base my description of Uzbek on the modern standard language, which is still written in Cyrillic script. Therefore I use the abbreviation *uzbC*. Because this standard language is also based on Iranized dialects we sometimes find astonishing parallels between the language of our author and the standard language. Anyhow, the reader who wants to get deeper into the Uzbek text parts will have to use dictionaries and grammars of Uzbek² and most of them represent the modern standard language.

Some important features of Uzbek are hidden by the modern standard language, mainly that of vowel harmony to express syllable harmony.³ It might be true that most of the Iranized dialects have given up vowel harmony, but as we know from some descriptions vowel harmony still exists at least rudimentarily even in Iranized dialects. So, some speakers of such dialects tend to wrongly use palatal and velar suffix variants—as our author does. By only using materials of the modern standard language we can not understand these peculiarities of our text: Standard languages are always normalized and hide completely all oscillations

² For grammatical descriptions of Uzbek see e.g. WURM 1959 or KONONOV 1960. As a dictionary *UzbRS* may be used.

³ For this question see JOHANSON 1991.

which can be found in the living spoken language. Therefore I shall cite in all necessary cases the Uzbek grammar of Annemarie von GABAIN (1945), marked as uzbL. The language described by her is based on dialects still showing vowel harmony, which is necessary to understand mistakes and deviations made by our author.

A few words should be said about the pseudonyme used by Settar Cabbar. SUBUTAY is the Uzbekized form of *Sübüdüy* (or the like) being the name of that general of Chenggiz Khan who crushed a Russian-Cuman army at the river Kalka in the twenties of the 13th century. So, from my point of view, it has to be considered as a programmatical anti-Russian (not only anti-Bolshevik) name. I think that this becomes clear from our text, too. This name can be compared to the name of the Uzbek writer BATU using the name of the founder of the Golden Horde—the Mongolian ruler, who established Mongol superiority over the Russian princes and so became the forefather of the Turk-Tatar Khanates of the 15-16th centuries. But this is another topic, which should be treated in detail by an expert on Uzbek literary history.

Transcriptional remarks

To transcribe Uzbek words I use the transcription system common in comparative Turkology. Especially in transcribing the Cyrillic script I use *ě* for *closed e*, which is expressed in Cyrillic script by *Ә* in word initial position and by *e* within a syllable. I prefer the sign *ě*, because the undotted *e* sometimes used for *closed e* may be puzzling in our context. We have to deal with Turkish, too, and there the sign *e* is used to express *closed e* as well as *open ä*.

The examples taken from our text I cite without any corrections, e.g. if our author writes *kalmis* for *kalmış*, I write *kalmis*; only if the example is completely unclear, I give the correct Turkish (or Uzbek) form in brackets. Normally, Turkish examples are not translated.

2.2.1 The Uzbek language

The Uzbek language belongs to the Turkic language family. Next to Turkish it is the most widespread Turkic language, spoken by about 18-20 millions of people. Outside Uzbekistan, we find large groups of Uzbeks mainly in Afghanistan and the Sinkiang province of the Peoples' Republic of China. Scattered groups can be found in several regions of the for-

mer Soviet Union (often as a result of quite recent internal migrations to centers of industry or trade) and in Iran; there are still some small groups of immigrants in the Turkish Republic.

Uzbek is often called a representative of the South Eastern group of Turkic. This is true in some respects, but in others one can clearly see that it has North Western Turkic (Kipchak) roots. So, we find for **bäg* the Kipchak form *bij* (= *bi:*) instead of South East Turkic *bäk*, the Old Turkic adjectival suffix **+lIG* appears mostly as *+ll*, only sometimes as *+lIK*, Old Turkic **tag* is represented by *täg* and not by **täq*.

The so-called Kipchak Uzbek dialect—the language of Uzbek groups still living as nomads in the first quarter of the 20th century in the north and the northwest of Uzbekistan—is sometimes designated as a Kazakh dialect (see WURM 1959, 489) or at least taken as a member of the Aralo-Kaspian Group („aralo-kaspische Gruppe”, MENGES 1959). From my point of view, it seems possible that Kipchak Uzbek is the direct successor of the original—Kipchak type—language of the Uzbeks, which invaded the region of nowadays Uzbekistan at the beginning of the 16th century. Another group of dialects in the north and the west of Uzbekistan is in fact part of the Oghuz sub-group of Turkic. Both groups seem to have gained their classification as ‘Uzbek dialects’ in Soviet times mainly for political reasons.

The Uzbek language is divided into two main dialect groups: Northern Uzbek spoken in the south of Kazakhstan, and Southern Uzbek, which can be divided further in strongly Iranized and less Iranized dialects. According to WURM (1959, 489) the strongly Iranized dialects are spoken in the towns west of a borderline running from Tashkent to Leninabad and in Afghanistan. The less Iranized dialects are spoken in the villages west of this borderline and in villages and towns east of it. Uzbek is the official language of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the former Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Before the Soviet period, a more or less “Uzbekized” variant of the so-called Chagatay literary language was in use in the areas of nowadays Uzbekistan. This language was written in Arabic letters obeying the orthographical rules of Eastern Turkic (see below).⁴ After some slight changes in 1865, a reformed Arabic alphabet was introduced in 1923. It was in use until 1930, when a Latin alphabet—developed in 1927—was officially adopted. The Latin alphabet had to face some

4 I do not want to enter the discussion, whether Uzbek is the direct “heir” of the Chagatay language, so that Chagatay may be called “Old Uzbek” like it was common in former Soviet Union. For this discussion see e.g. BODROGLIGETI 1993, ECKMANN 1966, ŠČERBAK 1962.

minor changes in 1934 and was replaced by a Cyrillic alphabet in 1940.⁵ In the early nineties of the last century—after Uzbekistan had gained her independence from the Russians—a new Latin alphabet was developed, which has replaced the Cyrillic alphabet completely at the end of the last millenium.

Our author belongs to a generation which certainly had learned the Chagatayid Arabic written ancestor of the modern Uzbek alphabet. This becomes clear from some orthographical peculiarities in the text (see below). It is not clear whether he was familiar with the first Latin alphabet.

The phonetic base of the Latin written standard language was the Northern Uzbek town dialect of Türkistan showing in most of the cases full vowel harmony. The lexical and grammatical base of this standard language was the Iranized town dialect of Tashkent. In 1937, the latter became also the phonetic base of the standard language. At the same time, the dialects of the Ferghana basin gained more influence over the standard language in the fields of grammar and lexicon.⁶

Graphical representations. Firstly, our author faced the problem that he had to type Turkish and Uzbek on a German typewriter. This causes some problems, because some of the letters needed to express Turkic sounds do not exist on such a typewriter. He has to use (Uzbek transcription given in brackets):

- s* for *s* and *ş* (*ş*), sometimes corrected by hand
- i* for *i* and *ı* (*ı*), sometimes corrected by hand
- g* for *g* and *ğ* (the *ğ* in velar words of Uzbek), sometimes corrected by hand
- I* for *I* and *İ*, sometimes corrected by hand
- c* for *c* (*ç*) and *ç* (*ç*), the latter sometimes corrected by hand

Secondly, one can see that our author was sometimes influenced by the Arabic orthography of Central Asian Turkic, due to which elements like case suffixes or the copula have to be written separately from the word they are joined to. We find a lot of examples, e.g. (page numbers given in brackets) *Nevayi nin* (1), *SemerKent te* (2), *Samarkent de* (4), *Miri nin*, *Miri ye*, *Miri dir* (2), *Nevayi ye* (2), *Almanlar da* (3), *coğrafiya ya* (4), *Buhara da* (4), *Timur in* (4), *Miri den* (4). Examples from the Uzbek text part are e.g. *Türk dir* (10), *akmakda dir*, *kiz ning* (both 15); even *ber gen* (15) might be-

⁵ See IBRAGIMOV 1972.

⁶ For more detailed information see GABAIN 1945.

long here, because in Arabic script the letter *r* can not be connected with the following letters.

Sometimes we find such “separated” notations corrected by inserted hyphens, e.g. *Avrupa-da*, *rusiye-de* (both 21); in the Uzbek text parts we find e.g. the example *gra-mafon* (9). Other hyphens like in *mes-ut* (2) may reflect the Arabic ‘*ayn* or *hamza*; but they also may simply be due to typing errors.

Deviations from the Turkish standard like the separate writing of *neşr etti* (4, instead of *neşretti*) may root in Arabic orthography, too. Other deviations inspired by the Arabic orthography of Chagatay will be discussed below.

Besides, there are deviations which have to be explained as mere mistypings like *göüyordu* (3), *tahammül* (3), *byitinde* (3), *sevgli* (5), *şairle-runde* (62), *şairler* (64), *elbeet* (93). Instances from the Uzbek text part are e.g. *kılç* or *başünnü* (both 15). Other deviations reflect perhaps the real pronunciation in Turkish, e.g. *digil* (1, corrected to *değil*), *kilasik* (2), *tiren* (2), *diyorki* (92) or *Memet* instead of *Mehmet* (iç.)⁷, but see *Mehmet*, 2). The same holds true for spellings like *şir* ‘poem’ (4), *entersan* (4) or *kimatlisi* (5), *kimatlidir* (74).⁸

2.2.1.1 Remarks on Uzbek phonetics

Uzbek has the following ten vowels: *â, ê, a, ä, i, î, o, ö, u, ü*. Only in the first Latin alphabet all of them were represented by a sign of their own. In the second Latin alphabet like in the modern Cyrillic script there are only six signs to represent these ten vowels.

One of the most striking features of Cyrillic written Uzbek is the lack of vowel harmony. But one can see that this lack exists mainly on the surface and is due to the graphical representation of the vowels. The vowel *â* (pronounced similar to an open *o*) goes back to *a*. The vowel *a* represents old *a* as well as *ä*. Up to now there are no reliable rules for this ‘splitting’ of old *a* into two variants. The closed *ê* goes back to original *ê*-sounds, in some cases to old *ä*, which became *ê* during the Chagatay period; in the Iranized dialects its pronunciation resembles *i*. The Uzbek *ä* goes back to old *ä*. In the Iranized dialects it is pronounced somewhere between *ä* and *a*. The Uzbek *i* and *î* represent old *i* and *î*. Especially in the

⁷ The table of contents, ttu. *içindekiler*, is always cited as “iç.”.

⁸ Here, we have no reflex of uzbC. *iy* expressing vowel length like in modern Uzbek *qiymatli*.

Iranized dialects *ī* only appears in the neighbourhood of the velar consonants *q*, *V* and *x*. In other cases the phoneme /i/ is represented by *i*. The rounded vowels *o*, *ö*, *u* and *ü* represent in most of the cases old *o*, *ö*, *u* and *ü*. The Iranized dialects mostly replace *ö* by *o* and *ü* by *u* or by sound pronounced somewhere between the palatal and velar ones. Mainly *o* has in the Iranized dialects variants resembling *u*. Taking into account that the Iranized dialects became the base of the standard language one can see the reason for the reduction in number of vowel signs in the second Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet.

The stops *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g* and *q* can graphically appear in every position. In spoken Uzbek—like in Turkish—*b*, *d* and *g* tend to be desonorized in word final-position, a phenomenon noted by Turkish orthography. The Uzbek orthographies—Arabic, Latin and Cyrillic—do not note this desonorization, perhaps an influence of the writing conventions of Chagatay. If *k* and *q* at the end of words having more than one syllable get by suffixation into intervocalic position, they change to *g* and *ğ*. In Cyrillic as well as in Latin orthography word final *g* changes to *k*, if a suffix with initial *g* is added, whose initial consonant then also is noted with *k*.

The spirants *w*, *y*, *s*, *š* appear in all positions. The spirant *z* also appears in every position, but like in Turkish it can only be found in word initial position of loanwords and in Uzbek onomatopoeic words. In word final position and in the neighbourhood of voiceless consonants it becomes sometimes desonorized, which is not noted by the Uzbek orthographies. The spirants *x* and *ğ* are rare in roots of Turkic origin. The voiceless *x* can appear in every position, the voiced *ğ* never appears with *é*. A word final *ğ* changes to *q*, if a suffix with initial *ğ* is added, i.e. it behaves like *g* (see above)⁹. The spirant *f* appears only in word final position of Uzbek interjections and in loanwords. Word initial *f* in loanwords is pronounced [p-]. The spirants *ž* and *h* also appear only in loanwords, according to the grammars in every position.

The affricate *č* appears in every position. Its voiced counterpart *ǰ* is rare in roots of Turkic origin. In word final position and before voiceless consonants it sometimes becomes desonorized, which is not noted by orthography. Both affricates tend to lose their clusilic element before dental stops and become *š* and *ǰ* in spoken language. The affricate *c* [ts] appears only in loanwords.

The nasal *m* appears in every position. In initial position in Turkic words it goes back to old *b* followed by a nasal at the first syllable border. The nasal *n* also appears in every position. In initial position in words of

⁹ According to GABAIN (1945,10) the Latin script had no clear rules.

Turkic origin it only can be found in *nima*, *ne*, *na* ‘what’ and *narsa* ‘what-ever’. The velar nasal *ŋ* does not appear in word initial position.

The liquids *r* and *l* can appear in every position, but never in initial position in words of Turkic origin.

2.2.1.2 Uzbek morphology

Uzbek as a member of a different sub-group of Turkic shows of course quite a number of differences with respect to Turkish. We can not discuss all of them, but we have to mention at least its main outlines—especially those leading to deviations from Turkish standards. Because deviations from Turkish vowel harmony standards are already discussed, I leave them aside here completely.

The plural suffix is *+lar* like in Turkish. The case suffixes are organized according to another Turkic model than the Turkish ones. By means of analogization all of them have initial consonants,¹⁰ so that there is no need for “binding consonants” like in Turkish. The case suffixes of the Modern Standard language are:

nom.	+Ø
gen.	+ <i>ning</i>
dat.	+ <i>ga</i> , + <i>ka</i> , + <i>qa</i>
acc.	+ <i>ni</i>
loc.	+ <i>da</i>
abl.	+ <i>dan</i>

For the combination rules of the dative, locative and ablative suffixes with stems of different final consonants see above. There are no reflexes of the initial consonant of the dative suffix. The invariability of the initial *n* of the genitive suffix is reflected by *ruslerninkinden* (instead of *ttu.ruslarinkinden*) or *izlernin*. As GABAIN (1945, 60f.) mentions, mainly in the Iranized town dialects of Tashkent and Samarkand the genitive suffix sometimes is shortened and shows the same shape as the accusative suffix.¹¹ Because of the importance of these dialects these “short forms” sometimes penetrate the modern written language. We have one example in our Turkish text, which could be interpreted as such a shortened geni-

¹⁰ For more details see SCHÖNIG 1995.

¹¹ It does not seem plausible to me that SUBUTAY consciously wanted to construct a sentence with two accusative objects.

tive form: *hayatini son yillerini* (5) 'the last years of his life (acc.)'. Perhaps cases like *gördüğümüz şairleri en modirnisi* (6) (with erroneous double suffixation on the last word) can be interpreted as a shortened genitive, too. A strong argument for such a view is *bu beyannameyi ne oldigini açık gösterir* (22), where clearly an accusative suffix appears instead of a genitive suffix. This would mean that SUBUTAY generally tends to unify formally the suffixes of genitive and accusative - in Turkish as well as in Uzbek. Cases like *Fitret fars şiirlerinde* (19) showing no suffix on the word designating the possessor are still unclear and may be simple misprints.

Perhaps the use of the dative form of the 3rd person possessive suffix in *çoguna* (2, corrected to *çogunda*) points to the fact, that in the Iranized dialects of Samarkand and Tashkent the dative suffix is used to express the locative (GABAIN 1945, 68).

There is one example for the use of the Uzbek accusative suffix with initial *n* on a stem with final consonant: *şirni* (4).

The invariability of the initial *d* in locative and ablative suffixes is mentioned above.

The possessive suffixes are:

	sg.	pl.
1st person	+(i)m	+(i)miz
2ndp. person	+(i)ng	+(i)ngiz
3rdp. person		+(s)i

As one can see, the possessive suffixes are nearly identical with the Turkish ones. Only the second persons show the velar nasal consonant, which appeared originally even in the Turkish (Ottoman) language and still live in many dialects in Anatolia and the Balkans. One striking difference is the lack of the so called pronominal *n* in the third person in oblique cases, so that we find, e.g., in the locative forms like *kitâbida* 'in the book' instead of Turkish *kitabında*. There are no reflexes of such forms in the Turkish text. Another difference from Turkish is the form *+in* of the accusative of the 3rd person possessive suffix, e.g. *kitâbin* instead of Turkish *kitabının*. There are some rare cases, which can be interpreted as reflexes of these Uzbek forms in the Turkish text like *halkın kanin* (3).

Like many Turkic languages Turkish and Uzbek lack an instrumental case. Instead of this they have to use postpositions meaning 'with'. In the modern Uzbek language this postposition has the form *blan* (GABAIN (1945, 240) notes *bilän* and *blän*), in Turkish it is *ile*. SUBUTAY does not use the Uzbek form in the Turkish text, but sometimes he shows deviations from the standard orthography when he uses it in its enclitic form.

One part of these deviations is treated together with the deviations of case suffixes concerning vowel harmony (see above). The other part appears in cases of combinations with the possessive suffix of the 3rd person. Instead of, e.g., *gençleriyle* he writes *gençlerile* (1), a form perhaps inspired by pronunciation. There are many examples, e.g. *türkcesile* (4), *niyatile* (4), *tiyatrolerile* (62), *dilile* (64), *adile* (70), *münasibetile* (92), *atomlarile* (93), *yolila* (74).

Uzbek shows postpositions comparable to those of Turkish. Some require the nominative case with nouns and - different from Turkish - all pronouns like *bilan/blank* (also used as a conjunction) “with”, *kabi* “like”, *qadar* “at the measure of”, *učin* “for”, *sari* ‘in direction to’, some require the dative like *qarši* ‘against’, *qadar* ‘up to’, some the ablative like *burun* ‘before’, *başlab* ‘from, beginning with’ etc. Another group of postpositions appears always in combination with possessive and case suffixes (mostly dative, locative or ablative) like *ald* ‘front’, *ič* ‘inner’, *ara* ‘between’ etc. They appear with nominative and genitive forms of nouns and genitive forms of pronouns. We have one case of contamination of the Turkish postposition *gibi* with its Uzbek correspondent *kabi*, which is treated above (see ‘Lexical peculiarities’). There are no other reflexes of Uzbek postpositions in the Turkish text.

Different from Turkish and like most of the other Turkic languages the well known adjectival suffix **+KI* obeys in Uzbek at least sometimes the rules of sound harmony. In Modern Standard Uzbek it has the variants *+ki*, *+qi* and *+gi*. According to GABAIN (1945, 50) a velar variant *+gi* existed in earlier Uzbek variants.¹² The latter seems to be eliminated in modern Uzbek language like other *g*-variants of suffixes (see above).¹³ So, forms like *bu küngi* (4) (= uzbC. *bu kungi*) can well be explained as a reflex of the Uzbek form.¹⁴ The adjectival suffix *+li* can be

¹² As it did in Chagatay. The only stable *K*-forms of this suffix in intervocalic position can be found in possessive adjectives like *méniki* “what is mine”, which probably go back to forms like **mėniŋ + KI*, i.e. the well known combination of the genitive form of the personal pronouns with this suffix. So, the appearance of a voiceless (fortis) *k*-sound may be due to a consonant cluster. KONONOV (1960, 148) treats *+niki* as a separate suffix.

¹³ It is not mentioned—not even as an “archaic” variant—in the list of suffixes added to UzbRS.

¹⁴ This holds true not only because of the *+gi* variant of the suffix, but also because of the word initial *k* of *kün* (ttu. *gün*, see above) and the spelling of this complex meaning ‘today’. GABAIN (1945, 240) also gives variants written in one word. But even then in some cases the *k* remains stable: *bukün*, *bügün*, *bugün*, *bügün*. SUBUTAY has with *bükünki*

used—like its counterpart, the privative suffix +*siz*—to derive adjectives from nouns actively. Some adjectives of the +*li*- type are borrowings from Chagatay and have still preserved the suffix in its older shapes +*liğ* or +*liq*. Uzbek like most of the Turkic languages has a comparative suffix +*râq*.

There is nothing special to say about the numerals of Uzbek in our context. The modern language shows the following forms:

1	bir	10	ʔn	100	yuz
2	ikki	20	yigirma	1000	ming
3	uĉ	30	ʔttiz		
4	tʔrt	40	qirq		
5	běš	50	ėllik		
6	ălti	60	ăltmiš		
7	yėtti	70	yėtmiš		
8	sakkiz	80	saksăn		
9	tʔqqiz	90	tʔqsăn		

Combinations of ones, tens hundreds and thousands function mostly like in Turkish, e.g. 82 – *saksăn ikki*, 221 – *ikki yuz yigirma bir*, 1441 – *bir ming tʔrt yuz qirq bir* etc.

As for the derivations from numerals, there are ordinal numerals ending in +*inĉi*, there are collective numerals in +*ov*, e.g. *běšov* ‘five together’, *altov* ‘six together’ etc. Distributive numerals are derived by the suffix +*tadan*. None of the special features of these numbers seem to have left a trace in our Turkish text.

The personal pronouns of Uzbek are (sg.) *mėn*,¹⁵ *sėn*, *u*, (pl.) *biz*, *siz*,¹⁶ *ular*, the pronoun of the third persons is—like in most Turkic languages except Yakut and Dolgan—identical with the ‘demonstrative pronoun of farness’. I think that forms like *ununle* (62) ‘with him, her, it’ (ttu. *onunla*) are reflexes of the Uzbek form, because we do not find other replacements of Turkish *o* by *u* in our text. From the personal pronouns

(16) a comparable form, in which contrary to the case discussed in the text he uses the Turkish form of +*ki*.

¹⁵ With the sound change *b* > *m*, if there is a nasal consonant at the first syllable border. This sound change is well known from most of the non-Turkish modern Turkic languages. Exceptions are some dialects of Yakut.

¹⁶ GABAIN (1945, 77f.) mentions a *bizlăr* with the meaning ‘every single one of us’. KONONOV (1960, 173) mentions *sėnlar* as a “familiar plural” of *sėn*. Like in many Turkic languages *siz* can be used to address a single person to show honour. Consequently, for a plurality of such people *sizlar* (GABAIN: *sizlăr*) is used.

the personal markers in most of the verbal paradigms¹⁷ of the first two grammatical persons are derived: (sg.) +*man*, +*san*; (pl.) +*biz*, +*siz*.

The regular demonstrative pronouns are *bu/bun*+¹⁸, *šu/šun*+, *u/un*+¹⁹ 'this, that' with the plural forms *bular*, *šular*, *ular*. Besides, we find extended forms like *uša/ušan*+ and *ušbu/ušbun*+ 'exactly this, that' or presentative forms like *mana*, *ana* 'this, that here'. Derivations of demonstrative pronouns are *bunday* etc. 'such', *ušanday* etc. 'exactly such' and *bunča* etc. 'so much' and *ušanča* etc. 'exactly so much'. Interrogatives are *kim* 'who', *nima*, *na*, *nē* 'what', *qaysi* 'which', *qayyaqa* 'whereto', *qayyērdan* 'from where', *qanday*, *qanaqa* 'how, what sort of, which type' *qačān* 'when', *qanča*, *nēča* 'how many', *nēčānci* 'which (asking for ordinal numbers) etc. By reduplication of interrogatives indefinite pronouns can be derived, e.g. *nē-nē* 'whatever'. With the help of *har* added to the interrogatives general expressions can be derived, e.g. *har kim* 'whosoever', *har qanday* 'of every type'. The forms *hamma*, *barča* and *bari* mean 'all', *butun* means 'all, whole', and *ba"zi* is used for 'some'. Like many of the combinations with *har* they also can be combined with possessive suffixes, e.g. *ba"zilari* 'some of them'. None of these pronouns seem to have influenced our author.

The reflexive pronouns of Uzbek are derived by adding possessive suffixes to the word *üz* (< **öz*)²⁰. Like *kendi* in Turkish *üz* in Uzbek can be used as an attribute to express 'own'. Because there is such a use of *öz* in Turkish, too, one can not be quite sure, whether the *öz* (1) used by Uzbek is really a reflex of the Uzbek language in our text—but at least it could be inspired by it.

There are no special derivational suffixes to create adverbs from adjectives. Every adjective can be used as an adverb, but there is a tendency of frequent use of forms marked with the equative suffix +*ča* or the comparative suffix +*rāq*. Like in other Turkic languages unmarked (nominative forms) of time nouns (*yil* 'year', *kun* 'day') can appear as adverbs. Normally, nouns have to be marked with dative, locative, ablative, instrumental or equative suffixes to be used as adverbs. Also gerundial forms of verbs (see below)—sometimes petrified ones—appear as adverbs.

There is no special present tense copula in Uzbek. To set up a nominal clause one adds the personal suffixes derived from the personal

¹⁷ Except in the *-di-* preterite and the imperative.

¹⁸ Here, the change *b* > *m*+ before a nasal consonant at the first syllable border is avoided by analogy to the nominative.

¹⁹ GABAIN (1945, 78) gives the alternative forms *bul*, *šul*, *ul*, only used in the nominative case.

²⁰ Like in most of the Turkic languages, see e.g. SCHÖNIG 1991.

pronouns to the nominal phrase; for the third person sometimes *dir* (*< *turur*) is used. The preterite form of the copula is *edi*. The form *ekan* bears a modal connotation comparable to *imiş* in Turkish; it can express anteriority as well as non-anteriority. The form *emiş* is only used in written language and in some dialects and seems to bear the same functions like *ekan*. The negation of all these forms is expressed by *emas*, which is put between the sentence and the copula forms (e.g. *uqituvči emas eding* 'you were no teacher') to which in the third person *dir* can be added. Like in Turkish the verb 'to be; to become' uzbC. *bül-* can replace the copula forms. There are not really reliable investigations on the use of the different copula forms.

Questions are marked by the particle *mi*, if the sentence—nominal or verbal—does not contain an interrogative pronoun.

The verb in Uzbek is in principle treated like in Turkish. There are more or less the same suffixes in their specific Uzbek shape to derive verbs from nouns or verbs from verbs.²¹ Negative stems are derived from positive stems by the suffix *-ma-*. In Soviet dictionaries verbs are—similar to the Turkish practice—listed as verbal nouns in *-maq*.

The system of finite forms resembles that of Turkish. We can divide these forms into aspecto-temporal ones, which can function as indicative units, and into non-aspectually marked forms designing different types of modality.²²

We first take a look at the aspecto-temporal units. For understandable reasons the descriptions of the single forms must remain very rough, only some outlines can be given here.

The four main present tense forms²³ are normally used to design non-anteriority and bear the aspectual value of cursivity. They signalize, roughly speaking, different degrees of actuality of an event at the point they are focussing on, i.e. in many cases the moment of speaking. The aorist in *-(a)r*—in Soviet grammars often called "future tense"—can be used to express actions which happen usually but not at the moment of speaking, or even in the future. It takes personal endings of the pronominal type. The negative form is *-mas*. This form with voiceless final consonant sometimes appears in our text instead of the Turkish form *-mAz*, e.g. *ayrilmas* (70), *yakişmas* (72), *kosulmas* (74).

²¹ See, e.g. KONONOV 1960 or the list in UzbRS.

²² For Turkish see JOHANSON 1972.

²³ I shall ignore forms like *-ayâtir* (< *-A yatur*) or *-b turubdi/ütiribdi/yurubdi/yätibdi* (< **p turup/oturup/yürüp/yatıp turur*), which are often described as "concrete present tense" forms, because it seems, that at least the latter set of four forms may have other functions. By the way, they mainly appear in spoken language or in texts reflecting it.

The present in *-a* (after vowel *-y*) takes the personal endings derived from the personal pronouns (see above); in the third persons it takes *-di(lar)*, which points to the fact that it is developed from a combination of the vocalic gerund and the aorist of the auxiliary verb *tur-*, i.e. from **-A turur*. It can be used to express actions going on at the moment of speaking, for generally happening actions or to predict actions which will happen in the future. The form in *-yap* (< **-A yatip turur*) is often called “concrete present”. It is mainly used to design actions going on in the moment of speaking, but also can have general meaning. It takes the same personal endings like the present-future tense. The “durative present” in *-mâqda* is only used to design actions actually going on in the moment of speaking. It perhaps can be compared in some respects with the English progressive form and, of course, with ttu. *-mAktA[dIr]*. As a nominal form it takes the copula suffixes as personal endings (see above).

The preterite in *-di* signals anteriority on the temporal level, while on the aspectual level it is used to look at the action as a whole or at its crucial points.²⁴ It takes the so called possessive type of personal endings, i.e. (sg.) *-m*, *-ng*, (; (pl.) *-k*, *-ngiz*, *(-lar)*; in some dialects one can also find *-miz* for the first person plural.

The perfect in *-gan* allows to look at an action after it has been finished, i.e. it bears the aspectual value of postterminality, which is always connected with anteriority. Because it opens only an indirect view an action, a *-gan* -form can be accompanied by modal nuances like ttu. *-mİş*. Different from Turkish this modal nuance can be affirmed by adding *dir* to it. Both variants take the personal endings of pronominal type.

The perfect in *bdir* (< **-p turur*)—often called “subjective perfect”—is a postterminal unit, too. It is used as a constative form, by the help of which a speaker e.g. can express that he had learned about the event after it had happened (i.e. because of results, reports or the like). In some respects it resembles ttu. *-mİstIr*, in others *-mİş*.

The form *-miş* is a relic of Chagatay and lives only in archaic language use and in poetry. It can be considered as a perfect form mostly accompanied by strong nuance of inductivity. Because the language of the poems makes use of archaic forms, we sometimes meet such forms there, e.g. *tizilmisler* (14) or *kuçaklamış* (14).

By adding the past tense copula *edi* to *-gan* or replacing *dir* in *-bdir* the two pluperfect forms *-gan edi* and *-b edi* come into existence.

Besides, modern Uzbek has at least three intraterminal units, i.e. units, which enable a speaker to look into the course of an action. They are expressed by the endings *-(a)r edi*, *-a/y yâtgan edi* and *-mâqda edi*. The

²⁴ This means to the points which must have been passed to get the action fulfilled.

first form often seems to be used to express general or habitual actions going on in the past, the second one expressed actions habitually or really going on at a certain point of time in the past, the third one seems to be comparable with past progressive forms of other languages. In at least one example in our text SUBUTAY writes *vuruşurlerdi*, where a native speaker of Turkish awaits *vuruşuyorlardı*. The choice of the aorist-based form is inspired by the lack of a *iyor*-based form in Uzbek. Even if SUBUTAY most of the time knows how to handle the Turkish *iyor*-units, he sometimes replaces it by a similar Turkish form, which he knows from his own language.

We now change to the always non-indicative units. There are the future tenses (or “prospective forms”) in *-aʃak* (seeming to be an import from Ottoman Turkish²⁵) and in *-ğu*, the latter of which only appears in archaic forms of written language.²⁶ The suffix *-aʃak* takes suffixes of the pronominal type. To the suffix *-ğu* the possessive pronouns are added to design the grammatical person; all these forms end in *dir*, i.e. *-ğumdir*, *-ğungdir*, *-ğusidir*, *-ğumizdir*, *-ğungizdir*.

There is an optative form in *-gay/-kay/-qay/-ğay* (for the variations see above) to express wishes, assumptions etc. It is only used in archaic language.

The imperative has like in most of the ancient and modern Turkic languages no common suffix throughout the personal forms. It has the following paradigm:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-(a)yin, -(a)y</i>	<i>-(a)ylik, -(a)yik</i>
2nd person ²⁷	<i>Ø</i> <i>-(i)ng,</i> <i>-gil, -ğın, -gir</i>	<i>-(i)ngiz</i> <i>-(i)nglar</i> <i>-(i)ngizlar</i>
3rd person	<i>-sin</i>	<i>-sinlar</i>

²⁵ See SCHÖNIG 1993.

²⁶ In fact this suffix seems to be taken from the Chagatay language.

²⁷ The zero-form of the 2nd p. sg. is the regular imperative form, the *-(i)ng-* form is the polite form, *-gil* and *-gir* are more or less familiar, the first of which mainly appears in the old literary (Chagataid) language, the latter mainly in spoken language. The third form *-gir* is mainly used for blessing or cursing. For the plural forms see the personal pronouns of the 2nd p. sg.

Because the poems of our text reflect a more archaic language, we find forms of the third person in *-sun* like *kilsunlar* (8) or *kalmasun* (14) besides modern forms like *sevinsin* (30).

Uzbek does not know that great variety of conditional forms known in Turkish. Its system seems to be closer to what we can find in older (and non-Turkish) Turkic languages. The present conditional is expressed by the suffix *+sa* directly added to the verbal stem. As a reflex of that we find a form *kavuşturse* (25) in our Turkish text parts, where one would in Turkish expect *kavuşturursa*. This suffix takes the same personal endings like the preterite in *-di*. The past conditional is expressed by the ending *+sa edi*; this form also appears in conditional sentences expressing irreality. Forms of “concrete present conditional” are constructed by adding *-a/y yâtgan bûlsa* to the verbal stem, the perfect conditional by *-gan bûlsa*. By adding *edi* to *bûlsa* the conditional forms express irreal conditions. Combinations of *bûlsa* and *ëkan* express wishes.

Like Turkish, Uzbek knows two main types of verbal forms used in non finite position: verbal nouns and gerunds. We first take a look at the system of gerunds.

The vocalic gerund is *-a* after stems ending in consonants and *-y* (< **-yU*) after stems ending in vowels; its negative form is *-may*. Such forms never appear solely in sentences. Like in Turkish we only find double forms like *kula-kula* (ttu. *güle güle*) or *yiqila-qûpa* (ttu. *düşse kalka*) in Uzbek. Like the gerund in *-b* it is often used in combination of verbs being an important mean to derive verbs from verbs in Uzbek. There is no formally renewed vocalic gerund like Turkish *-(y)ArAk*.

The gerund in *-b* is the formal counterpart of the Turkish gerund in *-(y)Ip*. Its negative form is *-masdan*. It can coordinate to predications in a very unspecific way like in English the conjunctive ‘and’ can do. In other cases it expresses that the action expressed by the gerundial phrase modifies that of the phrase it is related to. Like the vocalic gerund it appears as a link in verbal combinations (see below). The Uzbek writing with final *b* (from Chagatay on up to now) is frequently reflected in spellings like *yapib* (6) in our text.

The gerund in *-gač* (*-kač*, *-qač*, see above) designates that the action expressed by the gerundial clause has taken place before another action. Its negative form is *-magač*. The gerund in *-gali* (*-kali*, *qali*, neg. *-magali*) designates the action expressed in the gerundial clause as the cause or the aim of the action expressed in the related predication. The gerund in *-gunča* (*-kunča*, *-qunča*, neg. *-magunča*) is sometimes called ‘terminal gerund’. It designates that the action expressed in the related predication lasts as long as the action designed by the gerundial phrase is fulfilled (English ‘as long as, until’; it also can designate that the action expressed

in the relational predication is instead of that expressed in the gerundial phrase, e.g. *kāgāzga yāzgunča, daftarga yāz!* 'Instead of writing on a sheet of paper write in a notebook!'

The verbal nouns can be differentiated into verbal substantives and verbal adjectives (participles). We have already mentioned the verbal substantives in *-māq*, which serve as infinitives in dictionaries of Cyrillic written Uzbek. Other verbal nouns, which play some roles in syntactical constructions, are *-(i)š(lik)* and *-(u)w*.

The participles of Uzbek can be used as finite forms. But they also are used to built relative clauses or—marked with case suffixes—subordinated clauses like object clauses, subject clauses, clauses of time etc. (see below).

There is the future (prospective-modal) participle in *-aʃak*, the perfective-neutral participle in *-gan*, and the "present" participles *-a/y yātgan* and *-a/y digan*. The "present" participles are normally differentiated as "participle of concrete present" and "participle of present-future", which points to the fact that the first is a cursive participle and the latter one is never used to express explicitly actions going on at the point or range of time designated by the matrix predication they belong to. According to Kononov (1960, 239) therefore it overtook the role of the aorist participle *-(a)r* in Chagatay in most of the cases. The aorist participle can only be met in very limited and seemingly petrified cases like *yāzār* 'writer' or *āqar suv* 'flowing water'-comparable to its use in Turkish.

The verbal noun in *-(u)wčī* is in fact an agent noun, e.g. *yāzuwčī* 'one, who writes, writer'. It also can be used attributively to built relative clauses (see below).

In Uzbek there is a whole set of combinations between gerundial forms of verbs ending in vocalic gerund or *-b-gerund* and some special verbs. In some of these combinations the first of both verbs, which bears the gerundial suffix, has to be considered as the "full verb", because his lexical meaning is decisive for the meaning of the whole combination; the latter verb can be considered as an "auxiliary verb", because its lexical meaning has more or less vanished and it has mainly semantically modifying or grammatical function.²⁸ To the first type belong combinations of verbs designating types of action (German 'Aktionsarten'). Uzbek seems to have a well developed system of such combinations. What we can do here is only to give a rough description of the most frequent combinations and add the traditional or our tentative interpretations of them. The combination *-a/y bér-* points to continuation of an before started action or (sudden) start of an action. As *-a/y bér-* in its *-b yubār-*

²⁸ See SCHÖNIG 1984.

specifies a transformational act as the beginning of an action (like the German preverb “los-”); it is often combined with verbs of saying and the like. The combinations *-b kēl-* and *-b bār-* designate continuity of an action. The former expresses—accordingly to the lexical meaning of *kēl-* ‘to come’—that the action has started in the past and is continuing up to a certain moment, the latter expresses—again accordingly to the lexical meaning of *bār-* ‘to go (away to some point)’—that an action continues up from a certain point into the future.

One has to keep in mind that combinations of *verba movendi* with auxiliary verbs of the same semantic category (*bār-, kēl-, kēt-, ċiq-* etc.) can often be interpreted in a different way: Here, the first verb designs a special way of moving, the second one is more or less an indicator of very elementary directions, e.g. *qaytip kēl-* ‘to come home (to the place of the speaker)’, *qaytip kēt-* ‘to go home (away from the place of the speaker)’ from *qayt-* ‘to return (home)’, *kēl-* ‘to come’, *kēt-* ‘to go away’. *-b bē-* also specifies transformativity, but point to the fact that an action is fulfilled for the benefit for another person or at least in direction away from the actor. The same holds true for *-b āl-*, but here the action is fulfilled for the benefit of or in direction to the actor. Also final transformativity specifying combinations are *-b qūy-* (e.g. *yāz-* ‘to write’, *yāzib qūy-* ‘to write down’), *-b tašla-* (with pejorative connotation) and *-b ċiq-* (often designating exhaustivity of an action). The combinations *-b qāl-* and *-b kēt-* also specify transformativity of an action, but often characterize it as an initial act leading into a state.

The four combinations *-b tur-*, *-b yāt-*, *-b ūtir-* and *-b yur-* specify non-transformativity of an action; they are often interpreted as duratives.

The combination *-a/y bāšla-* designates the beginning of an action.

Possibility to fulfill an action is expressed by the vocalic gerund of the main verb, which designs the action in question, and the verb *āl-* ‘to take’, e.g. *yāz-* ‘to write’, *yāz-a āl-* > *yāzāl-* ‘to be able to write’, *ūqi-* ‘to read’, *ūqiy āl-* ‘to be able to read’. The negation is formed by the help of the negative stem *ālma-*. In written language also combination of vocalic gerund and *bil-* ‘to know’ can be found. Another way to express possibility²⁹ is to combine the gerund in *-b* of the main verb with the present-future tense form *būladi* of the verb *būl-* ‘to be, to become’. To express impossibility *-b-* gerund of the main verb and the negative form *būlmaydi* or the negative aorist *būlmas* are combined, e.g. *yātib būlmas* ‘one can not lay down’.

Debitativity is expressed by *kērak*. The need to fulfill an action is designed by combinations of verbal nouns *-māq*, *-(i)š*, *-(i)šlik* or *-(u)w* with

²⁹ According to KONONOV (1960, 201) “objective possibility”.

kérak. Instead of the *kérak*-forms combinations of *-mâq* or *-(i)š* and *lâzim* can be used. The form *-sa kërak* expresses urges or assumptions.

As conjunctions are used *wa* ‘and’, *blan* ‘and, with’, *da* (postponed), *ham*, *hamda* ‘and, too’, *ya* ‘or’. To introduce sentences we find e.g. *lêkin*, *ammâ*, *birâq*, *balki* ‘but’, *faqat* ‘but, only’, *nêçuk kim*, *çunki* ‘for, because’, *ta* ‘until’, *gâb(i)* ‘sometimes’, *agar* ‘if’ and others.

2.2.1.3 Uzbek syntax

As to the syntax of Uzbek only some very general remarks can be made. It shows more or less the same word order as Turkish, i.e. it is a S-O-P language, which also knows deviant patterns (even “devrik cümle”), if there is a need to stress special constituents of a sentence.

Subordinated clauses are constructed by means of non-finite predications. Besides gerundial predications (see above) case marked verbal nouns are in use. Here, we shall only treat non-finite predications set up with the help of verbal nouns like *-mâq*, *-(i)š*, *-(u)w* etc. or the participles mentioned above. To infinitize nominal clauses (with copula predicates like “is”, “was” etc.) the verbal noun *ëkan* is used.

Subject clauses require of course the zero marked nominative case forms of verbal nouns, object clauses require accusative marking. Participles or *ëkan* as predicates of such clauses often take possessive suffixes or the substantivizing suffix *+lik*. The same holds true, if verbal nouns are used as direct complements to a copula predicate or first parts of so called “ezafet constructions”, e.g. *üçlining ülganligi xabari keldi* ‘the message came that his son has died’.

Adverbial clauses of time, cause, aim etc. can be built by means of case marked verbal nouns or combinations of verbal nouns and postpositions. Very frequent are temporal subordinated clauses meaning ‘when, at the time’ ending in *-gan*, *-(i)š* or (rare) *-mâq* marked with the locative suffix *+da*, e.g. *har kirganda bir nima tâpib keldi* ‘everytime he came in, he had found something and brought it with him’. Comparable to Turkish, the participle *-gan* can be used attributively to a time noun like *vaqt*, *çâg*, *zamân* etc. e.g. *hujum bâşlagan vaqtda* ‘at the time, when the attack started’. Other temporal relations are expressed e.g. *-gan+ga/-(i)š(i)+ga qadar* ‘until, up to the time’, *-(i)š(i)+dan burun/awwal/âldin* ‘before’, *-gan+dan keyin/süng* ‘after’ or *-gan+dan bëri/buyân/bâşlab/târtib* ‘since’. Causal sentences are formed e.g. with the help of non-finite predicates of the type *-gan/-ganlik/-(i)š/-maslik+dan* or *-gan/-ganlik/-(i)š uçun/sababli*, clauses of aim with *-mâq/-(i)š/-maslik uçun/-(i)š/-maslik+ga* or *-mâq/-(i)š maqsadida*.

Relative clauses are built by using participles (even with possible complements) as attributes to a head noun, e.g. *bu xatni yâzgan kişi mēning dūstim* ‘the person, who has written this letter, is a friend of mine’. The agent noun in *-(u)wǎi* can only be used, if the referent of the head noun is identical with the referent of the agent noun.

If the agent of the action expressed in the relative clause is not identical with the referent of the head noun, the agent has to be expressed by a possessive suffix at the head noun, e.g. *yâzgan xatim* ‘the letter, which I have written’. If a subject appears in such a relative clause, it can (but need not to) take a genitive suffix, e.g. *mēn yâzgan xatim* or *mēning yâzgan xatim* ‘the letter, which I have written’. The differences between these types are still not sufficiently investigated. Uzbek - like most of the other Turkic languages - does not have a special participle like *ttu. + DIK*, which is used in most of such cases and takes the possessive suffixes as personal markers. Therefore, SUBUTAY sometimes has chosen wrong participles in Turkish, namely *-(y)An*. One reason for that choice may be that *-(y)An* sounds very much like *-gan*. Consequently, he joins the personal marker to the headword like in Uzbek: *Fitretin Türkcilik ve erkli (mustakil) Türki- stan için yürekinde saklayan haycani unin “Timur saganasi” ve “Oguz han” adli iki güzel tiyatrosinde toplanmistir*.

Uzbek text linguistics. There are no reliable investigations to the formal types of discourse, sorts of texts or text structures in Uzbek.

2.2.2 Reflexes in the text

2.2.2.1 Use of vowel signs

The Uzbek parts of our text often follow the orthographical conventions of the Uzbek Latin alphabet. One striking difference is that the author made no use of German *ä* to represent the Uzbek sign *ə* and to differentiate the sound [ä] from the closed [ɛ] represented by *e* in the Uzbek Latin script. As the most plausible reason for this use I assume that he preferred the Turkish orthography for ideological reasons—as the alphabet of the only Turkic people which had maintained its full sovereignty. Therefore I think that the parallels with the Uzbek Latin orthography is by mere coincidence.

Additionally, there are strong tendencies in graphical representation pointing at the older Arabic orthography (see above, e.g. *bogun*). This takes no wonder, because he notes poems, which have been written mostly

in Arabic script and following the rules of a language, which was of course not the Uzbek every day language but more or less inspired by older models.

Taking into account the deviations of SUBUTAY's Uzbek from Latin (or Cyrillic) written Uzbek standard language, one gets the impression of a sort of transcription of Arabic written Uzbek, whose graphical representation is heavily influenced by dialectal peculiarities of its own pronunciation. As we will see, he sometimes makes the same "mistakes"—in Turkish as well as in Uzbek text parts.

2.2.2.2 Turkish – Uzbek consonantal correspondences

Because most of the deviations from Turkish orthography on the field of consonantism in our text are limited to word initial position, only the correspondences between Turkish and Uzbek in these cases are discussed here. Uzbek—like most of the non-Oghuz Turkic languages—shows in many cases in which Turkish has word initial *d* and *g*, the voiceless counterparts *t* and *k/q*, e.g. ttu. *dil*, uzbC. *til* 'tongue, language', ttu. *gel*, uzbC. *kël* 'to come', ttu. *kal*, uzbC. *qâl* 'to stay'. But besides these word initial *g*- and *d*- exist as well as initial *b*-; the latter appears in Uzbek - like in most non-Western Oghuz Turkic languages - instead of Turkish word initial *v*- in the three words ttu. *var* 'to arrive' (uzbC. *bâr* 'to go (away to some point)'), *var* 'exists' (uzbC. *bâr* 'id.'), *ver* 'to give' (uzbC. *bêr* 'id.'), and instead of *ÿ* in ttu. *ol* 'to be, to become' (uzbC. *bol* 'id.'). There are no regular sound correspondences between Uzbek word initial *p*- and Turkish *b*- and *p*-, e.g. ttu. *baba* 'father', *bâbâ* 'grandfather', ttu. *parlak*, uzbC. *pârlâq* 'shining', but ttu. *bıçak*, uzbC. *piçâq* 'knife', ttu. *parmak*, uzbC. *barmâq* 'finger'.

Uzbek has *x*- for Turkish *b*- in some Turkic words like *xan* 'khan' (ttu. *han* 'id.'), sometimes *q*- (ttu. *han.gi*, uzbC. *qay.si* 'which'). But in most cases Uzbek word initial *x*- goes back to loanwords mainly from Persian and Arabic (via Persian), which are mainly represented by *b*- in Turkish. In Uzbek word initial *b*- appears only in loanwords or interjections.

There are some reflexes of the Uzbek consonantism in SUBUTAY's Turkish. So we find *tilci* (1, inserted by hand; for ttu. *dilci*) or *temir* (ttu. *demir*, uzbC. *têmir*, uzbL. *temir*, *temür*) reflecting the sound correspondence ttu. *d* = uzbC. *t*- (see above). The correspondence ttu. *g* = uzbL.C. *k*- can be seen e.g. in forms like *kel*- (3) (uzbC. *kël*-, ttu. *gel*-), *küngi* (4) (uzbC. *bu küngi*-, ttu. *bugünkü*-, see below), *keçirmek* (uzbC. *kêçirmâq*, uzbL. *kêçir*-, ttu. *geçirmek*) and many others. In the case of *kösterir* (5) we find a con-

tamination of ttu. *göster-* ‘to show’ and the synonym uzbC. *kürsat-*, uzbL. *körsät-* (see p. 8 of our text *körsating* ‘show!’) . The form *köcebe* (64) is a contamination of ttu. *göçebe* and the Uzbek word family derived from the verb uzbC. *küč-*, uzbL. *köč-*, which is the corresponding form to ttu. *göç-*, the verbal root contained in *göçebe*. On the other hand, we sometimes find voiced consonants in word final position, where Turkish would require the corresponding voiceless consonant, e.g. *aid* (4) = uzbC. *âid* = ttu. *ait*.

Vice versa, some Uzbek text parts seem to be influenced by Turkish. So, notations like *gönül* (3) with *g-* instead of *k-*, *-n-* instead of *-ng-* (*-ŋ-*) and labial harmony (see below) are surely influenced by Turkish. The same may be true for the final consonant in *etup* (30, SUBUTAY normally writes *-b*).

2.2.2.3 Notation of suffix initial consonants

The various Uzbek orthographies mostly do not represent desonorization of suffix initial dental plosives, which - like the lack of word final desonorization of consonants - is again an influence of Chagatay writing conventions³⁰. So, for example, the locative suffix **+DA* has in Latin and Cyrillic written Uzbek only variants with initial *d*.³¹ The same rules are worth for most of the suffixes with initial dental plosive like those of the ablative, the copula *Dİr* (< **turur*), or derivational suffixes.³² Examples from SUBUTAY’s Uzbek text parts are e.g. *kazilikda* (3), *tekdi* (3), *tapding* (13) or *kökden* (14). But he also has notations with *t*, e.g. *ticarattir* (5). There

³⁰ In most of the Chagatay sources we find such desonorizations only sporadically, see e.g. the Haidarabad codex of the *Babur-name*.

³¹ GABAIN (1945, 23) gives a list of suffixes with initial lenis consonants, which in spoken Uzbek get desonorized when added to a word final voiceless consonant, but should be noted in written language with letters designing voiced consonants. Because of the lack of both graphical representation of vowel harmony by vowels and desonorization of suffix-initial lenis consonants after stem final voiceless consonants, most of the derivational and inflectional suffixes show only one graphical variant in Cyrillic written Uzbek. For a list of suffixes in modern Uzbek see e.g. UzbRS 716ñ727.

³² The only exception in Cyrillic written Uzbek orthography within the suffixes with initial dental plosive seems to be the causative suffix **+DUR*, which shows the variants *+dir* and *+tir*. The *+tir*-variant does not only appear after voiceless stem final sounds or in cases like *kelmâq* ‘to come’, *keltirmâq* ‘to bring’, which are common to very many Turkic languages, but also in *sevinmâq* ‘to be glad, happy’, causative *sevintirmâq*.

is no need to interpret this as an influence of Turkish, for sometimes also in Arabic script we can find notations with *tā'* instead of *dāl*. Because the Arabic script was not totally consequent in this respect, we can not expect stable representations in our text. So, we find in the same poem *kerektir* and *kerekdir* (11).

Reflexes of this Uzbek convention in the Turkish text are, e.g.: (loc.) *teşkilatde* (5), *Samarkent de* (4); *çokdandır* (62); (cop.) *çalışmıştır* (62), *tanıktır* (64), *edilmiştir* (74), *olmuştur* (92), *dogacaktır* (93); (derivational suffix **+DAş*) *millatdaşlarına* (64); (participle in *+DIK*, not used as such in Uzbek) *düsdikten* (91).³³

Only suffixes with initial *G*-sounds in Cyrillic written Uzbek sometimes show the four variants known from other Turkic languages, e.g. the suffix of the instrumental noun *+gič*, *+ġič*, *+kič*, *+qič*. Here, in words classified as palatal the *g*-variant appears after vowels and voiced consonants, the *k*-variant after voiceless consonants. In velar words the *g*-variant appears after vowels and voiced consonants, the *q*-variant after voiceless consonants. In many cases in modern Uzbek standard language the *ġ*-variant is considered as archaic and given up, so that many of these suffixes only have three variants e.g. the suffix of the perfect participle (*+gan*, *+kan*, *+qan*)³⁴ or the dative suffix (*+ga*, *+ka*, *+qa*). In the Uzbek parts of our text we find often *k*-variants after voiceless and *g*-variants after voiced stem final consonants, e.g. *al(a)vga*, *kolga* (both 3) or *yükselgen* (14), but *kacmakka* (8) or *bakkanda* (26). But again—due to the inconsequency of the Arabic orthography of Chagataid Uzbek—forms like *atga* (11) or *kaynatgu* (13) are possible.

2.2.2.4 Lack of sound (front-back) harmony

We often find forms of words which do not follow the rules of sound harmony. This is one of the main hints which lead to the assumption that SUBUTAY's mother dialect must have been one of the Iranized dialects. These dialects have in most cases front vowels, even with velar words, but they also can use velar ones without showing clear rules of distribution (see WURM 1959, 493).

³³ The notation *buyunturugintan* (91) with *t* is perhaps a simple misprint.

³⁴ This already happened in the Latin alphabet since 1937, s. GABAIN (1945, 9).

The illabial vowels

Here, only the low vowels can be discussed. Because our author had to use a German typewriter, he had no possibility to express velar *ɨ*. In the Turkish text parts we sometimes find corrections by hand—probably done by the Turkish friend of the author. There are no such corrections in the Uzbek parts, so that we can assume that SUBUTAY had no intention to mark the difference between front and back illabial high vowels—presumably because he did not differentiate between them in pronunciation.

In many cases we find *e* instead of *a* in suffixes. SUBUTAY often writes the locative suffix as +*de* in velar words, e.g. *Türkistande* (front page, 1, 3, 64) [but *Türkistanda* (1)], *edebiyatte* (1, corrected), *mamaliki Osmaniya de* (4), *trupunde* (62), *zamande* (71). The ablative suffix (uzbC. +*dan*) does not show deviations that often. We find e.g. *taklitten* (2), *vurdukten* (4), *bunden* (62, 71), *Türkistanden* (71). The equative also shows only this type of aberration *yillarce* (72).³⁵ The plural suffix also shows the palatal variant +*ler* in velar words: *rusler* (iç., 3), *onlerin* (iç.), *neşrediyorler* (1), *millatler* (1), *sonlerine* (2), *kanunlerini* (2), *kitapler* (4), *ruslere* (4), *muharibalerine* (5), *tiyatrolerile* (62), *bunleri* (70), *ruslerin* (71), *ahlakleri* (71), *onler* (71). Furthermore, the enclitic form of the postposition *ile* (instrumental) has palatal variants at velar stems, e.g. *ununle* (63). There are also examples for the conditional suffix, e.g. *kavuşturse* (25).

Because our author uses a German typewriter, he had no possibility to differentiate the velar /i/ from the palatal /i/ and always had to use *i*. So, one could argue that the notation as +*de* in these cases in the Turkish text parts follows the rules of Turkish is inspired by orthography. But they also could represent influences of Iranized Uzbek, which only has *i*. Here are some examples, in which one could expect a velar variant of a suffix, if the rules of Turkish sound harmony would have been applied: (loc.) *asirde* (uzbC. *asırda*) (1, 72), *arasinde* (2), *edebiyatinde* (5, 71), *kitabinde* (74); (dat.) *disine* (1) (ttu. *dışına*), *yurtine* (4), *altine* (73), *şubatine* (74), *cezasine* (74); (abl.) *arkasinden* (2), *macmuasinden* (62), *yurdinden* (92); (pl.) *sonlerine* (2), *yillerce* (4), *sirleri* (5); (instr.) *buninle* (3).

We also find the replacement of *a* by *e* in Uzbek text parts, e.g. (dat.) *atrafıge* (3), *vatange* (8); (abl.) *suden* (14), *bulutten* (18); (equative) *bunçe* (10), *munçe* (13); (plural) *otlering* (10), *baturleri* (11), *oruslernin* (12); (verbal negation) *soymeng* (3), *atalmaysız* (9), *urmesengçi* (10); (conditional) *oturce* (8). After *i* we find it e.g. in (loc.) *kolingde* (11); (part.perf.) *yarılgen* (15); (preterite) *turdiler* (33).

³⁵ In some Turkic languages (e.g. Tuvinian) there are only palatal forms of the equative.

If we turn our attention now to the situation in stems, we see that SUBUTAY replaces Turkish *a* by *e* not very often, and if so, mainly in first syllables. In most of the cases Cyrillic written Uzbek shows an *a*-sign in corresponding words, see the following list:

senat (1,4; corrected to *sen'at*, but not to ttu. *sanat*, *san'at*) = uzbC.

san'at

Mehmud (1) = ttu. *Mahmut*

vezifesinde (corrected) = uzbC. *vazifa*+ (2) = ttu. *vazife*+

deha (62) = ttu. *daba* (not attested in uzbC.)

A case of *e* instead of ttu. *a* in a final syllable of a stem is *edebiyet.inin* (2), which is remarkable because uzbL. had *üdäbiyat*. We find this replacement in all syllables in *terefinden* (1, corrected to *tarafından*; uzbC. *taraf*, uzbL *täräf*), or *terefe* (4), which can also be considered as a purely Uzbek word in the Turkish text. In Uzbek text parts we find e.g. *songre* (21) (uzbL. *songra*, uzbC. *süngra*).

The situation is quite the other way around if we look at the replacement of *e* by *a*. It is less frequent in suffixes, but very frequent in stems. In a few other cases the author writes +*da*, +*dan* and +*lar* in words in which one would expect from the Turkish point of view +*de*, e.g. *halda* (1); *hallar* (3), *Türklerin* (64). In many cases we find the velar forms of these suffixes, if at least one of the preceding syllables contains *a* - often separated from the suffixes by *i* (most of the cases being (part of) the possessive suffix of the 3rd person singular +(*s*)*I*), e.g. (dat.) *tarihina* (72); (loc.) *mühirinda* (3), *isminda* (4), *tarihda* (70), *tarihinda* (72), *gazitasinda* (92),³⁶ *makalasinda* (92), *halinda* (93); (abl.) *şairdan* (2); (pl.) *harasimlar*+ (1), *alimlar* (1, corrected), *vaqitlar* (2), *şirlar* (4). One might interpret this as an effect of some “transparency” of “neutral” *i* for the rules of vowel harmony—like in Uzbek or New Uighur. So, these notations would reflect a typical feature of Central Asian languages: the author then would select the graphical representation of the suffix vowel according to the last syllable of the stem, which is able to express the *backness* : *frontness* opposition.

The enclitic form of the postposition *ile* has comparable variants mainly with loanwords, e.g. *kalemla* (2). In the case of *münasibatla* (74) one could argue that the use of *a* in the suffix is inspired by the *a* of the last syllable of the stem. The form *yolila* (74) can not be classified as an

³⁶ While the form cited in the text is clearly inspired by the Uzbek form of this word cases like *gazetelerinda* (91) show the Turkish form, but the same use of the +*da* variant of the locative suffix.

aberration from the rules of sound harmony: here, we have to interpret the *i* sign only as a graphical variant caused by the lack of a sign for [i] on the German typewriter and not as a representant of palatal [i].

All these above mentioned replacements of *e* by *a* can be explained by the orthographical conventions of Chagatay: all of the words mentioned above are loanwords from the Arabo-Persian lexicon—and in Chagatay it was quite a common use to add suffixes in their velar form to such words. So, again SUBUTAY would have applied in these cases some rules of the Arabic orthography he grew up with on Turkish and transformed it into Latin script. In cases like *terefe* (4) or *macmuasinden* (62, uzbL. *mājmüä+*) he would have applied a transcription reflecting Uzbek pronunciation. But how to explain then the situation in such loanwords like *defterindan* (63) or *zamande* (71)? And how to explain deviations in Uzbek text parts like e.g. *öngdan* (14), *tuşar* (25, for *tüşer*, in the next line on p. 26 shows from the same verbal stem *tüşkeç*) or *sözindan* (32)?

The substitution of *e* by *a* is not at all limited to suffixes in combination with loanwords. In one case we find a non-harmonic form of the negative aorist *-maz* in a palatal word: *yetişmaz* (70). Another example is *edilm(k)ta* (4). Cases like *ilerleyanlardi* (91) can of course not be explained by Chagatay orthography. Perhaps the velar vowel here is a reflex of Uzbek “present” participles like Modern Standard Uzbek *-A yâtgan* or *-Adigan*. At least the latter is attested in Latin script with a velar vowel even after palatal vowels, s. GABAIN (1945, 126): *-ädigän* besides *-ädigän*, a variation being plausible, because this participle is derived from a combination of the vocalic gerund and the perfect participle of the auxiliary verb *tur-*, i.e. from **-A turğan*.

Contrary to the situation within the suffixes the replacement of Turkish *e* by *a* in stems is very frequent; this phenomenon mainly occurs in non-first syllables. Here some examples:

- yani* (1) = uzbL. *yängi*, uzbC. *yangi* = ttu. *yeni*
ecnabi (1; corrected) = uzbC. *aj'nabiy* = ttu. *ecnebi*
medeniyat (1, 72; corrected), *medaniyatini* (4) = uzbC. *madaniyat* = ttu. *medeniyet*
harasim+ (1, corrected to *harezem+*, i.e. not to a correct form, which would be *harez(e)m*, may be, because the correcting Hayri Bey did not know this geographical term) = uzbC. *xârazm*
kabiliyat+ (1; corrected) = uzbC. *qâbiliyat* = ttu. *kabiliyet*
millat+ (1, 68; corrected) = uzbC. *millat* = ttu. *millet*
Semerkend (1, 2; corrected) = uzbL.C. *Samarqand* = ttu. *Semerkant*

cehalat+ (1, corrected) = uzbC. *jabhâlat* = ttu. *cebele* 37
esarat (1) = uzbC. *asârat* = ttu. *esaret*
ibarat (2, corrected) = uzbL. *ibarat*, uzbC. *ibârat* (2) = ttu. *ibaret*
esar (2, corrected) = uzbL. *äsär*, uzbC. *asar* = ttu. *eser*
ulama (4) = uzbC. *ulamâ* = ttu. *ulema*
kitabhana+ (4) = uzbC. *kitâbxâna* = ttu. *kitaphane*
taşkilatci (4) = uzbL. *täşkil+*, uzbC. *taşkilâti* = ttu. *teşkilatçı*
quvvatli (4, 69) = uzbL. *quvat+*, uzbC. *quvvatli* = ttu. *kuvvetli*
niyatile (4) = uzbC. *niyat* = ttu. *niyet*
hakikatan (5) = uzbL. *haqîqat+*, uzbC. *haqîqatan* = ttu. *hakikaten*
ticarat (5) = uzbC. *tiĵârat* = ttu. *ticaret*
alat (5) = uzbC. *âlat* = ttu. *alet*
kimatlisi (5) = uzbL. *qî(y)mat+*, uzbC. *qiyatlisi* = ttu. *kıymetlisi*
evval (62, 2x) = uzbL. *ävval*, uzbC. *avval* = ttu. *evvel*
şiddatli (62) = uzbC. *şiddatli* = ttu. *şiddetli*
şiva (64) = uzbC. *şêva* = ttu. *şive*
vaziyatta (64) = uzbL. *väziyât+*, uzbC. *vaziyat+* = ttu. *vaziyet*
makala (69, 92) = uzbL. *maqala*, uzbC. *maqâla* = ttu. *makale*
siyasat (69) = uzbC. *siyâsat* = ttu. *siyaset*

In a few cases we find *a* instead of *e* in the first syllable:

davlat (1) = uzbL. *dävlät*, uzbC. *davlat* (1) = ttu. *devlet*
macmuasinden (62) = uzbL. *mâjümüä+*, uzbC. *maĵmua+* =
 ttu. *mecmua+*

In some cases we find *a* in non-first syllable for uzbC. *â*:

muhtalif (corrected) (1) = uzbC. *muxtâlif* = ttu. *muhtelif*
muhacirat (4) = uzbC. *muhâĵirat* = ttu. *muhaceret*
edilmakta (4) = uzbC. *edilmâqda* = ttu. *edilmekte*
muharibalerine (5) = uzbC. *muhâraba* = ttu. *muharebe*

In the case of *şoyla* (3), *şöyla* (5, 71) = ttu. = *şöyle* we have no Uzbek parallel. Also without an Uzbek parallel is *hapsindan* (corrected to *hapsinden*) (1); in the same line one can find *hep*. See also *hapsi* (2).

In the Uzbek text parts we also sometimes can find *a* instead of *e* in non-last syllables of Turkic words, e.g. *yamyaşıl* (14) or in *tangri* (14; uzbL. *täŋri*, uzbC. *tangri*).

37 Here, Uzbek shows a loan form with final *t*, while Turkish has borrowed this Arabic word with vocalic pronunciation of the feminine ending.

Taking into account these data one can say that one part of the deviations reflects Uzbek pronunciation. The other part of it, and especially the deviations from vowel harmony in Uzbek words, can partly go back to the author's knowledge of Arabic orthographical conventions and - to the greater part - to the special phonetic conditions of the author's native dialect. Some parallels with modern Uzbek writing conventions strengthen the assumption that he spoke one of the Iranized dialects. These dialects have more or less given up the Turkic convention to express sound harmony by using only front or only back vowels in one word. Not only the velar variants *â* and *a* of the phoneme /a/ can change more or less freely. The pronunciation of *ä* is sometimes de-palatalized so that it sounds more or less like *a*. Under such conditions nobody can expect that SUBUTAY keeps the rules of Turkish and non-Iranized Uzbek *a/ä*-harmony.

Change of *i* and *e*. In some cases SUBUTAY notes *i* for Turkish *e*. This phenomenon can often be found in third penultimate syllables of nominal stems. We may assume that our author has heard the Turkish sound *e*, which is pronounced reduced in that position, not as [ä] but as [i]:

muhacirat (4) = uzbC. *muhâjârat* = ttu. *muhaceret*
munasibatla (74), *münasibetile* (92) = uzbC. *munâsabat* = ttu.
münasebet

In one case we find a Latin written Uzbek form showing *ï*:

muharibalerine (5) = uzb.L. *muharibä*, uzbC. *muhâraba* = ttu.
muharebe

In the case of *modirni* (6) instead of correct *moderni*[*si*]³⁸ the neighbouring *i*-vowels might have played a role in addition. The existence of a comparable form in Latin written Uzbek (3rd example) may lead us to the assumption that in general words of the above mentioned structure tend to a sound change *a* > *i* (*i*) at least in some varieties of Uzbek. Again we can not finally decide, whether the deviant forms in the Turkish text go back to SUBUTAY's audial reception of Turkish words or represent Uzbek lexical influences.

Notations like *idildigi* for ttu. *edildiği* (the Uzbek form of the verbal stem is *et-*) clearly reflect the pronunciation of closed *e* as *i* in Iranized dialects, e.g. in Samarkand (see WURM 1959, 492). We find the replace-

³⁸ The double suffixation may be a misprint.

ment of *é* by *i* also in Uzbek words in our text, e.g. *ilni* (3) ‘the people (acc.)’ (uzbC. *el* ‘people’), *imes* (3) ‘is not’ (uzbC. *emas*), *tigsiz* (3) ‘without bottom’ (uzbC. *tagsiz*, *tégsiz*). The notation with *i* can also (or in addition) be inspired to the author’s knowledge of Arabic script, in which these words would be noted with Y (which is used as the sign for *i*) as AYL, AYMAS or TYKSYZ, TKSyz and the like.

In *netekim* (3, 64, 72) SUBUTAY uses *e* for Turkish *i*. Especially this replacement is very interesting, because the word is used quite frequently and a stressed vowel is concerned (ttu. *nítekim*). This word cannot be found in Uzbek. It is perhaps analogized to ttu. *ne*, uzbC. *nei*. If one assumes that SUBUTAY spoke an Iranized dialect, it could be a hypercorrect form, because the author might have been aware of the fact that he sometimes uses *i* instead of some *e* vowels of Turkish (see Wurm 1959, 492). The replacement of *i* by *e* in *orijenal* (2, corrected) may occur for the same reason. But it also may be explained as an attempt to note the more centralized pronunciation of the *i*-vowel in the penultima of a word of four syllables.

The labial vowels

Sometimes SUBUTAY uses *o* instead of Turkish *u*. In two cases we find corresponding Uzbek words, but they do not help us to establish some regular correspondence. So, the notation *borada* (2, ttu. *burada*) is hard to explain. Uzbek like Turkish and most of the modern Turkic languages has *bu*. Perhaps it is a simple misprint. There remains the possibility that the *o* represents the author’s audial reception of a word not known to him (e.g. uzbL. has *bunda*, see GABAIN 1945, 79). The reception as a low vowel may additionally be influenced by the following low *a*-vowels. The same explanations can perhaps be applied to *oğraşmak* (2), *ogradigi* (93) = ttu. *uğraş-* and *vapor* (3) = ttu. *vapur*. But in *boldi* (4) = ttu. *buldu* and *bolundu* (2) = ttu. *bulundu*³⁹ the *o* of SUBUTAY represents Turkish *u* without a neighbouring low vowel. In one case we find the Turkish *u* is Cyrillic written Uzbek expressed by *u*: *oyaniş* (5) = uzbC. *uygāniş* = ttu. *uyanış*, in Latin written Uzbek we have the alternants *oygan-* ~ *uygan-*. At least in some cases the opposition *u* : *o* in Uzbek seems to be weakened. WURM (1959, 492) states that in the Iranized dialects a “*u*-like” variant of *o* can be heard, which can hardly be differentiated from the etymological *u* sounds. We may assume that this convergence of *o* and *u* has led to

³⁹ One can see that in this case SUBUTAY took care of labial harmony.

variants like *oyVan-* ~ *uyVan-*.⁴⁰ Tendencies like these could explain SUBUTAY's wrong reception of velar labial vowels in a foreign language like Turkish.

Like *u* sometimes its palatal counterpart *ü* is noted by SUBUTAY as a low vowel, i.e. *ö*. Mainly in the case of *ttu. ülkä* (uzbC. *ülka*) the author uses the forms *ölka/ölke* (64, 72) throughout the text. Another example for that type of replacement is *gözel* (74) = uzbC. *gūzal*.⁴¹ One may assume that the spelling with *ö* reflects the older way of pronunciation (cf. azr. *ölkä, gözäl*). Another possibility is that like the opposition *o : u* the opposition between the front labial vowels *ö : ü* has been weakened. So, we find *ö* instead of Turkish *ü* in a word where we can not assume ancient **ö*, and where the Uzbek correspondent shows a high labial front vowel: *göclisi* (5) = uzbL. *kūclisi*, uzbC. *kuclisi* = *ttu. güçlūsü*. WURM (1959, 492) mentions that *ü* in Iranized dialects of Uzbek is often replaced by *u* or a semi-palatal, centralized variant, which also appears for *ö*. The existence of such a centralized variant in SUBUTAY's native dialect could very easily have opened the way for the situation we find in the Turkish text.⁴²

Different from the example *göclisi* (see above) Turkish *ü* is in many cases replaced by *u*. This, like the replacement of *ö* by *o* (see below), are well-known developments from Iranized Uzbek dialects (see WURM 1959, 492).⁴³ So, we find *mudafacisi* = uzbC. *mudāfaajī+* = *ttu. müdafaacı* (2); *dunya* = uzbC. *dunya* = *ttu. dünya* (7); *şuphesiz* (64) = uzbC. *şubhasiz* = *ttu. şüphesiz*. In *hükümet* + (1) = uzbC. *hukumat* = *ttu. hükümet* only the *u* of the second syllable is replaced; perhaps this is a reflex of the vowel length in Arabic *hükūmat*. Without an Uzbek correspondent is Turkish *yüce*, which is noted as *yuca* (1) by SUBUTAY. Representations of Latin written Uzbek *ü* by *u* are *temur* (12) 'iron' (= uzbL. *temir*, *temyr*, uzbC. *tēmir*) or *yuzinge* (27).

The replacement of Turkish *ö* by *o* is very rare, e.g. *şoyla* (3), *şöyla* (5, 71) = *ttu. şöyle*. Sometimes SUBUTAY replaces the velar *o* by *ö*, namely in *sönra* (72) or in *diyör* (72). In Uzbek words the replacement of *ö* for *o* appears very rarely, e.g. in *öynab turgan* (27) or in *söngre* (28). Cases of replacing Uzbek *u* by *ü* are not that rare. So, *ülüs* (on the "Miri"-page between iç. and 1) represents *ttu.* and uzbC. *ulus*. Other instances are e.g. *türüb* for

⁴⁰ Other examples from GABAIN (1945) are *o, ol ~ u, ul* 'this, that', *or ~ ur* 'to hit', *oqtir- ~ uqtir-* 'to tell somebody to do something'.

⁴¹ Remarkable enough that Hayri Bey has not corrected these mistakes.

⁴² Examples from GABAIN (1945) are *öy ~ üy* 'house, home', *özüm ~ üzüm* 'grape'.

⁴³ Examples from GABAIN are *öy ~ oy* 'house, home' or *üsül ~ usul* 'method'. In our text we find in one and the same poem of Tevalla *niçun* and *niçün* (9, for uzbC. *ne uçun*). Another example is *kani yurgizing* (8) 'let the blood run', but *yürmek gerek* (21) 'must march'.

uzbC. *turub* or *yürt+* (20, in *yürtini*) for *yurt*. I assume these cases to be hypercorrectizisms, because the author knew about his tendencies of replacing front vowels by back vowels. The form *yülduz* represents uzbC. *yulduz*, which is noted as *yuldiž* by GABAIN (1945, 251). It is the only graphical variant of this word and appears four times in the poem *Mirrih yülduzige* (13); in another poem we find *yüldizlerge* (20), in a third one he notes *yulduzlarning* (30).

For cases like *ununle* for *onunla* ‘with him, her, it’ see below (“pronouns”).

2.2.2.5 Labial harmony

There is no labial harmony in standard Uzbek, neither in Latin written nor in Cyrillic written variants.⁴⁴ Only a very few suffixes containing *i* sometimes show *u*-forms. In most of these cases the forms with rounded vowels are older and tend to get eliminated, e.g. in the case of the deverbal suffix forming nouns of action *+gi*, *+ki*, *+ği*, *+qi*, where the forms showing *u* clearly represent the old form **+GU* of this well known suffix. Because they are not products of labial harmony, they can appear even on stems with unrounded vowels.

The lack of labial harmony has many reflexes in deviations from the Turkish standard in the Turkish text, e.g. *türkci* (1, corrected), *dogdi* (1, 2; but *doguş*), *nüfuzi*, *doguş günü* (1), *19.ci* (1, 2), *doğri* (2), *biliyordi* (2), *mühir-inda* (3), *yüzi karalar* (3), *kültüri* (3), *buninle* (3), *başbugi* (3, 74), *onin* (4, 64), *oni* (4), *oldi* (4), *yurtini*, *yurtine* (4), *ölçimek* (5), *göclisi* (5), *soninci* (5), *Timur in* (4), *Türklik* (69), *olsin* (69), *vuruşi* (72), *olinmis* (73), *yolila* (74), *uccine* (74), *öci* (91), *boyunturugintan* (91), *yoli* (92), *ordusini* (72). The labial harmony is ignored sometimes even in forms not existing in Uzbek like *görü-yor* (1), *-di* (4), *istemiyoriz* (2), *olduguni* (3), *ugraşıyordi* (3), *ediyordi* (5), *öldik-ten* (4), *ediyorim* (74), *düsdikten* (91), *olmisdir* (92), *doludir* (93), *sözdir* (93).

On the other hand, some Uzbek words show labial harmony. One must keep in mind that these text parts are mainly transcriptions of originally Arabic written texts, the language of which was more or less influenced by Chagatay. So, instances like *kolum ëmy handi*, *yüzüm* ‘my face’, *urdum* ‘I have hit’ (all 3), *tokub* (9), *yaşundi* (18) or *açulsun* (30) reflect the situation in this archaic language of poetry and not in every-day Uzbek. Cases like *gönül*,⁴⁵ *mührü* (both 3) or *kurumuşlar* (31) with full la-

⁴⁴ Because they are more or less based on Southern Uzbek, see above.

⁴⁵ Compare the form *könglini* on the same page.

bial harmony in Uzbek text parts must be considered as being influenced by Turkish.

2.2.2.6 Voiceless consonants instead of voiced ones

In some words we find *G*-sounds of foreign words noted with a *K*-sign. In the case of *hekemonisi* (iç.) this may reflect a slightly desonorized pronunciation in syllable initial position, but it also can be due to direct transliteration from Arabic script, which in the case of its Turkestan variant often neglects the Persian sign for *g* and uses the Arabic *k* for both [g] and [k]. With the help of the model of Arabic script also the mistakes in Turkish words like *teknikinden* (4) and *yürekinde* (20) or in Uzbek words like *kökrekingde* (10) or *yürekinge* (11) may be explained.

Anyhow, we can see from these examples that SUBUTAY was at least not too familiar with the Latin script. Another striking mistake is the use of *cetid* (e.g. 17 in “*cetidilik*”), which appears several times in the text instead of *cedid*. This also may go back to slightly desonorization in syllable initial position and is surely a sign of SUBUTAY’s non-familiarity with Latin written Turkish.

2.2.2.7 Proper names

Very frequent is the notation of proper names with small letters like *cin*, *rus*, *efgan* (1, corrected by hand). This also points to the fact that the author was not so familiar with orthographical conventions of the Latin script: in Arabic script there is no such possibility.

2.2.2.8 Lexical peculiarities

A special type of mistakes in the Turkish text are lexical deviations from the Turkish standard. Of course, most of the aberrant lexemes are taken from Uzbek. So, in the table of contents we find the combination *genc bogun* (iç., for the latter *nasil* is given in brackets as explanation) ‘young generation’. The attribute *genc* is Turkish *genç* ‘young’, while *bogun* ‘generation’ is taken from uzbC. *būgin*. GABAIN (1945, 240) shows *bogun*, but only with its other meanings ‘joint; syllable’. The labial vowel of the second syllable may point to the fact that SUBUTAY spoke one of the

Iranized Southern Uzbek dialects, in which labial harmony can be observed sporadically (GABAIN 1945, 14; WURM 1959, 493). This can also—or at the same time—be an influence of Chagatay, in which this word was written as BWĠWN. A similar case is *boyunturugintan* (91), which represents uzbC. *būyinturuq* represented in Arabic script as BWYWNTWRWQ. Another combination of Turkish and Uzbek elements is *doğuş günü* (1). This is a contamination of Turkish *doğum günü* and Uzbek *tuğiliş* ‘birth’; ‘birthday’ in Modern Uzbek is *tuğilgan kuni*.

The verbal form *yurutat* (70) is a combination of uzbC. **yurit-* (only *yuritil-* is attested) and the Turkish *-An*-participle. A combination of the Uzbek verb *tarat-* ‘to spread out’ and the *-Dik-* participle unknown to Uzbek can be found in *taratdigi* (22).

Another instance for lexical substitution of Turkish words by Uzbek ones is e.g. *zülük* (3) = uzbC. *zuluk*, ttu. *sülük* (!). Quite often we meet the substitution of ttu. *savaş* by Chagatay *uruş*, uzbC. *uriş*, e.g. *dunya uruşunda* (7). The form *yarliga* (73) is based on Uzbek *yārliq*. The word *yardam* (74) reflects the Kipchak form (uzbC. *yārdam*) of what is in Turkish *yardım*. Another Kipchak form is present in *tolkunlarini* (from uzbC. *tūlqin*), which is paraphrased at the margin of the text as *dalgalarını*. The particle *yene* (4) reflects Modern Uzbek *yana*, for which GABAIN (1945, 251) writes *yänä*. The form *yikitildi* (13, 19) can be identified as Uzbek because of the *t*-causative (the Turkish form would be *yıktırıldı*). Of course, a word like *yahşi* (20, uzbC. *yaxşı* ‘good’) appears, too. The Uzbek verb *uyuş-* ‘to unite, to get organized; to thicken’ we find in *uyuşmaya mecbur oldiler* (23) ‘they were forced to negotiate’. Being of non-Turkish stock, SUBUTAY of course is not used to the verb *dön-* ‘to turn around’ and its derivatives. Instead of that he uses *qayt-*, which is attested in a causative form *kaytardılar* meaning in the special context ‘they fought back’ (23).

It is no wonder that the author of our text uses a form like *tasvir kilişi* ‘his kind of painting’, because Uzbek has *tasvir qil-* instead of **tasvir et-* (ttu. *tasvir et-*). But it is astonishing to see that he uses forms like *temin yapılmıştır* (22) or *mudafea yapınız* (22). Uzbek would allow him to choose between *ta“min qil-* and *ta“min et-* and has *mudāfaa qil-*; in Turkish he should use the combinations with *etmek*, of course. Did he choose *yap-* because he has categorized this verb as typical for Turkish and tried to express idiomatically?

The loanword from Arabic *hakimiyat*+ (1) represents uzbC. *hākimi-yat*; it is corrected to *hukumat*+ instead of correct Turkish *hükümet*. Many loanwords from Arabic are spelled by SUBUTAY—like their Uzbek models—closer to the Arabic original, e.g. *ilm* (1): (corrected to ttu. *ilim*) = uzbC. *ilm*, *müsülman* (1, corrected) = uzbC. *musulman*, ttu. *müslüman* or *amrikali* (92, ttu. *amerikalı*, Modern Uzbek *amërikalik*, but GABAIN (1945,

235) has *Amrika* besides *Amerika*). Reflexes of original Arabic notations with *d*, where Turkish uses *t*, can be found in words like *tedkik* (2, 3; for Arabic *tadkik*). Another case is the place name *Kokand* (corrected to *Kokant*), which represents something like QWQND, which is noted in Modern Uzbek as *Qūqān*. The map added to GABAIN 1945 shows *Xoqand*.⁴⁶

There are cases of contamination of Uzbek and Turkish words. The form *hükümü* (71) instead of ttu. *hükümü* is perhaps a reaction to the fact, that the Uzbek form *hukm* has no parenthetic vowel like ttu. *hüküm*. In *gebi* (3) = uzbC. *kabi* we see the low palatal vowel of Uzbek (GABAIN 1945, 251 has *käbi*, *kibi*) replacing the high one of Turkish *gibi*. In *gerpten* (3) SUBUTAY notes in a Turkish way the desonorization of the word final and the suffix initial consonants. The reason for the use of a palatal vowels here is not quite clear (GABAIN (1945, 245) has a velar vowel), but might go back to peculiarities of the writer's dialect. Perhaps in the same way we have to explain *yani* (1) = ttu. *yeni* = Modern Uzbek *yangi* 'new'. GABAIN (1945, 250) has palatal *yäni* but we know velar forms from a lot of Turkic languages and dialects, e.g. tat. *yäŋa*.

Words like *mula* (3) = uzbC. *mulla* can not really be treated as lexical deviations, because they do not exist in Turkish. They have to be considered—like titles of Uzbek books⁴⁷ cited in the text—as citings of non-Turkish names, official titles and the like.

Russian is another possible source of lexical deviations in the Turkish text, mainly on the field of place names from outside Uzbekistan, because the Uzbeks use them in their Russian form. Examples are *krım* (5), *yapon* (5), *London* (corrected to ttu. *Londra*), *rusiyada* (91). The form *gazitasında* (92) is the representation of a Russian loanword in Uzbek, which was spelled in Latin script as *gazita* [gäzitä].

⁴⁶ The notations with *d* are from my point of view to be connected with the loss of final *d* in Modern Uzbek in this word, while the place name *Semerkant* shows final *t*, and is noted in modern Uzbek as *Samarqand* (see also below), i.e. with preservation of the final dental stop. These variations are due to the fact that the final part of these place names go back to an relatively early Iranian loanword in Turkic; such oscillations appear even in the Arabic written Chagatay Babur-name as KND or KNT, that is something like *kand* or *kant*. The question, for what reasons in some cases the final dental stop disappears, is open to discussion. The change of the vowel is due to vowel harmony. The question arises, for what reasons the initial consonant is categorized as velar (shown by the use of *q*) in our examples, despite the fact that the Arabic script shows *k*, even in syllables with semi-palatal *a*. In the case of *Toškent*, we find palatal *k* and an *e*-vowel.

⁴⁷ E.g. *yeres bitigi* (ic.) = modern Uzbek *yaraş bitigi*.

Sometimes we find Turkish words in the Uzbek passages of the text. So, we have in one poem of Fitret ("Biz kimiz")⁴⁸ the Uzbek form *turpak* besides Turkish *toprak* (12). Another instance is *olsun* from *ttu*, *ol-* instead of Uzbek *bol-/bül-* (8).

Cases like *anadilisi* with double possessive suffix may point to (spontaneous) lexicalisation of the term *anadili* 'mothertongue'. By means of this the possessive suffix is no longer recognized as such.

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⁴⁸ For Uzbek *kimmiz*.



S u b u t a y.

K U R T U L U S Y O L U N D A.

Berlin, 11.3.1931.

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The Recent Poets in Turkestan

Introduction

Turkestan, the common homeland of Turks, is today divided by many various foreign governments. For this reason, civilization has an uneven appearance in this country where the population is 95% Turks. However, Turkestan has not lived like this for centuries. After the Uighurs and Khorezmshahs, during the Chagatay period, Timur had started a national and a civilized era. Great works of art and science were created. During these times, among the Turks, successful scholars, philosophers, poets, judges appeared: scholars, like Ulugh Beg, the cosmographist and Turkologist; philosophers, like Hoja Ahmed Yesevi; poets, like Lutfi; physicians, like Ibn Sina, and also musicians like Kul Mahmut were to be found during this period. At the time of Ali Shir Navai, i.e. the Goethe of the East, literature reached its peak.

Navai was born in 1440 as the son of an aristocratic family. He was a statesman, historian, scholar, musician, linguist, competent in every field; above all, he was a great poet. The poets after him were, and still are, inspired by his works. Even the Soviet government is preparing to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Navai's birthday in 1940 and, along these lines, is already publishing books about him.

The outstanding Turkish civilization which bloomed during the 15th century in Turkestan influenced not only the Turkic countries, but also all of the eastern Muslim world. Cities like Samarkand, Bukhara, Kokand of that time can be compared to today's Paris, Berlin and London. The Turkestan-Turkish *madrasas* in Turkestan were full of young people from eastern Muslim countries. However, political division and rule by inexperienced khans and emirs which dragged the country into ignorance in the 19th century brought Chinese, Russian and Afghan dominance. This period of slavery dimmed not only the civilization but also its reflection, namely the literature. Consequently, except for the few poets who remained within the *madrasa* tradition,

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1

Türkistanda yani şairler.

Baslangıç:

Türklerin umumî vatanı Türkistan, bu gün muhtelif ecnabi ^{“ “}hakim-
yatlar tarafından parçalanmıştır. Nüfusunun yüzde doksan beşi Türk olan
bu ülkede medeniyat bu sebepten dalgalı bir halde gözükür. Fakat Türki-
stan asırlardan beri böyle yaşamadı. Uygur ve Karasaklılardan sonra Ça-
gataylılar devrinde Timur yeniden millî ve medenî bir hayat devri aç-
mıştı. Senât ve ilmi büyük eserler verdi. Bu zamanlar Türklerden büyük
alimler, filozoflar, şairler, hakimler, yetişmiştir. Buzamanlar Türklere
kozmagrafiyaci, türkçe Uluğ bek gibi alimler, Hoca Ahmet Yesevi gibi
filozoflar, Lutfi gibi şairler, İbni Sina gibi hakimler, Kul Mahmud gibi
musikişinaslar yetişmiştir. Edeyat ^{bu}ta şarkın Goethe si Ali-Şir-NEVAYI
devrinde en yüksek noktaya çıkmıştır.

Nevayî asıl bir aileden 1440 da doğdu. O, devlet kişisi, tarih-
çi, alim, musikişinas, ^[tâlicî]lisaniyatçı ve her sahada kabiliyetli, bunların
hapsinden evvel de bir yaka şair idi. Ondan sonra gelen şairler hep
Nevayiden ilham aldılar ve hala almaktadırlar. Hatta, Sovyetler hükü-
meti bile 1940 de Nevayî'nin 500. ci doğuş günü hatırası için şimdiden
hazırlıklar görüyor, ona dair kitaplar neşrediyorlar.

15. ci asırda Türkistanda parlayan Türk medeniyati, yalnız
Türk ülkelerini değil, hatta bütün müsülman şarkına ~~öz~~ ^{öz} nüfuz altına
almıştı. Özamanlar Semerkent, Buhara, Kokand şehirleri, bu günkü Avrupanın
Paris, Berlin ve Londra ^{ne} sayılabilir. Türkistan-Türk medreseleri
şark müsülman milletlerinin gençleriyle dolu idi. Lakin 19. cu
asırda Türkistanın siyaseten parçalanması ve onun cahil hanlar, emirler
tarafından cehalete sürüklenmesi, 19. ci asırda bu ülkeye Çin, Rus, İran
esaretini getirdi. Bu esaret devri ise ülkede yalnız medeniyeti değil,
onun inikası olan edebiyatı da söndürdü. Bu sebepten medresenin ~~atfına~~



MIRI

Don't keep me, in whose face shame is written, in the office of a judge any longer!

Don't strangle the immortal country and loot the incomparable people!¹

M I R I.

Meni,yüz karani,kazilikda köp koymang;
Ecelsiz ilni bogup,tigsiz ulus soymang!

the rest of the poets could not go any further than being unsuccessful imitators. However, our aim here is not to deal with the history of the Turkish (Chagatay) literature and its outcome, but to study the recent poets in Turkestan.

MIRI Following the enslavement of Turkestan, after the long and difficult days, a new spirit, a new era started. This corresponds to a period towards the end of the 19th century. The father of this new era was the son of the poet Mehmet Hajji Murat from Kette-Korgan, MIRI, who died in 1898. After studying Islamic law in Bukhara and Samarkand, he became a *qadi* in Samarkand. Miri knew the old, classical Turkic literature very well. He got his inspiration, moral and nature particularly from the well-known works of Navai, the genius of Turkish literature and the defender of the Turkish language from a scientific point of view. Furthermore, as can be seen in his gazals, Miri saw Navai in his dreams many times and even received orders from Navai. The fact that Miri started most of his poems with

“Navai shall take my hand and give help”

indicates his loyalty to Navai. Even though Miri's faithfulness and love for Navai did not bring him up to the level of Navai (the conditions of that time did not allow this either), Miri is nevertheless a Turkish poet whose name should be written in gold letters. Because, inspired by the European technique, Miri was the first “father” who cried for his beloved country, Turkestan. Thus, the power and effect of Miri's poems gave birth to a novelty, to the Jadidism movement among the muftis in Turkestan's *madradas*.

Until Miri, all of the Turkestan-Turkish poets like Lutfi, Navai, Babur etc. spent their lives imitating the great classical poets, (and hence) could not create anything original. However, Miri, who was the best-known poet of his time and who knew the classical literature very well, had also realized the fact that life in the 19th century was not similar to that of the 16th century. He knew that in the 19th century wars were fought not with swords and shields, but artilleries, rifles, machine guns and ships; he saw that next to old carriages, trains were used. He held that, in order to live freely and happily, it was necessary above all to attain scientific, and particularly nationalistic and civilized characteristics. He found the national and modern characteristics in

çıkımayan bir iki şairden başka hapsi kuru teklitten ibadet kaldı.
Fakat biz burada eski Türk(Çagatay) edebiyatının tarihi veakibatı
ile uğraşmak istemiyoruz;Türkistanın yeni şairlerini tedkik edeceğiz.

İ. Türkistan esarete düştükten sonra uzun, ağır günlerin arkasından yeni bir ruh, yeni bir devir doğdu. Bu da 19. asrın sonlarına doğru gelir. Bu yeni devrin babası 1893 doğan, Kette-Korgan'lı şair Mehmet Hacı Murat oğlu MIRÎ dir. Mirî Buhara ve Semerkent'te İslam hukuk ve kanunlarını tahsil ettikten sonra, Semerkent'te kadılık vazifesinde bulundu. Mirî eski türk kılasik edebiyatını yakından biliyordu. Bilhassa ilham, ahlak, ^{ve} sâciyasını, umumî Türk edebiyatının büyük dahisi ve Türkçenin ilmi surette mudafacisi olan Nevayinin eserlerinden almıştır. Hatta ^{Mirî} Nevayî, gazellerinde okunduğuna göre, Nevayiyi bir çok vakitler rüyasında görür ~~xxxxxxx~~ ve ondan talimatlar alır imiş. Mirî nin eserlerinden bir çoğuna;

"Nevayîkolum tutsa kılma meded"

diye başlaması, onun Nevayî'ye çok sadık bir şair olduğunu gösterir. Mirinin Nevayî'ye bu sadakatı ve sevgisi onu Nevayî mertebesine çıkarmıştı (buna muhitte müsait değildi) Mirî, Türk edebiyatında ismi altın kalemle yazılacak bir Türk şairidir. Çünkü o, Türkistanda, Avrupa tekniğinden ilham alarak, ^{ve} sevgili yurdu, ilâhî için ilk defa ağlayan bir babadır. İşte Mirînin şiirlerindeki bu tesir ve kuvvet, Türkistan medreselerinde, muftiler arasında bir yenilik, yani "Ceditlik" hareketini doğurmuştur.

Mirî'ye kadar bütün Türkistan-Türk şairleri Lutfî, Nevayî, Babur v.s. gibi büyük kılasikleri taklitle hayatlarını geçiriyor, orijinal bir şey veremiyorlardı. Lakin kılasik edebiyatı çok yakından tanıyan, ve zamanının en meşhur şairi olan Mirî, 19. asrındaki hayatını 16. yüzyıla benzediğini çok iyi anladı. 19. asrda muharrebeler kılınç, kalkanlar-la ^{ve} değil ~~asat~~, top, tüfenk, mitralyoz ve gemi ile yapıldığını biliyor; eski koka arabaları yanında tiranlar işledığını görüyordu. Hür ve mesut yaşamak için ilme, fenne ve bilhassa millî ve medenî sâciyalara kavuşmayı her şeyden elzem bildi. Millî ve medenî sâciyayı Türk edebiyatının

the previous eras of the Turkic literature, and science in the Russianized Germans who were ruling Turkestan. Thus, these basic necessities gave rise to a novelty in him.

Now let us take a look at his works: Ignorant *mollas*, *qadis* and *begs* were robbing the country from head to foot. For this reason, Miri referred to his colleagues as “black faces” during his time as *qadi*. Moreover, to be able to influence the people, he listed himself among those “black faces”, thus crushing with ruthless attacks those *qadis* who were driving the country towards a precipice.

*You have tanned the heart of the people blacker than the black spots in my face!
I have beaten myself violently and burnt myself with fire -
This grief has hollowed out my eyes. Don't go on hollowing for too long,
Or else it will be you to burn in the flames of this blaze!*

Looking at his name written with black letters on the seal of *qadis*, he says:

*The money paid for the official stamp cheered up my heart's sun,
But my face is not black, so better look around it.²*

In the following two poetic lines, he describes how the money-collectors (1) were like leeches that suck the blood of the people:

*I deafen the people's ears, and at the time of judgement I demand cash.
Having then pocketed the fee for the official seal, I play the deaf one myself.*

The poet, who is not able to endure these injustices, writes in his last couplet:

*Don't keep me, in whose face shame is written, in the office of a judge any longer!
Don't strangle the immortal country and loot the incomparable people!*

Miri did not only write religious and social poems as those above. He was also interested in the science and culture of art coming from the West. In this vein, he has poems named like: telegraph, steamship, train. By doing so he was encouraging people towards the western civilization. For this reason, he was counted as the head of Jadidism in Turkestan.

(1) Mührane is the money charged by *qadis* for pathing a stamp on petitions.

eski devirlerinde, ilim ve fenni ise Türkistanın başında oturan Rus-
leşmiş Almanlar da göüyordu . İşte bu hayatî zaruretler onda bir ye-
niliğin doğmasına sebep oldu.

Bir azda eserlerini tedkik edelim: Cahil malâlar, kadılar ve
beyler memleketi başdan ayağa soymakta idiler. Mirî bu sebepten kendi
kadılık zamanında bütün meslekdaşlarını "yüzi karalar " diye tel'in eder.
Hatta, halka kuvvetle tesir yapmağadır kendisini de o kara yüzüküler
arasına koyarak memleketi uçuruma sürükleyen kadıları amansız hücum-
lariyâşer.

Yüzüm karasidan el könglini kara eyleb

Özümmi küc bilen urdum alvga küydüdim

Közümni oydi bu gam el közüni köp öymeng

Bu otning yalkuni bilen yine sizler küymeng?!....

Kadılık mühüründe kara harflarla yazılmış adına baktığı
zaman böyle diyor:

Gönül kuyaşını mührana mührü tere kilib

Yüzüm kara hut imes mühür atrafige karang.

Mühranacıları (1) de halkın kanın emen birer zülük olduğuni şu
iki güzel beytinde tes-vir ediyor:

Greng eyleb ulus, hüküm cagi nakt isteb

Yasab özümni - cu mührane tekdi kolga - gereng.

Bu hallara tahammul edemeyen şair son beytinde şöyle diyor:

Meni, yuz karani kazilikda köb koymeng

Ecelsiz ilni bogub tigisiz ulus soymeng!

Miri yalnız bu gibi dini ve ictimai şirler yazmadı. Garp-
ten kelnekte olan fen ve sanat kültürü ilede uğraşıyordu. Buna
ait, netekim: telgraf, vapor, tren, ~~izamluxi~~ isimli eserleri vardır.
Şair bununle halkı aynı zamanda garp medeniyetine teşvik ederdi.
Bu sebepten Miri Türkistanda "Ceditlik" in başbuğı sayıldı.

(1) Mührane, istidaya mühür basmak için kadının aldığı paradır.

Siddiki

This awakening movement in literature started by Miri had many supporters in the *madrasas* of Turkestan. The most important and well-known among them was SAID AHMED HOJA SIDDIKI, the successor of Miri. Siddiki met Miri in 1895 in Bukhara. Although Siddiki wrote many poems under the influence of Miri there, he had to burn them all to save his life from the bigoted *qadis* and *ulamas*. After trying everything to succeed in this, he finally had to leave his country in 1898 and lived many years in the Ottoman Empire as a civil servant. Since he had lost his hope of returning to his country, Siddiki wrote all the poems he composed there in Ottoman Turkish. Siddiki found the opportunity to go back to Turkestan in 1901, three years after Miri's death, and so he started to write his poems again in Uzbek Turkish. Siddiki was not only a poet, but also a powerful organizer and an original writer. For this reason he knew exactly what his people needed. He believed that the enslavement of Turkestan by Russia was the consequence of economic problems and impoverished art. Because of this, he established a library in Samarkand called *Zarafshan* to introduce his people to the Western Civilization and there he also published many books and had many books searched. Siddiki is very interesting and resourceful for research. In being inspired by Western techniques and in representing them, he was more successful than Miri. Let us put his books about history and geography aside, and have a look at his poems.

He gives an excellent description of the present state of "Gökşehir"-Samarkand which is the center of the government established by the great ruler Timur. He wrote the following poem concerning the Russian emigrant policy in the new city built by Russians:

*In the place of mosques there were churches,
Erected in a new shape,*

S I D D I K I

Edebiyatta Miri tarafından başlanan bu uyanış hareketi, Türkistanın bütün medreselerinde sayısız dostlar toplamıştı. Bunların en mühümü, meşhûri ve Mirinin halafi Türkistan şehrinden SAİT AHMET HOCA SİDDİKİ dir. Siddiki 1895 de Buhara da miri ile tanıştı. Orada, onun nüfuz ve tesiri altında bir çok şiirler yazdı ise de, muteassıf^k ulama ve kadıların elinden canını kurtarmak için onları yakmıya mecbur oldu. Siddiki, bu işde muvaffak olmak için her çareye baş vurd^kten sonra 1898 de yurtiniterke mecbur olarak "Mamaliki Osmaniya"de yıllerce memuren yaşadı. Siddiki, artık yurtineavdetten ümidini kestigi için orada yazdığı şiirlerini osmanlı türkçesile yazmıştı. 1901 de, yani ustadi Miri öldikten 3 yıl sonra Türkistana dönmek imkanını boldı; ve bundan sonraki eserlerini yine Özbek türkçesile yazdı. Siddiki, yalnız bir şair değil, aynı zamanda kuvvatlı bir taşkılatci ve yine bir ötkur muharrir idi. Bu sebepten halkın ihtiyacını çok yakından görüyordu. Türkistanın ruslere esir olmesinin, vatanın iktisadi sıkıntısından ve senatta geri kalmış olmasından, ileri geldigine inanmıştı. Onun için garp medaniyatini halka tanıtmak niyetile "Zerefşan"isminda bir kitaphanayı samarken^kde tesis etti ve o vasita ile bir çok kitaplar neşr etti ve tarattı. Siddiki, tetkik için çok entersan ve faidalidir. Avrupa teknikinden ilham almakta, onu temsil etmekte üstadi Miri den daha çok muvaffak oldu. Tarih ve coğrafiya ya aid yazdığı eserlerini bir tercefe birakarak şiirlerine bakalım:

Büyük emir Timur in^kşurduğu büyük hükümetin merkezi olan "Gökşehir"-Samrkent in bu künki halini çok güzel tesvir eder. Ruslar tarafından inşa edilme^kta olan yeni şehirde, rus muhacirat siyasetine ait bu şiirni yazıyor:

Mescit yerine olup klisa

Bir yeni şemail ile berpa



*There were buildings as large as the sea,
They had received such splendid ornamentation!
The people had multiplied there manyfold,
But there was not a single Muslim!*³

Later this beloved poet addresses his people in the following manner befitting a true Turkic:

*I died there in desperation about this game,
I had made weeping a virtue.*

Siddiki has many important poems about the Crimean, Russian-Japanese and Balkan wars. Among these, let us take a look at the 4 pieces of advice he had for Turkestan:

*Four things I intended by this,⁴
From which the happiness of the people should be obtained:
Knowledge be taken in hand, sciences,
National language, and law.*

These 4 pieces of advice had really become a very popular subject during that period. Again, Siddiki wrote the following poem in order to encourage his people to do trade:

*All of this stems from disastrous trade,
The price of the world is trade!*

These ideas are instrumental in gauging the degree of the awakening of Turkestan at that time. They also indicate that Siddiki was the most powerful and highly regarded poet who lived in that period.

Siddiki spent the last years of his life working for the national organization and as a teacher. However, in his very last year, he worked in his farm. Siddiki whose heart beat for the whole Turkish race died in 1927 in a village near Samarkand. His real significance in the Turkish awakening movement is yet to be better understood in the future.

(1) *zekun* means law in Russian.

Darya kadar olup imarat
~~Aş~~mış idi böyle zibu-zinet
 çoğalmış idi çok anda insan
 lakin yok idi bri musulman!

Daha sonra bu sevgili şair, hakiki türk oğluna yaraşacak şekilde halka
 böyle bagırır:

Öldüm bu oyundan anda mayus
 Etmiş idim ağlamakdan namus.

Siddikinın krim ,rus-yapon,balkan muharibalarına ait çok muhim şir-
 leri vardır. Bunların arasında, onun Türkistan için meydana attığı
 dört öğüte bakalım,

Dört şey bana bundan erdi maksud
 Bundan ole halk bahtı masud
 İlmi ele almagu, fufunı
 Devlatin lisani ve zekuni (1)

Bu dört öğüt, hakikatan o devrin çok meşhur mevzuu olmuştu. Siddiki
 yine halkı ticarata teşvik için şöyle diyor:

Bu cumla ticarat belası
 Dünyanın ticarattır bahası!

Bu düşünceler o zamanki Türkistanın uyanış derecesini ölçmek için
 bir alattır. aynı zamanda siddikinın o devirde yaşayan şairlerin
 en göclisi ve en kimatlısı olduğunu kösterir.

Siddiki hayatın son yıllarını milli teşkilatda çalışmak ve muâmilik
 yapmakla geçirdi. Lakin en sonuncu yılda çiftlikle meşetini temin
 ediyordu. Böylece, yüreği bütün Türk alamı için çarpan Siddiki 1927
 de Samarkent civarında bir köyde öldi. Onun Türk uyanış edebiyatında
 tuttuğu yüksek yer ileride daha iyi anlaşılacaktır.

(1) zekun, rusçe kanun demektir.



SOFIZADE

The places vacated by Miri and Siddiki in their schools were filled by Sofizade and Judge Hamza.

Another poet who was already a well-known poet before the World War was Sofizade. Because of the pressure put by the conservative *ulamas*, he had to leave his hometown. After leaving his village in Ferghana, he went to Khiva and Bukhara, where he was accepted by the khans and became the poet of the palace. In his last years he was the poet of Khan Amanullah in Kabul. These days it is very difficult to find his dispersed written works. However, these unpublished poems used to be very famous among people and especially in *jadid-qadim* fights. Sofizade now lives in his own village as a farmer. Because Turkestan's present state of slavery does not inspire him anymore.

HAMZA HAKIMZADE

He is the most modern poet among those we have studied so far. After having travelled in Turkey and Afghanistan and returned to Turkestan, he described Turkestan before the national revolution in February 1916 as follows:

*Even if the rocks of tyranny rain down it does not open its eyes,
It is a body without a soul, even if it is stabbed with a dagger, its blood will not flow.*⁵

This moving poem had become a national song among the people and it had been recited loud in theatres and streets. However, this poet who opened the brightest page in the Turkish literature of Turkestan believed in the words of Lenin and the games of Selinski after the revolution. He denied his religion and nationality. So while his beliefs turned "red" he did not hesitate to cooperate with the Russians against his friends. He wanted to destroy the Turkish culture even more than the Russians themselves. He tried to build a new Soviet "paradise" upon the ruins of

(1) The present governor of Turkestan.

S O F I Z A D E

Miri ve Siddiki mekteblerinde boş kalan yeri Sofîzade ile Hamza hakim zade ler doldurdiler.

Cihan uruşından evval de kalamın ile tanınmış bir şair de Sofi zade dir. Lakin muteassıf ulema tamanından sevgili yurtini taslamaya nec-
~~bulmuştu. Sofi Zade Ferğanağa ki~~
 bu 1920-21 Sofi Zade Ferğanağa köyünden ayrıldıktan sonra Hiva ve Buhara hanları tarafından kabul idilerek hususi seray şairi oldu. Netekim Sofi zade son yıllarda Kabilda Emanulla hanın saray şairi idi. Bugün ünün daginik esrlorini bolmak çok agirdir. Lakin bu basılmamış şirleri bir zamanlar halk arasında ve bilhassa "cedit-kadın" mücadilelerinde çok şühret kazanmıştı. Sofi zade şimdi köyünde çiftcilikle meşguldir. Çünkü, Türkistanın bu günü esir hayatı artık ona "ilân" vermemektotir!

HAMZA HAKIM ZADE

gördüğümüz şairleri en modirnis. Türkiye ve Afganistan de sayahat yapıb Türkistana döndikten sonra 1916 de şubat milli inkilabından evvalki Türkistani şoyla tēsvir eder:

Zülmet taşı yağılısada közü açılmas

Ruhsız tendir hancar ursa kani açılmas!

Bu hayacanlı şir, o zamanlar halkın milli şarkisi olmuş, tiyatrolerde sokaklerde yüksek sesle okunmuştu. Fakat Türkistan türk edebiyatında en nurlu sahifeni acan bu talihsiz şair inkilaptan sonra Lenin in aldatıcı sözlerine ve Seliniski (1) nin meharatlı oyunlerine inandı. Dinini, milliyetini ayakları altına aldı. Hakim zade nin imanı böylece kırmızılesirken, o eski dostlerini ruslerin pencasına düşürmekten çekinmedi. Türk kulturini ruslardan daha fazla düşmanlıkla ezmek ve yokatmak istedi. Türk kulturi harabalığı üzerinde yeni bir

(1) Bu günkü Türkistan valisi.

the Turkish culture. He became the head of the “*Xudasizlar*” (Atheists) organization founded by the Russians to destroy the sacred Turkish cemeteries and *madrasas*. In this mission, while he was getting ready to destroy the grave of Hazret-i Bahaettin in Ferghana, he was lynched by the Turkish villagers.⁽¹⁾

Hamza Hakimzade was not only a poet; before he became a communist, he made many valuable contributions to Turkish music and theatre. As an example, he has a 5-act operetta “Black Hair” composed as national music.

It is impossible not to pity this musician and poet who is fooled by political games and left a black spot in Turkestan’s history.

TEVALLA

During the World War, Turkestan Turkish literature was silenced by force under the pressure of the tsarist government. That is why we only see a few insignificant poets in this period. The most important ones among them were Tevalla and Evlani. Since these two poets were very similar to each other, it will suffice to study only one of them.

During the World War, while the Turkestani Turks were fighting at the battle fields with weapons in hand and hope in heart, Tevalla published a journal of poetry called “Revnaki Islam” in Tashkent. Most of these poems were made up of wordplays. His Turkish was very poor. However, the most important parts of his works are those describing the Turks’ daily life and traditions.

The national awakening movement that had started with Miri was following its secret path during those times. Tevalla never joined this movement. In his works, words like Turan, country, province and nationality etc. remained as uncomprehended concepts to him. During the World War, Tevalla wrote poems hoping for the victory of the tsarist government. Let us read his poem “To the brave Russian soldiers”:

(1) This was printed in the journalists “Germania” newspaper dated 3.7.1930 Nr. 356 in Berlin. See article entitled: “Moscow’s war against Islam”.

sovyet "ceneti" kurmek icin ugrasdi. Türklerin mukadas mazarlerini, medreselerini yikmak için rusler tarafından teşkil edilen "Hudasiz-lar" cemiyetinin reisi oldu. Bu vezife ile Ferğana de Hazrat Bahaetti in kabrini yikamaga hazirlanirken Türk köylileri tarafından parça parça edildi.(1).

Hamza hakim zade sadece bir şair degildi; kommunist olmadan evval Türk musiki ve tiyatrosina degirli hizmetlar yapti. Nitekim milli musikada "Kara saç" isimli 5 perdeli bir operesi vardır.

Siyasi oyunlara aldanarak Türkistan tarihinde kara sahifa açan bu bestegar şaire açımamık elde degildir.

T E V A L L A .

Düya uruşu içinde Türkistan Türk edebiyati, çar hukümetinin sürgün ve kamçılarila sustirilmişti. Onin için bu devirde ancak bazı ehemmiyatsız şairleri görüyoruz. Onların de en muhımleri Tevalla ile Evlani dir. Bu iki şair birbirlerine çok benzediklerinden yalnız birileşürşürsak yetişir.

Düya uruşunda Türkistan Türkleri elde silah, gönülden umit cephe de carpistikleri sirada Tevalla Taşkente "Revnaki islam" isimli şiir mecmuesini cikartti. Bu şiirlerin çoğı söz:öyününden düzülmüşdür. Şairin türkçesi çok buzktir. Feket eserinin en muhim kısmi, Türklerin umumi hayatlerini, adetlerini anlatan parçalardır.

Türkistande miri ile başlayan milli uyanış, o zamanlar gizli bir yolda akib kettmekte edi. Tevalla bu ceryana tamamen yabancı kaldı. Onin yazılerindeki İran, yurt, il ve milliyet sözleri, onin için anlaşılmaş bir-er mefhumden ibarettir. Tevalla dünya uruşunda çar hükümetinin zeferini isteyen şiirler yazdı; netekim "Kahraman rus askar-larına" isimli şiirini okuyalım:

(1) Buna ait muharririn Berlin de "Germania" gazitesinin 3.7.1930. tarihli Nr. 356 de basılmış: "Moskvanın islama karşı muharibası" isimli makalaya müracaat.



*Why did the Germans declare war without fear or shame?!
 Give them the punishment they deserve, that they be made repentant!
 Exert your force and find victory, oh compatriot (!) Slavs!
 Show skillfulness! The Germans must not find a place to escape!
 Sever their heads, their bodies shall fill the wilderness,
 Their blood shall flow in the gardens and run mills there.
 We are Russian soldiers (!), always longing for triumph and victory.
 Do not cease remembering our young and old in prayer!
 Go to "guilty" Berlin, you! They shall come to see you,
 All at once they shall be obedient and pay honour(1), when they sit down!
 Tevalla, we Muslims beseeched the residence of the Lord,
 We are for the fatherland, we are the fatherland(!), thus shall now know the Slavs!⁶*

This poem is sufficient to indicate Tevalla's level of political, civil and national morality. While Turkestani Turks were waiting for the collapse of the tsarist Russia on the one hand and hoping to physically and spiritually unify with the future of the Turks of Turkey, and consequently, with the whole Turkish world, Tevalla was not ashamed to write a poem like the one above. For this reason, he, for the first time, gained a position nobody had before in Turkestan's literature—that of being the father of public storytelling. This poet who felt himself as one of the Russian "citizens" displayed his sympathy to Red Russia more effectively after the Russian revolution. While initially he was writing qasidas to the tsar, after the revolution he started to write them to Lenin. Today, it is not that there are no supporters of him among the Turks of Turkestan who want to get rid of Soviet violence and fight against it. We will come back to this subject again under the topic of "proletarian poets". As an example of his descriptions mentioned above

(1) *Çest* means greetings in Russian

Neden korkmay uyalmay harb iylan etdi almanlar
 Gazasin ver alarni taki kilsunlar puşaymanlar
 Eding gayrat taping nusrat vatandas(!)ey slavyanlar
 Maharat körsating cay tapmasun kacmakka almanlar
~~Hemixaxfethaxxusretinix~~
~~Çidaxxaxfethaxxusretinix~~
 Cida basini eyleng cismile tolsun biyabanlar
 Cinan aksun ki kani yurgizing anda tigirmanlar.
 Hemiçe feth-u nusretni tilep rus askaridirmiz(!)
 Duada yad aylab tinmayin yaşı karidirmiz
 Baring siz "vina"-Berlin gel!ziyaret eyласun körsun
 Muti olsun heme birden oturse çest(L)berib türsin.
 Tevalla eyledik dergahi hakka biz musulmanlar,
 Vatange hem vatan mız(!) deb biling emdi slavyanlar!

Bu şiir Tevalla nin siyasi, medeni ve milli ahlak derecesini göstermek için kafidir. Butun Türk Türkistani, bir taraftan çar rusiyasının parçalanmasını sebatsızlıkla beklümekte; diğer taraftan Türkiye Türklerinin ve bununle bütün türk dünyasının istikbaline hayatının maddi ve manavi bağlamak istemekte iken, Tevalla yukarıda okudığımız meddahlığı yapmaktan utanmamıştı. İşte 6, Türkistan Türk edebiyatında kimse nın alamadığı yeri ilk defa böylece kazandı: O meddahcilik edebiyatının babası oldu. Çar ruslerle kendini "vatandaş" his eden bu meddah şair, sovyet rusiya inkilabından sonra ruslige beslediği sevgiyi kızıl ruslere dehe elverişli surette gösterdi. Bir zamanlar çare arizeler yazarken, şimdide yeni vatandasi Lenine kasideler yagdırmaya başladı. Bugün sovyetçülmü altında ezilen ve onden kurtulmak için çarpisan türkistan Türkleri icinde Tevallaya mürid olanlar yok değildir. Bu mavzu'a biz "Proletar şairleri" bahsında tekrar dönerceyiz. Fakat biz "şair" Tevalla nin yukarıda bahsettiğimiz tesvirlerinden

(1) fest = rusçe selam demek.



we can give the following poem:

A look at the world

*Look where the flying-machines in the sky go!
 Oh you shameless egoists, why can you still not see?
 While those who are aware of the nation's grief talk through the wireless,
 You never ever think, but indulge in endless feasts.
 You should know that the soldiers have fired and obliterated everyone.
 Having struck down the scarecrow (1) in the garden, you still can't shoot with the
 slingshot.
 The gramophone produces sound with a needle, a thousand melodies.
 But you take a tin plate, oh you incorrigible, but you can still not sleep tight.⁷
 He went to grammar-school and seminar and learned the sciences.
 But you are still carrying around bags and unable to write an address.
 The foreign heavenly machine, the aeroplane, has appeared,
 But you still are unable to get off the tram?
 People of Tashkent, study sciences and letters today!
 A person without science will be a dupe, don't you know already?
 etc.⁸*

(1) An instrument that makes noise to keep birds away from orchards and gardens.

Sapkan = an old instrument of war.

Örnek olarak şu şiiri verebiliriz:

Alone bir nazer.

Asmandagi tayyaralar bakki¹ kayanga baralar
 Ey nefis ile avareler niçun körelmeisiz henüz?
 Simsiz bravler sözleşib millet gemini öyleşib
 Yürgende siz toy-toylosib hec bir uyalmaysiz henüz!
 Askar atib bil² barlarni kildi be derek
 Siz bagda calib terterek(1) Sapkan atalmaysiz henüz.
 Gra-mafin cyler soda bir ige birle ning neva
 Petrus alip cy be deya tinc ukleyalmaysiz henüz .
 Gymnaz ve seminar ge barub tahsil ulum itti okub
 Sizler heman zenbul tohub adris yasalmaysiz henüz.
 Cikti bravlar amsan maqinasi ayruqlan
 Sizler tramvaydan heman niçun tugalmeysiz henüz?
 Ey taskent ahli bu kun sizler tolung ilm-funun
 Ilmsiz kiçi bolgay zebün, yakie bilalmaysiz henüz?
 v.s.....

2

- (1) Hagecyi kuşdan kurmak için kürültü çıkaran alat.
 Sapkan=eski herb alati.

FITRET

*As long as there is a soul in the breast of us, the Turkish nation,
Our Turan will never stay in the hands of the Russians!*

F I T R E T.

Bar eken, biz Türk ilining gevdemizde canimiz,
Orusning kolinda kalmas sire Türanimiz!....

FITRET

Up till now we have seen that with Miri a new era in Turkish literature had opened. During the 18th and 19th centuries, after the collapse of Turkestan, literature was limited to subjects like nightingale, flower, wine, love. Through the influence of Miri, Turkish literature was able to be original and objective in description. Siddiki made us believe this. However, even before the World War, Turkestan, through its own power and with the aid of other Turkic countries, had modernized its schooling, theatre and press considerably. With this, the need for literature had increased significantly. During the war, although a national literature had started to appear, the strong repression of the tsarist government put an end to it again. Literature of the time lived on, being secretly passed from mouth to mouth, from heart to heart. After the collapse of the tsarist government, the Turkish literature was freed from its long wait and flowed over. In this overflow, the beginning of the awakening period of 30 years could be felt.

Although the revolt in 1916 in Turkestan against Russian oppression was not successful, the Turks did not lose their hope for independence after this either. We observe these emotions in the writings of the Turkish poets after the revolution. For example, the poet Abdul Rauf "Fitret" of Bukhara has expressed the feelings of the people concerning the Turkestan Turks' revolt against their captivity in 1918 for 50 years as follows:

Turkish nation⁹
Turkish nation, great nation, open your eyes!
Open your eyes and take a look at the world!
Spread the fires that are burning in your breasts!
Throw the tyrants out of Turan!
Whose son are you? Even if you died—
So much humiliation does not become you!
Do not knock your horse to the ground,
You are a Turk, slavery does not fit you.

F I T R E T

Bereye kadar tanidiklarımızda Miri ile Türk edebiyatında Yeni bir devrin acıldığını gördük. 18-19.ci asirlerde Türkistan öökmesinden sonra edebiyat yalnız bülbül, çiçek, mey, ışık kebi meflûnlere inçlanıp kaldı. Miri ~~is~~ nin nüfûzî ile türk edebiyatı origenal ve tesvirde objektif ola bildi. Duni bize Siddiki inandırdı. Fakat Türkistan cihan vurusundan evval de ös kuvvati ve başka Türk ölkeleri yardemi ile mekteb, tiyatro ve matbustini öldikea asrileştirmişti. Bununle edebiyate olan ihtiyac de ipice artmışdi. Umumi vuruşde bir milli edebiyat kaynamaya başladı ide de, car hukumatının siddatli kisişi ve kogusi uni yeniden sündirdi. O zemanki edebiyat yaânis k gönilden gönile ağızden ağıze gizli geçerek yaşıyordı. Car hukumeti yekildigi zema n Türk edebiyatı yıllerden beri beklemekten kurtulip her yana sıl kebi tasdi, butaşışde 30 yıllık bir üyanış devrinin kaynagi sızilmekâr idi.

Türkistande rus boyunturugına karşı 1916 kozgalanı(isyani) kazanilmemişse de bunden sonra de Türk ili erlik(Istiklal) için unitini kesmedi. Bu düygüleri inklabden sonra meydana atılan Türk şair leri- nin yazilerinde görürüz. Mitekin Buharalı şair abdul rauf "Fitret" 1918 de 50 yilden beri yabancâ asaratine karşı hıabsiz isyan yapan halkin düygülerine şu aşagıdaki şiirile terciman olmuştır.

Türk ili

Türk ili, ey büyük il közing aç!
 aç közing bir kara cihana.
 Kökrekingde yanan otlering saç!
 koyma zalimlari Turanañ .
 Sen kimming ogli sen öylesengçi
 Sene bunçe horlik yakışmas.
 Öz atingni yere urnesengçi,
 Türk dir sen kulluging yaraşmas!



*You have no state, no might in hands,
 You have ended up as slave to someone else.
 Put on the weapons now, mount the horse and gallop,
 And throw the tyrants out of Turan!*

This poem became a national song among the Turks in Turkestan until 1923/24 when the Russians rebound them with a red chain. While the new schoolers and *tödes* (1) recited this poem in the streets, the elder people could not restrain their tears. This poem is a strong evidence of the wish of the Turks who suffered under foreign dominance for 50 years and never gave up hope for survival. The direction of Turkish literature after the collapse of the Tsar in Russia can be summarized in the article by Fitret, the poet, *Ağlama İslam* 'Islam, don't cry!'. There the poet says:

"For the Turkish nation which built the greatest statehoods on earth, it is better to get buried than to live without a statehood like a *cügüt*¹⁰.

Let us now take a look at some parts I was able to obtain from his beautiful poem by Fitret which he had written to protect his people from the Russians and Russian oppression:

*Mother, does one need a soul to save you?
 Does one need belief and conscience?
 When the enemy comes to stab his swords into your heart,
 Take my breast and cover it up! Does one need a shield?*

Next to *Türk ili*, the following poem of his is also very popular, particularly among the *Basmachis*:

*Who are we?
 Who are we?—The indomitable, dauntless lions of the Altay mountains!
 The greatest heroes and supreme khagans of the world!
 If we mount the horses the mountains and the sea tremble when they hear it.
 If we gallop ahead, all the khans of the enemy's countries bow their heads.*

(1) *Töde* is a union of youth established between 1918-22 by those who were Turkish slaves in Russia. It's purpose was to organize a national Turkestani army.

(2) It was published in 1920 by the Committee of the Young Bukharians.

(3) *ulus=millet* "nation"

Devletin, izzetin yok kolingde
 Başkaga kul bolip ~~Kalip~~ sen!
 Tak yarak! atga min, ~~çatir~~ indi
 Koyma zalimleri Turan de!

Bu şiir yıllarca Türkistan 1923/24 de rusler tarafından tekrar kızıl zencire bağlananceye kadar Türk Türkistaninde bir ^{koşuk =} (milli şarkı) oldu. Yeni mektebliler, tödeler(1) sokaklarda bu koşmayı okur iken unleri dingleyen bazı ihtiyatlar köz yaşlerini saklayamazlardı. Hakikaten bu şiir yarım asirden beri yabancı hakimiyatinde inleyen, fakat hec ölmek istemeyen Türk ilinin yaşamak dileği için kuvvatlı tanıktır. Türk edebiyatının çarlık yekildikten sonra tutduğu yol şair Fitretin "Aglama İslam"(2) isimli makalesinde toplanabilir. Orada şair:

"Dünyanın en büyük hükümetlerini yetiştiren Türk ulusu(3) için öğüt kebi hükümetsiz yaşamaktan göre yer astığa kirmek yah- şıradır!" diyor.

Fitret Türkistani ruslerden ve onların baskınından korumak için yaz- dığı güzel şiirinden olde edebildığım bazı parçalarını okuyalım:

Annam seni kutkarmak için canımı kerektir?
 İmam ile vicdan mı kerektir?
 Yav sokkali kelgeç kilicini yitirince
 Al köksimi kalkan mı kirektir?!

"Türkili'den sonra, bilhassa, "Basmaçılar" arasında, meşhur şiiri şu dir:

Biz kimiz?

Biz kimiz? - Altay taginin ökten, alp arslanları!
 Yerning eng ülken baturleri eng ulug hakanları!
 Atga minsak titrer orhaniz işken tag, tengiz
 Alga çapsak baş eger yavning bütün il hanları.

(1) Tödeler 1918-22 yılına kadar rusiyede asir türkiye zabıt-

leri vasitesile kurulmuş gençler birliğidir. Gayası Türkistan milli ordusu teşkil idi. En meşhûri: Timur, izçi, turan, türk küçi dir.

(2) Yaş buharaliler komitesi tarafından Taşkente 1920 de mahsus bastırılmış. (3) Ulus=millet.



*If we draw our swords the foe puts his head in the dust.
If we stroll along like lions the foxes run away.*

*Did our iron spears not perforate their shields some day?
Did not the fires that sprang from our daggers burn their souls?
Did we not once make the earth tremble in search of freedom?
Did we not spill their blood like water for the land's sake?
If we draw our swords the foe puts his head in the dust.
If we stroll along like lions the foxes run away.*

*As long as there is a soul in the breast of us, the Turkish nation,
Our Turan will never stay in the hands of the Russians!
Our women, men, old and young are fighting
With Russia's monkeys for the land's sake!
If we draw...
If we stroll...*

While Turkestan was going through a fluctuating political period, many patriotic Turks working for the government in various positions believed that the day of independence should not be too far. But the happiness of Fitret who was the composer of the poems above expressing these beliefs did not last long. "The autonomy of Kokand", the first step towards the independence of Turkestan, was destroyed by the Armenian and Russian soldiers. After the raid of the Kokand city by the Armenian "heroes", the whole Turkestan was exposed to their violence. They killed Turkish women and children in Turkestan. That was supposed to be their revenge for the event that took place in Anatolia in 1918! ... This event still lives in folk literature. Despite this violence the Turks did not surrender to their enemy. First Ferghana and then the whole Turkestan started the war of independence. While many Turks were dying in their struggle against the Russians in that historical period, the Emir of Bukhara Alim Khan was co-operating with the White

Biz kiliç çekmekte düşman turpak üzre baş koyar
 Biz yürüş etkende arslan tülkiler yanglig(1) kaçar

Teşmedimi sungimiz bir kün temur kalkanlari?
 Yakmadimi hancarımızdan çıkkan ot canlari?
 Erk üçün titretmedikmi bir zamanlar yerni biz?
 Yurt yolında tökmedikmi yerge su duk kanlari?!...
 Biz kiliç çekmekte düşman toprak üzre baş koyar
 Biz yürüş etkende arslan tülkiler yanglig kaçar!

Bar iken biz Türk ilining gevdenizde caniniz
 Oruslarnın kolında kalmas sire Turanınız
 Orusning meymunleriyle çarpisar yurt yolında
 Hatunimiz, erkoginiz, karimiz, oğlanımız!
 Biz kilic-----
 Biz yürüş-----

Türkistan böyle siyaset dalgaladı içinde çalkonırken hukümetin tarlu muessisalarına yerleşen bir çok Türk yurt severleri kurtuluş küninin yaklaşdığını zân etmişlerdi. Lakin bu devlere terciman olan yukarıdaki şiirlerin egesi(sahibi) şair Fitretin sevinmesi uzak durmadı. Türkistan istiklali yolunda birinçi adım olan "Kokan muhtariyeti" Ermeni ve rus askerleri tarafından yıkıldı. Kokan şeheri ermeni "kahraman"leri tarafından yağma iteldikten sonra, bütün Türkistan unkerin vahşati altında kaldı. Türkistanda Türk türk kadın ve çocuk lerini kiliçten geçirdiler. Bu 1918 de Anadolu intikamını alınması idi!..... Bu vake bu kün hala Fergana halk edebiyatında yaşamaktadır. Bu dehqetlere rağmen Türk halki kondisini düşmanlerine teslim yapmadı. Evalla fergana ve urden sonra bütün Türkistan hakiki istiklal küreşine başladı. Bu tarihi devirde bütün Türk Ali ruhlere karşı muharibe meydanında can alib can verir eker, Buhara emiri alim han ak



Russian officers and working for the Tsar. The *emir* hoped for the Tsar's return. He could not believe that the Tsar has already been killed. Under the influence of the bigoted ulamas, this emir committed an unforgivable sin against Turkish independence. His ignorance and stupidity gave the Soviets a chance to strengthen their position in Turkestan, just as he had done to the Tsar. Had there been a *khan* with open eyes instead of Alim, the whole Turkestan would have been celebrating its independence. It was possible to get all the Russians out of Turkestan between 1918-22. However, the emirs and other governors were in a state of total ignorance. And those who were awake were caught up in struggle among themselves, being jealous and suspicious of each other. This fact is told in a poem of Fitret while he was escaping to Tashkent in 1917 upon the defeat of the jadids in Bukhara

*To Mars*¹¹

*Beautiful star, most powerful relative of our earth!
Why have you fled from us and ended up so far away?
Why do you completely refuse to speak to your relative?
Speak, star! What is the matter with you? How did you find our world,
All the lowly and shameful actions, that continuously occur on our world?
Speak, star: do they occur in your bosom, too?*

*Are there human beings like us on you?
Two-faced vile elements, devils,
Leeches that drink related blood, never getting enough,
Tigers that eat fraternal flesh without satiation?
Are there on you such people that drink the blood
Of orphans and the poor just as if they were having an excited chat?
Are there on you such people that destroy the order
Of the whole world in order to fill their own pots?
Are there on you such rulers that BURN DOWN A COUNTRY
In order to line their own pockets?¹²
Are there such people that have sold their land, their home,*

rus yuzbaşilerile birlikte çar menfaatine iş körmekte idi. O çarin tekrar dönmesini umit kılar idi. Çarin çokden öldrildigine inanmayordi. Cahil ulama tesirinde kalan bu emir alim "Han" Türk istiklali için ~~çok~~ idilmez bir günah işlemistir. Unin cahilligi, ahmakligi cafrilere oldigi kebi sovyetler içinde Türkistande hakimiyatlerini kuvvatlendirmek için bir ve daima fırsat vermistir! Alim "han"ın ornında közi açık bir Türk (Hani) olse idi, bütün Türkistan istiklal yillerinin döğünini yapar edi. 1918-22 yilleri içinde rusleri bütün Türkistan den cikarmak mümkün edi. Lakin, bu bahtsiz türk ölkesinin emirleri, hanleri, ~~halkları~~ cahalat içinde uyuyorlerdi. Uyananleride birlik ve iş kiliş ornında şübhe ve kızgançlık hasteligine mübtela ediler.... İşte bu hali şair Fitret buhara de ceditlerin kirginini münasibetile 1917 de taşkente kaçır iken yazdığı şu şiirinde anlatmıştır.

Mirrih yulduzige.

Gözel yulduz, yerimizning eng kadirli tugani !
Nige bizden kacib munçe uzaklarga tüşüb sen?
Tuganiga niçün sire gepürmesden türüb sen?
Soyle yulduz! haling ne dir? niçük tapding dünyani?
Biznig yerde bolub turgan töbenlikler, horlikler
Soyle yulduz sening dahi kuçagingde bolurmu?

Barı sende bizim kebi insanlar,
İki yüzli iş buzarlar, şeytanlar.
Ortak kanın kanmay içken zülükler
Kardaş itın toymay yigen kaplanlar.
Barı sende öksüz, yoksulning kanın,
Gürüngleşib çağır kebi içkenler?!
Barı sende, bütün dünya tüzüğün
Öz kapçugin toldirgali buzganlar?
Barı sende, BİR ÖLKENİ YANDIRIB,
Öz kazanın kaynatga ci hakanlar;
barı sende. karın. kursak volida

*Are there such people that have sold their land, their home,
 Their each and every thing, blindly obeying their stomachs and intestines?*
 (Uzbek Young Poets. Tashkent 1922. Turkestan State Press.)

In the famous poem "East" in which Fitret portrays the Bukhara emirs as they are next to the "*kapčukči*" communists, he describes the Islamic East, particularly Turkestan, as follows:

*East
 My friends, here's a country for you
 That stands unparalleled on the surface of the earth.
 On all sides of it there are broad paradise-gardens of marvelous green,
 And its roses have grown by the Water of Life...
 Its trees have put on clothes of wonderful green,
 And they are lined up to reverc God.*

*Heavy, high, majestic mountains (description of Ferghana!—S.)
 From the right side,
 From the left side...
 From all sides.
 Like an army that is ready to fight for the truth,
 Standing in rank and file, with pride-swollen bosoms, risen high,
 As if it was going to insist on its proper right before Heaven...*

*Nature has spread its wings from the seas and embraced
 This beloved child of hers.
 And God has surrounded it with a fortified wall
 Of ice, water and mountains in all directions.
 So that no wild beast
 Shall unexpectedly protrude
 Its rapacious fangs and claws into it.*

Here, everything was found for every nation:

Barmi sende, karin,kursak yolinda

Ilin,yurtin,barin,yogin satkanlar?

(Özbek yas sairleri.Taskent.1922.Türkistan devlet nesriyati.)

Fitre* "kapçukçi"komunistler yaninde buhara emirini oldiklari kebi
körsetib "Şark" atalğan en meşhur şiirindir islam şarkini,bilhasa
Türkistāni şöyle tesvir kilar

Şark.

Kardaşlarım mene sige bir ölke

kim;tapilmas yer yüzinde singeri (begzeyen)

Her yaninda keng yamyasıl uçmahlar

Can suvından yitişkendir gülleri.....

Yagaçlari yamyasıl kiyimler kigen

Tizilmisler tapingali tangriga.

Ağır,yüksek,heybetli taglar(Fergana tesviril S.)

Öngdan,

Sldan....

Her yandan

Hak yolida uruşguciesker dek

Yasav tartib,kökrek körib,yükselgen,

Kökden dahi Öz hakkini isterdek....

Dengizlerden kanat açib tabiyet

Kuçaklamış bu sevgli yavrusin

Tangri dahi muzden,suden hem tagdan

Korşatmisdir korgan kilib tegresin

Kim,yavayi bir hayvan

sokub kalmasun bunge

Yirtkiç tişin,tirnagin.

Bunda turdi her ulusnin hernesı;



*The Buddha temple, the shamanistic fire spirit and the Kaaba.
And the Righteous lived there.
But today they are abandoned because this country
Has been pillaged mercilessly from all sides.
See how that Western NIGHTMARE called "civilisation"
Has hit it at the very breast.*

*Take a look from a bird's-eye view.
What is here today:
Villages burning in seas of fire
Bodies lying around like threshed grain, lifeless
Canals are running red with blood
THOSE WHO ERST IN PEACE ARE PILLAGED MERCILESSLY!
See, they (The Armenians in Ferghana! -S.) have cut off with a sharp sword
The head of a child four, five years of age
And then tied it to the neck of its
Mother, who was incessantly crying..
They have thrown the breasts of a freshly betrothed girl
On the lifeless body, lying there, of the boy who was to be her man,
And then pierced them with a lance!
The waists of the women,
The hearts of the children,
The bodies of the old (Kari means old here. S.)
Were torn to pieces, cut away and smashed!*

*Who has given
This happy country so much blaze?
Who has shed
So much blood for a "sacred" cause?
You do not know?
An ape who has come from salty waters,*

Buthanasi, ot üyesi, kabesi,
 hem günde ok yaşadi.
 Birak(Lakin)bü kün escizler kim bü ölke
 Her tamandan talanmistir yolsizça.
 "Medeniyet"degen garbli ALBASTI
 Baking buni kökregiden ok basti!...

Kuş bakisi karangiz.
 Bunde бүкүн neler бар:
 Otler ara yanıp turgan kışlaklar
 Hirman bolub yatқан gevdeler cansiz
 Akmakda dir kizil kandan ariklar
 TING YATGANLAR TALANALAR AMANSIZ!
 Tört, beş yaşar bir balaning başunu
 Baking keskin kilç bilen kesmişler
 Yiglab turgan anasining böyniga
 Bir ip bilen asmişler!....(Ferganada ermeniler!S.)
 Yangigina kolin bəlğan bir kız ning
 kökregini; eri bolğan yigit ning
 Cansiz yatğan gəvdesi uzre koyup
 Neyse bilon teşmişler!.....
 Hatunlarning perdesi,
 Balalarning yüreki,
 Karılarning gevdesi, (Kari borada ihtiyar demekdir.S)
 Yirtilgen,yaralğan, ezilgen!.....

Kim bor gen,
 Bu uğurlı ölkege bunce otni?!
 Kim tökken,
 Bu "mukadass" işge bunçe kanni??
 Bilmeisizmi?
 Şor su lerden çıkib kelgen bir maymun



*A fox, a snake, a devil, a liar, the cursed
 Englishman!
 And...!
 Those who clung to his tail! (that is, the Russians, etc.)*

One of the most modern poets in the Turkic world, Fitret wrote many nationalistic poems between 1917-21. The style of these works of his was different from those of the tsarist period. To say it clearly, Fitret gave a new form to the new common Turkestani Turkish Literature which woke up with his work but which resembles the old Chagatay literature or is sometimes similar to Caucasian, Turkish and Kazan Turkish poets; he served as a bridge leading to today's brilliant ÇOLPAN period.

The works of Fitret we have seen till now show us a different spirit and meaning. This novelty could be also seen even in his style. In their poems, Miri and Siddiki used the *aruz* meter, which was not suitable for Turkish. It is not known when *aruz* was accepted by the Turks. However, when we consider the *Kutadgu Bilig*, which was written in 950, was also in *aruz* meter, we can conclude that *aruz* was accepted at the same time as Islam. Before the conversion to Islam, all of the Turkish poets used syllabic meter. In addition to Turkish folk poets, even though there were some poets, such as Yesevi, who remained faithful to the syllabic meter, the majority preferred to use the "foreign" (not in original) meter. Fitret has written the following words about the poets using *aruz*.

"If you read a poem in a Turkic language written in the most harmonical, most moving metre of *aruz* to a Turk who lives in a village and has not spoiled the inner harmony of his language, the listener, after having heard how the Turkic words are pronounced protracted, stretched, and distasteful- of course, smiles and judges that the poem has not come out of the mouth of a Turk." (Fitret. Rules of Literature. Samarkent 1926. Uzbekistan State Press, p. 46.)

In the poems of Miri and Siddiki we see the awakening of nationalistic feelings.

Tülki,yılan, şahtan, aldaşçı,melun

Engliz.....!

Hem de.....

Uning kuyrugini tutkanlar! (yani:rusler,v.s.)

Türk dünyainin en modern şairlerinden olan Fitret 1917-21 e kadar bir çok yurtçi şiirler yazdı. Uning bu esrleri uslubçe de carliging' yikilmasindan evalki edebiyatten ayridir. Açıkçe soylesek:Fitret eseri ile uyanmış,amma eski çağatay edebiyatine ve ya ara sıra kaf-kasiya,Türkiye , Kazan türkleri şairlerine yakinlasan yeni umumi Türkistan türk edebiyatini yeni bir kaliba sokmis ve bükünki parlayan COLPAN devrine köprü olmuştir.

Şimdiye kadar Fitret den kördüğimiz parcalar bize büsbütün başka bir ruh başka bir maniye gösterir. Buyenilik diğari şeklinde bile düyüliyor: Mirri ve Siddiki siirlerinde türkçeye üymeyan aruz veznini kollarırmış, Aruzin Türkler tananından ne zaman kabul idildiği malum degil. Fakat 950 de yazılmış olan Kudat ku bilik in aruz le yazıldığını nezere alsak,unin islamlikla beraber kabul ittiginiz anlaşılr. Musulmaşlıktan evval bütün türk şairleri parmak veznila yazar ediler. Türk halk şair leri yanında Yessavi kebi parmak veznine sadık kalan şairlerimiz olsa da ,çoklik yabancı ölüyü işletmişlerdir. Fitret aruzçi şairlere karşı şu aşağıdaki sözleri yazar: "Türkeomiz ni farsı,arap sözleri bilen toldurmagança,aruz vezinlerini üstelik bilen işletmek mümkün emesdir.

Aruz ning eng ahangli,eng oynak bir vazinde yazılğan türkce bir şiir kişlakda yaşagan,öz tilining ahangini büzmegen bir Türk ge okutsangiz, O tinglegeni şiirde türkçe sözlerinng çözülüb, uzatıp,boueze etilib eytilgenini eşitkeç, elbette küledir`de, tinlegeni şiirning bir Türk agzından çıkmaganiga hüküm kiladir."(Fitret, Edebiyat kaidaleri.

Samarkent 1926. Özbekistan devlet nesriyatı. Sahife 46.)

Miri ve Siddiki siirlerinde uyanmakda olan milli düygüleri görüriz.



In Fitret's poems however, we see these feelings further developed and more clearly described. In contrast to Miri who did not see any places other than his country, Fitret traveled all around the world. He spent many years in India, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey—he even studied in Istanbul.

Fitret was born in 1884 in Bukhara as the son of a rich family. Even as a child, he was famous for his abilities in school and the *madrasa*. Initially, he opposed the *Jadidism* movement in the *madrasas* with clear determination. But his wisdom showed him the right way very soon. He suddenly became one of the most loyal members of the *Jadidism* movement. He secretly came to Istanbul for education with the financial support of the *jadids*. In 1908, he published his first book called *Munazire*, again with the help of the *jadids*. In this work, he criticized the Emir of Bukhara's government and the works of schools and *madrasas* with very strong words. In the *madrasa*, Fitret could speak Persian and Arabic just like his mother language Turkish. He knew not only all of the Turkish classical and contemporary works, but also the eastern Islamic literature and especially the particularities of Persian literature. Even his poems in Persian were famous in Iran and Afghanistan. However, he gave up writing poems in Persian after 1917, upon the advice of his master Mufti Mahmut Hoja Behbudi.

Behbudi was the first one who established a printing house in Turkestan. He is also the father of those educated people who were struggling in their works and words for the independence of Turkestan. His works about science, literature and politics still live in the hearts of his people. When in 1918, Uzbek Mahmut Hoja Behbudi from Samarkand, who had been educated in a *madrasa*, started on a journey to Europe, he was buried alive by Amir Alimkhan under the influence of the bigoted *ulama* in the province Karshi of Bukhara. They apparently made him dig his own grave. They only gave him permission to write a will to his friends. It was very sad for Turkestan to lose this honourable scholar in such an unfortunate way. This grief still lives. There are innumerable schools, streets, villages and cities named after him in Turkestan. Moreover, until 1925, on the anniversary of his

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Fitret te ise bu uyanmış milli duyguları acılmış ve yetismiş halde görürüz. Miri memleketinden başka heç bir yeri görmediği halde Firret dünyayı gezdi:0 Hindistan,afganistan,İrah ve Türkiyede yıllerce bolundi;hatta İstanbulde bile tahsil yaptı.

Fitret 1884 de Buharada zengin bir aileden doğdı. Çocuk-
ligi vaktında bile mekteb ve medresse de kabiliyatı ile meşhur telebe
idi.Başlangıc devrinde o medresselere sokulan "cetid"lik hareketine
karşı çok ~~attuk~~ teassuple küresmeye başlamışdı. Lakin zekası une
çabukça doğru yolu gösterdi:0 birden bire cetidlik hareketine sadık
bir aza oldu. Cetidlerin parası ile tahsil için İstanbul^{Kasıp} geldi. 1908
de unvan "Munazire" isminde birinci kitabı cetidleryardımla basıldı.
Bu eserde buhara emirinin idaresini,mekteb ve medresse işlerinin
düzelmesini çok keskin sözlerle tenkit etti. Fitret medressede fars
ve arapceyi anadilisi Türkçe kibi konuşırdı. Bütün türk kılasik ve
yeni ediblerini bildiki kebi islam şarkının,bilhassa fars edbiyatının
bütün incelikleriyle kavramıştı. Unin farsçe şiirleri bile İran ve
Afganistan de çok meşhurdır. Fakat 1917 den beri ustadi Mufti Mah-
mut hoca Behbudi nin tevsiyasi üzerine farsı şiirleri yazmaktan vaz
keçdi.

Behbudi Türkisan matbuatını kuran ve ilk kerre Türkistan istiklali
için işde,söde oğrasan Türk okumışlıların babasıdır.Unin Türkistanda
ilk yazan ilmi,edebi,siyasi eserleri bu künde de halk içinde yaşamakta
dır.Medresseden yetişmiş olan bu Samarkentli Özbek Mahmut hoca Beh-
budi1918.ci yilde avrupaya seyahat niyyetile yola çıktığı zaman Bu-
haranın"Karşı" vilayatinde cahil ulama ~~karakul~~ teşvikile Emir
Alimhan tarafından diik olarak topraga gömildi.Behbudiye kendi kab-
rini kendi elile kazdirmişler. Yalnız arkadaşlarına bir vasiyatname
yazmasına izin vermişlerdi. Türklüğün kayp itdiği bu muhtaram alimin
boyla,bahtsızca,yokılması Türkistan için çok acı oldu. Bu acı bu kün
hala yaşamaktadır. R Türkistan de unin adına verilen şehirler,köyler,
sokakler,mektebler sayısızdır. Hatta 1925 e kadar unin toprak içine



death, there were commemoration ceremonies held at night at which the money collected was given to his family. In these ceremonies, Fitret, Čolpan and others wrote poems to Behbudi. This poem here was written by Fitret when he read the will of Behbudi in which his name was also mentioned:

*I was looking for the mausoleum of Behbudi.
A curtain of sadness had sunken on the earth, (tosuk=curtain)
The owl of orphanage was spreading its wings...
From the clouds that turned to red in the west
Gloom was raining into my broken heart...*

*The blood-reeking wind of the city of injustice
Tore off a leaf from the rose of my unattainable longing
And blew it away to deserts without spring.
That tender leaf of mine withered, faded
And wandered about in all directions, like the poor.
It met them all: the tyrants, the oppressed,
And the tyrannies, it saw them all.
It looked after what it had lost.
But after it had not found a trace,
It suddenly rose up,
Gathered all its strength
And shouted with a voice
That made the tyrant's throne shake:
"Where did you hide my father's grave?
Say, quick!"
The filthy crown came in great fear of the valiant voice
It shuddered and shook... it hid away,
Without giving an answer.*

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karıştığı künin devir yilinde ~~mx~~ esleme(hatırlama) kece (aksan) leri yapar ve kazanılan akçayı ailesine verirlerdi. İşte buarada Fitret, Colpan v.s. Behbudiye şiirler yazmışlar idi, Behbudinin Fitretin de adına yazılmış vassiyatnamayı O eline aldığı zaman aşağıdaki şiiri yazmıştı:

Behbudinin saganasın izledim.

Cökmisti yer üzre elem tosugi (tosuk=perde)

Öksüzlik baykuşi kanat kakardi....

Batude kızarıp turgan bulutten

ezilgen könglinge matam yagardi....

Haksizlik şehrinin kan hidli yeli

Armanın güliden bir yaprak uzub

Baharsız çollarda savurup koydi.

Ul nazlı yapragım solip sargayib

Yoksul kalkanlar dek her yan yügürir di.

Zalimler, mezlumler, zulumler nin de

Bariga uçradi, barçasın gördi.

Öz yokatganın izledi, sordi

Bir derek tapmagaç

bir den bir tikildi

bar küçin topladi

Zalimning tahtini titretken bir tavuş

Kıçkirdi:

Atamning kabrini kayerde yaşirding?

Bat sözle!

Kırlı tac köb korkti batur tavuştan

Seskenip, titrep..... yağundi

Bircavab bormesden.



Out of almost 30 published works of Fitret, only 4 were written in Persian. In addition to these, among his plays, the 5-act *Indian Revolutionaries* written in 1921 is very significant. This play, published in Berlin in 1923 with his personal funds when he was Minister of Education in Bukhara, is as important for Turkestan as Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell". Like Schiller, who had taken his inspiration from the mountains of Switzerland to call Germans to the independence fight against the slavery of Napoleon, Fitret took his inspiration for the location of his drama from the mountains of India. The whole drama can be summarized in this sentence:

"To drive out an enemy from a house is not harder than to see a house in the enemy's hand!"

In 1921 while Turkestan was in a fierce fight with Soviet Russia for its independence, the *khan* of Khiva was demolished by the Russians. In 1922, all Turkestani villagers fought under the command of Enver Pasha against the Russians. These Turkish independence fighters were introduced to the world by the Russians with the Turkic word *basmach*i (raider). Those who read *Indian Revolutionaries* carefully can tell that it is about Turkestan, not India. In his work, Fitret clearly shows that his countrymen were not raiders but fighters for a cause. That is why in 1925 Russians prohibited the performance of this work, which was popular in all the Turkish countries suffering under Russian rule and which was in fact performed several times on the Baku Turkish stage. They also removed all copies of the play from the libraries.

Fitret's outlook on the Bukhara problem of course differed considerably from that of the Russians'. As we have seen above in the poem *To Mars*, Fitret was the biggest enemy of the Emir of Bukhara. Fitret wanted the imprisoned brother of the Emir of Bukhara to become khan, so that they could establish an independent Turkestan. This is why it is obvious that Fitret was in an influential position in the Afghanistan embassy in Tashkent. The Afghan people who admired Fitret's Persian poems respected him greatly.

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Fitretin 30'e yakın basılmış ilmi, edebi eserlerinden yalnız 41 fars dili ile dir. Bundan başka bir çok tiyatroleri içinde 1921 de yazılmış 5 perdeli "~~Hindistan~~ ihtilalçileri" çok kimatlıdır. 1923'de şairin kendi hesabıyla, buhara de maarif naziri olduğu zaman, Berlinda basılmış olan bu eser Türkistan için ~~Viktor~~ Schiller in "Wilhelm Tell" i kadar mühumdür. Schiller, Napoliyon esaretinde almanları istiklal küreşine çağırarak için İsveçer dağlarından ilham aldığı kebi; şair Fitret de drammasının mevziinin Hindistan dağlarından almıştır. Bütün eser şu cumle ile hilase edilmiştir:

"Bir yavni ^{bir} yurtten haydamak, ~~x~~ yurtüni yav kolında kör-
mek den kiyin emes!"

Türkistan 1921.ci yilde sovyet rusiye ile istiklal oğrında kanlı, şiddetli vuruşde iken, Buhara emiri, Hiva hani rusler tarafından yikiltildi. 1922'de bütün Türkistan köylisi Enver paşa komandası altında ruslerle vuruşurlardı. Rusler de bu Türk istiklalcılarını dünyaya türkce "Basmaçi" sözile tanıtdiler. "~~Hindistan~~ ihtilalçileri" ni dikkatla okuyan her kes unın Hindistan değil Türkistan olduğunu takdir ederler. İşte Fitret "hind ihtilalcileri"nde vatandaşlarının "Basmaçi" değil mucahid olduklarını açıktan açık göstermiştir. unın için rusiye esaratinde inleyen bütün türk ölkelerinde çok ragbat bolan, hatta Baku türk sahnesinde kerrelerce oynanan bu büyük eseri rusler 1925 de yasak kıldılar ve basılmış nushalarını bütün kütüphanelerden topladılar.

Fitretin Buhara mesalasine aid bakışı, tabii ruslernikinden büsbütün başka edi. Yukarıda "Mirrih yıldızine" adlı şiirde gördüğümüz kebi Fitret Buhara emirinin ölüm dusmanıdır. Fitret, Buhara emirinin hibe-
hanada yatan cetid biradarını han yapmak ve unule bütün Türkistan istiklalini ² ~~kumak~~ isteyordu. Unı için Fitretin Taşkente Afganistan Elçilğinde nüfuzlu memurlardan olması anlaşılaçak bir şey idi. Fitret fars siirlerine çok meftun afganlilar une çok hurmat gösterirlerdi.



His excitement he kept in his heart for Turkism and an independent Turkestan found its expression in his two great works; "Timur's grave"¹² and "Oghuz Khan". These were beautiful operettas, neither of which was published; but both were very popular on all stages in Turkestan. Here is a part of "Timur's grave":

At Timur's grave

*Blow gently, morning wind! Can you see these places?
Do you know who he is that is lying below this stone?
Do you want to pass by quickly without visiting the grave¹³ stone of a khan
Who made the world tremble, and without prostrating face-down?
Underneath this purely monochromatic, black stone there is such a khan
Who brought light to the Turkish world, which was lost in darkness.
It was this lion, who stepped majestically unmoved into heavy soils,
Behind whom the mountain tottered when it heard his orha¹⁴.
Alas, it gives so much grief and sorrow, and is such a sin that
The great empire erected by this Great khan by smashing many swords, is destroyed.
It gives so much crying, trouble and yearning that
The flower-garden that he arranged with bloodshed, sparing no lives, is destroyed.
Burst, oh stone who recalls the Turks' lot, burst soon,
Burst, that the khan who lies asleep in your bosom awake!
He shall see his pillaged and burnt homeland, Turan!
He shall show the crushed, wounded, ill-fated nation the way!*

Examples from "Oghuz Han":

*Father (this white-bearded venerable Turk speaks to Oghuz Khan):
We exerted ourselves for many years after you,
We achieved the desired objects that you had shown,
We went to the far reaches of the world,
We raised the fame of the Turks to the stars.
Afterwards we let our work slip away and became depraved,*

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Fitretin Türköllük ve erkli(mustakil) Türkistan için yüreğinde saklayan haycani unin "Timur saganasi"ve "Oguz han" adli iki güzel tiyatrosinde toplanmistir. Her iki eserde basilmamış, lakin Türkistande bütün sahnaları kazanan çok yahşi operettir. İşte burada "Timur saganasi"ndan bir parça:

Timur saganasi ustinde.

Yavaş es tang yeli, tohta, bu yerlerini görürsenmi?

Bu taşning astida kimdi? yatıp kalgan bilersenmi?

Bütün açın, titretken büyük hanning töge taşın

Ziyaret ezmeyin, yüz sürtmeyin ilden ötersenmi?

Bu sipsidem kara taş astida bar öyle bir han kim,

Yarutgandi karangularda kalgan Türk dünyasin

Agir topraklar içre yanbasib tingen bu arslandi kim,

Öynardi yerinden tag eşitken çağda orhasin!.....

Bu hakanning kiliçlar sindirip tüzgen ulug mulki

Essizler, ahlar, ^{müglar,} ~~vahasratalar~~ kim yaziklarkim buzulmiştir.

Bunin kanlar tökip, canlar saçıp kurgan çeçek bagi

Figanlar, kaygular, vahasratalarkim buzulmiştir.

Yarıl ey Türk bahtin eske salgan taş yarıl ilden

Yarıl kim kökreging içre yatıp kalgan han uygansun!

Talangan, yandırılğan yürtini, Turanini görsün!

Ezilgen, yaralangan, baykiş el-ge yolni körsetein!

"Oguz han"den örnekler:

Baba:(Bu türk aksakali Oguz hana sözler)

Biz senden song bir köp yiller tirişdik

Sen körsetken tileklerge erişdik

Yerning yirak burçeklerige bardik

Türk dangini yıldızlerge çıkardik.

Andan songra, çıkdik işden, buzuldik



*We went astray and let ourselves be captured by defeatism,
 We sowed disunity between ourselves.
 We were named Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazak, Turkmen,
 One group of us came to say : "We are the Ottomans!"
 Many of us ended up saying: "We are the Kyzylbash!"
 Our swords cut off our own heads,
 Our daggers perforated our own breasts.
 It became our business to spill our brothers' blood,
 And our teeth no longer gnawed strangers' meat.
 And then...*

*The Turkish stripling shall awaken,
 Get his weapons and mount his horse!
 In order to defend his own homeland
 His arms and feet be strengthened!
 Companions, step forward, one has to march!
 One has to see the lions of the Altay!
 Look at the sun! It has revealed its face,
 And pours its light onto the earth!
 Come on, my dear old fellow, let's march!
 All the darkness has vanished!
 Companions, step forward, one has to march!
 One has to see the lions of the Altay! ... etc. etc. ...*

LENIN, who portrayed himself as a "world war revolutionary" in Europe and as a "saviour of the occupied countries" in the East, was in fact a Russian patriot. For him, the independence of Russia, which had received a severe blow during the World War, was above all considerations. In order to save "Motherland Russia", he found a lot of ostentatious and fancy words to save Russia and he recognized on paper the independence of the non-Russian nations living in Russia.

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Yoldan azdik buzgunlukga tutuldik
 Ayırlıkni öz aramızga saldik.
 Özbek,Kirgiz,Kazak,Türkmen ataldık,
 Bir tödemiz "Osmanliyız" deb ketdi
 Bir köpimiz "Kizilbaşız" deb bitdi.
 Kiliqimiz öz başımızni kesdi
 Hancarımız öz bagrimizi teşdi!
 Kardaş kani tökmek boldi işimiz
 Yat etige ötmey kaldı işimiz.
 Andan songre.....

Türk yigiti uygansun,
 Yaraklansu n atlansun!
 Saklagali öz yurтин
 Kol ayagi küçlensun!
 Ortaklar,Alga basing yürmek kerek
 Altayning arslanların körmek kerek!
 Kuyaşga bak yüz açdı
 Yerge yagdusin saçı
 Hayding babam yüreylik
 Karanguliklar kaçdı!
 Ortaklar, alga basing! yürmek kerek,
 altayning arslanların körmek kerek!.... v.s.,v.s....

Avrupa-da kendini "Cehan inkılabçısı",şark-de ise "Müstemläke
 yüttleri"¹ "kurtarıcısı" olarak gösteren LENIN hakikatde ise bir kuyu
 rus yurt severi edi.Ün²e dünya vuruşu içinde çok ağır yumruk yiyen
 rusiye'nin istikbali her şeyin üstünde dürür edi!"Anacık Rusiye'yi"
 kurtermek için bir çok göz boyacı mode sözler bolmış³ ve rusiye-de
 yaşayan, amma rus olmayan milletlerin istiklalini kâğıt üstünde ta-
 miştir.



Here is the declaration Lenin wrote with his friend Stalin:

Moscow 7.12.1917

“Moslems of Russia! Crimean and Idil-Ural Tatars, Kirghiz and Sart people of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Caucasia, inhabitants of the Caucasus mountains, all the nations whose mosques were destroyed and whose religions, traditions and nationalities were suppressed by the Russian tsar: From now on you are free in your religion and in your national and cultural practices without any limitation. Form your own national establishment according to your own wishes. You have the right to do this. You should know that, your rights, just as those of other people of Russia, are protected by the Russian Revolution. This is the reason why you, the red workers of Russia, soldiers and villagers, you should always protect your government.”

The sentence “you should struggle for your government!” reveals the meaning of this declaration clearly. You should struggle for the Russian Revolution, not for your own people.

It was like this in theory, but how was it in practice?

Lenin, when in practice, he could not redirect the new national states established in the Baltic regions towards Russia, he tried to create Russian hegemony in Asia. To achieve this, he sent a force of 250.000 Russian soldiers called the “Red Army” to Turkestan. Without shame he claimed that, with this, he was trying to protect Turkestan from external enemies.

Poor Turkestan! While the country had been struggling for independence since 1916, it was caught in the bloody fists of the fully-armed “Saqlagučis”. Indeed Russian dominance in Turkestan had lost a great part of its strength. This was probably due not to “external” forces, but to the national Turkish movement we have seen above. Consequently since 1917, the technologically fully-equipped Russian army in Turkestan has actually been fighting not the external enemy, the English, but the Turkish independence fighters called *Basmachi* (raiders).

On the 29th of February 1920, the leader of the Turkmenian *Basmachis* Juneyd Khan was defeated by the Russians in Köhne Öргеč. After this, the Russians destroyed the Khiva Khanate. In its stead, they established the “Republic” of Khorezm.

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Iste leninin arkadaşı Stalin ile birlikte taratdığı beyanname:

" Moskva, 7.12.1917.

"Rusiyenin Müslümanları! Krim ve Idil-Oral, Tatarları, Sibiriya ve Türkistanın Kirgiz ve Sartleri, Kafkasiyenin Türk ve Tatarları, Kafkaz Dağlıkları, -Rusiye cari tarafından MŞcitleri ^abazulmuş, dinleri, adetleri, milliyetleri ezilmiş-bütün milletlere: ~~xx~~
Bunden sonra dininiz, millive ^aherşey işlerinizde hudutsuz serbestsiniz. Kendi milli kuruluşunuzu istediniz ^aşeyi yapınız! Onun için hakkınız var! Bilinizki, sizlerin haklarınız, rusiyenin başka halkları ^{a a}şeyi rus(!?) inkilabi ^{a a}terafından temin yapılmıştır. Onun için sizler rusiyenin kırmızı işçi, asker hem köylileri hükümetinin her çağ mudafea yapınız!"

"Mudafea yapınız"! sözü bu beyannamayı ne olduğunu açık gösterir. Öz ^ahaklarınızı değil, Rusiye inkilabını mudafea yap!....

Nazariyade bu, ^aamma tetbikatde ne ^addi?...

Lenin tetbikatde, ^aBalık böylorinde yeni doğan milli devleti tekrar rusiyece çevirmek mümkün olmayınca, asiyade rus hegemonesinikurmak için çalıştı. Bunun için o "kızıl ordu" adlanan rus askerlerinden 250 000 kişni Türkistane gönderdi. Güya ^aonunle Türkistani "dışarı" ^adüşmanlardan saklamak istediğini ^astanmadan söyleyordi.

Bahtsız Türkistan! O 1916.ci yıldan beri istiklal için ^aöğraşır ^aeken, Tekrar dışlarına kadar silahlanmış yeni "Saklaguçılar" ^ainşanlı tirnagina ilindi. Hakikaten Türkistan de rus hakimiyati müdhış surette sarsılmışdı. Lakin "dışarı" den değil, belki yukarıda gördüğümüz uyanık Türk milletin hareketlerinden edi. Demeki ki, 1917 den beri bu güne kadar Türkistande son vuruş teknik ile silahlanmış bu rus ordusu "dışarı" ^adüşman, yani İngiliz lerle değil, Basmaçi adlanan Türk istiklal cilarile ^aöğraşmakdalar.

1920yilinin 29.ci şubatında Türkmen "Basmaçılar" ^abaşlığu Cunejd han Köhne Örgec de ^aruslere yenildi. Bunden sonra rusler Hiva hanlığını orteden kaldırdılar. Onun yerine Hahrezim "cumhuriyet"ini kurdiler.



After the temporary defeat of Juneyd Khan, the Russians had the opportunity to attack Bukhara. But on the 15th of March 1920, in Kermine, the 15th attack of the Russians was successfully stopped by the Bukhara soldiers. The Russians had to compromise. Political dialogue between Moscow and Bukhara started again. This gave the Russians a perfect opportunity in Bukhara for the preparations. The Russians had been planning to destroy Bukhara since 1917. The stupidity of the Emir of Bukhara and the fact that he was hiding former Russian officers were the new misfortunes of this unfortunate Turkic country, since the tsar's officers were already collaborating considerably with the Lenin forces on behalf of Russia.

In August 1920, the city of Bukhara was suddenly attacked by the Russians and after a 3-day fight the city fell to the Russians. The Emir of Bukhara ran away to Afghanistan with his harem. He has been living there hoping for the day when the Tsar would revive the city and give it back to him.

Under the Russian attack on Bukhara, all traces of the Turkish civilization gathered there for years such as the rich libraries left from the times of Emir Timur and *madrasas* were totally demolished. While in Crimea, on the one hand, seeming to be friendly towards the Turks, the Soviet Russians were willing to remove an anti-Turkish statue, they did not hesitate to destroy the statues and other works of art which constitute the strongest fundamentals representing the Turkish civilization and culture in Turkestan, on the other hand. This is a clear indication of the Bolshevik policy.

The Russian robbery in Bukhara of the national Turkish culture and wealth is a violent act never witnessed in the history of humanity. Some of the *jadids* of Bukhara, under the leadership of Fitret, did not resist this attack of the Russians. Because Fitret would never accept Bukhara the land of Turks oppressed by the ignorant *emir*, to be again destroyed by the Russians. To accept this would mean to trample on the dead. Fitret would not accept the valuable presents sent to him in Tashkent by the Bukhara *jadids* who took over the city after the destruction of Bukhara.

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Cuncyđ hanin bu keçiçi yenilmesinden sonra rusler Buhara ye de hücum yapmak fursetini boldiler. Lakin Kormine de 1920 15 martde ruslerin 15.ci hücumini Buhara askerleri muvaffakiyetle kaydardiler. Rusler uyuşmaya mecbur oldiler. Moskva ile Buhara arasında yeniden siyasi munasibet başladı. Bu ruslere Buhara de oldukça muntezem hazirlik görmeye furset verdi. Zaten Rusler Buharayı yıkmak için 1917 den beri yaşirin tayarlık görmekte idiler. Buhara emirinin ahmakligi ve yanında eski rus zabitlerini saklamasi bu bahtsız Türk Ülke sinin yeni kara bittir. Çünkü Çar Zabitleri, rusiye menfaati için Lenin zabitleriyle epice anlaşılmislerdi.

1920 avgust de Buhara şehri rusler tarafından birden bire baskın yapıldi ve 3 gün süren kanli vuruşden sonra şehir ruslere teslim oldi. Buhara emiri Alim han haramle afganistana kaçdi. Oradan Buhara yi çar diriltikten sonra memleketini kendine geri verilecegine umitle yaşamaktadır.

Buharaya rusler hücum ederken orada yıllardan beri toplanmış Türk medeniyeti; emir Timur den kalmış bay(Zen'in) kutuphanalar, medresseler yer ile yeksan yapılmisti. Krimde Türkiye aleyhine yapılmis tarihi bir heykeli Türkiye dosti görünmek için ,sovyet rusiye tarafından bir taraftan yikar ırken, diger bir taraftan Türkistanda Türk kültür ve medeniyetinin En sağlam temelleri olan eserleri, heykelleri yok etmek için hec tereddüt etmemişti. Bu bolşevik siyasetinin açık bir görinisiidir.

Buharade Türk milli hirsine, servetine yapılan rus hirsizligi kişilik tarihinde hec ^{ucralmami} (tesadif) edilmemis vakialar vahşi bir vakiadir.

Ruslerin bu baskinina Buhara ceditlerin bir kısmi Fitretin başbugligi altında karışmadiler. Çünkü Fitret cahil emir yomruğı altında ezilen Türk ölkesi Buharaçı tekrar rus yardımile, yani ruslerle bahtsız ve kandan, kiliden kecmek istemezdi. Bunu istemekte "Ölünün üstige cikip toplamak"le beraber edi. Buhara rusler tarafından buzulduktan sonra orada iş başına geçen Buhara ceditlerinin Fitret için Taskente



It was a great pain for the poet that the city he was born in was invaded by the Russians. Not long after that, on 20 October 1921, Fitret wrote his most significant and his very last poem "Snow". Afterwards he went to Bukhara with his friends Polat Salih and the linguist from Tashkent, Qayyum Ramazan Öktem, in order to preserve the remains of the Turkish cultural works that had survived the Russian violence. The services provided by this commission of three in Tashkent were extremely significant. Fitret and his friends made very fruitful investigations on Turkish music and its history and they achieved significant results. (Concerning this, Fitret's work *The History of Uzbek Classical Music* can be consulted). In addition to this, the music school established in Bukhara, which is the biggest and best in Turkestan, and Xarezim Fizigi that was published with his initiative provide evidence for the Turkish talent in fine arts. However, after 2-3 months, Fitret got involved in politics with the encouragement of the young people supporting him. After a short period, he started to be regarded as the dictator of Bukhara. He angered the Russians as Head of the Minister's Council and Minister of Education. Many times he had the Russian ambassador wait at the door of his office and finally when he accepted him, he treated the ambassador in a rather cold way and spoke only in Turkish. While he was in the government, he "Turkified" the Bukhara mollahs who had been "Persianized". These mollahs, who had forgotten their mother tongue, used to visit Fitret often. They were forced to speak Turkish when they were with him. Along with these great accomplishments of his, Fitret had also accomplished another significant deed: he had sent 150 young Turks to Turkey and Germany. Russians, who did not like what he was doing, brought the poet to Moscow as a prisoner in 1924. After many dangerous events, Fitret had managed to go back to Turkestan in 1925. He is now professor of Turkish literature at the Institute of Uzbek Pedagogy in Samarkand. His accomplishments concerning the Turkish culture and Turkish language

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gönderdikleri altın saatler^{ve} paca postuⁿ leri "ogri armagan" leri kabul etmeden geri gönderdi. Soyvet ruslerin tarafından ^{unin} doğ^udeğⁱl şahrin zorlanması şairi çok büyük ızdırablar içinde bırakmıştı. Çok geçmeden 20.çi kanun evval 1921 de Fitret kendinin en meşhur ve en SON şiiri olan "kar"i yazdı. Bundan sonra Buhara de rusler zulmine uğrayan türk kültür hatiralarından geri kalanları saklamak için arkadaşlarından atakli(Mesnur) Bolat Salih ve dilçi (lisaniyatçı)lerden taşkenli Kayum Rmazan (Üktem)ile birlikte buharaya g^etdiler. Orada bu 3 kişilik komisyonin yaptığı hizmetler çok büyüktür. Fitret ve Arkadaşları Türk musikisi ve Ünin tarihine aid çok güzel tetkikler yaptılar, muvaffakiyatlı meticeler elde etdiler. (Buna aid Fitretin Özbek kilasik musikisi tarihi adlı kitabine muraciat). Bundan başka Buhara de açılan Türkistanin en iyi ve büyük^{musiki} mektebi ve unin teşebbusi ile neşr edilen milli notl^{er}imizden "harezim çizigi" türk-gözel sanatlerde kabiliyetlerini gösteren tanık(vasika)lerdir. Lakin Fitret Buhara da 2-3 ay sonra ^{atrafındaki} gençlerin teşviki ile siyasete karişdı. Çok geçmeden Buharanin diktatori sayıldı. Nazirlar ş^{er}asinin reisi ve maarif naziri oldığı çağlarda rusleri çok gazablendirdirdi. Hatta Buhara de rus sefirini kapusunda saatlarçe bekletir ve kabul ettiğⁱ zamanlerde de çok souk muam^{ile}la yapar ve daim türkçe konuşırdı. Şairin devlet idarasinde oturduğu çağlar de bir kop farslaşan buhara m^{ell}allerini kaytadan Türk yapmıştı. Ana dilini unutmuş bu m^{ell}aller Fitretin yanına çok gelirlerdi. Fitretin karş^{as}ında terleye terleye Türkçe konuşmaya mecbur olurlerdi. İşte Fitretin bu güzel milli hizmeti yanında ikinci bir deha güzel işi Türkiye ve almaniyaya 150 kadar Türk gencini göndermesidir. Ünin bu ^şebi bir çok işlerini beğenmeyen rusler, şairi 1924 de Moskva ye tutkan olarak getirdiler. Bir çok tehlikeli zamanlerden sonra 1925 de Fitret tekrar Türkistane döne bildi. Şimdi u Samarken de Özbek yüksek p^{eda}goji ^{en}stitunde Türk edebiyati profesörüdür. Ünin bu vazife si yanında Türk kültürⁱ, Türk dili için yaptığı işler, rusleri es^{ki}.



frighten the Russians more than his old poems. (1) Without a doubt, Fitret deserved to be regarded as the most important name in the history of Turks as a poet and a scholar. The following poem *Kar* made him famous outside of Turkestan throughout the whole world. Fitret is placed among those who have internalized talent and competence. His last present he has given us is his last poem "Snow", which has been translated into Persian and Russian. After this, the poet did not write any other verse. Fitret had seen that, during the period of Basmachis, Turks die and kill for independence and he had also seen that Turkestan had again been bound by the chain of slavery by the Russians. But he never lost hope of the independence day. Just like snow that falls onto the ground, melts, and then, having evaporated, goes back up to the sky and becomes independent again, Fitret believed that Turkestan would reach its own independence some day as well. The beautiful poem translated into German by me is as follows:

Snow

*Weak, trembling, shining white, small flakes
Are falling without halt, incessantly onto the soil.
I do not know why the wind is whipping them.
Is there an eye in the sky,
Whitened with the grief of separation,
Whose tears drop on the bosom of our earth
That is bound up in despair and death?*

*These tiny little snow-white orphan babies -
Wishes that cannot fly, not quite -
Throw themselves into the arms of the blowing wind
And just forget their own existence;
They fall without turning their eyes from what is above,
Helplessly trembling onto the black earth.*

(1) For this see "The dominance of literature" (below)!

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şairlerinden deha çok korkitiyor.(1) Şubhesiz ki, Fitret Türk tarihinde şair ve alim olarak en şanlı yer tutmaya hak kazanmış bir Türktir. Unin şu aşağıda ^{göreceğimiz} Kar adındaki şiiri de şuhreti Türkistan haricinden bütün dünyaya yaydı. Borada şair cihan şairi sırasına geçmiştir. Fitret kabiliyatın en üçine çıkmış kişiler siresine koşulur. Unin bize vrediği en son armuganı de işte Pars ve rus dillerine tercüme yapılmış son şiiri, Kar'dır. Bundan sonra şair hiç bir şiir yazmadı. Şair Besmaçılar devrinde Türkün istiklal için can verip can aldığını ve türkistanın tekrar rusler tarafından kulluk zencilerine bağlandığını gördi. Amma o kurtuluş gününden umidini hiç kesmedi. Yere düşen ve ayak altında çöğnenen kari varlık (tabiet) nasıl ^{gü-}neşile tekrar köklere çıkarır ve istiklalga kavuşturirse, Fitret de bir gün talihin türk Türkistani istiklal gününe erişdireceğini inanmıştı. Alman diline de benim ^{raf} tamahından tercime edilen ^{ve} güzel şiir şu di:

Kar.

Kücsiz, titrek, appak, küçük, tamçılar,
turmay, tinmey, toprak üzre yagadır.
Yel bunlarnı bilmem niçün kamçılar?
Köklerde hem ayrılıkdan akırgan
bir köz bar mı kim, yaşı
bizning elem, ölüm bilen sugarılğan
yerimizning kuçagıga akadır.

Bu kışkına öksüz, appak bibekler,
Üçe, üçe yetmey kalgan tilekler,
Esken yelning kollarıga özini
Taşlab koyar öz barlığın unutar;
Heç üzmeysin yukarıdan közini
Titreb-titreb kara yer üzre tuşar.

(1) Amma aidi „İstiklalit herememizisine“ her!



*Having fallen, they are trodden on,
Like all who fall.
Walking feet do not know the earth they step on,
They soil its shining white complexion.
The passing cattle do not see the traces that they have left,
Tap-tap, tap-tap... Ah, I cannot pronounce the rest...*

*But one day, when the sky opens its breast,
And they are looking upward, laughing brightly,
One day, when nature puts golden rings
On its ears, like girls do,
They will rise above all the filth
And fly back to the sky again.
Flying again, playing again, freedom again!
Ah, in those days!... ¹⁵*

Concerning descriptions, Fitret is accepted as the master of the Turkestani poets. Consider his description of the rising of the sun as

“when nature puts on her golden earrings as girls do”

is very beautiful. His description is as beautiful as Ali Shir Navai’s description of the same event.

“With rays of light over the mountain range it felt golden grief”

Fitret was able to compete with Nava’i in this.

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Tuşkeç bütün tuşkenlerdeki taptalip
Kalar!

Tuşken yerin bilmey basgan ayaklar,
Piçreteler bünîng appak betini.

Baskan izin körmey ötken tuyaklar,
Taptap-taptap...Uf eyte almam ketini.

.....
.....

Yene bir kün kök kökregün açıp

Küle-küle bunler sarı bakkanda,

Yene bir kün kızlar kebi tebiet

Kulagığa altun halka takkanda

Bunler bütün piçraklardan acralıp

Yene kökler sarı karab uçalar.

Yene uçuş, yene oyun, yene erk

Ah.... u künler!.....

Fitret tasvirde, sanatda bütün Türkistan şairlerinin ustası olarak
tanınmıştır. Bakınız, güneşin doğmasını

"Kızlar kebi tebiet kulagığa altun halka takkanda"

diye tasvir kilişi ne kadar güzeldir. Burada Ali Şir bek Nevayinin
güneş doğmasına

"Şiai hat bilen koksarı üzre altun elem çekti"

demesi kadar güzeldir. Fitret burada Nevayî ile boy ölçüşebilmiştir.



BATU

*Vanish into nothing, you clouds that are warding off the light!
From the highest heights the lights shall be spread on our country!*

B A T U.

**Yokalingiz yaruglikni t set rge bulutler!
Y rtimizge eng y ksekden yarugliklar sacilsin!**

BATU

In 1918 Fitret gathered the “Chagatay Forum” in Tashkent, which contributed to Turkish culture significantly. Each member of this association gave lectures about classical and modern Turkish literature. Until 1922, the association worked efficiently. We will deal with that subject under the topic of the hegemony of literature. In this association, all the poets of Turkestan other than Çolpan were under the influence of Fitret. From among them, we can mention as an example the general secretary of the association and the state commissar of Uzbekistan from Tashkent, Mahmud Maksudoglu Batu. We first hear of him in a section of the book called *The Young Uzbek Poets*, published in 1922 by the Republic of Turkestan. In the style and opinions of this young poet, the influence of his master Fitret can be easily seen. Here, we cannot tell how independent Batu was. Batu’s last work “*Umid Učqunlari*” was published in 1926 in Samarkand. His poems written till then were very popular among his people. The most famous among them follows as:

To the Uzbek girl

*Little playful girl, play a little, freely and unboundly!
 Sooner or later your freedom will be taken away.
 Let yourself be pampered for one or two days, be a guest!
 Your heart will be tormented for want of freedom.
 Your eyes, which are moving so playfully and sending out beams of light,
 Will be filled with tears of sorrow sooner or later.
 Your face, which is gleaming with pleasure and laughing all the time,
 Will wither down under a burden of grief to the palest yellow.
 You will lose the flower of your freedom in gambling,
 And sooner or later you will put on the rose of mourning.
 You will break into pieces the instrument of happiness in your hand
 And burn it in the oven of despair.
 You will cover your face, so full of natural splendour,*



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B A T U.

1918 de Fitret Taşkent de Türk kültürü için büyük hizmetler yapan "Cagatay gürüŋi" ni toplamış idi. Bu derneğin her azasi tarafından Türk kilask ve modern edebiyate ait konfranslar verilirdi. Gürüŋ, yani dernek 1922.çi yıla kadar çok güzel çalıştı. Bu meseleye ait "edebiyat hekomoniyasi" nde daha yakından ^{dan} yaşarız. Bu güründe Colpan dan başka Türkistanın bütün şairleri Fitretin tesirinde idiler. Onlardan "Gürüŋ"nin baş kâtibi ve geçen sene Özbekistan maarif komiseri Taşkentli Mahmud Maksud Oglu Batu ^{ya örnek (misal)} olarak alabiliriz. Biz Batu 1922.çi yilde Türkistan "cumhuriyeti" tarafından cık kazılmış "Özbek yaş şair leri" kitabın bir kısmında görürüz. Lakin yap şair Batunın şiirlerinde üstadi Fitretin uslubi ve fikirleri açıkça duyulur. Burada Batu nın ne kadar müstakil olduğunu kestiremeyeciyiz. Batunın son yazdıkları ^{ya} "Umid uçkunlari" adile 1926.çiyilde Semarkentte basıldı. Onun bu tarihe kadar yazdığı şiir-leri ~~xxx~~ halk tamanından ^(tarafından) sevilerek okulur idi. Onlerin en meşhuru şu dır:

Özbek kıziga.

Oynak kızça, erkin-erkin öynep al!
 Erte-indin erking koldan ketedir.
 Erkolenip bir iki kün kunab kal!
 Erke köngling hasratlarge batadır.
 Nurler saçib, öynab turgan közlering
 Erte - indin gam yaşile toladır.
 Sevinç parlab külib turgan yüzkering
 Derd astida sapsargayip soladır.
 Köksingdegi erk çoğegin bay berib
 Erte - indin matam gülün takar sen.
 Kolingdagi baht çalgusin sindirib
 Kaygu, eilem oçağında yakarsen!
 Tebietde yaşnay turgan yuzinge



With the veil of misfortune.

*And then! You will await your death,
In a pitch-dark prison, wailing and weeping!
Girl, poor thing, let yourself be pampered and play a little,
Be a guest for one or two days in freedom!¹⁶*

Here is a new event in Turkish literature! This beautiful poem reveals the state of the Turkish women in Turkestan, who spent their lives between thick walls. The date in which this poem was written is also very noteworthy. This young poet wrote this poem when he saw his 5-year old sister playing in the garden. This poem written successfully in syllabic meter, made Batu very famous in Turkestan. Truly, this poem is a very good example telling about the destiny the Turkish women faced after they started to wear the veil. In this context, we would like to explicate the situation of the Turkish women in Turkestan.

It is common knowledge that before the conversion to Islam, to us Turks, harem and veil were totally alien; the status of women, respect to them and the concept of motherhood were considered as holy. Moreover, during the period of the Turkish Khans, the signature of his "Khatun" ('wife') had to appear beside their own signature, and they welcomed the foreign ambassadors together. Together with Islam, the Arab mentality was also accepted among the upper class Turks.⁽¹⁾ Following this, Turkish traditions, clothing and ethics were sacrificed in favour of those of the Arabs. The legal rights of women were restricted to inheritance in case of the death of the father or the husband, in which case the woman had the right to 1/8 of the total. In Turkestan, the village women are freer than those living in the cities. The lives of the women living in the cities are very dramatic. For example, among the Uzbeks there are 899 women for every 1000 men, which means a proportion of 9 to 10.

The Turkish women are hard working and talented in art, housework and family, like their husbands. In the fine arts, they are especially interested in music and literature. Turkish women writers and poetesses

(1) The article by the present author named *Sheriat* printed in "Das Staatsschiff" in October 1931 can be given as reference.

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Erte - indin manhus örtük tutar sen.

Ene söngre!... kapkarangu zindanda

Yiglab-siktab ölüminhni kütersen!

Bayakiş kız erkelenib öynep al!

Erkinlikde bir-iki kün kunab kal!

İşte Türk yeni edebiyatında yeni hadiseler! Bu ^{" "}gözel şiir kalın ^{" "}dızvar lar içinde ^{" "}ömrün ^{" "}çürüten Türk kadınlığının Türkistandaki halini apaçık gösteriyor. Bu şiirin yazılış tarihide çok ^{" "}enteresandır. Genç sair 5-6 yaşında olan kız kardaşını ^{" "}bağçade öynarken ^{" "}gördük zaman bu şiiri yazıvermişti. Bu parmak veznile muvaffakiyetle çıkan şiir Batı Türkistanda çok meşhur yapmıştır. Hakikaten türk kızları - nin çarsafa ^{" "}girdikten sonra ^{" "}başlarına gelen kısmeti gösteren ^{" "}gözel nümüne dir. Biz bu münasibetle ^{" "}burada Türkistanda Türk kadın-kız larının vaziyetinin yakından tanımak isteriz.

Malum ki, islanlikten evvel biz türklere harem ve çarsaf büsbütün yabancı bir şey ^{" "}idi, kadınların mevkiği, hürmeti ve ana mefhumi çok mukaddes sayılırdı. Hatta Türk hakanlarının yarlıklarında ^{" "}kend i imzalerile birlikte "Hatun" ^{" "}nında imzası bulunur, ve cenebi elçileri de birlikte kabul ederlerdi. Müslümanlıkla birlikte arap zihniyeti de türklerin yüksek tabukasına girdi. (1) Bununla Türk töre-leri ve kilikları ^{" "}seray içinde araplık için kurban oldu. Kadının hukuk ^{" "}ı Valniz babası yahud kocası öldüğü takdirde miras ^{" "}ın 1/3 ni almak ^{" "}dan ibarat kaldı. Türkistanda köykadınları ^{" "}şehirdekilerden deha serbest dir. Anna, şehir kadınlarının hayatları çok acıklıdır. Netekim Özbekler içinde 1000 erkege 899 kadın , yani 10 erkege 9 ka-
din geliyor.

Türk kadınları sanatta, ev işlerinde, çiftçilikde kocaları gibi çalıs kan ve kabiliyetli dirler. ^{" "}Gözel sanatlar ^{" "}da de, bilhassa musiki ve edebiyate candan meftün ve alakadardır lar. Türk kadın şairlerinin

(1) Buna aid muharririn "Das Staatsschiff" de basılan "Şeriet" isimli ka-
lasine (oktobir 1931) muraciati.

have their own special history. Particularly the carpets of Bukhara and silk needle works, which give our homes a different spirit and beauty and are well-known throughout the world, provide evidence to our claims. Before the Russian revolution, a struggle about the issue of women in Turkestan had started between the *jadids* and *qadims*. The *jadids* opened new schools for their women and girls. Moreover, during the World War, the discussion on women was a daily issue in families, associations and Turkestani press. Just after the overthrow of the Tsar, the *jadids* who took control of the governmental offices took steps for the independence of women for the first time. Primary and high schools were filled with girls and women. What is more, there even were girls who were sent to Europe for education and who came back having successfully completed their education. Turkish girls and women also showed their talents to everybody on stage. One of the most important services which girls and women trained during the *jadid* period provided was to fight against the high rate of infant-mortality through mother-child schools and organizations. When, after the bloody fights against the basmachis, Soviet Russia took over in politics, they banished all *jadids* and the women from their jobs (1). In this way, all the schools and organizations which had opened for the good of the people, were closed.

Even though communists announced the 8th of March as women's day and declared war against the veil, they were not successful. On the 8th of March, all women were invited to cast off their veils. But things did not develop as expected. Turkish women and girls, in order to show their national willpower and in order to distinguish themselves from the communist women, even those who were not wearing veil during the *jadid* period, started to wear them. In Turkestan the liberation of women relies upon the liberation of Turkestan!

(1) For further information my articles in the newspapers "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", of 1930, the 16th of October and "Deutsche La Plata Zeitung" of 18.12.1930 and "Der Deutsche" of 31.1.1931 should be consulted. There is extensive information in them.

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gendilerine mahsus tarihleri var. Mele bütün dünyada en çok sevilen ve evlere ruh, ^uses veren Buhara halıları ve ipekli el işleri sözlerimiz, ^e

tanıktır. Rus inkılabından evval Türkistanda kadınlar meselesi üzerinde "cedit"ler ve "kadim"ler mücadelesi başlamış idi. Ceditler kadın, kızlarına yeni mektebler açtılar. Hatta dünya vuruşında Türkistan metbuatında, camiyetlerde, aile içinde kadınlar sorgusu gündelik meselelerden sayılırdı. Çar yıkılır-yıkılmaz kısa bir zaman için hükümet müesseselerinin başına geçen ceditler ilk kerre kadımlar erki için adım attılar. Yeni orta ve yüksek mektepler Türk kadın-kızlarıyla doldu. Hatta Avrupa yüksek mekteplerine gönderilen ve muvaffakiyetle tahsilini bitiren kızlar da vardır. Sahnada türk kadı-kızları az zaman içinde kendi kabiliyetlerini herkese gösterdiler.

Ceditler devrinde yetişmiş kadın-kızların gene en çok muhta ve iyi hizmetleri de müddiş çocuk hastalığı ve ölümüne karşı türlü analar, çocuklar mektebi ve teşkilatları vasitasile mücadele etmeleridir. Sovyet rusya basmaçılara karşı kanlı muharebelerden sonra siyasi mawkıfa hakim olur-olmaz, ~~da~~ ceditleri ve onların etrafında toplanan kadın-kızları iş başından koğdılar. (1). Bu suretle milletin saadati için açılan mektepler, teşkilatlar da kapandı.

Komünistler 1926 dan beri 8.ci mart ~~ki~~ kadınlar kurtuluş günü, çarşafa karşı "hucum" ler açsalar da, bir şeye muvaffak olamadılar. 8.ci mart ~~de~~ bütün kadınlar çarşafalarını bırakmaya davat edildiler. lakin işler tersine yörüdü. Türk kadınları, kızları milli iradeyi göstermek ve kendi lerinin komünist ahlakına uygun kadınlardan ayırmak için, hatta ceditler devrinde çarşafsız geçen kadımlar da tekrar çarşafa gittiler. Türkistanda kadınlar kurtuluşu Türkistanın kurtuluşüne bağlıdır!

(1) Kadınlar mesele sine aitt benim "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" 16.kanun sani 1930, ve "Deutsche La Plata Zeitung" 18.12.1930, ^{hul} yani "Der Deutsche" gazitesinin 31.1.1931. de çıkan nushalarına bakılın. Onlarda daha etraflıca malumat var.

Another national poem of Batu's which even today makes communist antagonized is this one:

*Enough now!
 You thick black clouds, who have covered the sky above our country
 From one end to the other for ages!
 How long will you refuse to show us, oh soulless creatures,
 The face of the stars that have been created out of brightness?
 How long will our troubled hearts, which are fond of the light,
 Be suffocated amidst the darkness?*

*It is enough, you have deprived us of the light,
 Warding off the way to illumination for all these ages.
 You were just like curtains to the face of the illuminating stars,
 And nearly turned our hearts into autumnal leaves.*

*Rend, oh you thick black curtains of no good!
 The illuminated face of the wholly innocent stars be unveiled!
 Vanish into nothing, you clouds that are warding off the light!
 From the highest heights the lights shall be spread over our country!
 Our grieved, broken hearts are lost in the darkness!
 They shall laugh and rejoice like nature on a spring day!*

Tashkent, March 1920

Batu is now about 30 years old. He was born as a son of an important merchant. His father wanted to draw Batu into the old traditions and have him marry a girl he chose for him. To protest this, Batu ran away to Moscow for education. This is a part of the poem he wrote on his way to Moscow.

*Me... I am an unfortunate traveler, for whom
 The flag of despair has been put up everywhere.
 The words "You will not be saved by running away!"
 Are written on it with the ink of despair.*



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Komunistlari bu günde de kizdiran. Batu nın diger bir milli şiiri şudur:

Yeter endi!

Köb çaqlardan berli bizim yurtimizning kökini
Başdan başa kaplan turgan kara kalin bulutlar!
Kaçangaça körsetmeysiz bizlerge ey cansizlar
Yagdulardan yaratilgan yulduzlarning yuini?
Yaruglikni seveturgan biznig tunuk köngliniz
Kaçangaça karangular ara kalar bogulup?

Yeter endi, yaruglikdan mohrum etup bizlarni,
Şunça çaklar nur yolini tosub gine turdingiz.
Perde bolub, nur saqquçi yulduzlarnin yazige,
Könglümüzni küz çagining yapragidek kildingiz.

Yirtilingiz, ey yaramas, kara kalin pardeler!
Hoç yasuksiz yulduzlarning nurli yuzi açulsun .
Yokalingiz, Yaruglikni tosaturgan bulutlar
Yurtimizge eng yuqsekden yarugliklar sacilsun!
Karangular içre kalgan mungli, sinik köngliniz;
Yay küning tebiyeti yangling külüb, sevinisin!

Taşkent Mart , 1920.

Batu şimdi 30 y. slerindadir. Taskent te büyük bir tüccarin ogli.
olarak doğdu. Babasi onı eski aneneler içine almak ve kendi muvafik
gördüğü kız ile evlendirmek istedi. Batu de bunu protesto için baba
evinden tahsil için moskvaya kaçdı. Yolda yazdığı şiiriden bir par-
ça:

Men... men bahtsiz yolçi, kim her yerde
Menim için elem tuğı tikilgen
Kaçgan bilen kutulmaysen sözleri
Ungc matam karasila yazilgan.



*Not being able to bear the torture of a miserable life,
I gave up my paradise-like garden
And now landless in such distant deserts as this,
I have begun to look for happiness as if I had turned mad.*

Donskoe, January 12, 1922

Batu had to stay in Donskoe Station for 2 weeks because there was so much snow that the train could not go any further. On this long journey to Moscow, he saw hungry, naked, ill, miserable Russian immigrants flowing like a flood of troubles to Turkestan. This poem below describes that terrible scene:

*The day of worry
Again I have thrown away the flower of joy, which was harboured in my breast.
I threw it away, below my feet, and I sank into worry.
Why should I put it on, anyway, this flower does not become anymore.
It is not proper for me to laugh out loud while the people are weeping.
A deadly dragon has put its foot on our land
And is looking with an open mouth at the people, who are sound asleep.
The dragon that destroys the garden on this side
Will also turn paradise into hell with its poison.
Hate does not secure the doors of those who are peacefully asleep,
Curses do not touch those who have slipped away into sleep.*

May 14, 1922

Another poem on the same subject follows as:

*The land of hunger
At times when the morning wind blows melodically
The leaves fall down, playing coquettishly,
Completely withered,—but autumn does not come...
On days when the sun mounts its throne, coming from China
The trees never avaricious of their shadow,
Are dried up completely...*

-31-

Yavuz turmuş kinagiga çidalımay
 Uçmah kebi gül bağcamni taşladım
 Mene bundey yurtsız uzak çöllerde
 Mecnun bolib baht izleşge bağladım.

Donskeye, 12 kanun sani 1922.

Batu Donskeye istansin⁴⁰da iki hafta kalmaga mecbur olma²ştı. Çünkü kar
 akadar çok yağmış⁴¹ti, tiren ileri gide²miyordu. Bu uzun süren Moskva
 seyahatında aç, çıplak, hasta, korkunç rus muhacirlerinin Türkistana bela
 seli gibi akma⁴ktaki olduklarını gördü. Bu aşağıdaki şiirde işte u kor-
 kunc ~~nasar~~ayı tasvir eder:

Kaygu küni.
 Küksimdeki şadlık çeçegin yine atdim
 atdim de ayak astiga kaykuga batdim
 Takmam negekim, bu çeçek endi yaraşmas
 El yiglar eken kakkaha menge yakışmas.
 Bir cederi mevt yerimizge adim atmış
 Tinc uykidagi elge karab agiz açmış.
 Bul yakdagi bagni harab eylegen eoder
 Uçmahni de agusi bilon tamug eyler.
 Kefret tinc yatganlere dervaze bekitmey,
 Lagnetler uhlaşlere topanni de sezmey!....

14.may, 1922.

Buna aid başka bir şiiri de

Açlık ülkesi

Tang şameli küyleb esken çağlarda
 Nazlar kilp öyneytürgen yapraklar
 Sapsargayip tükülme⁴ler, kütz kelney...
 Kuyeş çinden tohtge çıkkan künlerde
 Külgesini kışanmagan yagaçlar
 Susuzlikdan kurumuşlar butunlay....



*Everything has taken an ugly colour.
 The beauty of nature has vanished,
 Rose gardens have turned into piles of ashes.
 The steppe and the gardens have become lifeless, terrible deserts.
 The wings of disaster have spread,
 The wicked hand of doom is opened...*

*Since the rose gardens have been ruined the nightingales
 Have flown away, singing their farewell song.
 Ugly, hungry ravens have flocked
 To the ruin from somewhere.
 These ravens flash their eyes
 And look for corpses everywhere,
 They gather on top of the corpse
 And do not let the lifeless body rest in peace...
 These dead ones and ones who are waiting for death,
 Are ill-fated poor devils,
 Who grew up in the bosom of this land,
 Who were brought up with the fruit of this land,
 Who gave everything in striving
 For the welfare of this land.
 Nobody pays attention to each other,
 The word "compassion" is a morsel of bread,
 There is no other word on anyone's lips.
 Even the angels are weeping at this display,
 They are trembling in heaven, because they cannot endure it.
 This is Doomsday, there will be no more hereafter...
 On all sides a terrible view,
 On all sides a creeping towards the grave!...*

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Her bir nerse körimsiz bir tus algan;
 Tebietning güzelligi yokalmış,
 Gül bağçalar kül tepege eylenmiş,
 Dala, bağlar cansız, kurkunç çol bolmış.
 Felaketning kanatlari yayılmış,
 Halakatning menhus keli uzanmış!....

Gül bağçalar harab bolgaç bülbüller
 Vidad küyin küylep ucub ketmişler
 Alla kaydan körümsiz aç kozgunlar
 Geleleşib heraboge kelmişler....
 Bu kozgunlar közlerini çaknatip
 Her tamandan ölümlükler izleyler,
 Ölümlükning teppesige töplenip
 Cansız tenni tinç yatgali koymaylar...
 Bu ö ~~halat~~ ölmek kütüp y tganlar,
 Bu ölkening kuçagında büyügen,
 Bu ölkening yemişile yitişgen,
 Bu ölkening abadlığı yolında
 Barlığını ayamasdan trişken
 Bahti kara bayakışlar eror ler.....
 Heç bir kiş özege heç bakmaydır
 Şafkat sözi bir burde nan sözindan
 Başka bir söz agizlarda yurmaydır.
 Bu hallarge mlekler de yiglaydır
 Cidalmasdan, feleklerde titreidır.
 Maşar bu dir bundan artik bolmaydır...
 Her tamanda dehqetli bir körüniş,
 Her tamanda mazar sari sürüniş!.....



While studying national economy, the young poet married a Jewish Russian girl. Then he accepted this young girl's communist opinions. After this, he wanted to be a red poet and to get the approval of Moscow. To achieve this, he even wrote poems like the one below for his master Fitret and others:

"Abhorrence at those who detract me from the right way ..."

He turned his back on populism and nationalism. In 1926, after completing his education, he was positioned in a party in Samarkand as an Uzbek communist theoretician. Russians expected a lot from him. They expected propaganda poems from his famous pen. But they were not aware that literature cannot be written by force! ... Even though Batu tried to write a couple of proletarian poems, he could not succeed. The poems he wrote did not satisfy the Russian Communist party. He remained as a "local" poet. In his poems, one could feel the old national teaching. The young poet, a member of the active communist party, was advocating the populist idealism without accepting the concept of "class":

*New riches, new life, each and every new thing
Is achieved by the inexhaustible power of the nation!
Disbelief in the power of the nation, disregard of the nation,
Leads astray from the true path. Beware of them!*

(Edebiyat parçaleri, 1926. Taken from a poem Ferghana)

An example for Batu's proletarian poem:

*The neighbours have gotten up long ago,
They have put leather boots on their feet,
They have flung the belt around the coat,
They have laid their spades on their necks.
The thin thread of living..
The spades are shaking in the hands.
The eyes of old and young eyes are
On the traces that the sickles have left.*

-33-

Genç şair Moskva'da milli iktisad tahsil yaparken bir rus yahudi kızla evlendi. Sonra bu kommunist kızın tuzaklarına ilâdi. Bundan sonra kırımını ~~gail olma~~^{uc} Moskvanın azerin-lerini toplamak istedi. Hatta bunun için eski ustadi Fitret ve digerlerine:

"Fitret neni togrı yoldan azdurganlara...."

diye şiirler yazdı. Halkçılıktan, milletçilikten yüz ka çevirdi. 1926'da tahsilini bitirip Özbek kommunist "nazariyatçisi" olarak Semerkant'ta fırka içine koyuldi. Ruslar ondan çok işler bekleyorlêdi. Feyhul kalamizinden propaganda şiirleri bekleyorlerdi. Ne yapseñler, edebiyat orla yarıñılmañ!... Bata bir iki prolêter şair yazmaga ugrañti ise de, muvaffak olmañ di. Hazdiklari kommunist rus agularini memnun etmedi. o "Terli" şair olarak kaldı. Hatı yazdigi şiirlerde eski milli terbiye örñaklarıdi. Metekin aktif kommunist firkasi azasi genç şair sınıf meflurazını kabul etmeden Halkçılık mefküresini ileri sürüyordi:

Yenğı barlık, yenğı türmus, bütün bütün yengilik
Tagaladir milli halqning heç tügenmez küpiden!
El küçige inansizlik, elni küzge ilmeslik
Azdiradir togru yoldan saklaningiz unlerden.

(Edebiyat parçaları, 1926, "Fergana" adli şiirden alındı.)

Batunın bir prolêter şiirinden örnek:

Koşrılar küşpendir turdiler;
Ayakga kön otik kiydiler;
Eteñni belbukga urdiler;
Ketmanini yelkege koydilar.
Yacasning ingişke tanapi;
Ketmanler tabrengen kollarda.
Yağ- kari küzlerning karışı
Oraklar iz salgan izlerde.

*When the white face of the sickle becomes covered with dust
 The hearts of the people will be subdued in sorrow.
 If the edge of the spade is bent,
 Eyes of fire will be filled with tears.*

(Edebiyat parçaları, 1926, Taken from the poem Uyğaniş)

This poem, which strives to be proletarian, is nevertheless nationalistic. It becomes obvious, considering that instead of “sickle and hammer”, “sickle and ketmen” is the subject. The sickle of Turkestan without proletarians is of course that of the villagers.

For many years there have been a number of debates in the press concerning the Uzbek poets. If Batu had not had a high position or friends who are members of the party, he would have taken the side of Čolpan a long time ago. Even if his famous pen did not give much for the proletarians and his earlier nationalistic poems rocked his position from time to time, he became the State Commissar of Education in Uzbekistan in 1929. However, this did not last long. According to Red Uzbekistan published on 16.12.1930, Batu together with his friend Hannan Ramiz became leaders of the “National Independence” committee. Yes Batu! “Moscow is again our enemy to rebel against!...”

(1) See The dominance of literature!

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Orakning ak yuzi zeng bassa,
El kōngli matamga oralgay;
Ketmanning kirgagi kayrilsa,
Ot yangan kōzlerge yaq tolgay.

(Edebiyat parçaları.1926. „uyganiş“ siirinde alındı)

Prolétérleşmak isteyen bu şiir ~~yene~~ ^{yerine} milli dir. "Orak ve çekic" ~~örnisi~~
"Orak ve ketmen" mevzu olması ~~bu~~ mesele açıktır. Prolétersiz Tür-
kistanın oragi, elbette köylünün oragidir. "Orakning ak yuzi zeng
bassa", yani ~~kült~~ ^{bu} bugday ekmece, "el kōngli matamga oralgay"!...

Yıllardır ki, matbuatta Özbek şairlerine aid çok münaka-
(1)
şalar oluyor. Şair Batun ^uın firka aparatında mesul mevkiyi ve dostleri
olmasaydı, o çoktan Çolpan siresine geçmiş olurdu. Onun meşhur kalemi
Prolétér için bir şey verememişse ve Onun eski milli şiirleri,
milliyetçiliği ara sıra mevkiyini sarsada, 1929'de Özbekiistan maarif
komiseri oldu. Lakin ~~Onun~~ ^{Onun} komiserliği uzak sürmedi....16.12.1930'de
cikkan "Kizil Özbekistan"nın yazışına göre Batu arkadaşları Mannan Ramiz
ile birlikte yaşırı. "Milli Istiklal" ~~başku~~ komitesine bağbugluk kil-
diklari açılmıştır. Evet, Batu!... "Moskav yine baş-
kaldıraçak düşmanımızdır!..."

(1) Edebiyat hokemonisi ne bak!

ELBEK

*Every flaw is not to stay forever,
One day novelty will appear again!...*

ELBEK.

Her bir kemoilik kalmas mengulik,
Bir kün oikar yene yongilik!...

ELBEK

Elbek, who used to write poems since his childhood and also before the revolution had drawn attention to himself at the time of Fitret. Although he is as fiery as Fitret and Çolpan, he cannot be counted among the great artists. However, his works and poems are not less than those of Batu's we have seen earlier. He made himself well-known among his people through his writings about life in Turkestan; villages, families, water, sky, and earth, birds and animals, winter, in short everything concerning Turkestan. He has excellent research and publications on Turkish language and literature.

This following poem dedicated to the father of Turkish literature, Navai, is a beautiful poem:

*Our great ancestor Emir Nava'i
Oh you, who has brought the Turkish language on its way,
Oh you, who has saved this beautiful language
From the suppression by Arabic and Persian!
Alas, after you, they have made this lovely language,
This nightingale, a prisoner!¹⁷*

In this poem, he expands on the famous line by Miri's *Nava'i kolum tutsa kilsa medet*. In the 18th century when the Turkish unity in Turkestan was broken, Turkish culture was raided by the Arabs and Persians. Moreover, Persian became the official language in Bukhara. In this context, he gives a good description of this situation in his following poem dedicated to Çolpan:

*Language (to Çolpan)
My sad bird, come here and tell me with a song:
Who are they, selling out the Turkish language,
Who throw this language, which is
Singing like a nightingale, shamelessly out of this country,
Who are permanently insulting the Turkish idiom, which is sweeter than honey
And purer than glass, without reflection?*

-35-

E L B E K .

Çocukluk çağından ^{beri} edebiyatla uğraşan ve inkılaptan evvel de ara sıra şiir yazmış olan Maşuk Yunis, Elbek, Fitret devrinde her keşin ilkkatini kendisine çekdi. O Fitret ve Çolpanlar gibi atası olsa da, hala büyük sanatkarlar sırasına giremez. Lakin, anın halk için yarattığı eserleri, şiirleri yukarıda ^{gördüğümüz} Betu şiirlerinden geri kalmaz. Türkistan hayatına, köylerine, ailesine, sevevesine, ^{gök} ve toprağına, kuş ve hayvanlarına, ^{her} şeye ait sayısız yanlırlarla kendini halka tanıtmış ve sevirmiştir. Türk edebiyatı ve diline ait de çok iyi tetkikati ve eserleri vardır.

Türk kimsik edebiyatı babası Nevayîye adanmış olan şu şiir çok güzeldir.

Büyük babamın anır Nevayî

Ey türk dilini yolge koyguçi

Fars, Arap baskunından

bagüzel tilni asrap kalguci.

Senden söñre, ah matür tilingni

Zatkun etailer bu bulbulingni!

Burada Nizinin "Nevayî kotun tutsa kimsa merket" diyen ^{"u"} sözünü ^{"u"} söylemişir. 13. ci asır da Türkistan da türk birliği parçalanıktan sonra, Türk harsi arap ve Fars baskunına uğramıştı. Hatta Buhara da resmi dil ^{rek} Farsî olmuştu. Bu munasibetle şu aşağıdaki Çolpana bağışlanan ^{rek} şiiride a vez-iyeti ^{et} güzel ^{et} tasvir ^{et} yapmıştır.

x

Til

Til. (Çolpan ge)

Mungli kuşun, sayrap-sayrap kel anglat
Kimler erur Türktilini satguçi?

Bülbül kebi sayrap turgan bu tilni

Uyalmayin bu öikelen atguçi?

Baldan tatli, camadan tinik Türkçeni

Tügünmeyin horlap-horlap yatguçi!

*Who is it that calls it poor and useless,
 Without showing its richness to the world?
 You, my sad bird, let them go, and sing!
 Raise the fame of the Turkish language to heaven!
 Let them go, let them lose their way,
 Let them sell their vile chatter within the country!*

Elbek wrote this poem not only against the historical mistakes of the fathers, but also against some “Pseudo-Turkists” in Turkestan who “parrot” the language of “Bab-i ali” even without understanding it. Today, that illness has died in Turkestan and, instead, a sincere Turkism has appeared which is the modern and common Turkish language that will surely be born in the future.

Elbek has 3-4 books called “Collected Works”, in which he has collected his poems. Here is an example of what he has written about women:

*From the tongue of a prudent Uzbek girl
 (I dedicate it to my sisters, who are battered because they are lost to the hands of
 ignorant males)
 “I perforated the ice, I drank the water, but I did not know it was muddy,
 I did not know that a young man whose wife has died is rich.
 Is there no widow for the young man whose wife has died?
 Is there not a rose or dog-rose for me, who I am all alone on my own?”
 (from folk literature)*

*I saw you, I got to know you, I understood your words,
 I understood everything of your word, which was as deep as a ravine.
 I understood, and at that time I was weeping, sobbing without interruption.
 I was weeping, and like you I was stabbing myself.
 And because of this I was unable to say a word then.
 Like a wounded lion, I threw myself to all sides and went everywhere.
 I wailed, and I knew nothing other than wailing.
 To tell the truth: I was not able to protect myself from a shower of arrows.
 For at those times tyranny, barbarism and arrows were in control.
 The heart of the tyrannic males was fully satiated due to this.*

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Ağunlerde baylığını kürsötmesden
Kimdir bunge yarlı, yaraması degen?
Mungli kışum, unlerni koy, sen sayra!
Türk tiliñig üngini çıkar kökge!
Koy unarnı, uler yoldan azaunlar,
El içinde boş boğazlık satsunlar!

Elbek bu şiirinde yalnız babaların tarihini yanlış ^hanina değil, son zamanlarda Türkistanda "Babiali lisanini" anılar- ~~anlamaz~~ "papapagın" gibi sözleyen bazı "Pisolo-Türkci"lere karşı yazmıştır. Bu gün bu hastalık Türkistanda ölmüş, ^o in yerine sakini Türkçilik gelmiştir ki, u ne gelecekte doğacak olan modern ve yalpi ^u nuri Türkçilidir.

Elbek ~~Min~~ "şiiirler toplani " aasında uc-40rc kitabi varair. ~~Madin~~-Kiz lara aitt şiiiri çok enteresandır :

Angli Özbek kizi tilinden.

(Bilimsiz erler kolida kalip kinalmakda boigan
Apa ve singilloringe bagışlaymen)

"Muzni teşdim, zuni içdim, lay ekenin bilmedim,

Hatuni ölgen yigitning bay ekenin bilmalim.

Hatuni ölgen yigitke, eri ölgen yokııdı?

Bir gine yalguz başinga, gül-u-rnana yokmıdı?"
(Halk edebiyatından)

Seni bürdüm, seni bildim, sözleringni angladin,
Du çukur tenglik sözingning barçasini angladin.
Angladim, timmay şu çakla men te öksüp yigladim;
Yigladim, men kom sening ock de özümni tigliadin.
Şul sebebli men te şul çak bir söz a/taladin;
Farqli arslan **ça**, özni her yan adim, ingladim.
Ingrelin, ingreşden özge hoç bir işni bilmedim;
Togrisi, ok yağuriden özni saklay almadim.
Çunki ul çaklaron hakim:zulim, vehşet, ok eli;
Zalim **er**ler küngli bul yakdan butunley tok edi.

*That day passed, that night went by, it does not stay forever. Look, today
 The world is laughing, joyfulness has come, to all of us without exception.
 Morning has broken and the sun has risen, spreading light, shining brightly.
 The ice has melted, the waters are pouring, gurgling with joy.
 Because this era is the era of freedom, and freedom is eternity to us,
 What do we care about peace or struggle? Freedom is what is holy to us!
 Those barbarians, who were hitting and oppressing us from all sides
 Have been beaten into the earth by free hands.
 The "fast propellers", who had masked the light of day and roamed all night,
 Could not withstand when they saw the light of day, and vanished into thin air.
 Because this age is for us, for all of us, that are longing for freedom,
 That is, for all who are battered, oppressed and regarded as slaves.
 The door that had been held closed to us is open today,
 Our comrades, the days of worry, are defeated by us today.
 For us, the ideas of knowledge and science are beyond doubt;
 Nobody can frighten us with knowledge.
 Because it is our age; and exact science is ours, too.
 Our age is such an age that the world will witness it.*

*The age for weeping, sobbing without end is past, my friend!
 Float! I have to float on this sea of knowledge now.
 Throw yourself into the sea of knowledge and get immersed in it!
 If you die, die for knowledge, this is the most appropriate to you.
 Because knowledge is a water of supreme purity, that washes away your ugliness.
 Like your own mother, it makes you play more vividly and always looks after you.*

Közgi, February 17, 1923, Tashkent

This poem is written during the *jadid* period. Now let us take a look at the following poem which was written after the communist intervention on the promotion of women's positions, as discussed earlier when we were studying Batu:

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Otai ul kun, ketdi ul tün, mengi kelmes, bak bükün
 Kulai dünya, keldi gadlik, barqaniga busbatün
 Atai tang, çakli kayaş narler saçib, bak yaltinap;
 Fridi mazler, akdi sator, ~~saçligından~~ çaldirap.
 Çünki bul çak, erkli çak, erk biz üçün bir mengilik;
 Yek, beriş, ; bar, tartiş; erk bizning üçün eziglik.
 Her tamandan bizni yancip ezigüçi ul vaşiler,
 Erkli kollar bilen, yerge barqasi sançildiler.
 Kun yuzin ortup, bütün tün kozgüçi "şeb perreler"
 Kun yuzin körgeç, çidalmay kaçdilar, yok bolliler.
 Çünki bul cak biz için; erk istegen bizler için;
 Tani, kinalgan, ezilgen kul sanalğanlar için.
 Bir ucan berkli tutulgan ul eşik, bul kan açik;
 Bisge yoldaş keygüli künler, bukün bizden kaçik.
 Biz için ilm u marif oylari çekken aşik ;
 Ilm için heçkim kilalmaydir bizni takik.
 Çünki bizning devrimizdur; ilm hem bizning aniki
 Devrimiz, şunday devidir, kim bunge dünya tanik.
 Öksüp-Öksüp yiglamaklik devri ütdi, ortagim!
 Ak, bu ilm deryasinde-ondi kerek-deşakmagim...
 At özingni ilm deryasige unde gark bol!
 Ölseng, ölgil ilm yolinde bu, senge eng togrı yol.
 Çünki ilm, eng taza bir sudir, ki çirkingni cuyer;
 Tukkan anangdey, niye tınc öymeter, her çak bakar.

~~Çevrelik devrimizdur; ilm hem bizning aniki~~

17.2. 1923. "Köşgi"
 Taşkent, 1925.

Bu şiir ceditler devrinde yazılmıştır. Batuda kadın ler meselesinde
 yazılığın ~~Qobi~~ komunistlerin kadınların yükselme işlerine derbe
~~kurma~~ ^{kurma} ~~lari~~ ^{lari} ~~ndan~~ ^{ndan} sonra ⁸ yazılan bu şiire bakalım:



*What is freedom?
 (To the womenfolk who misunderstand the meaning of "freedom")
 For long times we were without freedom
 At last, we gained it.
 We whipped our horse, shouting "Gee up!"
 But on the way we became tired.*

*"The horse has a defect!" we said and sold it,
 We threw all the stuff away
 And grew stiff like stones.
 We took our shoes off and lied down...¹⁸*

*Oh you womenfolk, who are jolly around saying: "We have won freedom!"
 But who at the same time defame the law of freedom,
 Thus falling into error:
 Don't you mount the horse of freedom!*

*Freedom is a holy law,
 It gives freedom to the victims of tyranny.
 Whoever braves it,
 Will definitely reap the fruit of freedom.
 To gallop relentlessly astride the freedom horse
 Without feeding it is a great sin!
 The meaning of freedom is not to gallop,
 Whoever has a sound mind does not claim this.
 The meaning of freedom is to be free,
 To be filled with knowledge and art,
 To give education to the poor people
 And to brave hardship!*

(Maarif ve okutguçi, No.3. Samarkand 1926)

-38-

Erk nime?

(Erk manisın yanglis tüşüngen hatun-kızlarga).

Köp zamanlar erksiz kaldık,
 Eng söng, erkni kolga aldık.
 Atni "cu!" deb kamci saldıq,
 Tez yürdik de yolda taldık.

"At yazıklı" didik satdıq,
 Les-luslerni koldan atdıq
 Kimirlamay tasdik katdıq,
 Ayak cozup cicit yatdıq.

"Erk aldık" deb erkelegen,
 Erk kanunin tirkelegen
 Hay yanglisgan hatun-kızlar,
 Erk atini minmeng sizler!...

Erk mukkades kanun ertür,
 Mezlumlerge erk berür.
 Kimki bunge kökrekerür,
 Erk cecegin elbet terür.
 Erk atiga bermay azuk
 Kattık capmak günah-yazık!
 Erk manisı capmak emes,
 Esi barlar bündüy demes!
 Erk manisı:erkin bolmak-
 ilmu hunerbilen tolmaq.
 Yoksul elge bilim bermek,
 Masaklatga kökrekermek!
 (Maarif ve okutguci. San 3. Semerkent 1926)



The following poem showed the Turkish people what they needed to get rid of the Russian dominance.

It is known that Russians had prohibited Turks from becoming soldiers. Immediately after the Russian Revolution, the Turks had quickly recovered the fighting spirit of their forefathers. Now this poem written for Uzbek heroes is a sure proof that Elbek is a real Turkish folk poet:

Weapon

*Weapon... oh what a beautiful word!
Take it in your arms, oh poor thing!
Today you have been defeated, poor stripling!
If you do not know the reason, hark and listen!
If you want to protect your existence in this world,
If you do not want to be kicked around nor live in contemptibleness,
Then do not hesitate and take it quickly in your hand!
In it lies happiness, in it lies felicity,
It is the helper of orphans.
It is the leader of those who are weak.
It protects man from lowliness,
It protects man from insult...
If you want to live, too,
Then do not lay it aside by day and night!
Be "a man's son", full of blood and life, too!
Gather your force and save yourself from being kicked around—today!
That strong and enduring arm of yours
It shall not be wasted empty today, not holding a weapon!
That step, by which you are jumping forward,
Shall not be idle today, not strolling the world!
Take the weapon and go far today,
And never fall for tricks and traps!
Your rifle shall take on glorious colour in your arm,
And your sword shall satiate itself with the enemy's blood!¹⁹*

Özbek yaş şairleri, Tashkent 1922²⁰



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Aşağıdaki başka bir şiir Türk halkine rus boyunduruğundan kurtulmak için lazım olan esasi göstermiştir.

Malum, ki Rusler Türklere askerliği öğretmişlerdi. Rusiyoda inkılap olur olmaz Türkler babalarının eski askerlik ruhuna çabuk bulmuşlardır. İşte bu özbek yigitleri için yazılmış olan şiir Elbek için hakikatan Türkün halk şairi olduğuna tanıklıktır.

Koral.

Koral, ah!...kandayin güzel bir söz

Al, kolingga sen ani ey baykiş!!!

Sen yikilding бүкүн zevalli yigit,

Sebebin bilmes erseng tingle, oşit!
Dunyada barligingning saklar eseng,

Hor bolup, topka içre kalmas eseng;
Al, şuni kolga turma tezden al!

Şunde dir baht, şunidir ikbal,

Çünkü ul öksüzin kömekçisidir;

Küçsiz olanların yetekçisidir;

Saklar ul kimseni: rezaletden;

Saklar ul kimseni hakaratdan....

Yasama! isteseng eger sen de
koyma ~~hakarat~~ uni tani künde.

Sen de "ER ogli", kanli, canli bol!

Küçlenib tepküden бүкünde kutul!
Sening ul, küçli hem cıdınli kpling
kalmasun ul bu kün büş koral tutmay,
Sening ul alga atlagan alüning
Kalmasun ting b kün cahar kezney.
Al, koral ket бүкүн usaklarga,
Tusma heç hile hem tuzaklarga.

Miltiging kolda şanlı tus alsun,

Kiliqing "Yav" kaniga bir kansun!....

"Özbek yaş şairleri " Taşkent 1922.



In 1924, when Turkestan was being divided into many "... stans", I could find another poem as unique as Elbek's poem *Turkestan*. However, there is another poem *The madrasa of Bibi Hanum* which is just as beautiful. This *madrasa* was built by Bibi Hanum, the wife of Timur, to be presented as a "gift" upon his arrival from India. Today there are innumerable legends about this *madrasa*. However, once upon a time, literature, science and art flourished at this place and, throughout the Islamic world, it was known as the center of the civilization. In the 19th century, other memories of civilization were destroyed by the Russians in cannon fire. Today, the *Bibi Hanum madrasa* is the nest of pigeons.

The madrasa of Bibi Hanum

*I called it a keepsake from the past,
And indeed it is living for being kept in mind.
A flock of cooing doves dancing around
Tells a tale without beginning from the past.
This beloved, magnificent, majestic building
Is like those who are waiting for their hour²¹:
It offers spectators a worried view
Like the bones of great heroes who made the world tremble,
Bones that were left over after they had died.
The pile of tiles heaped up on the earth
Stabs the blade of sadness into one's heart.
What shall I do? I do not know how to weep at all!
If I knew, I would start to weep and moan
My eyes are shedding fire instead of tears,
They open up towards shattered places,
They are looking at the historic front,
Which is made of gold, and open chapters for themselves.
They read in such a chapter the following meaning:*

-40-

Türkistan 1924 ~~de~~ bir çok "Stanlara" parcalanırken Elbek'in "Türkistan" adında şiirini essiz ki ~~b~~alamadım. Lakin ~~a~~ şiir kadar ~~g~~üzel "Bibi hanum medressesi" vardır. Bu medresseyi Timurin karısı Bibi hanım Timur Hindistan'da yurur ~~iken~~ ~~ün~~in geleceği ~~g~~ün için tartuk (hediye) olarak yaptırmıştır. Bu ~~g~~ün bu medresseye aid sayısız efsaneler vardır. Amma, Vaktila ~~bur~~ada il~~m~~, ~~s~~anat, edebiyat parlamış ve bütün islam almi için medeniyet ocağı olarak tanınmıştır. 19. ci ~~asir~~ de ~~R~~uslar tarafından diğer Türkistanın medeniyet hatıraları ~~ter~~side top ile kısmen yıkılmıştır. Bu ~~g~~ün bu "Bibi hanım medressesi" ~~g~~ü Mercinler yuvasıdır.

Bibi hanum medressesi.

Ötmüsden esdelik didm buni men
Cinden de esdelik üçün yasar.
Hu-hulep raks urgen bir köp kügercin
Menge ötmüsden ertek eytiser
Bir zaman köklerge kanat yaygan
Bu sevgili, muhtasam, heybetli bina
Yımtılmiş saatin kütkenlerde bolup
Körülür közlerge kaygulu gina
Yer yüzün titretken zor baturların
Ölgec kalgusi süyekleridek
Yer üzre toplanan kirpic yegini
Yürek ge uradi elem tiginini.
Neteyin bilymen hec yegini
Bilseydim baslardım yegi-sigini.
Közüm yas örnige alav sacadır,
Yımrik orunlarga koynın acadır.
Altunla yasilgan tarih betige
Karaydı r özige bablar acadır.
Okuydı bul bapde bündeyi mani,



*"Nothing remains in an unchanged state,
Every flaw is not to stay forever,
One day novelty will appear again!" ...*

(Fitret, Edebiyat kaideleri. Samarkand 1926)

Elbek was born to a middle-class peasant family in a village near Tashkent. In Turkish, the word *qışlaq* is also used for 'village'. The poet describes his own village as follows:

Our village

*Our village is very far away from the city,
It is spread to the foot of the great mountain.
Its environs are firmly surrounded by beautiful,
High mountains, like a city.
We sit there in summer and in winter,
Making a flat place on the ground and passing our time there.
In winter we do not move away from our winter quarters at all,
But just live there, together looking after our cattle.
When the spring months finally arrive,
When the snow water is melting and flowing down from the brooks,
We rejoice and say: "The spring month has arrived!
The time has now come to sow the seeds."
And all of us, old and young together, go to the fields
To sow the seeds.
And at that time our village become very quiet,
It sleeps until we return.*

(Yaş Özbek Şairleri, Tashkent 1922)

We read about the great river of Turkestan that is near Elbek's own village in the following poem called *Sir*:

The Syr Darya

*I have not seen the "Amu", but they say
It avoids us already from a great distance,
And after flowing deep into an endless sea of sand*

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"Her bir iş bir halda kalmagay"yani:

Her bir kemçilik kalmagay mengülik,

Bir kün çıkar yane yengilik!...

(Fitret.Edebiyat kaideleri. Semerkent,1926.)

Elbek Taşkent yanında bir köyde orta halli bir köylünün evinde doğmuştur. Türkçede köy için birde "Kışlak" sözü["] işletilir. İşte şair kendi köyünü böyle tasvir eder:

Bizning kışlak.

Bizning kışlak şahardan köp uzakda

Büyük tagning etekige salingan.

Eylenesi,körkem,yüksek tag bilen

"Kala" kebi kattik kina oralgan.

Biz,şul yerde kişin,yazin oltorap,

Ötkezemiz umrimizni yer sorap..

Kışda bütün kışlakdan heç kozgalmay

Turadımız malimizni bakişib.

Kaçan yetib kelse bahar aylari

Erip aksa saylardan kar suleri

Sevinemiz:"Bahr ayi keldi"dep,

"Ekin eker çaklari yakin kaldı"dep,

Kette-kiçik barça birden kirlarga

Ketedirmiz ekinlerni ekerge.

Mene şul çak bizning kışlak tinçgina

Kirişedir;biz kayitgunça uhlarga.

(Yaş Özbek şairleri. Taşkent,1922.)

Elbek Öz kışlagi yanından geçen Türkistanın büyük nehrini aşağıdaki "Şir" adlı şiirinde okuruz.

Sir derye.

Körmedim "Amu" ni,lekin eyşeler:

Bizdan köp uzakdan kaçıp ötermiş,

Çeksiz kum dengizi içre köp yürgeç,



*Loses all of its remaining strength to dry up completely.
 But about the "Syr" I know quite a lot of things:
 The place where it flows is much nearer.
 Who does not know the Ferghana valley today?
 He shares our worries, and he shares a lot of secrets, too.
 He and Amu are like younger and elder brother.
 His name is "Syr", his secrets (sir) must be many.
 His is male and swells his breast.
 There are secrets (sir) that cannot be seen in the name of any river.
 Suitable to his name, he himself is very dignified.
 Even if he has to go very far,
 He does not deviate, nor lose his head, but flows on gently.
 When the night falls, even the moon looks at him smiling,
 And as if saying: "I hope you are getting on nicely!"
 He sees his flow, which never stops and pays heed
 To nothing. And many times fixes his regard pertly
 And circulates around "Syr".
 But "Syr" does not pay attention to his miserable condition
 And does not say a word to his ardent lover.
 When the moon realizes this situation,
 It sobs and wraps itself up in a cloud of grief.
 Syr does not pay the least (sire) attention to this,
 And does not change his flow...*

(Til Sabaqligi, part 4, Tashkent 1926)

There are some poems indicating that Elbek was also involved in politics. Although there are some "red" poems by him, in reality he had internalized the Turkish history and culture. That he had no sympathy for the communists is well-known as is often observed by the journalists of *Red*

-42-

Eng söng qarçab cimcitgine batarmış.

Birak men bilen sirdağ deryani,

Sirriden sezemen bir köp nerseni;

Uning akar ornı dahi köp yakın,

Kim bilmas fergana tagların бүkün.

U, bizning kaygudaş, özi köp sirdağ,

Amu bilen eke-üke karındaş;

Ati uning "Sir"dir, sirri köp erür,

Özi ese erdir, kökregın kerir.

Heç bir su atında körilmes "Sir"bar,

Atıga yaraşa özi köp vikkar

Ul köp uzaklarga barmak bolsa de,

Heç şaşmay, havrikmay tinçlanıp akar.

Keçeler bolganda, ay dahi unge:

"Harmang", dıgen kebi cilmeyip bakar.

Körer ul hem, buning daim tinmeyin

Akıñın, heç nerse közge ilmeyin,

Suklanıp köp çağlar telmirip turer,

"Sir" tegresinde eylenip yurer.

"Sir" bakmas uning bu hali, zarıga,

Sözlemes bir sözni aşık yarıga.

Körgeç bu halni, ay hem hursinar,

Kaygu buluti içre bürkiner.

Sir bunge sire bir buzmas yürüşin,

Özgertmes özinig akıp türüşin.....

(TIL SABAKLIGI.4.çi bölüm. Taşkent, 1926.)

Elbettekin siyasetle epiçe karışdığını gördüğümüz şiirler bize isbat eder. Onin bazan "kırmızı" şiirleri görünürse de, hakikatte o türk halkının ötmüş (tarihi) ve harsi yılan kaynamış ve karışmıştır.

Onin komünist mefkûresi için sıcak yürekli olmadığını her çağ "Kızıl-

Uzbekistan. Today, Elbek is still Elbek. One can still come across many of his poems which aggravate the communists and *Red Uzbekistan*. The following poem of his taken from *Közgi* published in 1926 in Samarkand is also very famous in Turkestan.

To the Uzbek sapling

*Without having seen the spectacle of an overflowing river
Without having looked at it, just laughing all the while,
What have you known, what have you understood, boy?
Even if it is not much, speak of it to me, talk!
"I don't know!"—You do not give an answer to this question!
You do not perceive anything of the spectacle!
If you understood anything of it, you would not remain in a low position,
But quickly go up to the place where the river runs!
The river runs from the top, you know.
One cannot see the spectacle from a low place.
To look from a low place is not easy—it is terrible;
And to stand near the river and watch is vain, too.
If you want to see the "real spectacle", please do not
Cling to this mountain, but climb on top of it!
There you will have all kinds of spectacles...
You will understand many things by looking at the river!...*

September 26, 1922

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Özbekista"muharripleri yazıp durıyorlar. Elbek bütün de gene Elbekdir. Onin "Kizil Özbekistan" ve komunist lerin canini sikan bir çok şiirleri ara - sıra görülmektedir. 1926 da Semerkent de basılmış şiirler toplami "Közi" den şu aşağıdaki şiiri de Türkistanda meşhurdur

Özbek Yigitige.

Taskin selning tamasasin körmekden,
 Unge karap külüp gine turmakdan
 Neler bilding, neler sezding, ey Yigit?
 Az bolsa de, sunden minge sözle, eyt!
 -Bilmen, sen minge wevab bermeysen,
 Tamasadan bir nerse de sezmeysen!
 Sezgen bölseng tübenlikde turmasding,
 Selning köcken örnige tez cikarding!
 Bilesenmi, sel yüksekden köcedir;
 Tamasasin tübden körip bolmaydır.
 Tübden körmek kulay emes korkinodir;
 Sel yanida karab turmak hem bösdür.
 "Cin tamasa" körmek eseng, sul takka
 Cirmasgil de, tag ustige yükselgil!
 Sundan tübenlikge yahsi bir kara!
 Ene, senge türlü-türlü tamasa.....
 Selge karap köp nerseni sezersen!...

26, ci sentabir, 1922.



ČOLPAN

*Do not weep, my land, even if there will be no spring for you today,
The star of your fortune will once in the future start dancing!*²²

Ç O L P A N.

Yıglama yürtim, egerçi bul küningde yok bahar,
Kelgüsi künlerde bahting yüldüzi öyneb kalar!

ÇOLPAN

Çolpan is the most famous and greatest poet of the century. He is a hero who has had his patriotic and poems against the violence of the communists read by everyone. Even before the World War, he was known as Abdulhamid Süleyman in the press of Turkestan and Kazakh Turks. He was born in Andijan one of the famous trade cities of Turkistan as the son of a rich Turkish family. For 10 years now, the name Çolpan is not only known in the Asian, but also in the European press. Like Fitret, Çolpan is familiar with the Eastern literature and he also knows the old and new Russian literature. His language is the most modern form of the new Turkish of Turkestan today. One of his loveliest poems is *Ferghana*, which has been accepted for years as a *qoşuq* (türkü) among the people.

*Ferghana*²³

*Oh beautiful Ferghana, extricate yourself from your blood-red shirt!
Tie yourself up in your wild black hair, which is spread all around!
Reed covers up your breast like a wild forest,
And in your eyes a fire, a conflagration is burning, totally invisibly.
Your broad, extensive summer pasturages present their breast to the enemies,
And a black curtain has fallen down on your soil!
Your eyes are extinguished—so why have you just looked around with your dead soul?
Does the star of your salvation not appear to you at all?
Why do those great high mountains not obstruct the enemy road?
Do you have no sharp sword to cut off the enemies' arms?!
Because of you, we are all helpless, weak and in broken spirits!
So much blood has been shed, and because of you, too!
Do not weep, my land, even if there will be no spring for you today,
The star of your fortune will once in the future start dancing!*

This beautiful poem, which is read in all the cities and villages of Turkestan, as well as on its mountains and deserts and even in Baku, Istanbul, Berlin and Moscow, indicates the faith of the Turkish land; it



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Ç O LPA N.

Şimdiği çağın en büyük ve meşhur şairi Çolpan dir .
 O bugünde kömunist zulmüne karşı yurt sever ve istiklalçi şiirlerini
 herkese okutan bir kahraman Türktür. Dünya vuruşından fvvval de O
 Türkistan ve kazan Türkleri basma sözünde(mattbuatde)Abdulhamid Su-
 layman adila tanınmıştır. Türkistanin meşhur ticaret şehirlerinden
 Endican de bir bay(zengin) Türk ailesinden doğmuştur. On yilldir ki,
 Çolpan adi yalnız asiyade değil avrupa(tasma sözünde)/de belli dir.
 O, Fret gibi şark edebiyatine aşna ve eski, yeni rus edebiyatini de
 iyi bilir. Onin dilini bugünkü Türkistanin yeni Türkçesinin en modern
 şeklidir. Onin en sevimli şiirlerinde biri "Fergane" dir ,ki bu halk
 tarafından yıllardan beri "Koşuk"(türkü) olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Fergane.

Ey güzel Fergane kanlı köylekingden eyleneş,
 Tarkalip ketken kara, vahşi saçing ge bağlaney!
 Vahşi orman kebi bagringni basmışdır kamaç,
 Közleringde heç körinmes bir alav, bir ot yanış!
 Keng çozuk yavlavlaring yavlarga açmış köksini,
 Bir kara perde basipdir topragingning üstini!
 Közlering söngen, ölük ruhing bilen bakding nege?
 Kurtulişning yuldizi esla körünmesmi senge?
 Ul beland zor taglaring nege töselmes yav yolın,
 Yomidir ötküz kiliç kesmekke yavlarning kolin?!
 Biz bütün aciz, zeif, bagri ezilgen sen için!
 Bul kadar kanlar töküldi, ul dahidir sen için!
 Yiglama yürtim, egerçi bul künişde yok bahar!
 Kelgüsi künl rde bahting yuldizi öynep kalar!
 Türkistanin şehir ve bütün köylerinde, dağ ve çölllerinde hatta Bakü,
 Istanbul, Berlin ve Moskva de bütün Türkistanliler tarafından seve-
 seve okulan bu güzel şiir, bu güzel türkü hakikaten Türk elinin ima-



expresses clearly the waves of independence that exist in the hearts of the Turks. Any Turk reading or hearing the last 2 lines of the poem feels himself caught in fire and harmony. The ill-fortune of Turkestan which has lost its spring is a deep sorrow for everyone. However, the line at the end, *Kelgüsi künlerde bahting yüldüzi öynep kalar!* expresses the wish of the present day generation for independence and is prophetic of the 'star of independence' that will shine in the skies of the Turkish nation one day.

Ferghana, the most beautiful and richest garden of Turkestan, had been destroyed by the Russians. Here, there were and still are violent fights for independence between the Turks and Russians. And in this poem "Ferghana" lies the spirit of a Turkish nation, enslaved but never giving up hope for independence. National movement rises from the nation itself. Let us look at the poem below which introduces this idea to the Turkish youth:

*The people*²⁴

*The people is sea, the people is wave, the people is power.
 The people is rebellion, the people is crying, the people is vengeance!
 If the people is in movement, there is no power that can stop it,
 No force that can annihilate the will of the people.
 The rebellion of the people has annihilated the sultanate,
 The people wanted it: so crowns and thrones were destroyed!
 If the people wants it, this land shall be free,
 And the shadow above its head shall disappear,
 Once it moves, once it foams, once it boils,
 Once it strives, once it gets excited, once it dances,
 It annihilates poverty as well as hunger,
 Satiates its own land with everything!
 Let us take all power from the people
 Let us run with open arms towards the people!*

Bukhara, 7.9.1921²⁵ (From *Uyganiş*, 'Awakening')

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(Dalgalarin)

nini gösteriyor; Türk elinin yüreğinde kurtuluş tolkunlarını açık bildirir. Türkünün son iki yolunu okuyan yahud dinlayan her Türk, kendini ot ve ahşang içinde tutmuş gibi hissederek. Bahar gününden ayrılmış Türkistanın bahtsızlığı, elemi yüreğini kan ile öldürür. Lakin sonunda "Kelgüsi künlerde bahting yüldüzi öynep kalar!" demesi, şimdiki neslin yüreğinde büyüye gelmekte olan kurtuluş dileğinden ~~gösterir~~ ve bir kün "kurtuluş yüldüzi"nin türk gökünde (sahasında) parlayacağından habar verir.

Türkistanın en güzel ve zengin bahçesi olan Fergane rusler tarafından veyraneye çevrilmiştir. Burada Türklerin şiddetli istiklal muharibeleri olmuş ve oluyor. İşte bu "Fergane" koşması ^ında esir, lakin kurtuluş ^ıten hiç ümitini kesmeyen bir Türk ölkesinin ruhu yaniyor. Milli tepreniş (haraket) yalnız halk içinden duyar. İşte bu fikri ~~biz~~ gençliğe ~~talkin~~ ^{ediyor} yapar aşağıdaki şiire bakalım:

Halk.

Halk tengizdir, halk tolkindir, halk küçdür,
Halk isyandır, halk elavdır, halk öçdür!...
Halk kozgalsa küç yokdur, kim tohtatsun;
Kuvvat yok, kim halk istegin yok etsün.
Halk isyani saltanatni yok kildi,
Halk istedi: tac ve tahtlar yikildi!....

Halk istese azad bolsun bu ölke,
Ketsün uning başındaki kölenke,
Bir kozgalur, bir köpürer, bir kaynar,
Bir intilür, bir havlikar, bir öynar,
Yoklikni de, açlıkni de yok eter,
Öz yurtini her nersöge tok eter!...
Bütün küçni halk içinden alylik,
Kuçak açib halk icige baraylik!

Buhara, 7.9.1921.

(uyganis)"d

It is well-known that Turkestan is a cotton country from long ago. For this and other reasons like this, Russians had their eyes on Turkestan for ages, and, at the end of the 19th century they attacked Turkestan. During the period of Russian enslavement, cotton agriculture increased from year to year. But this increase in cotton production was to the detriment of wheat and rice production. Thus, the Turks were slowly getting under the slavery of the Russians not only politically but also economically. Since that period, starvation and depravation among the people have been growing; there have even been some revolutions against this foreign and murderous dominance. In 1917 Russia did not send wheat to Turkestan. Within five years, 3 million Turks died from starvation because of this reason. Çolpan described this terrible event in his poem below:

*The sacrifice*²⁶

*Dust passes... all over the earth, it is impossible to open an eye,
The day is hot, the heat takes away your breath...
A dawn passes... in the height of the day, it is impossible to find a way through,
And in the heart arises a great hatred against Creation.*

*Young, innocent animals, who cannot speak,
Are sacrificed in the Holy Name by the hundreds of thousands.
Is so much clean blood that is shed insignificant?
"Recompensation in the other world", "sacrifice", they say, and sacrifice again.*

*A country that has sunken in blood for five years now;
Fathers strangling their sons for being an "enemy"!
It has been plundered until the last morsel of bread was gone;
A suckling cries: "A morsel of bread!"*

*Hunger asks for "VICTIMS TO SACRIFICE" every day
And every day it gets hundreds of victims.
The horror of incessant killing spreads,
So much pure, sinless blood again—in vain?*

*There is not a morsel of bread to give it to the suckling,
But there are thousands of sheep to make them victims!...*

Andijan, July 21, 1921

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Malum,ki Türkistan çok eski zamandan beri bir pamuk ölkesi-
 dir. Bu ve başka buhin gibi ~~seylerden~~ ^{cabotlardan} dolayı ruslar de Türkistane çok
 eski zamandan beri göz atmış ve 19.çı asrın ~~sönlərində~~ bu Türk ölke-
 sine baskın yapmışlar edi. Rus esareti devrinde pamuk ziraeti yildan
 yıla yükseldi. Amma, buyükseliş bugday ve piring ekinleri zararına
 oluyordu. İşte yavaş-yavaş Türkler ruslerin siyasi esaretinden başka
 iktisadi esaretine griyordu. Bu çagdan beri anali arasında açlık ve
 ihtiyac büyüyör, hatta bu yabancı, öldürücü hakimiyete karşı bir çok
 ihtilaller olup geçdi. (17). 1917 yılında rusiyeden Türkistane bugday
 gönderilmemiş edi. Beş yıl içinde, bunden dolayı, uç milyon Türk açlık-
 tan öldü. Bu feci vezfeti Çolpan aşağıdaki şiirinde anlatmışdır:

Kurban.

Köçe çeng...toprakda köz açıp bolmaydır,

Kün issig, hararat nefesni bogadır.

Köçe teng...tikinda yol açıp bolmaydır,

Yürekde barlıkka zor nefret tugadır.

Tili yok, günahsız ve yaş hayvanlar,

Mukkadass nam bilen yüz minglep söyülür,

Azmidir tökilgen şu kadar pak kanlar?

"Savab"deb, "kurba"deb yenemi kuyulur.

Bir el, kim beş yildir kanlarga bulangan;

Atası oğlını "duşman"deb bogadır.

SÖNG BÜRDE NANI HEM KALMASDAN TALANGAN;

Yaş gödek balası: "Bir bude nan!"didir.

Açlık her küni "KURBANLIK" soraydır;

Her küni unge hem yüzlerce kurbanlar...

Kirilip-tugeliş dehşeti oraydır,

Yenemi behude günahsız, saf kanlar?

~~Rix~~

Bir burde nani yok gödekke bergeli,

Minglerçe koyı bar kurbanlık kilgali!...

Andican, 21.7.1921.



Čolpan is the strongest and most well-known revolutionary poet among the recent poets of Turkestan. In comparison with the other poets, he holds the highest and the most honourable place in Turkestan's political literature. Let us read this poem written in 19.8.1920 by him.

To the bright star²⁷ (Remembering The Caspian Sea)

*Beautiful star, illuminated star, quickly tell
The historical mistake of your forefathers!
And, angry about this mistake, how the enemies
Are living off the fat of the land!
Tell, relate all the bloody, joyful, vivid parts
Of life in the past!
Bring before my eyes in all colours the men who gave their
Lives and shed blood for the homeland.
Let the deep-blue, smooth waves of the wide Caspian Sea
Play, move, surge and roll in waves.
Make it tell stories until it grows tired, it shall toil and become tired,
Its sweat shall run; raise its gardens to heaven!
Make it foam, dress it in a shirt of
Fine snow-white foam, adorn the surface of the water.
Dress and deck out its coasts of stone and mountains
With these waters!
Why are you silent, why do you give no answer?
Why have your eyes become red and full of tears?
Why has your face become full of tears, as if it had withered?
Why has a great unrest taken possession of you?
I do not know. For you do not talk. Therefore
You have no nice word to say.
If you open your mouth to suppress the people,
Your desires to spill blood are many.
Well now, be so good to speak an open word, do not conceal it,*

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Çolpan, бүгүн Түркистан yeni şairlerini içinde en ^{güçlüsü} ~~güçlüsü~~
 ve yurt-el ^(terafinden) ~~tamanından~~ tanıl^{an} sayılan ~~an~~ istaklalçı şairdir. O diğer
 şairlere nisbeten Түркистан ^{turn} ~~siyasi~~ edebiyatında ~~dukkar~~ en yüksek ve
 şerefli yeri tuter. Netekin; 19.8.1920 de şu şiirini okuyalım.

Yarug yüldüz ge.

(Hazar esdeligi)

Gözel yüldüz, nurli yüldüz tez sözle,
 Ata larnig tarihdagi hatasin;
 Şul hatadah asiglanip yavlarning
 El kökside sürgen işret, sefasin.
 Sözle, anglat ötkendegi turmuşning
 Butun kanlik, şanlik, canlik yerlerin;
 Köz aldimga cilvelentir ~~yurt~~ yurt için
 Çanlar berib, kanlar tökken erlerin.

 Oynat, kozgat, tolkunlandir, havluktur
 Keng hazarning kömkük. yumşak sulerin
 Sözletdirib çarçat, harsin, carcasin
 Teri aksun; kökke çikar boglarin.
 Köpüklentir, mayde appak köpükden
 Köylek kidir, yasantur su betlerin;
 Ul sulerle pardaz kildir, kiyintir;
 Taglik, taşlik kirgaklarin, cetlerin.

 Nege cimsen, nege cevap bermeysen?
 Nege közing kizarindi, yaşlandı?
 Nege yüzing solgan kebi yaşlandı?
 Nege sende bir talvasa başlandı?

 Bilemen men: sözlemeysen şuningün
 Sözleydirgen yahşi sözing yok erur;
 Agiz açsang yoksul elni ezmekke,
 Kan kilmakka hasretlering köp erur.

 Meyli-meyli kandag aççig bölse hem



However bitter it may be!
How many of them may be heart-breaking,
Be a hero and sing on without quavering.
It is as though the poison of past periods
Passes by without touching the hearts.
And it is as though the despair of the past
Lets the poor language rejoice.
Our forefathers, who met disaster,
Did not know the value of independence.
The last khans did not take proper measures
And precautions to protect the land.
We poor ones became slaves to others
And were crushed under foreigners' feet.
It was we who suffered hardship and injustice
Under every evil-doer and depraved ruler.
Enough, that is it! You engaged me in conversation,
But you yourself are just standing there and listening!
But even though, you are affected by my words
And beating yourself on all sides in tremendous lamentation.
So make your tongue dance and speak, you, too!
Lead us into the ancient world!
Do not lose time staring at the secret curtains and the suppression
But tear them apart with your light!
Do not let yourself be implored. For you are rather like one who
Implores others. But nevertheless you want to be implored!
Do you not feel the least shame or disgrace on you, my pretty one,
To suppress those who are already being suppressed?
Speak, tell us, beautiful star, speak soon!
For I am singing about your prettiness, too.
For I am mingling with the foams of the Caspian Sea
And intoning sweet songs in praise of you.
Your mouth has opened, your voice can be heard,
Speak, speak! We two are no strangers!...

The Caspian Sea, August 19, 1920 (Özbek Yaş Şairleri)

The *Altun Defterleri* ('Golden Books') of Çolpan which have not been published yet, are the mirror of Turkestan. Some poems from this thick file of *Altun Defterleri* are present in my poem archives, which I have been collecting ever since I was a child. Here are some of his poems on *Basmachis* who died for the independence of Turkestan:

Do not think that the flames of the heart will die away!
They are a volcano, a burning mountain, do not stir its opening!
It blows flames and red heat in the faces,



-48-

Togri sözni yaşirmasdan sözleyber
 Her kañalar yürek yargıç bolsa de,
 Batur bõlup sekingine küleyber.

Ötkenlarning zeheri hem bu künde
 Köngilerge tegmey öter kebidir;
 Keçmişlarning hem yegisi şu künde
 Yoksul dilni sevintirer kebidir.

Felaketler körgen ata-babaler
 Istiklalning kimatini bilmegen;
 El ve yürtni saklar üçün song hanlar
 Tüzükke çara, tedbir kilmagan.

Biz yoksullar başkalarga kul bolup
 Çet ayklar tabanida ezildik;
 Her yaramas, her buzukning teginde
 Elem tartkan, cebir körgen biz edik.

Yeter, boldi! meni gepge salding de
 Özing unde tinglep gine turarsen;
 Yene tagin tesirlenip sözimden
 Ah-vah kilip özni horyan urarsen.

Sözle sen de tilleringni öynetip,
 Eski alam içre bizni alıp bar,
 Yaşrin yatkan perdelerni, zulmetni
 Karab turma, - nuring bilen yirt yubar!

Yalintirma, başkalarga yalingan-
 Kebi sen hem yalintirmak istey sen;
 Ezilgenni ezişlikke sen gözel,
 Azrak şarm, azrak haya kilmay sen?

Sözle, anglat, gözel yüdüz, tez sözle,
 Meh de sening çirayliging sözley men;
 Hazardegi köpüklerle bişlesip
 Seni maktap şirin küyler küley men

Agiz açding, tavşing keldi, ey yüldüz,
 Sözle-sözle, yat kişi yok ikkimiz!...

Kuşgun dengizi, 19.8.1920.
 (Üzbek yaş şairleri)

Çolpanin hala basilmamış (~~tebedülmemiş~~) "Altun defter"leri Türkistanin
 ayinesidir. O kalın cildli "Altun defter"lerdeki bazı şiirler de
 benim küçükliğimde, beri topladığım "Şiirler"arşivimde vardır. İşte
 onlardan Türkistan istiklali yolinde can veren ve vermekte olan
 "Basmaçi"laraaid bazı şiirler:

Köngildegi alavların söner diye oylama,
 U vulkandır, yanar tagdir aççigini kozgamal
 Yüzleringe elngeler, kızıl çoğlar pöskürür



*They break their cage like a lion and yell in your ears.
 My burning heart is ablaze with pain from an all-mysterious secret,
 A bloody pall takes away my temper in a broad valley.
 The voices of the beasts are raging in my ears,
 My beloved country is groaning in the YAG²⁸ of beasts.
 What I desire is that the young men with bands round their heads (1)
 Fill that valley, that they be not extinct, but alive!²⁹*

That is a part of a long poem. He tells us about the identity of the young men with bands around their heads in this poem below:

War³⁰

*A screaming, yelling voice
 It is the voice of the heroes who want to take lives,
 A demolishing, overthrowing movement
 It is the beginning of the big war, which is imminent.
 Those who are marching like stupid ones without knowledge of the terrain
 And erring to-and-fro: that is the enemy.
 What finds neither rest nor enough space in a broad heart,
 But overflows: that is the faith of the nation.
 A great and hard, an overthrowing war,
 Life or extinction
 – There is no armistice!...*

Tashkent, March 8, 1921

Let us read this poem which tells us the present situation of Turkestan:

Worry for the land³¹

*Oh imperial eagle, who spreads wings in the boundless skies of the land!
 These fields of red that can be seen, they blur the eyes, this is a dream!
 The bones of the dead are running, making a crackling noise.
 They are running and find a place higher than "The bosom of the country".
 The country is poor, they are exposed like a herd without a shepherd,
 Sooner or later they were robbed of their moon and their sun.
 The eyes of the enemy are burning like fires on all sides,
 A handful of apes is in command of the country, they tremble like leaves...*

(1) Whenever the "Basmachis" attacked, they used to tie scarves around their heads.

-49-

Arslan yanglig yurtni buzub kulagingda ökürür.
 Otli könglim sirli sirning derdi bilen yanadir,
 Keng vadida kanli kepen tinçligimni aladir.
 Yirtkiqlarning tavuqlari kulagimda çingleydir,
 Sevgen elim yirtkiqlarning yaginda ingleydir!...
 Menim üçün tilek bolgan çember basli yigitler(1),
 U vadida toladirlar, bitmegenler, tirikler...

Bu, uzun bir şiirnin bir parçasıdır. "Çember basli yigitler"nin kim
 olduğuna şu aşağıdaki şiirinde sözler:

Küreş.

Bakurguçi, ökürguçi bir tavuş
 Baturlarning can soragan tavşudur,
 Yikitguçi, Agdarguçi kozgaliş
 Yakindagi zor küreşning başıdır.

 Tenteklerde bar yerin bilalmay,
 Unde-bunde özni urgan düşmandır;
 Keng yürekde türe almay, sigalmay
 Taşip ketken: milletdegi imandır.

 Ulug kattig, agdarguçi bir küreş,
 Ya bar bolış, ya yok bolış;
 - yok yaraş!...

Taşkent, 8.3.1921.

Bu zamanlarda Türkistanin halini tasvir eden şu aşağıdaki şiiri
 okuyalım".

Yurt kaygusi.

Yurtning ketsiz köklerinde kanat yaygan kara kuş!..
 Bu köringen kizilliklar, nur oynası, bu bir tuş!...

 Ölüklerning süyekleri şakirlasup çapalar....
 Çapalar de "El köksinden" yüksek orun tapalar...
 Yoksul eldir, padaçisiz pada kebi taşlangan,
 "Ay"idan de "kün"iden de erte ve kec talangan...
 Yav közleri alav kebi dört bürçekde yaltirar,
 El başında bir top maymun...yaprak kebi kaltirar...

(1) "Basmacilar"vurus kilar eken baslarini bir yalik ile baglarlar.



*For the long way, which creates thoughts of separation,
 The mighty hero does not cry bloody tears from a lovely body, but from his eyes.
 Do not drop that blood on my breast to serve as medicine,
 Do not show me the soft silk shirt of the "prostitute"!
 Do not cure the wounds of the soul with water from the paradise-garden Keuser!
 In your wild black hair there are "lights" that are weeping tears of blood,
 The moaning of these lights makes your wounds bleed..
 The hearts of the orphans, lined up one after the other, are chaste,
 Their black shroud, oh you apes,
 Is purer than your desires—it is immaculate.
 Can no piece of flint be found to light a candle for the heart of the country?
 If that holy candle will not be lighted, the bloody tears will not cease.
 Those bandit apes, who hold the touchwood in their hands,
 Have thrown the candle away and are playing with just the touchwood...*

*Oh imperial eagle that you spread your wings in the endless skies of the land!
 Abandon the poor country now and take me in your wings for a little while!*

8.9. 1921

And in another poem of his, he says:

*With houses where marriages are held the heart does not come to peace³²,
 The wish of the heart is not satisfied with houses.
 They say, tonight no bright candle will burn,
 If noble sons do not light the touchwood...*

9.6. 1922

If we take a look at the date of the poem above, we can immediately realize that it was written when Enver Pasha was commanding the *Basmachis*. We will deal with Enver Pasha in the section on *Basmachi* literature. Here, let us take a look at the poem which was written when he was shot down while fighting in the village Baljivan. Some parts of this poem have been translated into German and published by myself.

Baljivan³³

*My cry shall drown all the world,
 It shall cut off the last strings of hope!
 Arrows are stuck in the stone-like breast
 Of a young man who is shivering from torture.
 Much sorrow has entered the black eyes of a deer that is striving
 After freedom in the mountains.
 A man, who used to make the seas and waves shake,
 Has broken down and fainted under the might of the blows.
 The star of salvation has vanished into nothingness,
 Your last life has been taken away by your enemies.
 From the coasts of the Sea of Marmara, the road to Edirne,*



-50-

Ayriliklar üye salgan üsün yolgakara bir
 Tenden emes, közlerinden kanlar töker batur er...
 U kanlari "deva" diye kökregimge tamizma,
 "Fahişaning" yupka ipek köylekini körsetme,
 Köngüldegi yaralarni "kevser" bilen höl etme!
 Kara, buzuk saçlarında kan yiglagan "nurler" bar
 U nurlarning ingleyişi yaralarni kanatar....
 Katar turgan öksüklerning köngülleri appakdir,
 Ulerdegi kara kepen ey maymunlar,
 Siz degi tileklerden saf, fakdir.
 El köksige şam yakgali tapilmasmi sinik taş?
 U ezgi şam yakilmasa heç tohtamas kanli yaş.
 Kollariga gögürt tutgan u yolbasar maymunlar
 Şamni taşlap gögürt bilen oynilar...

Yürtning söngsüz köklerinde kanat kakkan kara kuş,
 Yoksul elnâ taşlap kel de, endi bir az meni kuç!..
 8.9.1921.

Başka bir şiirinde diyör, ki:

Öylengen öylerle köngül yupanmas,
 Köngilning istegi öy bilen kanmas,
 Eyteler bu tünde yaruk şam yahmas,
 çakmasa gögürtni asil ogullar!....

9.6.1922.

Yük~~arida~~ geçen "Küreş" şiirinin tarihine baksak, ^{on}ın Türkistanda
 "Basmaçılar" başında Enver Paşanın durd^uğu zaman yazıldığı derhal an-
 laşilir. Enver Paşaya aid "Basmaçi" edebiyatında etraflıça görüşürüz.
 Burada yalnız un^um, Belcivan köyinde şehit düş^üş^üğ^ü zaman, bu munasibet-
 la yazılan şiirine bakalım. Bu şiirin bir kısmi benim t^{er}efimden
 Almancaya t^{er}c^üme edilmiş ve basılmıştır.

Balcivan.

Feryadım dünyaning barlığın bogsun
 Umidning eng songi iplerin üzsun.
 Gazabden titregen yaş bir yigitning
 Taşdek sinesige oklar ornaşmış.

Taglarda erküçün yürgen kikning
 Kara közlerige matamlar kirmiş.
 Deryaler, tolkunlar titretken bir er
 Zerbeler kahriden yikilmiş, talmiş.

Kurtuluş yıldızı yoklikka kirmiş
 sening song caningni yavlering almiş.
 Mermere boyleri edirne yoli
 Çitalçe kengligi bogaz tarligi,

Karpat belendligi trablis çoli,
 Gözel selanikning şirin baglari



*The wideness of Çatalca and the narrowness of the Bosphorus,
The heights of the Carpathian mountains, the desert of Tripolis,
The sweet gardens of beautiful Saloniki,*

—— (51) ——

*This news made us weep tears of light and blood,
Which trickle in the faces of the martyrs.
The streets of Berlin have taken one of the brave young men (1)
The galba, full to the brim, they have taken him to his breast.³⁴
The winds of Tiflis have thrown a man of salvation (2)
To the ground, dying him red with blood.
The colour of history has been blackened and filled up
By masses of blood; but Baljivan
Has dyed the very last hope red with blood!..
Ah, how unhappy times have come...
My cry shall drown all the world to death,
And devils shall weep about my terrible destiny!*

This poem above and the poem below are always recited with nervousness in every general assembly of communists in Turkestan. The last one was written in 1927.

Leaves³⁵

*In autumn the ground has become a little paler.
A little paler has the ground become in autumn.
Recently, the leaves have become a little redder,
A little redder have the leaves become recently.
Suddenly, the crows are crowing in the gardens...
I wonder whose fate it is that is ending in destruction.
They hit the cheeks with a claw that sticks,
I wonder who it is whose hope is reduced to nothing.
Hey you, who have returned from cold lands covered with layers of ice,
May that rough voice of yours be lost in the steppes!
Hey you, who are collecting fruit from my garden,
May your deep-black heads be buried in the ground!
I wonder whose hope it is that is reduced to nothing.
In the last time the leaves have become a little redder,
I wonder whose fate it is that is ending in destruction.
In autumn the ground has become a little paler.*

While Çolpan was writing poems for the independence of the Turkish nation, he did not forget the women and the girls who were getting bored in ignorance and servitude either.

(1) Talat Pasha

(2) Cemal Pasha

-51-

Şehidler yüzige tamguçu nurler
Kanlar yiglatdi bizni bu habar!

Berlin köçeleri yigitning birin(1)
Toptolug galbalar koynuga aldi.
Tiflis havalari bir necat erin(2)
Kara kanga boyap yerlerge saldi.

Tarihning rengini köp kanlar bilen
Karaytgan, toldirgan; birak, Belcivan!...
Eng songi umidni kanga boyagan!...
Ah! kandag ogursiz zamanlar kelgen...

Feryadim dunyaning barligin bogup oldisin,
Kapkara bahtimga şaytanlar yiglasin!....

Türkistanda ~~ki~~ kommunistlerin her bir kurultayinda bu ~~şii~~ ve aşagida
görecegimiz ~~şii~~ daim ^{asabiyetle} tekrarlenir. Sönmüştü 1927de yazılmış ~~şii~~.

Yapraklar.

~~Kız çagi topraklar kizarib aldilar~~

Kız çagi topraklar gezerib aldilar

Gezerib aldilar kız çagi ~~yapraklar~~.

Söng demde yapraklar kizarib aldilar...

Kizarib aldilar söng demde yapraklar.

Kargalar baglarda kag...laşip kaldilar...

Bilmedim kimlarning kismati uzulur?

Yanggakka yapışib bir çenggel saldiler,

Bilmedim kimlarning umidi yok bolur?

Ey savuk ellerden muz kiyib kelgenleri!

U kopal tavşungiz kirlarda yok bolsun!

Ey benim bagimda mevamni tergenler,

Kapkara baýingiz yerlerge kömüsün!

Bilmedim kimlarning umidi yok bolur?

Söng demde yapraklar kizarib aldilar?

Bilmedim kimlarning kismati uzulir?

Kız çagi topraklar gezerib aldilar!...

Çolpan Türk elinin istiklali için şiirler yazareken, cehalet ve
kulluk içinde cani, ruhi sikılan kadın ve kızları da unutmamıştır.

(1) Talat Beşa (2) Camal Panha..

*Me and the others*³⁶*(An Uzbek girl is speaking)*

Those who laugh are the others, but me, I am weeping.
Those who play are the others, but me, I am wailing.
Those who listen to the fairy-tales of freedom are the others,
But me, I am the one who listens to the verses of slavery.
Others have wings to fly up to heaven,
They become guests of kings and live peacefully in gardens.
They sing their songs everywhere to the people with words like mother-of-pearl
And a voice like the ney flute.
I have wings, too, but they are tied up...
There is no garden, there is no king—but a thick wall.
I have got a song with words like mother-of-pearl
And a voice like the ney flute, too. But only the walls hear them...
The free ones are the others, but me, I am held under arrest,
Me, I am treated like a pack animal.

Uyganiš, Tashkent 1922

Čolpan has never been to Istanbul. Despite this, he has very beautiful poems written in Istanbul Turkish. Here is an example from one of those:

*For the Uzbek girl*³⁷

I see in the skies of every country
Stars that are shining oh so bright.
And by drinking the light which the stars
Throw down, every human being becomes satisfied.

There is no rose-garden where the womanly rose would not open,
There is no park where the womanly nightingale would not sing,
There is not a single place where womanly odour would not spread,
There is no heart that would not be enraptured by a woman's love.

The roses in the rose-garden of every nation

-52-

Men ve başkalar.

(Özbek kızı ağzından)

Kölgen başkalardır, yiglagan men-men
 Oynagan başkalar, ~~ing~~legen men-men
 Erk erteklerini eşitken başka,
 Kulluk koşugini tinglegen men-men
 Başkada kanat bar, kökke uçadır,
 Şahlarga konadır, bagda yayraydır.
 Sözleri sedefdek, tavşî neydek
 köyini her yerde elge sayraydır.
 Mende de kanat bar, lakin baglangan...
 Bag yokdır, şah yokdır kalin devar bar:
 Sözleri sedefdek, tavşu neydek
 köyim bar... uni de devarler tingler....
 Erkin başkalardır, kamalgan men-men,
 hayvan katarida sanalgan men-men....

"Uyganış, Taşkent 1922.

Çolpan İstanbulde hiç bulunmamış. Şu halda bile İstanbul Türkçesile
 yazmış bir çok güzel şiirleri vardır. Unlerden bir misal olarak şu
 şiiri okuyalım:

Özbek kızı için.

Görüyörüm her birinⁱⁿ elin gökünde
 Yıldızları parıl-parıl yanyor,
 Yıldızların yere saçan nurları
 Her bir insan içe-içe kanyor.
 Gülşen yok, ki kadın gülü açmasın
 Bağcı yok, ki kadın bulbul ötmesin
 Yer yokdır, ki kadın isı saçmasın
~~Gönül~~ Gönül yok, ki kadın meftün etmesin.-
 Her milletin gülşenide gülleri



*Are the women and girls of that nation.
A way considered true by every nation
Is the trace left behind by the women.*

*Not in every nation are those beautiful faces of the women
Hidden behind curtains.
Not in every nation the cursed malignant hand
Of abuse stretches out to the women.*

*Wherever I have gone, I found before me
Women with unveiled faces.
And remembering: "In my homeland
The Uzbek girl is locked in!" I used to be filled with worries,
Such as being strangled and dying.*

*Do you know the black curtain? The mean
Old world has left you behind to us..
It has put slavery on the heads of women, who were free,
In the name of "religion".*

*Before my eyes the great sultanate of the
Old world dies with all its glory..
The devils are suffering from its death,
But the angels are laughing way up in heaven...*

*And you are its relict, yes you, curtain!
You may not stay in this place, which is free,
I take an oath for the imprisoned Uzbek girl.
Now there is just the grave for you here.*

*A grave, from the stones of which tears drop,
And inside the stone, the Uzbek girl is weeping all the time.*

August 1920

Like Fitret, Çolpan too has poems with the titles "Behbudi" and "Snow":

*Remembering Mahmud Hoca Behbudi³⁸
In pitch-black nights I looked for your unmarked grave,*

-53-

Ö milletnin kadınlari, kızidir.
 Her milletin hak saydığı bir yolu
 Kadınların basmış olan izidir.
 Her milletde kadınların o güzel
 Çehreleri perdelere girmiyor
 Her milletde harşisi hain el
 Kadınlara gazap ile ermeyör.
 Her nereye gittimse karşımda
 kadınları açık yüzle bulurum
 Hatırlarım: „kapalıdır yurtda
 Özbek kızı“ kaygulara dolurum
 Bogulurum, ölürüm....

Siyah perde bilirmisen? alçak
 Eski dünya seni bize bırakmış,
 Erklî olan kadınların başına
 „Din“ isminden esirliği o takmış.
 Göz altında eski dünya o büyük
 Saltanatı, şevketile öliyör...
 Ölmesine iblislerden dağlayan
 Meloklerse gök yüzünde gülüyör.
 Sen de Anın mirası, sen ey perde
 kalamazsen azat olan bu yerde
 And içirim esir Özbek kızı için
 Şimdi borda yalnız mazar seningin.
 Bir mazar, ki taşlarından yaş damlar,
 Taş içinde Özbek kızı hep aglar.

August 1920.

Çolpanin de Fitret gibi „Behbudi“ ve „kar“ adında şiirleri vardır:

Mahmud hoca Behbudi hatırası.

Bilgisiz kabringni kara tunlerde



*Kindling the torch of hope for you.
After your pure red blood had sent out its scent
I grew weak and sped up my pace.*

*Oh star of my hope, who has fixed his eye
On places where bitter, cruel death is abounding.
To men who were about to make away with myself, too,
I asked the question: "Where is he, whom I lost?"*

*I made quite an effort to spread the roses,
Of which I carried heaps in my arms, over your grave in veneration.
But instead of roses he longs for poison in the world,
For all the deeds he has done were done in vain...*

*And I worship, helplessly, before that ocean
Your grave, shedding my tears.
And with bitter wrath I curse
At that same place the white-headed black demon.*

*Thus I am staying alive through what is left in the country
Of your name, which shines like a star.
This name I keep in mind, without going astray
Nor making the slightest move away from the way you have shown.*

*My dear father, you do not know that the roses in my arms
Are roses of mourning.
Below the earth with your pure soul, you do not know
That the rose of joy has withered a long time ago.*

*Look... I have spread the roses of my heart.
I am calling your arms to collect them!...*

Snow again!³⁹

*Snow again! The white pall was wrapped around again.
Again, heaven sent his feathers down to earth.
The voices of the crows returned again,*

-54-

Emelining şamin yakib izledim.
 Kizil ve pak kaning, islerin saqqaq
 küqsiz kuyi yurüşimni tizledim.
 Emelimnig yuldüzi, kim köz tikti
 kara, çirkeno ölüm kani yerlerge.
 Seval berdim: „yokatganim kayda“ deb
 Özimni hem yutmak bolgan erlerge.
 Kolimdagi tutam-tatam gülümni
 Kabring tapib saqmak için trişdim;
 Gül örnige zehir tiler muhitde
 Uning kilgan bu işleri boş işdi....
 Mende aciz u muhitning aldida
 Kabring tapib köz yaşımnı tükmeke,
 Hemde aqqig hidetimle u yerde
 Ak kelleli kara devni sökmeke.
 Şunijng uçun yuldüz kebi yarkirab
 Ilde kalgan isming biken ture men,
 Şul isimni esleb çizgen yölingden
 Yirak ketmey, kimirlamay yüre men.
 Aziz atam, kolumdagi güllerni
 Matam güli bolganini bilmey sen;
 Şadlik güli köbden beri sölgenini
 Yer astida pak ruhingle bimey sen.
 Ene... saqdim kalbimdagi güllerni
 Termek uçun çakiramen kollarni!...

 Yene kar!

Yene karlak kefen oraldi yene,
 Yene kök yerge kuydi perlerini,
 Karganing tilleri buraldi yene,



Again winter summoned its "troops".

*A mass of clouds , like a pitch-black demon,
Was covering up the face of the sun again.
Mighty summer had laid down his "banner of victory"
And did not open an eye in his sleep.*

*They were waiting for the great festival of Springtime, Summer's daughter,
Which was to be held on the "New Day"⁴⁰.
And they said that someone as rich in various flowers as Summer
Was going to have a pastime with blossoms.*

*Since age-worn Father Winter could not bear it,
He made a surprise inroad while everybody was waiting for the festival.
- "Why was he accompanied by a blizzard?"
- "He was too much of a ruffian, therefore he blew like mad".*

*The crows alone are applauding Father Winter
With their mutual croaking above the snow.
But in the chilling, poisonous, cold night
The widows and the helpless are cursing him.*

*In every orphan's eye there are many drops of poison,
In every poor home there is moaning and weeping.
In every pale face the last light dies away,
On all sides, in all directions, there is just trouble...*

*Winter again... The pall of snow has been spread out again,
A festival for the crows... another pastime has been found.*

(Pieces of literature, Tashkent 1926.)⁴¹

The poet Çolpan translated Ali Ulvi's poem Snow into Turkestani Turkish. As it is linguistically significant, let us compare these two Turkish

-55-

Yene kiş şerleşdi „nefer“lerini.
 Kapkara dev kebi bulut yegini
 Kaplap aldı yene kuyaş yüzini,
 Yatkuzub yaz Batur, „yengis tug“ni,
 Uykudan aqmadı sire közini....

Kütdiler: yaz kizi „bahar ay“ning
 „Yengi künde“ yasalgusi tēyini;
 Yaz kebi türlü gülge köp bayning,
 Didiler, ~~şarıkıyutı~~ bolgusi çeşek öyüni.

Karigan kiş babay qidalmasdan,
 Töy kütülgende kildi bir baskın;
 -Nege ergeşdi unge karlı boran?
 -Köp kopal erdi ~~ax~~ asti ul azgın!

Bir fakat kargalar kar ustida
 kaglaşib kiş babayni alkaylar.
 Tüngdirüci, zehir, savuk tünde
 Beve-becaralar yamanlaylar.

Her yetim közde tamçi-tamçi zehir,
 Her fakir üyde İngleyiş ve yegi;
 Her sarig yüzde songi şula söner,
 Her taman, her tarafda bir kaygu....

Yene kiş...kar-kefen yapıldı yene,
 Kargaga töy..öyün tapıldı yene.

(Edebiyat parçaları. Taskent, 1926.)

Ali Ulvi bekān „kar“ adlı şiirine, şair Çolpan Türkistan Türkçe sine
 çevirmiştir. Bunun dil tarafından ehemoyeti olduğu için, her iki türk



dialects with each other:

Snow

*On all sides snow, snow, snow...
It falls and leaves with the wind.
As if they were using a sieve,
The clouds scatter snow-white butterflies.
They fly past in swarms
And get off playfully,
They show a way to the winds..*

*Look! All sides are snow-white:
The square, the street, the roof, the wild garden.
The ground is motionless, heaven is frozen,
The air has grown tired and is filled with mist.
The snow falling in its breast
Makes room for itself
And strikes the peacefully silent houses.*

*Slowly, very slowly, it spreads out,
It stretches out like a pall
On the stark naked field
From which the birds have fled homeward.*

*The winter resort is far and invisible.
The clouds do not retreat from its head
No road, not a track is to be found!*

June, 1924.

When we look at the poems above, we realize that Čolpan was inspired by the new ways brought by the new life, having left aside the rotten beliefs of old Chagatay literature and Persian influence. He has a strong faithful spirit which defies life, death and time. What gives rise to this soul and possesses national will is

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şevcesini birbirine salıstıralım:

Kar

Her tamanda kar, kar, kar...

Yel bilen tüşer çıkar.

Bulutler eleb elek,

Seper appak kepelek.

Töde-töde ucarlar,

Eylenişib kaçarlar,

Yellerge yol açarlar...

Mene her taman appak:

Meydan, köçe, tam, çarvaki

Yerler turgun, kök tungan,

Hava çarçab bogulgan....

Kökrekige tüşken kar,

Özige oay aktarar,

Cimcıt oylarnı urar.

Ağır-ağır yayılar,

Kefen kebi keriler

Kıp yalangac talaga,

Kuşı ketken üyega.

Kışlak yirak... körinmes,

Başıdan bulut ketmes,

Ne yol, ne iz bilinmes!...

Hasan İyün, 1924.

Yukarıda ^{"türk"}gördüklerimiz şiirlere baksak, Çolpan eski çagatay edebiyatındaki quruk zihniyetleri ve İranın bütün tesilerini atarak yeni hayatın yeni talkinlerini almıştır. ^(Hayat) Turmus ve ölümden korkmaz, zamandan kaçmaz güçlü, imanli ruha ege (sahip)dir. Bu ruhu doğduran ve milli



Turkestan at the hearth of independence. The poem below is a witness for this:

Freedom of conscience⁴²

*Hey, you prisoners... hey, you suppressed,
Battered and poor countries;
Hey, you hopeless, stigmatized,
Under the gallows... you perfectly chaste hearts!*

*Hey, you widows and helpless,
Hey you, who are put in irons,
Hey you, who are in distress for freedom's sake:
Do not supplicate so much before them!*

*To expect mercy from wolves
Is fools' business.
To overcome any difficulty -
This is a most adequate method in life!*

*To tyranny everything
Probably will submit;
If tyranny reaches its zenith,
Even the top of the sky will touch the earth.*

*There is no way that a tyrant will not
Become the ruler of animals and human beings.
But it is impossible
To rule over free consciences!*

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iradesine sahip Türkistan istikbal beşigindedir. Bune şu aşağıdaki şiir tanıkladır:

Vicdan erki

Ey tutkunlar... ey ezilgen,
 ey kinalgan yoksul iller;
 Ey umidsiz, ey cizilgan
 Dar aldiga... appak diller!

Ey beveler, becareler,
 Ey bağlangan kişenlerge,
 Ey erk Uğun avareler,
 Köp yalinmeng siz unlerge!

Bürilerden aman kütme-
 Tenteklerning içidir ul;
 Her manigni hatlap ötmek-
 Turmuşda eng togri bir yol!

Zulm aldida her bir nerse,
 İhtimal, ki bōyūn eger;
 Eger zulm evoge kelse,
 Kök başi de yerge teger.

Hayvanlarga, insanlarga
 Zalim ege bolmay kalmas;
 Fakat, erkin vicdanlarga
 Ege bolmak-mimkin emes!...



Fitret describes lyrical Čolpan in his work (Rules of Literature, Samarkand: 1926), like this:

“...In our old literature is an epic named ‘Layla va Majnun’. Persian and Turkish poets used it (i.e. the theme) many times. Always the story is one, the event is the same. But a person, who knows Persian and Turkish reads of the Persian versions Nizami, then Jami. After having reached Khosraw he surely prefers Navai. Having seen Fuzuli he puts Navai aside and reads Fuzuli obsessively. This is caused by the ‘style’.”

Amongst our old and young poets a lot of things were written on the way of love and separation, one can see easily that the ideas in these (poems) resemble each other. But on that way Čolpan’s

*Are you gone, having left me forever?⁴³
Am I left alone with my sorrow?
Am I to weep here with my instruments,
Striking up the tune of painful separation?*

*Have the last angels of my love
Flown straight up to heaven?
Have the pure longings of the heart
Fallen into an enemy’s arms?*

*Are you rolling your eyes
Far away from me now?
Are you bringing the hearts to ebullition
In another hot spring now?*

*Now you are in that garden...
Am I left all alone now?
There is no wailing, all the world is quiet.
At this moment it would be better if the earth swallowed me.*

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Lirik Çolpani şair Fitret (edebiyat kaidaları, Semerkent, 1926.)
Eserinde şöyle yazıyor:

"... Eski edebiyatımızda "Leyli-Mecnün" dastanı bar. Buni
Fars şairleri, Türk şairleri niçe defeler yazganlardır. Hemeside hikaya
birdir, vakia bir türlidir. Birak farsça, türkçe bilgen bir kişi ularning
Farsilaridan "Nezami"ni andan keyin ~~Nezami~~ "Cami"ni okuydur. Hisravge
Kelgeç, Nevayini elbatta ulerge tarcih kiladir. Fuzulini körgeç Nevayi
ni takcege koyub Fuzulini okuşga mecbür kebi boladir. Mene buler
"Uslub"nin işidir.

Eski-yangi şairlarımız arasıda işk, hicran (sevgi, ayrılık) yolida ~~çok~~
nerseler yazilgan, Alardagi fikirlerinin birbirlerine ohşaganları
açık körinadır. Birak bu yolda Çolpanning:

Ketdingmi mengige taşlap
Kaldimmi kaygularimla?
Hicrannig köyini başlap
Yiglavçi çalgularimla!

Sevgimdan songi melekler
Toptogri kökgemi üçdi?
Köngilden taza tilekler
Yavningmi bagriga tüşdi?

Artik sen menden uzakda
Közlerni öynete sen mi?
~~sen~~
Artik başka bulakda
Dillerni kaynata sen mi?

Artik sen ündegi bagda...
Artik men yekkemi kaldım?
Feryad yok...barça cihan cim
Yer yütse yahşi şu çakda....



*Are you gone, having left me?
Am I left alone, at the beginning of trouble?*

weeping is loved and read like a completely new subject. And that is the profession of style and so on.

If we examine our Uzbek-Chagatay literature, it is very clear to see that the style at the times of Navai, Babur and Baykara was not the same as the style at the times of Umar khan Fazli. The style at the times of Umar khan and the style at the times of Mukimi and Evlani and the style of our contemporary new literature are very different styles.

If we put three gazels from Navai, Babur, and Baykara to one side and three poems from Čolpan, Batu, and Elbek on the other side the differences in style are easy to see. Together with this like Navai, Babur, and Baykara each have their own individual style Čolpan, Batu, and Elbek each have their own individual style, too. That means like the style changes in times it changes according to the individual, too. Moreover, going deeper we see that even in the prose and poetry writing of one and the same person the style changes. Navai's style in poetry goes with a sublime harmony,; in prose, however, it is heavier. When we look even more keenly we can also see that the style of an author changes according to the subject. One does not see the style that Navai used in "Leyla va Majnun" in his "Lisanu 'ttayr". But these changes (that is the changes according to the form and the content of the writing) are not essential. The styles of Navai and Čolpan in poetry and prose or the changes according to the content do not destroy their personality. Čolpan's being Čolpan, Navai's being Navai leaving aside the changes in content is always visible in their poetry and prose writings."

Let us read one of Čolpan's countless proses as an example:

Spring trouble 1:

In Nature's arms⁴⁴

Was it not a dream what I have seen?

Was the one who looked at me smiling not a lie?

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Ketding mi sen meni taşlap

Kaldim mi kayguni başlap?

deb yiglagani bütünlay yengi bir nerse kebi sevilib okuladir. Bu de uslubning hüneridir... v.s.v.s.

Özimizning Özbek-çagatay edebiyatimizni alip karaganda cüde açık körinedir, kim: Nevayi, Babir, Baykara lar Zamanidagi uslub bilen Umar han Fazli lar zamanidagi uslub bir emesdir. Umar han zamanining uslubi bilen Mukimi, Evlani zamanidagi uslub, hem бүкүngi yangi edebiyatimizning uslubi başka başka uslublerdir.

Nevayi, Babir, Baykaraning üç gazalini bir yanda; Çolpan, batu, Elbekning üç şiirini bir yanda koyub karasak aralaridagi uslub başkaligi açık körinedir. Şuning bilen birge Nevayi, Babir, Baykaradan her birining özige mahsus bir uslubi bolgani kebi Çolpan, Batu, Elbeklarning hem özlerige mahsus uslubleri bardir. Demek, uslub zaman bilen özgergeni kebi Şahs bilen hem özgeredir. Hatta, yene bir az cukurak barib bir kışining saçım-tizim yazganida hem uslubning özgerib kalganini köremiz. Nevayining uslubi tizimde haşmatli bir ahang bilen yuradir; saçimda ese agirlaşib kaladir. Yene bir az ingiçkerek karaganda; bir şair uslubinig eserning mevzuuge göre özgergenini hem köremiz. Nevayining "Leyli-mecnün"idegi öyneb kaynagan uslubini uning "Lisanutteyr"ide körüp bolmaydir. Birak bu özgerişler (yani: eserning şekli ya mavzuuge köre bolgan özgerişler) esas emesdir. Nevayi hem Çolpan ning uslubleri tizim-saçimda, ya mavzuge köre özgermek bilen ularning "özlik"lerini (sahsiyatlarini) yokatmaydir. Çolpanning Çolpanligi, Nevayining Nevayiligi bu şairlarning tizim-saçim eserleride, mavzu özgerişige karamasdan, körinib turadir..."

İşte Çolpanın saçım=nesrinden örnek olarak ~~onun~~ sayısız esrlerinden birisini okuyalım:

"Köklem kaygusi:

TABIAT KUÇAGINDA.

"Körgenim - tüş emesmi?

Menge karap cilmeygen-aldaş emesmi?



Was the one who invited me and wanted to attach me to her not an imaginary girl?

That true smile, real pleasure and womanly tender caress...Does happiness come by it?

No... But the deep-blue mountains, the first smiles of the dawn there, the inviting regards of the forests there, the murmuring greetings and applause of the waters there, they tell no lies.

Nature, oh you speechless woman, oh you silent beauty! When you are speaking without words and calling without a sound, I understand you.

You make no sound, so animal greed does not stir; you utter no words so fear does not awaken in the childish heart.

No, oh voice of the earth, oh neighbour of the heavens—I understand you.

I comprehend very clearly the fairy-tales that you soundlessly told about periods past And the stories that you related, without speaking, about the future.

It is no dream what I have seen,

It is no lie—she smiled.

It is not a mirage—she called.

It is no imaginary girl: she invited and wanted to attach me to her.

The smile itself comes,

Pleasure itself!

Caress itself comes,

Which is as much as felicity itself!

It summons me, it invites me and pulls me towards itself, that only one...

Nature's mysterious smile!

Moscow, November 11, 1926

Spring trouble 2:

Nature's answer⁴⁵

To name appearance dream

Smiling a lie,

And calling a Fata Morgana

Was what the poet had learned.

Your feelings are ruins,

Your thoughts are shattered,

All your being is putrefied with illusion!(1)

Come,

Come to my soft bosom,

(1) A reference to the poem "illusion" by M. and E. in the first number

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Imlegen ve özige iltirmek istegen- hayal kizi emesmi?
Çinekem cilmeyiş, çin sevinç, zenana- nazik erkeletis...saadatmi keledir?

Yok...kömkük tag, undegi tağlarning birinçi cilmeyişleri, undegi or-
manlarning imlegüci karaşlari, undegi sularning çildilegüci selamlari
alkışlari aldamaydir!

Tabiat, ey sakav hatin, indemes güzel! Gepürmesden sözlegen, inde-
mesden çerlegen vaktingda men seni anlay men.

Sen indemey sen, yavvayi hirsalar de kozgalmaylar; sen gepürmey sen,
bala köngil hem çöçib uyganmaydir.

Yok, ey yernig tavşat, ey köklarning koşnisi, men seni anlay men;
sening ötkenler togrusunda sözsiz eytken ertekingni, kelgüsi togrısında
indemesden- sözlegen hikayangni cüde açık tuşune men...

Tüş emes- körgenim,
Aldaş emes- cilmeygen,
Sarab emes- çerlegen,
Hayal kizi emes- imlegen ve özige iltirmek istegen.
Cilmeyiş- özi keledir,
Sevinç- özi!
Erkeletiş özi keledir,
Bahtning özginesini!
Çakiradir meni, imleydir ve özige tartadira u bir gine...
Tabiatning sirli cilmeyişi!...

Moskva, 11.1.1926.

"Köklem kaygüsü: 2

TABIAT NING CAVABI.

Köringeni-tüş,
cilmeygeni-aldaş,
çerlegen ni- sarab...
Sarab deb örgengen şair!
Sezging-vayran,
tuşunçeng-harab,
barlığing-"vahm" bilen çirigen!(1)

Kel,
mening yumsak bagrimga kel,

(1) M.ve E.ning 1.ci sanidagi "vahm" şiirige işaret.



*To my mountains,
 To my mountain slopes, come!
 Come to my river bends,
 Come to my Altay mountains "with feet of silver and shadows of gold!"
 Come to my forests,
 Come to my mounds, which are surrounded by forests!*

*Come,
 Start up,
 Rise,
 Strive upward through my corridor of fresh green and flowers, until you grow tired.
 The more you rise, I blow into you completely putrefied breast fresh air with my
 nourishing breaths; the more you are lifted up I take away from every step you take the
 grief of many years.*

*When you reach the broad slopes, I will spread before you on your way innumer-
 able carpets of various colours; when you ascend my blue heights, neighbours of heaven. I
 will begin to present all the beauties of the world to your eyes.*

*In my bosom there is poison,
 But on my head—the waters of paradise.*

*To those who say "wealth", I will give poison from my breast, melting it like
 "lead". To those who say "satisfaction", and "living", I will give the paradise water of
 life from my breast and make them happy with it.*

Lead is in my breast; it is boiling over...

*Just one drop of it is enough to extinguish a life, and on the field of life it rules as
 it pleases, foams and overflows beyond its limits.*

*The ones of your kind have become worshippers of the lead in my breast in order to
 gain victory over the hatred and wrath they nourish against each other.*

*Oh, you poet, whose companion is the wind,
 Whose breast is a torrent,
 And whose feelings are like tuberculosis!*

*When I smile,
 The forests are laughing,
 And when the forests laugh,
 The light animals that exist make their wings into feet, wherever they are, run into
 the strong arms of the forests and turn their faces to the virgin leaves.*

Not the forest, but they run.

And when they run,

The soft wind greets them with refreshing kisses.

And when the soft wind greets them,

Unknown feelings tickle the strings of the animals' hearts.

The animals, at just that place, sing heart-burningly—but just as heart-healingly,

And there and then together with me all of nature's children live in satisfaction...

The earth listens ecstatically,

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taglarimga,
tag*ki* yanbaglarimga kel;
tokaylarimga,
"pille payali-altun sayali"altaylarimga kel!
Ormanlarimga,
ormanlar bilen oralgan korganlarimga kel!

Kel,
köteril,
yüksel!
Meyseli,güllü yöleklerimden harb-alib yukarilarga intil*g*!!
Yükselgening sari çirigen kökreginge ündürgüçi nefeslerim bilen
dem sala*g*in;köterilgening sari her baskan kadamingdan niçe yillik
derdleringni alamen.

Kang yanbagrlariga yetkenigde yölleringe alam-alam elvan rengli
gilemler yayib taşlay men;kök koşnisi çokkilarimga çikkanigda köz-
leringe dünya-dünya gözelliikler körsete ~~xxx~~ başlaymen.

Koynimda- zeher,
başimda- hayat sui kevser...
"Baylik"degenlerge koynimdan zeher alib-"korgaşin"dek eritib bere
men;"yayraylik"degenlerge başimdan hayat sui-kevser alib mest kilib-
elitib beremen.

Korgaşin- koynimda;kaynab,taşib yatadır...
Bir tamçisi bir hayatni öçürgeni yarasa hem.... hayat maydanida
istegeniçe hukum sürüb,köpriip-aşıp,haddan taşip yatadır.
Gening cinsdaslaring,bir birlerige karşı esregen kahr*ı* gazablerini
basmak için,koynumdagi korgaşimga çokunaturgan boldular,
ey,esi- yel,
kökregi-sel,
Tuygusi-sil şair!...

Men cilmeysem,
ormanlar küledir,
ormanlar külgende
yingil canivar ~~kaki~~ ki bar,kayerda bolsalar hem kanatlarini ayak
yasab-ormanlarning kuyuk kucaklarig,a yügüredir,yüzüni bakire yap-
raklarga öçiredir.

U emes,uler yügüredirler,
uler yügürgende
yumuşak yel uleri serin öpişler bilen kutlaydir.
Yumuşak yel kutlaganda
canvarlarning köngil killarini bilinmes tuygular kitiklaydir.
Canivarlar,öşende,uzub-uzub,esirib-esrib sayraydirlar,
şunde menbilen birge bütün ~~t~~abiat bahalari yayraydirlar...

Yer-behüş-behüş tingleydir,
kök-zavklar*ı* tolup yiglaydir.
Yerning-tavş*ı* eşitilmeydir,
kökning köz yaşı tökilmeydir.
Bulutlar-turgan caylarida katib kaladirlar,
güldürekler-dem cikazmasdan nefes aldirlar,
çakmak-taşini bagriga berkitedir,
ney kemelek-oklarini eteyleb çekitedir...(1)

-2-

Şunde sen,ey şair,
yasama bir çakmakning çakkanini,
suni bir bulutning ötürgenini,
kuyma ney-kemelekden korgaşinli bir ok çikkanini,

(1) cekis yaki cekib kalis-pkning atilmay,cikmay kalisi.



*The sky weeps before the abundance of pleasure.
 But no one hears the voice of the earth,
 The tears of the sky are not shed.
 The clouds are struck motionless where they are.
 The thunder is holding its breath without making a sound.
 He presses the flintstone to his breast,
 The reed bow allows him to stretch the arrow slowly...(1)*

- 2 -

*At this point you, oh poet,
 You see, you hear, that an artificial flintstone is struck,
 That a man-made cloud thunders,
 That a leaden arrow is emitted from a bow of cast iron*

(1) *Cekis* or *cekib kalis* means that the arrow is not shot and remains on the bow

— (62) —

*And that everything about is screaming with fear,
 Screaming!*

*The birds flee,
 In fear of death they spread their wings towards any free space,
 The leaves grow pale, like children who fear an evil demon, and fall into silence.
 The orphanized, breast-fed babies of some houses even lick their body hair in fear of starvation.
 A number of beasts is sprawling on the ground,
 My world-encompassing music is torn apart in a second,
 And all of its strings are broken at the same time.*

*What appears to you is not a dream,
 The smiling one was me,
 And the calling was no mirage,
 It was my music.
 One of your friends,
 A human being that resembled you,
 Came one day.
 He broke an arrow -
 He destroyed my inexhaustible bliss,
 Your insatiable dreams...*

Moscow, March 22, 1926

As we have seen in his poem *Fergane*, Čolpan searches not for the "Soviet Star" but maybe for Turkestan's star of INDEPENDENCE and DESTINY. For this independence, the poet wrote not only poems but theatre plays as well like *Yarkin ay* and *Polat*. The poems he has written lately are more power

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bütün teverek-atrafning korkob bökirgenini...
bökirgenini esite~~gen~~,köresen!

Kuşlar kaçarlar,
ölüm dehşeti bilen her boşlukka kuçak açarlar,
yapraklar,ecineden korkan balalarday,rengleri oçub cim bolalar,
elle kaysi üyening yetim kalgan gödekleri,açlık havfi bilen ham
tüklerini yüleler....

Bir niçe canivar-yerlerge çözüledir,
mening alaşumul nagmam bir zumde buzuladir,
killari- birden üzüledir....

Körgening-tüş emes,
cilmeygen-men edim,
cerlegen-sarab emes,
mening nagmam edi.
Kardaşlaringdan biri,
senge ohşagan bir adam balasi,
bir kün keldi,
bir ok üzdi,
mening- tügenmes vacdimni,
sening-toyub bolmas tüsingni buzdi!...
Moskva,mart 22, 1926.

Çolpan şiirlerinde "Sovyet yildizi"ni degil,belki "Fergane"
adli şiirinde gördüğümüz gibi Türkistanın KURTULUŞ veBAHT yildizini
arar. Şair bu Kurtuluş için yalnız şiirleriyle degil,"Yarkin ay" ve
~~XXXX~~ "Polat" gibi bir çok tiyatrolerile de çalışmıştır. ~~Onun~~ ^{Onun} son
zamanda yazdığı şiirleri evvalkilerinden deha şiddatlıdır.Bu gün
Türkistan'da bütün mekteb gençleri ve genç şairler hep ~~onun~~ ^{onun} gitdiği
yolda yürümektedirler. Altay adında bir komunist Özbkistan maarif
komisarlığının resmî macmuasında(Nr,1. Temmuz,1930)"Maarif ve okut-
guçı"da yazıyor:

"Bazibir mekteblerde devari gatitalar Çolpanning şiirleri
bilen,yahud Çolpanga ergesib yazular devam etedir."

Çolpan çokdandır ,ki Özbek devlet akademî tiyatro trupunda
diğer mütehassisi olarak çalışmaktadır.Bunden bir iki yıl evvel Semer-
kanda komunist kurultayında birisinin Özbek komunist firkasi baş
katibi Ekmel Ikrama:

" Biz milletçi Colpana niçin akademî trupunda
iş veririz?" diye sorınca Ikram şöyle cevap vermişti:

^{S. Salohi} "Çolpanin bize karşı şiirlerinden başka ^{güne} bir ordusiz
~~kurultay~~,yani dili vardır.Biz medenî kuruluşımız devrinde ~~onun~~ ^{yerini} diline,
şeklen ihtiyacımız vardır. Çolpanin ~~onun~~ akademî trupunda tutaçak

ful than the previous ones. Today all students and young poets in Turkestan are following in his footsteps. A communist called Altay writes in the official journal of the Uzbek Ministry of Education; (Nr., 1 July, 1930):

“In some schools wall newspapers are going on with Čolpan’s poems, or with articles emulating Čolpan.”

For some time now, Čolpan has been working as a language specialist in Uzbek government academy theatre group. A couple of years ago, in one of the Communist general assemblies, when someone asked Ekmel Ikrama, the head secretary of the Uzbek Communist party; “Why do we employ Čolpan in the academy group?”; Ikrama’s reply went like this: “Apart from his poems, Čolpan has an army of weapons, i.e. his language. We need his language formally in this period of our civilized establishment. We do not have any other person who can fill his place in the academy group.”

—— (63) ——

In the whole of Turkestan, in every young person’s pocket, there is a section of Čolpan’s *Altun Defterler* (golden books). The youth say in unison with him:

*I am a traveller on a long way, I am going,⁴⁶
I get what I want on these ways...*

Page 64 is missing in the manuscript

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kimse siz ok!"

Bütün Türkistanda her gencin cebinde Çolpanin "Altun def-
ter"den bir parca vardır. Bütün gençlik unanla birlikte diyor, ki:

"Uzak yolning yolçisi men, bara men,
İsteginni bu yollarda ala men!..."

MAGJAN JUMABAY

The Turkish province in Turkestan comprises two parts; settled and nomadic. The poets we have seen so far who are from the settled Turks, i.e. those who are now called Uzbeks. Jumabay, on the other hand, is a member of the nomadic group, that is to say, one of the Kazakh Turks. Earlier, the Turks wrote in the form of Common Turkic known as Chagatay. The Kirghiz writer Hoja Ahmet Yesevi is an example of this. Recently, there have been many Turkish writers using several Turkish dialects. For instance, Jumabay wrote in his native dialect Kazakh. The dialect of these Kazakh Turks has without doubt remained purer than the literary Turkish used in Turkestan for centuries. There is little Persian and Arabic influence on him. This characteristic of him is very promising for the future of Common Turkic. But this Kazakh Turkish does not have the character of "touching a little the heart of the scattered Turkish children" as the poet notes. Common Turkic might have been born from two literary variants of Turkish used in two great Turkish countries (Turkey and Turkestan) for centuries. As a matter of fact, there exists almost no difference between these two variants of Turkic, both of which can easily be understood among all Turkic nationalities. As the Turkish used in Turkey gets more and more purified, the existing small difference between the two becomes more insignificant. However, it is obligatory for the Common Turkish of the Turks born in Turkey for them to get acquainted with the works written in the common language and in dialect by the Turks in Turkestan. That is why we are going to read some of Jumabay's poems in his own language. The poems given below have been taken from Magjan Jüme Bay Ölengderi (The meadows of Magjan Jumabay) published by the state printing house in Tashkent of Turkestan.

*Turkestan*⁴⁷

*Turkestan is the door to the two worlds*⁴⁸,
Turkestan is the cradle of the manly Turks.
Astonishing events happened in such a place like Turkestan,
It is the legitimate share of the Turks, given to them by god.
In ancient times, they called Turkestan Turan,
And my manly Turkish was born and raised here.
Turkestan has a destiny full of ups and downs,
And it has seen many astonishing days.

Magcan Cumabay.

Türkistan.

Türkistan iki dünya esiki göy
Türkistan er türkding besiki göy
Tamaca Türkistanday cirde tügen
Türkding tangri bergen nisibi göy.
Ertede Türkistani Turan diyisken
Turanda er Türkim tuvub ösken.
Turanning tagdiri bar tolkimalı,
Basınan köp tamaca künde kecken.

*Turan has a history that went by like a year.
 It grows up to heaven rapidly like a great fire.
 Turan's earth and sky are special,
 Like the sea, inspiring deep thoughts.
 How do you find the endless roads of Turan?
 And how do you find the sea-like lakes of Turan, the shores of which cannot be discerned?
 Turan has rivers that deserve to be called "seas",
 Like torrents that deluge the roads when they overflow.
 Turan has mountains that reach up to the sky,
 The tops of which are eternally covered with snow-white hair.
 They become wounded in the breasts and release playful springs
 From their cool hair, which flows down the mountains.
 There are roads, where no wind moves the bright yellow sand,
 Like cemeteries—not a sound there but eternal silence.
 Is there a soul or a wild animal on the endless roads?
 The fairy and the jinni make the yellow sand their playground.
 Turan has lakes that may be called seas:
 The seemingly endless incomparable Aral Sea
 And in the breast of the holy Issyk Kul on the other side.
 The venerable grey-headed Turkish mountain crest saw the light of the world.
 In former times, the Turks called these two,
 Oxus-Jaxartes-Ceyhun and Sayhun, streams.
 On the sides of these two waters⁴⁹,
 You will find the holy grave of your father.
 How do you like Turan's Tianshan mountains?
 Not many other mountain chains can equal it.
 Whenever looking on the mighty Khan Tengri, who touches the skies,
 You will recall the Turk, who is deprived of his freedom.*

—— (67) ——

*The Tarbagatay mountains, which embrace Lake Balkhash,
 If the crested Pamir, the navel of the world, the Alay
 And the holy Qazıqurt mountains would not exist,
 Would Noah's ship have found a resting place in the flood?
 Turan's earth and people are special,
 And so are their days that flow past like a storm.
 In ancient times, all of Turan was ruled
 By that venerable khan Afrasiyab.*

*Since unfathomable times it has been no primitive land,
 You will recognize the place if you open the books of history.
 There was holy enthusiasm for Turan
 In ancient times, Keyhusrav and Zulkarneyn
 Longed with holy passion for Turan.*



-66-

Turanning tarihi bar otti cilday
 Zavlagan kaling urtday aspanga urlay.
 Turanning ciri minen sui de cat
 Tengizdey avur oy bergendey.
 Turanning igi - ceksiz coli kanday
 Tingizdey kimeri cok köli kanday?
 Turanning darya atalgan uzenderi
 Tassaxsiki coldi baskan sili kanday.
 Turanning tavlari bar aspanga askan,
 Mengige basin appak caadar baskan
 Bavrinde erke bulak saladı oynak
 Caralip tavdan akkan salkin casdan.
 Coldar bar cilde curmas sapsari kum,
 Muladay hic bir un cok mengi tiptin.
 Bolmakba can-canivar ciksiz colda?
 Sar kumda salar oynak pri men cin.
 Turanning tengizderlik kölleri bar:
 Calkigan igi tegsiz tengiz aral,
 Bir cetda kasiyati issik kölding
 Bavrinde dünya körgen türk kök-cal.
 Ertede oks-yaksart-cayhun,sayhun,
 Türkder bu ikevin darıa diyiptin
 Kiyeli sul iki su cagasında
 Tabasing ~~haxaxg~~ kasiyati babang bitin
 Turanning tiyancanday tavi kalay
 Par kelmes tiyancanga tavlur kalay
 Eñksiz ir türkdi oyga alarsing
 Kökke askan kan tangrige kalay-karay.



*Is there any place on earth that can match with Turan?
 Has any nation amidst the human race ever matched with the Turks?
 Has any man ever matched with the men of Turan
 With their broad intelligence, their fiery zeal and their vivid imagination?
 No man like Chenggiz was ever born in the human race,
 So wise, clear-minded and cold-blooded.
 The mere name of a lion like Chenggiz
 Pours courage into a man's heart.
 From Chenggiz sprang Chagatay, Ogoday, Joji, Toluy
 And all took after their father, all were like wolves⁵⁰,
 The tiger Subutay and the grey-headed, venerable Jebe⁵¹.
 Turan has rulers like Tarbagatay⁵².
 From him Timur sprang, burning like fire.
 Tamerlane sprayed fire onto the face of the earth,
 The blaze of which darted past like a flash of lightning.
 Not at all do I praise Turan in vain:
 Even without this, Turan is known to many foreigners.
 For few scientists have matched with Ulugh Beg,
 Who exchanged his secrets with the heavens while sitting at home.
 Few scientists have matched with the vivid-minded Ulugh Beg.
 A noble blood is the holy Turkish blood.
 From this blood stemmed Ibn Sina⁵³.
 The wealth of his knowledge is sheer magic!
 Has a man like this ever been born on the face of the earth?
 Who is to derogate the Turks' music,
 As Farabi's nine-stringed dombira?
 Who did not find consolidation, stopping his tears,
 When he played on it in ninety-nine different melodies?
 Was ever a living soul born in Turkestan in the shape of fire, besides the Turk,
 Who resembles fire when he dances?
 When many Turks were struggling over the heritage,
 Did not the Kazakhs still live in simple felt-tents?
 Turan had become homeland to a nation of lions,
 And in Turan, my Kazakhs had established their rule as khans, too.
 Kasim⁵⁴, the unlucky khan of the Kazakhs,
 Possessed so many regions of Turan.
 There were few khans as righteous as Nazar.
 And the way to the Alash⁵⁵ horde opened to Eshim Khan.
 A wise khan like Tevke⁵⁶ gathered
 The leaders of his tribes on Kültöbe hill, they say.
 This Turan has indeed been Alash soil since unfathomable times.
 Had it not been for Turan, the Alash would not have expanded their territory.
 On the earth of Turan, the lion of the Alash, their man Abilay⁵⁷, found peace.
 Do not say "Let us consider the Aral-Irtysh line as lying outside of Turan!"*

=67=

Balkacdi bawrina algan tarbagatay
 Cutali, cir kindegi Pamir, alay,
 Kazi kutt kasiyati tav bolmasa,
 Topanda nuh kemesi toktar kaly?
 Turanning ciri de cat, ili de cat
 kuyinday basindan kecken küni de cat.
 Turanda tügeli men bilep turgan
 Ertede ertegi kan esراسياب.

Icaldan cir imes ul kara payim
 Bilesin tarihni acsang Turan cayin.
 Turanga kasiyati kumar bolgan
 Ertede hey hasuravmin zulkarneyn
 Turanda cir cuzinde ■ cir citkenbi?
 Türkke adamzada il cikenbi?
 Kın akil, otti kayrat, cuyruk hayal
 Turanning erlerine er citkenbi?
 Tumaydi adamzatda Cingiz dey er
 Danicban, tungik oy, polat ciger,
 Cingiz day arslanning kuri ati de
 Adamning curekine ciger birer
 Cigizden Cagatay, Oktay, Cuci, Tule
 Ataga tartib tugan bari Bori.
 Cingiz ding kul bastagan iki közi
 Yolbars Subutay min kökcal ~~Cirixotib~~ Cibe
 Turanning biyleri bar Tarbagatay dey
 Sul biy den Timur tugan otbup oynay
 Ot cacip cir cuzine aksak Timur
 Cark itip ote cikkan nacagayday.
 Turanndi maktabaymen tipti tikke
 Unsiz ak Turan tanis talay citke
 Sirlaskan uyde otirip aspan kökbin
 Bilgi az citken cuyruk Uluk bekke.
 Asil kan kasiyati Türk kani
 Sul kannan ibn Sina ali tukkali
 Muldigi bilminig yikirdirlik
 Dunyage bundeB adam tudimi ali?
 Türkding kim kimitken musikasin
 Farabi tokiz c ikni dogbirasin
 Cirtkende toksan tokuz turlendirib
 Cubanib kim timagan közding casin?
 Turanda Türk oynagan usab otga
 Türkden baska ot bop can tudime?
 Kop Türk inci alib talaskanda,
 Kazakda kara cangrak kalgan cokbe?
 Arslan ilge utan bolgan turan
 Turanda kazagim de kandik kurgan
 Kazakding kaska coldi kasim kani
 Turanning talay cirin biyleb turgan.
 Adal kan az boladi nazardayin
 alacka esim kanning coli dayin.
 Tavkedey danicban kan kurgan iken ~~Basirakadadikodakadadik~~
 Basina kül tüpening kurultayin.
 Bu Turan icelden ak alac ciri
 Turansiz tarkamagan Alac cirin
 Turanning topraginda tinctik tapkan
 alacding arstani ablay eri.
 Turannen sari arkani bölek dime
 Türkistan alti alacka bolgan kibe.
 Turanning tupragin kucib catir
 Kicegi ivding eri kök cal Kine



*Turkestan is 58 for the "Six Alach"59.
The grey-headed old man of the Small House, Kine60,
Surrounds the earth of Turkestan.*

——— (68) ———

*Who would not long for the earth he was born in, if all of the earth was doomed?
Does not even the winged magic horse dream of the country he was born in?
Oh great Alach, veteran from the backward regions,
If you only would know it, Turan would be yours, too.
The wise Tianshan and the Pamir and the Alay
Have been waiting for you for a long time with longing regards.
What is the meaning of throwing yourself into the desert,
Foresaking the path of Kine and Abilay?
In former times the Turks called these two,
Oxus-Jaxartes-Ceyhun and Sayhun, streams.
On the sides of these two waters61
At least go and look for the holy grave of your father!*

The poem below by Jumabay, addressed to his kith and kin in Turkey during the war of liberation in Anatolia, is quite beautiful and sincere.

*To my far-off brother!62
My brother, who is suffering great pain far off,
My brother, who is like a withered tulip,
My brother, who is shedding lakes of tears
Surrounded by a massive inroad of enemies,
My brother, before whom great trouble lies,
My brother, who has been enduring abuse for all of his life,
My brother, whose skin is flayed alive by
Scoundrels, whose evil souls are made of stone.
Oh my dear! Was not the golden Altay our mother,
Who found us like untamed foals?
Did we not run freely and playfully in her breast?
Were our faces not like the bright moon?
Did we not throw multicoloured63 altın saka dice there together?
Did we not share the same bed, stepping joyfully upon each other?
Did we not suck in the milk of our Altay-like white mother together,
And enjoy its taste together?
Did not pure fountain splash for us all the time,
In sparkling clear drops, like peals of laughter?
And, ready like a bird that was about to fly or a storm that was about to break,
There was, if we wished to, a winged horse that looked like Buraq64.
You had yourself pampered in the golden age of the Altay
And went beyond the Aegean and the Black Seas.*



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Cir batsa, kim izdemes tугan cirin
 Tulpaede köksime tугan ilin?
 Arkaning arda kiri kaling alac,
 Turanda bile bilsen, sening ciring
 Kiragi tiyancanmin Pamir alay
 Küt di köpden seni karay-karay.
 Kine min Ablayding colin kumay,
 Capanda capiluing mani kalay?
 Ertede oks, yaksart-cayhun, sayhun,
 Türkder bul ikevin darya diptin.
 Kiyeli sul iki su cagasina,
 Bolmasa, barsangci izdeb babang bitin!

Anadolu istiklal vuruşında (Cüme bay) ⁱⁿ ~~Alisdagi~~ Türkiye de ⁱⁿ ~~millat~~ -
 daşlarına hitaban şu aşağıdaki şiiri de çok güzel ve samimidir.

Alisdagi bavrıma!

Alılda avur azab cikken bavrım,
 Kuvargan baycecekdek bavrım,
 Kamgan kaling cavding ortasında
 Köli kilib közding casin tökken bavrım.
 Aldingdi ağır kaygu cabkan bavrım.
 Umringce cafa körgen bavrım
 Tuksigen cureki tas cavuz candar
 Tridey tering tunab catkan bavrım.
 Aprımmay, mesbi edi altın altay
 Anamız bizdi tapkan asav taydey
 Bavrında curmabidik salib oynak?
 Cuzimiz emesbi edi carkin aydey?
 Alalı altinsakka atısabbik?
 Tibisib bir tusekde catısabbik?
 Altaydey anamızning ak sutinen
 Birge emib birge demin tatisbab bik?
 Turmab bid bizding için muldir bulak
 Sildirab silk-silk tavdan kulab?
 Dayar bub uckan kusdey, sukkan koyun,
 tilesek, bir-bir tulpar yine prak?
 Altayding altın küni erkeletib?
 Kelgende colbarsbub, canga er cetib.
~~Kax~~ Ak tengiz, kara tengiz ar cagina,
 Bavrım, meni tastab kalding ketib!
 Men kaldım cas balapan, kanat kakbay,
 Ucam deb umtilsam de damil tabmay,
 Cün silter, col körseter can bolmadi.
 Cavuz cav koysunbe indi meni atbay?
 Korgasin cas curekke ogi batdi.
 Güne siz taza kanım sudey akdi.
 Kansirab elim kurub isden tandım,-
 Karangu abaktıga berk capti.
 Kormeymen kece ~~kaxkax~~ curgen kir saydi de,
 Kündiz-kün, tünde kömis nurli aydi de,
 Ardaktab, cin cibekdey orayga orab
 Ustirgen altın anam altayde de
 Aprımmay, Arildikba kalın tabdan?
 Cayilib kayıtbaytugin cavgan okdan
 Türkding colbarsda cureginen,
 Cinimin korkak kulbub cavdan bukkar?
 Carık urub erkke umtilgan Türk canı
 Cinimin avirdima bitib kaldıma?



*And so, my brother, all of a sudden, you went and left me!
 I was left behind with young children, unable to raise my wings.
 Even though I tried to fly, I could not find the necessary strength.
 There was not a soul to show me the way or point out a direction.
 How should the wicked enemy miss this opportunity to hit me?
 His bullet dug itself into my young heart.
 My innocent fresh blood poured like water.
 My hand lost its blood and I fainted.
 He locked me firmly up in the dark prison.
 Now I cannot see the steppes and gorges where we walked only yesterday in daytime,
 Nor the moon of silver light we saw at night,
 Nor my golden mother Altay, who brought me up,
 Wrapping me into napkins of real silk.
 Oh my dear, have we indeed been separated from the great mass,
 From the lion-strong heart of the Turks?
 Have we really, for fear of our enemies, turned into chicken-hearted slaves?
 Has the soul of the Turks, which strives for freedom with all its might,
 Really become completely ill and lost all its strength?*

—— (69) ——

*Has the fire in the heart been extinguished
 And the boiling blood of the forefathers in the veins?
 My brother! Me here and you there,
 We both are swallowing blood because of our misfortune.
 Is it worthy of our name to live as slaves? Come on, let us go
 To the Altay, to the golden throne that we inherited from our ancestors!*

Both Fitret and Jumabay whom we are studying now are national heroes for Timur and the Turkic world. Everyone who has a heart-felt devotion to the Turkic world always takes pride in this great Turk, Timur. But the anti-Turkists and those who have been inflicted with the illness of tribal intolerance do not like Timur. They have not forgotten yet the defeat dealt upon them by Timur. To give an example, an article has been published by the title of "An address to the Turkic Provinces" in the first issue of the journal called "National Path" written by Gayas Ishaki Bey. In this article, an unjust and shameless epithet was used for Timur: "Timur, the insane son of the Turkic world". This insult directed at Timur means an insult against entire Turkestan and the Turkic world. Why should Timur be insane? Should he be labeled as insane just because he united the Turks of Turkestan under one flag? Should he be labeled insane for establishing a great and powerful Turkish state and civilization in Turkestan? Or, should he be labeled as insane for receiving punishing for the national sin of ungrateful Tokhtamish? Should he be labeled as insane for crushing

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Ot sonup cürekdəgi, kurudima
 kaynakan tamirdagi ata kuni?!
 Bavrum! sen ucakda, men bu cakda,
 Kayçidan kan cutabiz, bizding atka
 Layıkba kul bub turu? kel keteylik
 Altayga, ata miras altin takka!...

Şair Fitret ve şimdi gördüğümüz Cümebayda, Timur, Türklik için
 bir milli kahramandır. Yüreğinden Türklüğü seven her Türk bu
 büyük Türk ile daima iftihar eder. Amma, türklüğün çağrılarını
 ve kabila taşsubu hastalığına mibtala olanlar Timur'u sevmeyen-
 ler. Onlar Timur'u yedikleri dayagın acısını hala unutmamışlardır.
 Netekim Gayas Ishaki "Bey" bey'in "Milli Yol" adlanan mecmuasının
 ilk sayısında "Türk illerine hitap" diye bir makale basılmıştır.
 O makalada: "Türk'ün şüursüz Oğlu Tiümülen" gibi bir haksız ve
 ayıp cümle kullanılmıştır, Timura yapılan bu hakarat bütün Türkiye-
 tana, bütün Türklüğe yapılan hakarat demektir. Timur için şüursüz
 olsun? Timur bütün Türkistan Türklüğünü kendi bayrağı altına
 topladığı için mi şüursüz olsun? Timur, Türkistanda bir büyük
 ve kuvvetli Türk devleti ve medeniyeti kудuğu için şüursüz olsun?
 Yahu, Timur, nankör Tohtamişin milli günahı için cezalandır-
 dığı için şüursüz olsun? Timur yardım ile tahata çıkan ve Timur -
 ve Yıldırım Kavgasını çıkararak sadakatsiz Tohtamişi ezip ta
 Moskva kapıları önüne kadar Türk ordusu yığdığı için mi Timur şüursüz
 olsun?!

Timur şüursüz Olsunde, yalnız bir makalada kendini "Türk milleti"
 "Türk milletleri" ve "Türktatar" milletlerinden; hatta bu bütün
 milletlerin "Bey"i gibi sayan "Türk illerine hitap" makalesinin
 sahibi "şüurlü" olsun?!

this unfaithful Tokhtamish (who rose to the crown with the help of Timur and who instigated the quarrel between Timur and Yildirim) and for advancing towards the gates of Moscow at the head of the brave Turkish fighters?

Then is Timur supposed to be insane and the author of the article sane just because the latter refers to himself as one of the “Turkish nation”, “Turkish nations” and “Turkish Tatar” nations? Or even sees himself as the “Bey” (head) of all the Turkic world?

—— (70) ——

The “National Path”, which conceives of the Turks who have a common history, geography, political life and literary union in culture as “Turk-Tatar”, also separates the Turkish Turkestan from the natural-and political-geographwise inseparable Kazakhstan. “National Path” can learn from the poem called Turkestan by Jumabay that Kazakhstan is part of Turkestan. Fiction writing is not enough for being able to write political articles. One has to learn its national history, geography and particularly “national consciousness”. Here we have another beautiful poem which reminds us of all these facts:

*The world of Tamerlane*⁶⁵

*What is “the world”?
A handful of blood!
By no means can more than one god
Exist in the same hand.
God is god in heaven.
Let him thunder
and rule his heaven!
The god on earth am I, Timur.
God must not touch my earth!
God, the god of heaven, has no progeny and no essence.
But the progeny of Timur, the god of the earth,
Are the Turks, and his essence is fire!*

-70-

Tarihte, coğrafiyada, siyasette, kültürde ebedi bîçeligi olan ~~türk~~
~~stan Türkleri~~ "Türk-Tatar" adile yurutan "Milli Yol", tabii ve
 siyasi coğrafiyde ayrılmaz ^{Türk} Türkistani/kazakistandan ayirip
 yaziyor. Yukarida kazak Türklerinin şairi Cüme Bayin "Türkistan"
 atlanan şiirinde, kazakistanin de Türkistan içinde olduğunu
 "milli yol" öğrenir. Siyasi makale yazmak için yalnız hika-
 yacilik yetişmaz! Onun milli tarihi, coğrafiyayi, bilhassa milli
 "şüuru" tanıması lazımdır. İşte bunleri gene hepimize tanitan
 Türk ~~kazak~~ Cüme Bayin başka bir güzel şiiri:

Aksak Timur Sözi.

Cihan degen ne nerse?

-Ala kanning avdani!

Bir avdanda köp Tangri

Boluning tibti çok sani.

Tangri kökding Tangriai,

Köngrensın, kögin bilesin.

"Ger Tangrisi Timur men,

Cerime Tangri timesin!"

Kök Tangrisi Tangrining

Tukimi çok, zati çok,

Yer Tangrisi Timurding

Tukimi Türk, zati ot!



The *Basmachis* and their folk songs

*Great and hard, an overthrowing fight,
Life or extinction -
There is no armistice!...
Čolpan*

Basmacı ve ~~ob~~Yattık türküleri.

"Ulug,kattig,agdarguci bir küreş,
Ya bar boluş,ya yok boluş,
- Yok yereş !..."
Çolpan.

The *Basmachis* and their folk songs

Russians sought to introduce Turkish liberation fighters who took up arms in order to cleanse Turkestan from Russians as *Basmachis*, i.e. bandits. The word *Basmachi* is familiar to the world literature. But the negative meaning of the word *Basmachi* has almost totally disappeared. For instance, a long article published in the "Germania" newspaper based in Berlin says the following in its issue, 8 January, 1931:

"Who are these Basmachis? Raiders? Then, why is their number so high and why are they everywhere? Today there are two strong groups of Basmachis equipped with modern arms. One is the group of Turkmen Turks led by the well-known commander Juneyd Khan; the other is the Uzbek Turks, under the command of Ibrahim Lakay Bey. Ibrahim Lakay Bey has been occasionally organizing attacks against the cities of Germ and Kalayvamar.

The soldiers of Juneyd Khan consist of very brave Turkmen fighters. Several months ago, Juneyd Khan shot down a Russian aircraft. He sometimes takes red-cross organizations as prisoners and takes them with him to treat his soldiers wounded in the clashes; after some time, he gives them money and presents and sends them back to the Russians. The movement of all the Basmachis of Turkestan is aimed at freeing their homeland from the foreign yoke. Each Basmachi who is martyred during clashes with the Bolsheviks finds himself a place in heaven, as can be read in the declarations of their commander."

These Turkish fighters, dubbed in Europe as "raiders", have won an honourable reputation which they deserve, in spite of the Russian propaganda against them.

There is another immoral aspect of the Russians: these days, when they want to talk about Turkestan, they refer to "Central Asia". When they want to talk about Turks, they call them "natives" or, when in despair, "Turk-Tatars". The words "Turks" or "Turkestan" are national concepts which terrify the Russians more than ever. That is the reason why they named "Turk-Sib"

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^{ve}
Basmaçi türküleri.

Elde silahla Türkistani ruslardan temizlemek isteyen Türk istiklalçılarını Ruslar dünyaya „Basmaçi“, yani Haydut olarak tanıtmak istedikiler. Bu Basmaçi sözü bu gün dünya edebiyatında yabancı değil. Ama ^zşu ile olan çirkin mana bütünü yok olmuştur. Netekim, Berlinde „Germania“ adlı gazete 8 ^{Okak} kanunsani 1931 de çıkan uzun bir makalesinde şöyle yazıyor:

„Bu Basmaçılar kimdir? Basmaçi? O halde bunların sayısı niye bu kadar çok ve her yerde var? Bugün modern silahla silahlanmış iki kuvatlı Basmaçi grubu vardır. Biri Türkmen-Türkleri, ki meşhur Cüneyd hanın başbuğluğu altındadırlar. İkincisi de İbrahim Lakay Beyin başbuğluğu altında toplanan Özbek Türkleridir. İbrahim Lakay bey ara ^zzere ~~an~~ Germ ve Kalayvamar şehirleri ne hücum yapar.

Cüneyd han askerleri çok yürekli Türkmen yigitlerinden ibarettir. Cüneyt han bundan bir kaç ay evvel bir rus teyyaresini atıp yere düşürdü. O bazan rus Kızıl-Haç cemiyetlerini esir yapar, vuruşa yaralanan askerlerini tedavi ettirmek için beraberinde taşır; bir kaç zaman sonra Onlara para, hediyeler vererek tekrar ruslara gönderir. Bütün Türkistan Basmaçılarının hareketi, gayesi vatanlarını yabancı boyunduruktan kurtarmaktır. Bolşeviklere karşı şehit düşen her basmaçi, başbuğlarının beyannamelerinde okundığı gibi, doğru Cennetten yer alırlarmış.”

İşte avruda „Basmaçi“, yani İstanbul Türkcesinde „Baskin yapıcı“, adı verilen bu Türk mücahitler, rus propagandasına rağmen kendilerine layık olan ^zşerefli hükümü kazanmışlardır.

Ruslerin bunden başka, fena bir ahlakları daha vardır; bu gün onlar Türkistandan söylemek isteseler „Orta -Asiya“dan bahsederler. Türkten söylemek isteseler „Yerli“ yahut caresiz kaldıkları zamanda „Türk-Tatar“ adını verirler. Türk ve Türkistan sözleri bu gün rusleri eskisinden daha çok korkutan bir milli mefhumdur. Onun için „Türk-Sib“



railway, "Stalin".

The word "native" is very degrading. This word can be attributed to colonized countries which have no civilization. It is not befitting such countries as Turkestan, India and China, which are all civilized countries with their own culture! The Turks are not a nation lacking a name or a history! The word "natives" is an insult for the national pride of the Turks who have played significant roles in the history of science and art and who have opened new eras. We will never accept such gross insults by Russians who are much more inferior than the Turks in terms of ignorance of culture. On this point, a Turk says in his poem Turkestan, the following:

*My nation called Turk,
You do not need foreign horses!...
I have not gone underground,
The "native" horse is strange to me⁶⁶*

Turkestan for the first time in history came under the Russian attack at the end of the 19th century. Although, not to fall under the Russian rule, the Turks fought bravely against the Russian army for years and defeated it repeatedly, civil wars in the country, ignorance of the khans and disunity have caused the establishment of the Russian sovereignty in this land.

The 1880 K k-Tepe clashes by Turkmens, which have brought honour to the history of Turkish Turkestan in the 19th century, the 1898 uprisings led by Uzbeks and eventually the bloody war of liberation continuing unabated since 1916 have all proven that the faith in the heart of the Turks for an independent Turkestan cannot be destroyed.

demir yoluna „Stalin“adını vermişlerdir.

„Yerli“ sözi çok çirkindir. Bu söz medeniyetle alakası olma, an koloni memleketleri için işletilebilir. Lakin Türkistan, Hindistan, Çin gibi medeniyat ve hars sahibi memleketlere yakışması Türkler adsız ^{tarikat} millet değildir! İlm, sanat tarihinde mahim rol oynayan ve yeni devirler açan biz Türklere „Yerli“ (Eingeborene) sözi ^{uz} milli gruba dokunacak bir tahkirdir. Kültür ~~cahatile~~ biz Türklerden çok aşağı olan Rusların bu ağır tahkirlarından bu „Yerli“ sözünü asla kabul edemeyeceğiz! Buna aittir bir Türk, Türkistan adlı şiirinde diyor, ki:

Türk atalgan milletim,
Kerek emes özge at!..
Yer astiga kirmedim,
„Yerli“ ati menge yat!..

Türkistan dünya tarihinde ilk kez olarak 19. ci asrin son-
larında rus baskinina uğradi. Türkler rus boyunduruguna girmemek için
yigitçesine yillarce carpişarak rus ordusini keryelerce ~~haz~~ bozdularsa
de, memleketteki iceri vuruşlar, hanlar arasindaki cehalet ve birlik-
sizlik, rus hakimiyetini bu Türk ölkesinde yerleştirmeye sebep olmuştür

19.ci asirde Türk Türkistanı tarihine şeref getiren Türkmenlerin 18⁹⁰~~96~~ de "Kök-Tepe" vuruşları, Özbeklerin (Dukov-Işan) basbugluğu altında 1898 de yaptıkları isyanlar ve nehayat 1916 dan beri bu güne kadar arası kesilmeden devam eden kanlı istiklal vuruşu, ispat ettiler, ki, artık Türk lerin mustakil Türkistan için gönüllerindeki iman öldürülemez! Bu halk imanını fene biz halk duygularında, yani halk türkülerinde görürüz. ~~Kökeide kökleri Türklerdir sairleri, süzme halk sevdeleri, gışkayakları, melek, kışkıkkk.~~

~~basmaq xurdukeri, tux xiyax xed xiyatix xaxun xax xux xax xax, xun;~~
~~xax tixar xax xurdukeri xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax~~
~~xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax~~
~~xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax~~
~~xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax xax~~

The national movement of *Basmachis* in Turkestan began in March 1916. The Russians declared that all the men-folk between 19 and 43 years of age should be recruited under forced labour behind the Russian army on the front lines of the First World War. First of all the people did not believe this declaration. After believing its seriousness, they did not submit to it. The Russians brought the Turkestan people who did not submit to the order of the tsarist government under military custody. Hence, the Turkish Turkestan reacted to this practice with an uprising.

The first uprising took place in the Kette Korgan province on 16 July and 1, 2 and 3 August 1916. Between 18 and 29 July, massive uprisings took place in Jizzakh city. Further uprisings also occurred in Ferghana. Other uprisings took place in Kokand province on 23 July, in old Marghilan on 24 and 27 and 30 July and 2 August, in Andijan province on 12, 15, 16 July. On 18 July, agitation began in Tashkent city and spread to the whole of Tashkent province. An uprising began in Akmajit on 28 July.

Turkmens attacked the Sarakhis Castle on October 4-5. Such uprisings were occurring more violently for the Kazakh-Kirghiz. The Kirghiz Turks were engaged in violent battles under stronger organizations. Unarmed Kirghizes (Kazakhs) and Uzbeks were soon armed with many guns and hand-made artillery. With sickles and swords in hand, people caused serious losses to the Russian soldiers.(1)

In this general uprising of Turkestan, the Russian casualties numbered 3709. Of these, 2325 were killed and 1384 were missing. 7 senior officials and 22 local officials were killed. In order to suppress the uprisings, a force consisting of 14 1/2 battalions, 33 cavalry regiments, 42 pieces of artillery, 69 machine guns were dispatched.(2)

(1) "Yengi Turmuş" Tashkent, 1929.

(2) Riskul Tara Ogli, Red Kazakhstan, Nr.61-63, p. 72

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~~Basmacı Türkistanlısı~~ ~~başından önce~~ ~~Basmacı~~ ~~ile bir az yakını~~
~~dan~~ ~~başlangıç~~ ~~Türkistanda~~ ~~Basmacı~~ ~~adlanan~~ ~~milli~~ ~~kozgalan~~
 1916 mart ayında başlamıştır. Ruslar, Türkistandan 17 yaşından
 43 yaşına kadar bütün erkekleri dünya varıci cephesindeki rus
 ordusu arkasında "kara işlerde" çalıştırmak için işçi (mordikar)
 almak yarlıklarını (fermanlerini) bildirdiler. Evvela ehali bu
 yarlığa inanmadı... Inandıktan sonra da ~~ona~~ boyun eğmek istemedi.
 Car hükümeti yarlığına karşı duran Türkistanlıları ruslar aske-
 ri takibat altına aldılar. İşte bu takibata Türk Türkistani
 Kozgalanıla cevap verdi.

1916. 10. İnci Temmuz ve 1, 2, 3. İnci ağustos ilk önce "Kette Korgan"
 vilayetlerinde kozgalan oldu. 18 ve 29 temuzda Cizzah sehrinde
 hem çok büyük kozgalanlar oldu. Ferganada de kozgalanlar başladı:
 Koken vilayetinde 23 temuz, eski Margilanda 24, 27, 30 temuz ve 2. İnci
 ağustos, Andican vilayetinde 12-15-16. İnci temuzda kozgalan oldu.
 18. İnci temuzda Semerkent vilayetinde de hayvanlar başladı. 25. İnci
 temuzda Taşkente hayvanlar başlayıp 25. İnci temuzda Taşkent vilaye-
 tine yayıldı. 28. İnci temuzda akmaçitde kozgalan başladı.

4-5. İnci ~~İnci~~ ^{İnci} temuzda Türkmenler Serehis kalasına hucum ~~ettiler~~ ^{yaptılar}.

Bu kozgalanlar Kazak-Kirgizler içinde deha şiddetli olduyordu.

Kirgiz Türkleri deha sağlam teşkilatle şiddetli muharebeler yaptılar.

Silahsız kirgizler ve Özbekler az zaman içinde bir çok tüfek ve
 elle yapılmış toplarla silahlандılar. Ehali elde orak, kılıç, ~~benzer~~
 rus askerlerine çok ~~verdi~~ ^{zarar} verdi. (1).

Türkistanın bu umumi kozgalanında ruslerden 3709 kişi yok oldu.

Bunlardan 2325 i öldürülmüş ve 1384 i gayıp olmuştur. Büyük memurlar
 den 7 ve mahalli memurlardan 22 kişi katli edilmiştir. Kozgalanı bas-
 tırmak için 14½ tabur, 33 suvari, 42 top, 69 ok-sacer (mekineli tüfek)
 den ibarat askeri kuvvat sevk edilmiştir. (2)

(1). "Yengi Tuhfa" Taşkent 1929. (2) Riskul Tore oğlu. "Kizil Kazakis-
 tem" Nr. 61-63. s. 72.



As a result of decrees by Kuropatkin, 347 people were hanged, 168 people were sentenced to forced labour, and 357 people were imprisoned by February 1 of 1917. But the tens of thousands of people who were killed by the Russian persecution squads have not been taken into account. The Russians suppressed the uprisings mercilessly. The commander of the persecution squads General Ivanoff says the following in his order to his soldiers; "The heel of a Russian soldier's boot is more valuable than 1000 "native" people!". All the Russian villagers are reported to have helped the persecution squad. In this manner, they succeeded in seizing large quantities of fertile Turkish lands by force, which they had failed to do so through diplomacy of immigration. In his book called *Turkestan Memories*, German Fritz Willfort, who lived in Turkestan for 6 years as prisoner of war of the Russians, explicitly describes the atrocities and barbarisms of the Russians, which reached its peak point. A small part of his 3000 typed-page memoirs was published in 1930 in Vienna. I give below a summarized translation of some sections:

"26 July 1916. Our peaceful life in Jizzak was upset all of a sudden. This new day of the second year of the world war will be forgotten by none of us. This was a frightful day for us. Had the Uzbeks launched a general offensive to the city by killing the commander and many of his officers, we, the prisoners might have been obliged to fight with them. But the Uzbeks did not show the courage to achieve the final success.

It was reported that a general uprising occurred in the old city. The Russian soldiers were also engaged in preparation ... The rebels destroyed the railway in the front and back of Jizzak, killing all the officers working there. Because of this, our garrison of prisoners was brought under strict surveillance. They even declared that, they will shoot those who would dare to get out of the garrison.

A new scene concerning the incident emerged before us:

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Kurapatkin tarafından tasdik edilen kararlar mucibince 1917 yıl isubetâne kadar 347 kişi idam olinmiş, 168 kişi kürek cezasine, mahkum edilmiş ve 357 kişi habs edilmiştir. Amma rus ceza firka leri tarafından on binlerce öldürülenler tabii bu hesaba kosulmas. Rusler kozgalenni marhametsiz surette bastirdiler, Ceza firkelerinin basbugi geniral Ivenoff askerlerinde vermiş emrinde yazıyor ve idyor diki: „Bir rus askerinin kondara öküsesi bin „yerli“ halkdan deha kimatlidir!“. Ceza firkasına bütün rus köylileri de yardım etmişler. Ünler bu münasibatla muhaciret siyasati yolila alinamayan çok Türk münbüt yerlerini zorbalikle ele gecitmeye muvaffak oldilar. Zulüm ve vahşatin uccine cikdigini Türkistande rus esiri olarak alti yıl yaşayan Alman Fritz Willfort bey Türkistan hatiraları" adındağı bir kitabinde çok güzel tasvir ediyor. F. Willfort beyin 3000 yazı makinesi sahifeli hatirasinin bir küçük kısmi 1930 de Viyanada basildi. Iste ben unden deha kisaltmış bazı parçaları tercüme ediyorum:

26. ci temuz 1916. Bizim Cizzakdegi tinc(sakin) hayatımız bir „den bire bozuldi. Dünya vuruşinin 2. ci yilinin bu yeni günü hepimiz için unutilmayacaktır. Bu bizim için hürriyet yahud ketirecek korkunc bir gün oldi. Özbekler sehir komandanila anin çok memurlerini öldirdikten söñre şehire ummumi hücum yap-salar idi, belki biz tutkun(esir)ler onlarla birlikte carpismaya mecbur kıldık. Amma Özbekler söñancı muvaffakiyete erişmek için cesaret gösteremediler...

Eski şehirde umumi kozgalan kopmış. Rus askerleri de hazılık görüyorlar... Kozgalancılar Cizzakin ön ve arkasındaki demir yolu ni bürzmiş ve bu yöller çalışan bütün memurleri öldürmüş ediler. Bu münasibetle bizim tutkun(esir)ler Kışlası çok göz altına alin di. Hatta kışlanın dışarisine cikanları korşuna dizileceklerinin bildirildiler.

Bu sırde bu hadiselerinyeni bir görünisi karsimize cikdi:

Atrafımızdaki tepeler



"The hills surrounding us began to fill with Uzbeks and Kirghizes armed with different types of weapons. Some of them were gathering at Sansar Valley or the hill opposite us to talk. As their attacks on the new city had been repulsed, they might have been engaged in preparation of a new attack. The cavalry men of Turkestan, armed with different types of weapons and standing maybe one hundred steps away from us were looking very impressive under the sunlight. As it was easy to approach the city by way of the fortress, I supposed that they would soon march on to us. You can easily understand that we could hardly breathe in astonishment thinking of what would happen to us. A few Uzbeks rode on horseback to our fortress gate and returned to the hill.

But the Russians were keeping important locations in the surroundings, blocking the ways to all the cities. We once again felt ourselves on the battle-field. News began to arrive gradually from nearby areas: Uzbeks not only cut the railways but they might have also cut the telegraph and telephone lines. We could even see with our own eyes the flames coming from the fire they burnt at the station. The outraged Turkestanis marched to the new city as a manifestation of their fury. Upon receiving news of this, Major Rukin, commander of the city, went to the old city in order to restore order. But the Turkestanis stopped him on the way and killed him along with his company.

We 120 people were locked up in a dark hole; it was forbidden to open the windows. This hot and boring night was not only dangerous for us but also for the Russians, as the railway was destroyed and it was impossible to get help.

27 July 1916. The sun rose.... the Uzbeks stood still without launching the offensive which we were expecting, but the Russians were equally lacking the courage to attack the old city. The gunshots, heard all over, indicated that an uprising had broken out everywhere; the church bells were ringing in a code known to the civilian Russians, inviting them to take part in the uprising. We were hearing from the Russian soldiers about how the uprising

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„Atrafimizdeki tepeler, türlü silahlarla silahlanmış Özbek ve Kirgizlerle dolmaya başladı, bunların bir kısmı Sansar vadisi yahud bizim kalesi karşısındaki tepeye konuşmak için toplanıyorlardı. Onların yeni şehre yaptıkları hücumları kaytarıldığı için, belki biseden tekrar yeni şehre hücum için hazırlık görüyorlardı. Bizden belki yüz edim uzakda türlü silahlarla ata binmiş Türkistanlılar perlayan kuyas nuri altında çok acayip ve güzel görünüyorlardı. Bizim Korgen(Kala) dan şehre sokulmak kolay olduğu için, onların yakın saatda bizim üstümüze yürüyacaklarını zannediyordım. Bu gelecek hali hepimiz düşünerek şaşkınlık içinde nefes aldığımız anlaşılabilir... Bir kaç Özbek bizim korgen-kala- kapısına kadar at koyup tekrar tepeye döndüler....

Amma rusler atıftaki mühüm noktaları ellerinde tutuyor ve bununla bütün şehirlere olan yolları kapamışlardı. Biz kendimizi tekrar muharabe meydanında sizerdik. Yavaş-yavaş yakın haberler gelmeye başladı: Özbekler yalnız demir yolları değil, belki teligraf, telefonları da kesmişler; hatta onlar tarafından istasyonda yakılan neft elemlerini öz gözümüzle görüyorduk. Hiddetlenen Türkistanlılar gazeleri ni göstermek için yeni şehre karşı yürüdüler. Bundan haber alan şehir komandanı Binbesi Rukin „intizami“ yerine getirmek için eski şehre gitti. Amma, Türkistanlılar onu yarı yolda yanındakilerle birlikte öldürdüler....

Biz 120 kişi işsiz bir zamanda kapanmış duruyorduk, pencereleri açmak da yasa idi. Bu sıcak ve can sıkıcı gece, demir yol bozulduğu için yardım gelmesi mümkün olmadığından yalnız bizim için değil, ruslere de çok tehlikeli oluyordu.

27.ci temmuz, 1916. Tan yeri agırtı... Özbekler bizim beklediğimiz hücumu yapmadan duruyor, amma rusler de eski şehre hücum için cesaret edemiyorlardı. Tüfenk sesleri her yerde kozgalanın kopduğunu anlatıyor, kilise çanları bütün sivil ruslere belli olan oran (parola) çanını celip onları korgana çağırıyordu. Rus askerlerinden kozgalanı



would be suppressed.

This is unique to the battles in colonies. First, the old city would be looted by the Russians and then set to fire. It was also reported that the Russian Cossacks, whose arrival expected today would restore "order" around the city. It was understood that, this "order" would be maintained by sacrificing 100 Turks for each dead Russian.

28 July 1916. Our new commander began to question our intentions. Because he was afraid that we would go and join the rebels of Turkestan.

We found out today that, in opposition to the decree issued by the Tsar calling those Turkestanis who had been held exempt from the army pending the old agreement to take up duties on the front now, uprisings had broken out in Samarkand, Tashkent, Ferghana and all of Turkestan, similar to the uprisings here.

The following incident shows the prevailing fear among the Russian soldiers very clearly: "When one of the prisoners from our group in the Russia Military station who was working on the coffin of Major Kurin cried out "Uzbeks are coming!" the Russian soldiers dropped the coffin in the street and ran away in such a state of fear that, they did not even dare to turn on the lamps in the evening. They were even so infuriated by the smoking of one of my friends Yernay that they almost attempted to kill him.

29 July 1916. Today, Russians Kazakhs infantry and artillery regiments came to help. We can see from the smokes and flames rising up into the skies through our windows that the old city demolished by artillery fire at 11 o'clock was burning. Some of the Russian Cossacks, carrying spears 3 meters in length began moving towards the old city while others moved towards the hills in order to drive the rebels to the hills. It was quite interesting to observe that the Uzbeks did not leave their wounded or dead fighters on the battlefield. Their skillful act of taking their wounded friends on horseback under deadly fire and running away was really a display of heroism. In the afternoon the horses of the Russian kosaks coming from the old town

page 77 of the manuscript is missing

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nasıl basılacağını de eşitiyoe edik.

"Bu, b^uradaki müstemlike vuruslerine mahsus bir mahiyete sahiptir. Evvela eski şehir rus askerleri tarafından yağma etildikten sonra ^{e. i.} ~~atış~~ tutulacak... Bu gün beklenilen rus kazakları ^{e.} ~~de~~ şehir ^{e.} ~~et-~~ rafında "intizami" yerleştirecek ~~emis~~. Bu "intizam" de öldirilen her rus için 100 Türkin hayatı kurban yapılarak temin edileceği an- sildi.

"28 temuz, 1916. Bizim yeni ^{u.} komandan hepimizin iste^e ile hesaplaşmaya başladı... Çünkü, O bizim Türkistan kozgalencilerine koşup ^{u.} ~~kat~~memiz den korkuyordu.

(anlatma)
Bu gün öğrendik, ki eski muahide(1) böylece askerliğe alınmayan Türkistanlılara şimdi cephe de çalışmaları için verilen Car yarlığı (fermanı) ne karşı Semerkent, Taşkent, Fergane ve bütün Türkistanda ^{u. a. a.} ~~büyük~~ ^{u.} ~~kobi~~ kozgalanlar kopmis...

Rus askerleri arasındaki korkuyu şu aşağıdaki vakia çok açık gös- terir:

Rus askerleri keragolunde Binbasi Kurin tabutu için calışan bizim tutkunlarından biri "Özbekler geliyor!" demesile rus askerleri binbasilerin tabutını sokakda bırakarak kalaya öyle bir korku ile kaçdiler, ki... akşam bile lamba yakmaya cesaret etemediler. Hatta Arkadesimden Yernay bir cigara yekdiği zaman ^{u.} ~~en~~ az kalsa kesecek oldiler.

"29 temuz, 1916. Bu gün rus kazakları, piyadesi, topları yetirdi... Bizim pencerelerimizden saat 11 de toplarla yıkılan eski şehrin yandığını köklere çıkan duman ve ^{e.} ~~el~~avlerden görüyoruz. Uç metro ~~uzunluğunda~~ uzunluğunda ki mızraklı rus kazakların bir kısmı eski şehire, bir kısmı de kozgalencileri dağa kuvvet için yola düşdiler. Özbeklerin yaralı yahud şehit düşen yigitlerini meydana bırakma- ları çok entrisen idi... Öldirici ^{e.} ~~atış~~ içinde ^{e.} ~~yare~~ düşen arkadaş- larını çok meharretle etlerine alıp kaçışları, hakikatan kahramanlık idi... Öyleden sonra eski sehirden gelen rus kazaklarının adları

...have nothing else to do other than sell the carpets, silk embroidery and silver clothing they have looted from the homes and fences. Had this beautiful handicraft not been stained by the blood of the innocent it could have been possible to gain a fortune out of one or two rubles! None of the Russian soldiers knew where to keep the fortune he had looted!

1 August 1916. Each Russian taken as prisoner was killed in the hands of Turkestanis. Russian refuges in the mountains were entirely wiped away.

2 August 1916. Jizzak is in a state of ruin. There is nothing left to burn. It is full of miserable people and corpses of horses. The duty of burying all these together was left to us, the prisoners. The Russians even buried the wounded with the corpses. As it was a difficult task to bury the bodies of people and animals all together, some of them were burnt.

4 August 1916. Yesterday, too, very loud sounds of artillery fire were heard. A real battle reportedly took place at Samin village, 20 verst away from Jizzak. Today the Russians have four pieces of artillery and 2000 troops in Jizzak.

14 August 1916. The suppression of the uprising planned at the Jizzak province did not turn out as Russians suffered heavy losses. The Turks decided to take revenge on the Russians as a furious reaction to the insane and irrational acts of destruction. Not all of the Russian soldiers sent to villages returned.

We later heard that when Jizzak was the center of the rebels, the Russians sent more than 100.000 troops to this land to suppress the uprising there!

The Namangan uprising was also reportedly very bloody. Moreover, Uzbeks there captured machine guns from the Russian troops...

Having opened fire on Jizzak once more, they gathered everything that could be looted and took them to the new city. Out of countless innocent people in the prison, 82 were hanged. Again, more than 1000 innocent Turkish villagers were driven to the outskirts of a mountain

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"citlerden, evlerden yagma ettikleri heli, ipekli el isleri ve gümüş^{u u} esbableri satmadan baska isleri yokdir. Eger, bu güzel el islerine günahsız kanlar yapismamis olsaydi, bir-iki rubleye bir cok servet kazanmak mümkün idi!..... Butün rus askerleri yagma ettikleri "servet,"i nereye koyacaklarini bilmiyorlari...

"~~1. ci~~ 1. ci Agustos, 1916. Ele düşen her rus de Türkistanlinin elinde öldürildi. Dag icindeki rus muhacirlari de büsbütün kiliç-
dan gecirilmisdir.

"2. ci agustos, 1916. Cizzak bir viranedir. Yanacak bir sey kalmamış. Virane kişi ve at ölüleriyle doludur. Bunleri birlikde öldükleri yere gömmek vazifesi de biz tutkunlara düştü... Rusler, hatta yaralileride^a birlikte topragin altına sokdilar. İnsan ve hayvan gövdelerini gömüp, bitirmek çok zor olduğu için, unların bir kısmi yakıldı.

"4 Agustos, 1916. Dün yine çok siddetli top sesleri eşitildi. Cizzakden 20 verst uzaklikda olan Samin köyünde bir hakiki muharibe olmuş. Bu gün Cizzakde ruslerin 4 top ve 2000 askeri vardır...

"14. ci Agustos, 1916. Cizzak tumeni (vilayati) dekozgalani bastirmek düşünildiki gibi olmadan ruslere çok agirliklar veridi... Ruslerin deliler gibi viran yapisi gazablarına cevap olarak Türkler de oç almaga karar verdilar. Köylere gönderilen rus askerleri^R nin hepsi geri dönmeyörlerdi...

".... Biz sönre^u eşittik, ki Cizzak kozgalancilerin merkezi iken. Butün Türkistande kopan kozgalani Bastirmek için Rusler bu ölkeye 100 000 den çok rus askeri toplamislardir!!!...

Nemengen kozgalani de çok kanli olmuş. Hatta oragi Özbekler ruslerden ok sacar (makinelili tüfenk) ler de ele düşürmisler... Cizzak^e atrafi yine bir kerre atas^e icinden gecirilkten sönre^a orada yagma edilecek ne varsa hapisini yeni şehire getirdiler. Hapis-
hanade sayisiz günahsız ehaliyiden 82 si asildilar... Bunlerden yine 1000 den çok günahsız Türk köylileri bir dag itekine dirile-



and machine-gunned.

The accomplishment of Russian culture ...”

During the 1916 uprising, 37355 families from Kirghiz Turks only immigrated to Eastern-Turkestan under Chinese sovereignty. Writers of Yengi Turmuš (1) write the following:

“The uprising of the Kirghiz was the uprising of the suppressed against the suppressors. This event played a crucial role in the formation of the national conscience within the “native” people.” (p. 235)

We can find out how the Turkish people regard this case from the same book:

“At first, the tsar took away our horses and reduced us to infantrymen. He deprived us of our strength. Now he wants to take away our saplings of between 13 and 43 years of age and knock us down completely!... He wants to fill our homeland with Russian elements!” (p. 237)

- That is what the enlightened of that time kept on saying.

The imams of Turkestan had an opinion, too:

- “The tsar, who is an enemy of the Muslims, wants to extirpate our kind, he wants to annihilate the religion of Islam!”

And the people who gather everywhere on the street say:

- “We will not even give a finger-nail of our children to the Russians!”

Riskul ogli (4) , an ardent communist describes the 1916 Turkestan uprising as follows:

“The uprising is a movement of national freedom and political reformation. It is not a movement started by the wealthy and pan-islamists, serving the principles of bourgeois nationalists, as claimed by the Bolshevik Russians.”

Although this Turkish uprising which broke out in Turkestan in 1916 cost a lot, it revived the “national awareness” of people as the book Yengi Turmuš says.

(1) Uzbekistan State Press. Samarkand 1929, Tashkent.

(2) The Tsarist government seized the best houses of Turkestan after the clashes started.

(3) “Any” means reason, will or awareness.

(4) “Red Kazakhstan”, Nr. : 11, 14, 15

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"rek Oksacara(Maknelitüfenkâ) tutuldiler.

"- Rus kültür işi !..."

1916 yıl kozgаланında yalnız kirgiz Türklerinden 37 355 aile² Çin hakimiyeti altında olan Sarki-Türkistana hicret etmişler. "Yengi Turmus(1) " muharrirlari şöyle yazıyorlar:

"Kirgizlarning kozgalani EZILGENLERNING EZGÜCILERGE karşı Bolgan Kozgalanlari idi. Bu hadise "yerli"(!) halkda MILLI ANGNING(2) ösiside kette rol oynaydi!(S.235)

Türk halkının bu hadiseye nasıl bakdığını gine yukarıdaki aynı kitaptan öğrene biliriz:

"Çar engevval atlarımızı alib bizni piyaz³e kaldirdi.(3)

Bizni küçsizlentirdi. Endi 13 den 43 yaşgaça bolgan yigitlerimizni alib,bizni bütünley bitirmekçi!...

Memleketimizni orus unsurleri bilen toldimakçi!"(S.237)

-"Buni u zamannin ziyalilari söyleyördi."

" Türkistan imamlerinin de bir fikirlei bar:

- Musulmanlarning düşmanı bolgan Çar bizning neslimizni kurutup,islam dinini yokatmakçi!"

"Her yerde toplanan halk:

-- Orusga balalarimizning tirnagini de bermeymiz!..."diyor.

1916 Türkistan kozgalaninin mahiyetini ziyali komunistlerden Riskul ogli(4) şöyle yazıyor:

"Kozgalan bir milli hurriyet ve siyasi inkilap hareketidir.

O Bolsevik ruslarning dıdiki mebi zenginler ve pan-islamistlerin gayratila vücade gelen ve burjva milletcilerinin mefküresine hizmet eden bir hareket degildir...!"

1916 yılında Türkistanda cöşen bu Türk kozgalani çok pahalı düşmüşse de,"Yengi-Turmus" kitabının yazdığı gibi halkda "Milli Ang"ni ösdirdi.

(1) Özbekistan devlet nesriyati.Semerkent-1929-Taskent.

(2).Çar hükümeti vurus baslandıktan söners Türkistanin en iyi ve güzel atlarını basib almışdi.

(3). "Ang" an yani irade,akıl demektir.

(4). "Kizil Kazakistan"Nr. 11,14,15

It is this "NATIONAL AWARENESS" that, since 1918, has been guiding every Turk who can carry arms to sacrifice his life and property for NATIONAL FREEDOM. Let us first give the floor to F. Willfort who sees this national liberation movement of Turkestan called "*Basmachi*" from his own point of view:

"The bloody suppression of the uprising which started in 1916 gave rise to a short-lived peace in the country. But for the long suffering of the people, the desire to get rid of Russian enslavement and the will to establish an INDEPENDENT TURKESTAN new uprisings were taking place in a more horrifying and bloody manner." (*Türkistanisches Tagebuch*, p. 113)

"The Muslim government (autonomy) established on 14 January 1918 submitted a ten-day ultimatum to the Russians asking them to leave Turkestan and to withdraw the Russian army from the country. And the public openly confess that they have been expecting arms from Afghanistan in order to rid their homeland Turkestan totally from the Russians. Result: Turkestan has again been turned into a battlefield! There are even news that Namangan has again been seized by the rebels."

"20 February 1918. This event which we are standing right in the middle of may take an unprecedented form that has not been experienced before in the Russian history. The Russian influence around us has begun to shake. Maybe in a very short period of time we will be the free subjects of a new independent state of Turkestan. Uzbeks are dominant in Kokand."

"21 February 1918. Representatives came from Kokand. Before noon they began to talk with the government here. Uzbeks demand the immediate dissolution of the Russian communist organizations, the return of the fort and weapons and recognition of the AUTONOMOUS Muslim state of Kokand founded under the leadership of Mir Adil. The state of Kokand declared that they considered us the prisoners their own free subjects, promising that if asked, the government could give them visas immediately, allowing all to their homeland. A big demonstration in our garrison."

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Bu "MILLIANG" (Nationalbewusstsein) dir, ki 1918 den beri bu güne kadar silah taşıya bilen her Türk **MILLI İSTAKLAL** için canını, malini kurban verdiriyor. İlk önce "Basmacı" adlanan bu Türkistan Milli istiklal hareketini öz gözile gören F. Willfort beye söz verelim:

"1916 de başlayan kozgalan çok kanlı surette bastırılması, ^ölkede kısa zaman için bir sükunet ^{de}ğaldı. Amma ehalinin çok çektiği zulm, ~~Bütün Türkistan'da yeni idareci kadroların kargaşasıyla~~ bütün ^ölkede rus esaretinden kurtulmak ve **MUSTAKİL TÜRKİSTAN** için yeniden kozgalanlar çok ^{de}ğışatli, kanlı olarak kopyıyordu. (Türkistanisches Tagebuch, Sahife 113)"

^{onak} "14. ci Kanunusani, 1918 de kurulan musulaman hükümeti (Muhtariyat) Ruslere Türkistani bırakmak ve ^ölkeden rus ordusini geri almak için on gün mühlet olarak ultimatum verdi... Ehali de Yürti Türkistani ruslerden tam manasında kurtarmak için Afganistan ^{de} silah beklediğini acikdan acik sözleyör... Netice: Türkistan yine vurur meydanine döndü! Hatta Nemengenin yine kozgalancilein eline gecdiki haberi dolasiyor.

"20 Subat, 1918. - Tam merkezinde durdugumuz bu hadise, yakin ^{gele}cekde belki, rusiyenin tarihinde ^görilmemis bir vaziyet ala bilir. Bizim ^ötrafimizda rusiye hakimiyeti sarsilmaya başladı.... Belki biz bir az zaman ^{son}râ yeni mustakil Türkistan devletinin hür tebesi olacagiz!... Özbekler kokanda hakimdir!...

"-21. ci Subat, 1918. - Kokandan vekiller kildi. Unler bu gün ögle den evval ^öörada hükümetle konuşmaya başladilar. Özbekler derhal rus komunist teşkilatlerin dagilmasin, korgan (kala) ve silahların geri verilmesin ve MIR ADIL reisliginde kurulan Musulaman devleti Kokan MUHTARIYETIN tanilamasin isteyorler. Kokan Muhtariyati biz Tutkun (Esir)ları ^gendisinin hür tebesi olarak saydiklارينin; isteseler yürtlerine derhal vize verecek lerini vad yapıyorlardı. Bizim ^ökişlada büyük nemayış!...

"The Russians began to make plans for entering our garrison of prisoners to save their lives, in case the situation got more serious ..."

"22 February 1918. Crowds were seen in the city throughout the evening. Uzbeks were busy organizing demonstrations everywhere, celebrating the establishment of the Kokand government. Happiness was visible on all faces. Though theoretically, we were regarded as new subjects of the Khanate of "Yengi Fergane". Uzbeks greeted us, the prisoners, everywhere with much courtesy. As I spoke Turkish, my friends wanted me to communicate with the Turkestani people."

"23 February 1918. We, the prisoners of war are now the subjects of INDEPENDENT TURKESTAN! What a nice dream and a rarely beautiful feeling that lasted only 24 hours!"

"Before the sun set behind the mountains of this autonomous Turkestan, we became prisoners of war in the hands of Russians once again. And once more, going out of the fort was prohibited under threat of death sentence. The hopes of the Turkestani people for victory once again disappeared with the second Jizzak. The fort here (of Sim = Skobliff City) did not surrender to the Turkestan government and Russian soldiers are standing next to its artillery ... In spite of this, peace prevailed within the city. On the market place, only the words "Long live the independence of Turkestan!" could be heard and Uzbek police maintained order in the city. This highly joyful celebration was changed all of a sudden with news that arrived very rapidly like lightning coming down from the sky. ... The Russian red army, armed to the teeth with artillery and machine guns under the command of Osipoff arrived at the station. ... This red army, which turned Kokand into a second Jizzak, is looking for dealers for their countless booty ... The same holds true here as well! ... Unprepared and unaware Uzbeks like the Uzbeks of Jizzak again became the victims of Russians in their own marketplace ... In order not to show us their "work" and in order to finish it as they wished, the Russians gathered all our prisoner friends wandering in the market and hurriedly transferred them to the garrison. The streets of Skobiliff are exactly reminiscent of the incident of Jizzak which took place on 16 July, 1916.

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"Rusler, vaziyet deha ağırlaşsa, biz tutkunlerin kışlasına sokulup hayatlarını kurtaracaklarında umidvar olmaya başladılar...

"22.ci subat, 1918.- Seherde bütün akşam galabılık. Özbekler her yerde kokan muhatariyati şerefine nümayişlerle meşguldirlir.

Herkesin yüzünde sevinç. Biz de, nazari olsa de, YENGI FERGANNE HANLIGININ yeni tebesi sayıldık... Özbekler biz tutkunları her yerde çok nezaketle selamleydiler... Ben Türkçe bildiğim için arkadaşların Türkistanlılarla alakaya girmemi istiyorlardı...

"23.ci Subat, 1918.-- Biz vuruş Tutkunları şimdi MUHATARIYETLİ TÜRKİSTANIN muhatar tebesi! Yalnız 24 saat devam eden ~~bu~~ ne güzel rüya, ne güzel nadir sezgi!-...

Kuyas bu muhtayet Türkistanını dağları arkasına ilk kerre çekmeden biz yine ruslerin Tutkunu olduk. Yene korganın dışarisine çıkmak ölmüze cezasile yasak yapıldı... Türkistanlıların kazandıkları kazanmak istegen umitleri yine 2inci Cizzak ile yok oldu. Boradaki (Sim=Skobliff şehiri) korgani=(kalası) Türkistan hükumrtine teslim olmadı ve onun topları başında rus askerleri duruyor... Bune karşı şehir içinde tinclik(Sulh) hakim sürerdi.

Bazarda yalnız "Türkistanı muhtariyati kutluk bolsun" sözleri eşitiler ve ~~xxxx~~ Özbek polisleri intizame bakıyorlardı. Bu çok yüksek zevkibirden bire, kökten inen yıldırım gibi, bir süratli habar bütün neşeli vaziyati değiştirdi... Osipoff komandasında toplarla, oksacarla ve dışlarına kadar silahlanmış rus "kızıl" ordusu stasyona gelmiş.... Kokani ikinci Cizzaka çeviren bu kızıl ordu sayısız ölceleri için şehirde haridar arayıyorlar... Burada de aynı hal!... Cizzak Özbekleri gibi hazirliksiz ve hec şeyden haberi olmayan Özbekler, pazarlarında yine ruslerin çok sevdiği kurbanları oldılar... Rusler "İş"lerini bize göstermemek için ve istedikleri gibi bitirmek için bazarda dolayan bütün tutkun arkadaşlarımızı çok acala ile kışlaya koğdılar. Skobiliffin sokakları tipki 16inci temuz, 1916inci yili Cizzak vakiasini hatir-



Cries are heard on every corner... After 24 hours, the hopes of Uzbeks were dashed. This time again, the slumber of the Uzbeks, or rather, the fact that they did not have a proper organization, brought this grave trouble for them..." (p. 136.)

One of the ex-police officers of Margilan, Memet Emin, became the ring leader of the Kozgalancis at the beginning of August 1918. His only aspiration was to destroy the Bolsheviks with all his power like Erges Bey and serve for the liberation of Turkestan.

20 September, 1918. The best known leader of the Basmachis Erges Bey shook up the Russians very much once again. With his 1000 fighters, he declared war on the Bolsheviks. His army moves between the cities of Anjan and Osh. Part of Erges Bey's army captured the old Margilan. Uzbeks show Erges Bey's troops as 24.000 and Memet Emin Bey's troops as 10.000 in number.

The following examples might indicate the extent of the atrocities committed by the Russians and our people enrolled in the red army against the guilty and innocent people of Turkestan:

"Following the attack by the *Basmachis*, they brought many Turkestanis to the fort. They forced them to stand near the graves which they themselves had dug. The fortunate ones died with a single shot but the unfortunate ones were slain by the swords and bayonets of the soldiers of the red army. In Kyzylkaya (Ferghana), they buried the Turkish villagers whom they had taken prisoners during the clash with the *Basmachis* under the hot and melting iron flowing from an iron furnace and burnt them alive. Soldiers of the red army almost competed with each other for beheading the Turkestanian people at the fort. A red soldier was proudly giving an account of how he had killed with a single shot a mother suckling her baby, at the same having the truth of the story confirmed by his friends." (pp. 243-244)

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latiyor. Her köşede feryat!...24 saat süre Özbeklerin umidi kırıldı. Yene bu sefer de Özbeklerin uykusu, deha doğrısı onların teşkilate sahip olmadıkları başlarına bu çok ağır yeni getirdi...(Sahife 136.)

Eski margilan Polis memurlerinden Memet Amin 1918 Ağustos başında Kozgalancılar basına geçdi. Unin yegane dileği Ergesbey gibi bütün kuvatıla bolşevikleri yikıtıp Türkistan istaklige hizmet kilisdan ibaretdi.

20.ci Eylül, 1918.-Basmacıların en meshur Korbasisi Erges bey rusleri yene çok sasiyor...0 yanindagi 1000 yigitlerle Bolşviklere karsi vuruş bildirdi. unin kosuni (Ordusi) Ancañle Os sehirleri arasinda geziyor. Erges beyin bir kisim kosuni eski margilanni aldı. Özbekler Ergesbeyin bütün askerlerini 24 000 ve Memet Amin beyin askerlerin 10 000 diye gösteriyorlar...

Ruslerin ve bizden de kızıl orduye koşanların Türkistanin günahli ve günahsız ogullarina yaptıkları vasiliklaşinin derecesini su asagidaki örnekler göstere bilir: (1)

„Basmacılar“ hücumından son bir çok Türkistanlileri korgana (kalaya) getirdiler. Onları orada gendileri için gendi ellerile kazdıkları çukurın yanına durduttılar. Bahitleri olanlar bir körşunla can verir; olmayanları de darhal kızıl askerlerin kilic ve süngülerle bir dünyaya gönderilir ediler. Kizilkaya (Fergane)de „basmacılar“vuruşinde tütilen Türk köylülerini demir ocagından akan sıoak ve erimiş demir altına gömip diridiri yakdılar... Korganda Türkistanlıların başlarını kesmede kızıl ordu askerleri birbirleriyle yarış etdiler. Bir kızıl asker sokakda bir körşunla bir Turk kadınıni köksinde emziren çocukla birlikte bir ataşla vure bildikini iftiharla süğleyör ve bunun hakikat olduğunu yanindagi arkadaşlarına tasdik de ettitiyordu...(S.243-244)

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“Following the call for “Gazat” by Memet Emin Bey, who was very confident of success, to the people to join the struggle, the fight became very heated.

As a result of very serious negotiations carried out with Memet Emin Bey at the beginning of March, there were some peaceful days. On 7 March 1920, very boisterous celebrations were held on the occasion of peace concluded with Memet Emin Bey. Uzbeks embraced and congratulated each other. An unusual “statement” was publicized in the evening to all the city, written in Turkish and Russian languages, declaring the peace reached between the Bolsheviks and Memet Emin Bey. (See the picture). In this “statement”, the Russians were forced to acknowledge the commander of the Basmachis as “Memet Emin Bey, the commander of Muslim soldiers!” Although Memet Emin Bey recognized the Soviet government, he remained in command of his soldiers.”

20 March 1920. This is an unforgettable memorial day. A military parade was held by Muslim soldiers on the occasion of the making of peace, reminiscent of the times of Chenggiz Khan and Emir Timur. Whoever sees this parade can be convinced that the Russians cannot easily defeat Memet Emin Bey. Because these brave fighters of Turkestan possess an amazing moral discipline.

Following the parade of the cavalry men in different uniforms, fully armed and equipped with ammunition, about a hundred men (saqči) of Memet Emin Bey in dark green uniform, with white fur caps on their heads passed by; then unending rows of soldiers dressed in the Kirghiz style with gray hats and shining eyes always alert to attack the enemy marched. Right in the middle of his men, among the saqčis, Memet Emin Bey appeared like a real oriental character. All the Russians who saw this scene were greatly astounded. So many and varied uniformed Muslim soldiers were coming that even very far distances outside the square were filled with them.”

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„Muvaffakiyetlerle çok emin olan Memet Emin bek halkı „Gazet“ a çakırdıktan sönre vuruş çok atışlandı.

Mart ayı başlarında Memet Emin bek ile çok ciddi muzakireler neticesinde bir az Tınoluk(Sulh) oldu. 7.ci Mart 1920 de Memet Emin beyle yasalmis yaras(Sulh) munasibatila çok tantanalı bayram oldu. Özbekler birbirlerini kocaklaşıp kutladılar. Akşam Türk ve Rus dilinde Bolsivik ve Memet Emin bek Yarasini bildiren çok acayip „Bildiris“ bütün şehre malum oldu.(oftografa bak!7. Burada rusler „Basmacı“ basbugini „Musulman askeriyesinin basbugi Memet Emin bey“ diye tasdik yapmaya mecbur oldılar!... Memet Emin bey Sovyet hükümetini tanısa da yukarıdaki askerlerle kalacak oldu.

20.ci Mart,1920.-Bu gün hiç unutulmayacak bir istelik(hatıra) getirdi. Bu gün Yaras(sulh) munasibatila bütün musulman askerlerinin,tipki Cingiz han yahut Emir Temur zamanlerini hatırlatan kecit resmi oldu...Bu kecit resmini kim görmisse ruslerin Memet Emin beyin kulaylıkla yok edemiyceklerine iman eder. Çünkü,bu Türkistan yigitleri icinde kişiki ha,rat de birakan disiplin hakim idi...

Türlü üniforme,dişlerine kadar silahlanan,kökslerine korşunlar dizilen sayısız atlılar ~~kata~~ geçdikten sönre,yüze yakıkin kuyu yasil,uniformli,baslarına uzun ak koyun papakları giyen Memet Emin bey Sakoilari(müseyet askerleri),sönre kirgiz elbiseli,pos şapkali,parlayan gözli ve her vakit düşman üstüne atılmaya hazır olan sonu görünmez uzun atlılar... Bu uzun siroemin tam örtesinde,Sakoilari icinde, Memet-emin bey tam bir şark tipinde görünüyordu. Bu hali gören rusler hakikatan çok şaşıyorlardı. Okadar çok ve türlü elbiseli musulman askerleri geliyordu,ki maydandan dışarıdaki çok uzak mesafeler bile unlerle duliyordu...



"Following the sealing of the peace declaration with an oath by Memet Emin Bey, the latter made a speech first in Turkish and then in Russian.

16 May 1920. Following the conclusion of peace negotiations with Memet Emin Bey, because the Russians did not recognize Turkestan as an autonomous country, fresh uprisings started breaking out. Basmachis took terrible revenge on the Russians.

One fourth of the entire Russian army was invited to attend the military parade in the "Frontier Fort". A "bayram" (festival) called "brotherhood" was held there. As the Russian commander and his soldiers, having laid down their arms, were enjoying the delicious Turkestani rice, they were suddenly attacked by the Basmachis and were killed there to the last soldier. After a couple of days it became apparent that "Blind Simmet", one of the officers of Memet Emin Bey had killed Memet Emin Bey (who had made peace with the Bolsheviks), and had taken over his place ... While those who prepared this "bayram" were Memet Emin Bey's fighters ... With this sign, new fights started around the city Sim (Skobiliff)."

6 September 1920. Yet another painful drama was experienced this morning at dawn. 14 Uzbeks kept as hostages against Basmachis' attacks on Uch Korgan were shot dead, in accordance with the decision of the secret committee of the red army.

The number of Uzbeks killed down in the cellar of a bar is not known ... Meanwhile, the Emir of Bukhara was trying to mobilize Muslim soldiers to fight with the Russians. This gave an alibi to Russians to get closer to the territory of Bukhara. Shortly after this, deliberate reports brought the news of the Russian victory in Bukhara. To loot the rich resources of this country as well, the Russians again massively shed the blood of inhabitants there and left the country

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„Yaras bitiki(Sulh name) Memet Amin bey tarafından andla mührlendikden sünre,Memet Amin bey evvala Türkce sünre de rusce çok kısa bir nutuk sözledi...

16.ci May,1920.- Memet Amin bey Yarasından sünre rusler Türkistanı muhtariyat ülkesi olarak tanımak istemedikleri için,kaytadan Kzgalanlar kopmaya başladı. Basmacılar ~~xxxx~~ ruslerden çok mudhis Uc(intikam) aldılar...

Bütün rus Ordusunin 1/4 i „Uc korgan"a kecit resmi için mihman olarak davat² etilmiş ediler. Urada „kardaslik"adlanan „Bayram"oldi. Rus komandan ve askerleri silahlarını bira-karak Türkistanın leziz pilavi üstünde oturir ekenler, birden bire basmacılarhücumü karşı²asında kaldılar,unlerin son kişisi de orada öldirildiler. Bir kaç gün sünre belli oldi,ki Memet Amin beyin Korbasilarından „Kör Sirmet" Bolşviklerle yaras yapan Memet Amin beyi öldirip unın yerine gecmisdir... „Bayram"i hazirlayanlar de unın yigit²leri eken... Bu işaretle Sim(Skobiliff) şehiri etrafında yeni vuruşlar başlandı...

6.ci Eylül,1920.-Bu gün²ü tında yine bir aci dram olup geçdi. Basmacıların Uc korgana hücumlerine rehin olarak tutulan 14 Özbegi (kızıl ordunun gizli komitesi kararıla) korşune dizdiler-

Yene bir birahananın yor o,ında=(mazani)de korsına dizile lon Özbeklerin sayısı kimseye belli değil... Bu arada Buhara Amiri ruslerle vuruşmaya başlamak için müsallaman askerlerini toplamakla ²ğraşıyordu. Bu ruslere Buhara top ragına sokulmak için iyi fırsat verdi. Az zaman sünre mahsus bildirisi kagadları Buharade rus zafarından haber getirdi. Rusler bu ülkenin de zengin servetini yağma etmek için,yene ehalini kanını sil gibi akızdılar,memleketi atas



in a state of ruins.

Mehmet Emin, who used to be a police-officer during the Tsarist Russia, could not get any further than being "the servant of Religious Affairs" after the revolution in Russia. It is clear that he was sympathetic to the foreign country in view of the number of Russian words he used when the peace treaty was signed ... Therefore I have translated that peace treaty into the Turkish of the Republic of Turkey.

7.3.1920

The text of the treaty signed by Turkestani Second Defense Division Strike Commander and the head of Muslim soldiers Mehmet Emin:

We, the undersigned, the first party Veriofkin Rahalski, commander in chief of the second Defense Division in Turkestan by the approval of the post-revolutionary Turkestan, the Division commissary Slivcinsky, the second party Memet Emin Bey, the commander of the Muslim soldiers, agree by this treaty on the following:

I, Mehmet Emin Bey, hereby do certify, having investigated the Soviet government with my soldiers and assistants, that I accept it and that as its LOYAL SERVANT I shall obey all its orders subject to the following conditions:

1. The Soviet government shall consider the rights of the working class that forms the existence of Turkestan, protect the essence of the Islamic law and allow the people to live according to the Sharia; that is, its functions in accordance with Moslem traditions.
2. The headquarters of the army shall always be designated as Namangan.
3. In order to protect Ferghana against the external and internal enemies of the Soviet government, I temporarily take the responsibility of Ferghana upon myself, for the time being within the boundaries of Ferghana.
4. The Russian soldiers serving in my army shall be dismissed and those who are willing to serve on my side will be permitted to stay.
5. To show my servitude to the post-independence war period,

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"icinde virane yaptılar!..."

Vaktıla Car rusiyesinin memuri polis Memet Emin, inkılaptan son sovyet Rusiyesinin "diyanetlik hizmetkari" olmakdan ötenmedi...Yabancı devlete satkun olduğu Yaras bitiginde(Sulh muahidesinde)kollandığı çok rusce sözlü dilinden de acıkça görünmektedir...Un^un için bu Yaras bitigini türkiye Türkeciye cevirdim.

7.3.1920.

Türkistan ikinci müdafaa fırkası vuruş komandani ile,müslüman askerlerinin asker basisi Memet Emin beyin ittîfakin metni:

Biz aşağıda imza koyanlar,birinci taraf Türkistan inkılap vuruş sorası taadikıla Türkistan ikinci müdafaa fırkası vuruş komandani Veriofkin Rahalski,fırka komisari Slivcinski,ikinci taraf müslüman asker basisi Memet Emin beyi isbu ittifaki su hususda kılamız: Ben,ki Memet Emin bey öz askerlerim,korbaslarım ve muavinlerim sovyet hükümetini tahkik kilip tasdik yapıyorum ve une aşağıdaki şartlar boyunca DIYANETLİ HİDMEFKARI olup onun bütün emir ettigi buyrukları yerine getireceğim;

soyle,ki:

- 1.- Sovyet hükümeti Türkistan vilayetinin hayatını teskil eden çalışan halkın haklarına riayet edip seriet esasını korur ve seriete bakarak yaşamaya hak verir,yani müslümanların adetine göre iş görür.
- 2.- Ordumun karargahi her zaman için Nemengen tayin edilir.
- 3.- Ferganeyi sovyet hükümetinin iceri ve diseri düşmanlarından korumak için,simdilik Fergananın diserisine cikmamak sartile kendi üzerime alırım.
- 4.- Ordumda hidmet yapan rus taifalarına af verilip,mezkurlerden gine bana hidmet etmek isteyenler atrafında kala bilirler.
- 5.- Isbu yılın 13. Martına kadar inkılap vuruşu sorası önünde



I shall be entering Tashkent by the 13th of March of this year together with my assistant.

the commander of Muslim Soldiers

Memet Emin Bey

General Staff Officer

Bilkin,

have signed and sealed.

This way, by writing a few ornate sentences in the name of Sharia within 2-3 articles, Soviet Russia gained Memet Emin Bey's sympathy. However, before Memet Emin Bey could go to Tashkent to become the "loyal servant", he was killed by Sher Memet Bey ("Mehmet the Blind") who was fighting to free Turkestan from Russian dominance ... Sher Memet, the son of Haji Koshak from the Kerbaba village in Ferghana, was considered one of the most brilliant and self-sacrificing Turkish heroes among the Basmachis at the age of 21. When he was 23, he became the head of all the Basmachis in Ferghana. After having fought against the Russians for 7 years, he took refuge in Afghanistan in 1923. Let us take a look at his own expression and writing from his diary which he had written 3 years earlier.

In the year 1333 A. H.⁶⁷ the government of Nicholas recruited soldiers for the war with Germany among us, the poor of Turkestan, to be put into *merdikar* (day labourer) units. In order not to give the above mentioned *merdikars*, the poor of Turkestan declared a holy war against the Russians and fought a war...

When they had just sent some of Turkestan's poor, who had been drafted to fight on the battlefields as *merdikars*, to the cities of Russia, Nicholas was dethroned and they were freed.

In our Turkestan as well there formed a number of movements with the aim of gaining freedom and secession from the Russians. The leaders of the local self-administration of Ferghana established discipline among the soldiers of the national army. When they had been teaching them military order and discipline already for quite a long time, other Russian soldiers, that is the Bolsheviks, invaded our Turkestan. The poor, who had toiled a great

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tabiligiını göstermek için muavinimle beraber Taskente
girdim.

Müslüman askeriyenin asker basısı

Memet Emin bek,

Erkani-harp baştuğu

Bilkin,

imza yapıp mühürlədiler.

Iste,sovyet rusiye 2-3 maddalı seriet adına yaodığı oyulu cümleleriyle Memet Emin beyin vicdanını kazanmıştır. Amma Memet Emin bey Taskente gitmeden,sovyet hükümetige "diyanatlı hidlatkar" olmadan evval Türkiştani rus boyuntrigından kurtarmak için ata binen "mucahitler başluğı Korbası" Ser Memet bey("Köş Semet")in korsununa dizildi... Ferganade Ger baba köyünden Hacı Kosak oğlu Sir Memet bey,21 yasında eken Basmacılar arasında en akıllı,fidakar Türk kahramanı sayılırdı. Sir Memet bey 23 yasında bütün Fegane Basmacılarının başbuğı ve baş komandanı oldu. Ruslerle yedi yıl vuruşdıktan sönre 1923 de Afganistane iltica etti. Unin bundan 2-3 yıl evval yazdığı hatırasından kendi ibare ve imlasile aynan okuyalım:

"1333 inci hicride Germaniya urusu için nikalay hükümeti biz Türkistan fukaraleriden merdıkâr tarikasında asker aldı.Meşkur merdikerlerini bermas için Türkistan fukaraları oruska karşı cihad ilan etip uruşdı...

Urus meydanında merdıkârlık kılmak için alungan Türkistan fukaralardan bir mücelerini Rusiye şehirlerine yetküzgeen mahalda Nika-layni tahtan yıkıtib hurriyet kıldiler.

Bizning Türkistanımızda de hurriyet bolup oruşden ayrulmak yolunda bir münce hareketler boldi. Fergane muhtariyeti başlukları millî askerler tartıp berip bir nive vakitler askerlik nizam ve tartıplarını örgetip turgan vakitda Türkistanımızge yine oruş askerleri yani bolşevik tayifesi hücum kıldılar.Merdıkârlık yolida köp zeh-



deal due to being *merdikars*, gathered and with their equipment and weapons fought the holy war against the enemies. First a young hero, a *korbashi*⁶⁸ named Ergesh appeared in the city of Kokand. With him, 500 armed youths and other poor subjects took axes, hatchets and sticks into their hands and fought day and night in the city of Kokand against the barbaric invasion of the enemy. In the end the Russians took to flight. In that battle the above mentioned *korbashi* Ergesh died a martyr. The Bolshevik soldiers killed many thousands of people with all kinds of horrible torture, a great many people who had stood aside without joining the war, women, girls and children... They cut off the breasts of women, hammered nails into the heads and eyes of small breast-fed babies and thus killed them with horrible torture. They completely devastated the city of Kokand. In this battle, many of the Bolsheviks died, too. In the place of the late Little ERGESH Big ERGESH from Kül-Tepe near Kokand appeared and took steps to assemble the soldiers that were left. At this time, all the poor of Ferghana devoted their body and soul to wage war against the Bolshevik soldiers. MEMET EMIN from Marginan, AMAN PAHLAVAN from Namangan, RAHMAN KUL from Asaba, MAHKEM HAJI from Azerijan, HAL HOJA from Osh, FERFI from the Kokand winter quarters, MUHITTIN from Nevkat, HAMDAN HAJI from Besh-arik, JANIBEK from Özkent, me, SHER MEMET, from Kerbaba, we rose in 1335 A .H.⁶⁹ and started a movement in order to serve the country and the nation and to save our land from the enemy....

One month from the day I entered the war of INDEPENDENCE the soldiers that gathered under my command amounted to 1000, etc., etc...⁷⁰

We also read about the people's uprising in the folk songs that come out of the common soul and heart of the Turkestanian people. Like all the other *qoşmas*, this *qoşuq* or *aşula* that conveys the faith of the people is also anonymous. The *qoşmas* belong to the people. Here are some examples of those *qoşuq* written in beautiful meters, which are read among all people in Turkestan.

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met körgeñ fukaralar yegilisip yarag ve aslahalar bilen düşman-
 larga cihad kildilar. Evvala Kokan shirinde Erges Korbasi namın-
 da bahadır yigit cıkup 500 nefer, asbablık yigitler birlen hem
 baskarayāt fukaralar kollarıga baita, tesse, keltekler alusup vah-
 satlık düşmanlarınıñ hucumıga mukabil bolup Kokand shiride keçe
 kündüz urus kildilar. Ahituemr orusler kaodilar. Usbu urusde mez-
 kur ERGES korbasi sehit boldı. Bolsvik askerleri urusga kirmey tin-
 turgan ehaliden kanca adamlarıñ öldürüp hatun kızlarıñ, bala caka-
 larıñ hem herhil azap ve ukubetler bilen nice mingni öldirdi...
 Hatunlarınıñ emceklerini kesüp ve meyde gödek balalrning bas ve
 közlerıge mih kakup ukubet ve azap birlen öldirdiler. Köp imaret,
 bazar, mescit ve hanakalarıñ ot koyup yandirdilar. Kokand shirini
 bütün harap kildilar. Bu urusde bolsviklerden de köp öldi. Kicik
 ERGES marhumning örnıge Kokand tabıyı "Kül-Tepe"lik kette ERGES
 cıkup kalğan askerlerni cam kilmakka haraketide boldı. Bu vakt bü-
 tün Fergane fukarası Bolsvik askerlerıge karsı urus kilmakka bel
 bağladı. Marginanden MEMET EMIN bey, Nemenganden AMAN PAHLAVAN,
 Asabaden RAHAMAN KUL, Azericanden MANIKEM HACI, Üsden HAL HOCA, Ko-
 kand kislakden FERFI, Nevkatden MUHITTIN, Bes arikdan HAMDAN HACI,
 Özkentden CANIBEK, Kerbabadeñ men, SER MEMET, 1335 hicride bas köte-
 rip vatan ve milletge hidmet kilmak, Elimizni düşmandan kurtarmak
 üçün haraket kildik....

..... ISTIKLAL urusıge kirgen künimden bir ay söñg kolum astıga
 yegilgan askerlerim 1000 adam boldı... v.s.v.s...

Türkistandeki bu halk kozgalañın deha güzel halk ruhinden, halk yüre-
 kinden kaynakıp cıkan halk türkülerinden okuyoruz. Bu halk imanına ter-
 ciman olan Kosukyahud Asula=kosma yahud türkülerin sahipi bütün kosma
 larda oldıgı gibi belli degildir. Unlerin sahipi halkdır. İste Türki-
 stande çok güzel vezinle bütün millet tarafından okunan Kosuklardan



Oh mercy, oh mercy!
These mountains, these high mountains,
They block the path of a wretched one! Oh mercy, oh mercy!
One wretched one cries for the other...
But who cries for us wretched ones? Oh mercy, oh mercy!

Who was based in these mountains?
Child soldiers were based there! Oh mercy, oh mercy!
They hid behind stones and
Shot arrows at the Russians! Oh mercy, oh mercy!

It is said your child soldier is young,
And the traces left by him are of stone. Oh mercy, oh mercy!
If he is indeed young and alert,
His desire for freedom will be the main thing! Oh mercy, oh mercy!

Your child soldier has crossed the river-bed,
He put off his silken cloak! Oh mercy, oh mercy!
For Turkestan's sake
He is ready to give his life! Oh mercy, oh mercy!

On the 29th of August 1920 Bukhara was invaded by the red Russians. The Turkish land in Turkestan was seeing for the first time the bloody boots of Russian soldiers. (see Fitret!) Like in Ferghana, Samarkand and among Turkmens here also the national revolution started. In Bukhara, at the head of the Soviet Republic of the "people", there were some Bukhara *jadids* who had helped Russians during their attack on the Turkish land. Even though these *jadids* were officially "friends" of Russia, their hearts were beating for the *Qozgančis*. However, the *jadids* did not seem any different than the Bolshevik Russians to the Bukhara Basmachis who were under the influence of the ignorant *ulama*. The confrontation between the *jadids* and *qadims* which continued for decades in Turkestan now turned to be

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bazi örnekler:

Aman-Aman...

Bu taglar, belend taglar....

Garip yolini baglar!..Aman-Aman!

Garip garipge yeglar....

Biz garipge kim yeglar?..Aman-Aman!

Bu taglarda kim yatgan?....

Asker balalar yatgan!..Aman-Aman!

Yanbaşiga taş batip....

Oruslerge ok atgan!..Aman-Aman!.

Asker balang yaş eken....

Başgan izi taş eken!..Aman-Aman!

Yaş bölse hem meylige....

Erk tilggi baş eken!..Aman-Aman!.

Asker balang say kecdi...

Şahi tonini yecdi!..Aman-Aman!

Türkistaning yolinda....

Aziz canından kecdi!..Aman-Aman!.

29.Agustos,1920 de Buhara ölkesi kızıl rusler tarafından basıldı. Türkistandeki bu Türk topraklara ilk kerre olarak rus askerlerinin kanlı cizmelerini görüyördi.(Fitrete bak!).Burede Fergane,Semerkent ve Türkmen ler icinde oldigi gibi milli kozgalarlar basladı.Buharada "halk" Soraler cumhuriyeti basında,ruslerin bu Türk ölkesine yaptıkları bas-kunda yardım eden bir kac buhara ceditleri oturuyorlardı. Bu ceditler resmen ruslerle "döst" oşalar de unlerin yüregi kozgalancılar için urar idi. Amma,cahil ulanalar tasirinde olan buhara basmacıları karşı-sında ceditlerin rus bolsviklerinden hec bir farkı yok edi.Türkistade on yıllerden beri devam eden "cedit-kadım" kavgası,simdi buharada çok



very bloody in Bukhara. The *qadims*, i.e. the *ulama*, were introducing the *jadids* to *basmachis* as the “traitors who sold Bukhara to Russians.” For that reason, it was very difficult to count these Basmachis among those in “Turkestani National Independence Committee” (1) At that time it became apparent that Enver Pasha had become the head of the Basmachis in Bukhara. The respect shown for Enver Pasha in Turkestan decreased the violence of the struggle between the *jadids* and *qadims*. This is one of the greatest achievements Enver Pasha accomplished in Turkestan. After this, the fight between the *jadids* and the *qadims* in Turkestan ended. These two parties now work hand-in-hand to save this beloved country from the Russian hegemony in the political field and even in the issue of schooling. (2)

However, Enver Pasha came to Turkestan too late... If he had been able to lead the Basmachis right after the World War, he could have realized his wish, the biggest homeland of the Turkish people, Turkestan, could be free today. When Enver Pasha came to Turkestan, 250.000 Russian soldiers had already settled there. Even under these conditions, Enver Pasha was able to gather all the Turkestani *Basmachis* under his flag and frightened the Russians. In his first confrontation with the Russians, Enver pasha left 5000 dead around Bukhara and went to Shark-i Bukhara. The cities in between, big and small, were on his side.

Very bloody fights had started all over Turkestan. One of the world's greatest soldiers, Enver Pasha defeated the Russian army several times ... Russians died not only because of the fights, but also because of natural causes ... Because the Russian soldiers who attacked the beautiful gardens in Turkestan ate the unripe fruits, even pumpkins for watermelon, they got malaria. As a result of this, only around Bukhara 200-250 soldiers died each day. A minister described this situation to me in June 1920 as follows: “For those northern bears who are unable to distinguish pumpkin from watermelon the climate of Bukhara and malaria are the invisible Basmachis of Turkestan.”

(1) For further information see *Yeni Turkistan* by Sayyid Jandad Khan Bey volume 13, From the history of Basmachi movement in Shark-i Bukhara.

Enver Pasha was asking the Russians to leave Turkestan. He was fighting against 100.000 Russian Red Soldiers in Shark-i Bukhara very skillfully ... After many months, one of the Armenian spies, Aratanof = Agabekof had "discovered" the village where Enver Pasha was staying ... The strange hour of history ... Friends of Enver Pasha, Talât Pasha in Berlin and Cemal Pasha in Tiflis, were killed by Armenian bullets. Again an Armenian, perhaps this Armenian nationalist assigned to send the great Turk Enver Pasha to the other world, is nowadays lurking behind the Pasha in Bukhara ...

The stories about Enver Pasha conjectured by Agabekof have been shown not to be true and been rejected in "T.M.B."s publications, "New Turkestan". (year 5, number 32):

"... Pasha for some reason was pensive today! ...

Around 8 o'clock when the news came that 300 Russian soldiers had drawn near the hill in Abdere village west of Jede village, Enver Pasha, without waiting for the soldiers to get ready, ran after the enemy with his own 25-30 soldiers. The Russians in the meantime were advancing in 3 branches. With a sudden attack, the Pasha defeated some of the Russian cavalry and took their weapons. Only 5 of his soldiers had remained with the Pasha who surprised the Russians with his attack, the rest had died. This bloody scene took place so suddenly that the Russians were confused and could not even realize whom they were fighting. While the Pasha was advancing without even waiting for help, the soldiers arrived. However, one of the machine guns on the side hit the Pasha in the heart whose soul was predestined to be taken at the Feast of the Sacrifice. The counter-attack of Devletment Bey who came to help was not successful, because he also did not live long after his beloved Pasha..."

We had read about this sad day of Turkestan and indeed of the whole Turkish world in the poem Baljivan by the poet Çolpan. This eulogy below is a valuable

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Enver Pasa ruslardan Türkistandan daf olup ketmelerini talap ediyordi. Sarki Buharada yüz bine yakın rus kızıl ordusila çok meharetle vuruyordı... Bir çok aylardan son Cika casuslarında ermeni Aratonof=Agabekof Enver Pasanın durduğu köyü "keşf" etmiş... Tarihin acayip saati... Enver Pasanın arkadaşlarından Talat Pasa Berlinde, Camal Pasa Tiflisde hain ermeni korsunila şehit olmışlardı... Yene bir Ermeni, belki büyük Türk Enveri ^u bir dünyaya göndermek için çekist olan bu Ermeni milletsisi Agabekof şimdi Buharada Pasanın arkasında dolasır... Agabekofin Enver Pasaya aid uydurmalar "T.M.B."nin Basma söz(matbuat) lerinden "yeni Türkistan"(yıl 5.sayı 32) de çok ^eşaslı olarak isbat ~~edilmiş~~ ve red edilmiştir:

"...Pasa, nedendir bu gün fazla düşünceli ve mağmın bir vaziyette edil...

Saat 8 raddalarında rus ^{ay}lyından 300 kadar süvarinin Cege köyünün garbindeki "Abdere" köyü yakınından tepeye yaklaşmakta olduğu habar verildiği zaman, Pasa askerin toplanıp hazır olmasını beklemeksizin yanındaki daimi 25-30 maiyet askerile düşman üzerine ~~konusarak~~ konuşuyor, bu siredede ruslar de uc kola ayrılarak ilerliyorlardı. Pasa ani bir taaruzla karşısına çıkan Rus süvarilerinin bir kısmını bozdu ve silahını aldı; celadetiyle rusleri ^şşığırın Pasanın yanında ancak 5 kişi kalmıştı, diğerleri hep şehit düşmüşleridi. Bu kanlı sahne ani vukubolmuşdu, ki ruslar sasirmişler ve kiminle harp ettiklerini bile fark~~ı~~ edememişlerdi. Pasa hec imdad falan beklemeden ilerlerken arkadan askerler de yetişmiş bulunuyurlardı. Fakat ruslerin yan taraftan ^eışlayan mitreliyozlerinden birisinin hain bir kursuni Kurban bayramında verilmesi mukadder olan büyük kurbanın kalbindan vurmuşdı. İmdada gelen Devletment beyin taaruzu neticesiz kaldı, çünkü 0 de pek sevdiği Pasadan ayrı fazla yaşamamışdı.."

Türkistanın, ^eyanız Türkistanın değil bütün Türklüğün bu çok acı, çok kara gününü Sair Colpanin "Belcivan"adlı siirinde okumus edik. Asagidaki mer-



document concerning the death of this great Turkish hero who had died to save his country.

*He parted from the world on that day, the holy warrior Enver. Where is he?
What else but weep can a brother do as he sees the fortunate potentate's state?
In no time I found myself in the clutches of that heaven-sent destiny:
That blessed body of his was left back in Beljivan to decay!
On Saturday, at ten o'clock, news was brought. They said:
"Be informed that they fetched the blessed body after it had happened.
At that moment we went and mourned together with all the soldiers."
The whole of Islam arrived crying in masses and crowded the area.
They entered the blessed one at the winter quarters of Chegen.
All the mujahidin sat down and read the first surah of the Koran.
On that day, we went with many soldiers to the city of Garm.
Many princes came, remembering the fortunate potentate.
Mim and Nun⁷¹, cry, forever mourning!
Maybe Allah will have mercy upon him and forgive him his sins ...*

Zilhijja 15, 1340 = beginning of August, 1922

The unfortunate *Basmachis*, even though they had lost their great leader, were determined to take the holy revenge and to gain their independence. Even today Turkestan is a country that does not put guns against Russian dominance in the whole Soviet Russia. After Enver Pasha was killed, Russians wrote in their Official Gazette more than a hundred times that the "*Basmachis* were defeated!" ... and they are still doing so ... But the poem below of the Turkish villagers shall be read today and tomorrow, until the day Turkestan will get rid of the Russian dominance.

*Brutal hands
Even if brutal hands crush us today,
Even if those swords cut us down wrongfully,
Even if those Russians burn us and knock us down,
The blood of anger seethes within us!
We will unite against them!*

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siye büyük Pasanın,Türklik oğrunda can veren bu büyük Türk kahramanini
ölümün^ü aid bir kimetli vasıkadır. 0

Ketti dünyadan u kün gazi Enver kaydadır?

yeglamay neyley burader sahip kiran halin körüp.

Köz yümip açgunça kaldım bu felekning destide

Ul mübarek cismi kañdi Belcivanide solap!...

Roze şenbi saat onde bir haber keldi,biling

didiler,keltirdiler cismi mübarekni bolap

Bardık ul an cümle asker bilen feryadlaşup

Cümle İsham yeglaşup keldi u kün sahra tolup.

Defn kildilar mübarekni Cegen kişlakida

Olturup cümle mücahid fatiha süre okup...

Kettik ul,kün neçe askerler bilengarm şehrige

Nece bekler keldiler sahip kirani yad etup...

Mim-Nun sen yeglagıl her bir zaman feryad etip

Şayad Alla magfiret kilgay günahing rahm etip..

15inçi Zilhicce 1340=Agustos basi 1922.

Talihsiz Basmacılar büyük basbugdan ayrilsalar de kurtulus yolundaki
güreslerini ² mukddas öci(intikamı) almak için yine ilerleyu^uşlerdi.

Bu gün bile Türkistan bütün Sovyet rusiyada rus hakimiyetine karşı sı-
lahını elden bırakmayan birden bir Ölked^{ir}. Ruslar Enver Pasa şehit düs
dikten sonra "Basmacılar tögedi!" diye rasmi gazitalarında yüz kerreden
cok bildirdiler... ve hala bidirmekdeler....Amma Türk köylüsünün bu
asagıdaki tüküsü bu gün,yarın,Türkistan rus boyunturugından kurtulacak
büyük yarına kadar,okulacaktır.

Zalim kollar.

Ezse bu kün zalim kollar

Haksız kesse ul kiliçlar

Yıkse,yaksa şul oruslar

Bizde gazap kani kaynar!

Unge karşı birleşirmiz!...



*The Russians took Turkestan
 They ruined this pleasure-garden.
 They pillaged life and property quite a lot.
 Now it is necessary that we pass the mining-place⁷².
 And fight the Russians.
 They have created thirst for revenge,
 Because he gathered the people and deported them.
 Wherever he went, he smashed and ravaged.
 Now the time of our salvation has come.
 Therefore we will wage war!
 With knowledge in the head and a weapon in the hand
 With cartridges lined up like the teeth of a comb
 We waged the holy war, with hearts pure and white,
 With cartridges we loaded our rifles, that were like the teeth of a comb.
 We will go to war against the Russians!*

An American by the name of Lindsey Hopsin had the honour of visiting Turkestan during the opening of the Turk-Sib railway. His impressions about this Turkish land were published in an article in the paper Paris-Med on the 14th of February 1930, in which he says the following:

“The Soviets are ruling Turkestan with red walls. Since not only the Russians, but also the Bolsheviks who are destroying the national traditions of Turks are ruling in Turkestan, the wrath of Turks is growing from day to day. Soldiers are everywhere. Even the railway stations in Tashkent are full of soldiers. In the streets and everywhere ... Since they are afraid of being attacked by the “native” people, these soldiers walk in groups of 2-3. All of the soldiers are Russians from the Russian provinces. These soldiers are the power and keepers of Russian dominance and law over Turkestanis who are always ready to fight against the dominance of Moscow to get their independence! The Turkestanis, who, though under communist dominance,

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Ruslar aldı Türkistanni
 Veyran etti bul bostanni
 Hop taladi mal u canni
 Kerek endi keçip kanni

Ruslar bilen uruşarmiz!....

Oç hissini uygatti
 Çünkü elni topla attı
 Kayga kelse büzdü ketti
 Bişge necat çağı yetti
 Şuning üçün uruşurmiz!...
 Başda irfan, kolda yarak
 Ok tizilgen tarak-tarak
 Cihad ettik könlimiz ak
 Miltik oklap tarak-tarak

Ruslar bilm urusarmiz!....

Lindsey Hopsin adında bir amrikalı Türk-Sib demir yoli acilmesi münasibetile Türkistani görmek scerefine nail olmisdir. O bu Türk yurdinden aldigi tesirlerini 14. Şubat, 1930 de "Paris-Med " gazitasında bir bastiran makalasında diyorki:

"Sovyetler Türkistani kızıl devatlarla korsaganlar! Türkistanlılar üstinde sadece ruslar degil, ^qunların milli ananaların parcalamakda olan rus bolsvikleri hüküm sürmekde olduğundan, Türklerin ruslare karsi gazapları günden güne güceymektetir. Her bir yerde askerler. Hatta Taskent demir yollari stasiyonlerinde de askerlerle doludur. Sokaklarda ve her yerde askerler.... "Yerli" halk tarafından hücum olusından korkdiklari için bu askerler yalnız gezmeden 2,3... ve grup halinde yururlar... askerlerin hepsi rusiye vilayatlerinden gelmis Ruslardır... Bu rus askerleri Moskva boyunturugina karsi her vaki kozgalana hazır olan Türkistanlılar üstinde rusiye hakimiyeti ve kanunu korucu ve gücü(kuvvati) dirler,...
 Türkistanlılar, komunist boyunturugu altında oldiklari halda,



have not bowed their heads yet! You, who, as soon as you come from Moscow and go into Central Asia, see the atmosphere of war and get astounded!”

“ATMOSPHERE OF WAR” in Turkestan! ...This is a very important sentence! But this atmosphere is filled up with Basmachi atoms just like gas in the form of atoms. Just like in the law of photo-chemistry when a thunderbolt from the sky strikes, also from these a fusioni.e. the Turkestani National Army will rise, called the “*Basmachis*” on the path of independence! ...

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bu güne kadar kapalarını egmenler!...

Moskvadan çıkup Orta Asiyaya girir girmez , bu ölkeni colgap alan vurur atmosferini gürrer ve hayrette kalar sen!..."

Türkistande "VURUR ATMASFERI"!... Bu çok mühüm sözdür!... Amma, bu atmosfere,tipki atom halında olan gazlar gibi,Basmacı atomlarıyla doludur.Unler kök(sema)den inen bir yıldırım ışıki og-radigi,cattiki zaman-Foto kimiya kanununda olduğu gibi-elbeet u atomlardan bir Birlesme (Imtizac),yani Kurtulus yolunda"Basmacı" adlanan yarigi Türkistan milli kosunu(ordusi) dogacaktır!...



*With houses where marriages take place the heart does not find peace,
The desire of the heart is not satisfied with houses,
They say that in this night no bright candle will burn
Unless noble sons set the brimstone on fire.*

Čolpan

(Uyganiš, Tashkent, 1922)

"Öylengen öylerle köngül yupanmas,
Köngülning istegi öy bilen kanmas,
Eyteler bu tünde yaruk şam yanmas,
Çakmasa göğürtni asil ogullar...."

Çolpan.

(Uyganiş) Taşkent, 1922.

Struggle on the dominance of literature

According to Russian scholars, there are more than 20 nations in Turkestan. Each of these 20 nations is supposed to have its own national literature and culture.¹ Their national characteristics have a degree. According to Russians, although the “national literatures” can be national in their outer appearance, their content had to be “proletarian”. Within the framework of Karl Marx, in the Turkish Turkestan with a population of 14 million there are not even 14 thousand Turkish proletarians. In today’s Turkestan, the dominance of the proletariat means the dominance of Moscow. Therefore it is silly to search for some proletarian features in the literature of this nationalistic country. The Russians love the word “proletarian”. That is the tone the Russians love ... As long as there are no Turkish proletarians in Turkestan, the Turkish literature will not become proletarian! ... Even if there will be proletarians in Turkestan, the Turkish literature will still not become proletarian. Even in Germany where there are 16 million proletarians, both the form and content of literature are national. In Western Europe a proletarian is in the first place “nationalist” and then “classist”. It is race that makes up human history, not classes! (Hitler). That is the reason why a “proletarian” literature that the Russians have tried to create has not and never will come into existence!

Anka Bey who finished the Institute of Journalism in Moscow says in the newspaper Red Uzbekistan on the 2nd of September, 1930:

“The positions of leadership of the “Red Pen” organization who want to impose the proletarian outlook on the Uzbek writers are also in the hands of the representatives of the national revolution organization. In the fields of literature and press, the proletarian writers are the supporters of the party-government. There are many discussions on whether there is a proletarian literature in Uzbekistan. However, until now, we have had no proletarian poets appear!”

(1) L.N. Koryenevski. Natural and geographical description of the Middle East. Tashkent: 1929, p. 122.

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Edebiyat hegemonisi ustide güres.

Rus alimlerine göre Türkistanda ~~Mill~~ milletlerin sayısı 20 yi gecer". Bu "20 milletlerin" her birinin kendisine mahsus milli edebiyati, milli kültürü var emiş! (1). Bunların de milli olmasın ölçüsü vardır. Ruslarca Türkistanda "milli edebiyatlar" şekil itibarile milli Olmalarında, amma ^oanın mündericati "Proleter" olacakmış!... Karl Marx mefkûminde 14 milyonlu Türk Türkistanında 14 bin de Türk Proletari yokdur. Bu günki Türkistanda Proleter hakimiyeti, Moskva hakimiyeti demektir. Şu halda bu milli ^olkede edebiyatda proleter mündericesini aramak de çok delilkdir. Rusler Proleter sözünü çok severler... Bu ~~milli Türk edebiyatı proleterleştirmek~~ rusların çok sevdikleri perdedir. Türkistanda Türk proletari olmadıkça Türk edbiyatı proletarlaşmaz!.. Türkistanda proleter olduğu zamanda de proleter mündericati milli edebiyatda olamaz. Hatta Almaniya gibi 16 millyon proletari olan lkede bile edebiyatın şekli de, mündericati de millidir. Garbi avrupada proleter ilk önce milli sonra sinifidir. Kışilik tarihini yapan sınıflar değil, ırklardır! (Hitler). İşte onun içindir, ki rusların 13 yıldan beri yaratmak istedikleri bu "proleter" edebiyatı bir türlü yaratılanals ve yaratılmayacaktır!"

Moskvada jornalistlik ^oinstitüsü bitiren Türkistanlı Anka Bay oğlu 2.ci Eylül 1930 tarihli "Kızıl Özbekistan" gazitasında diyor ki:

" Özbekistan ^oproleter yazıcılarını uyuşturup, onlara proleter terbiyesini vermek isteyen "Kızıl Kalam" ^eçamiyatının de ^erahbarlık yerleri ^emilletçi ^eaksilinkilabi ^etaşkilat vekilleri elindedir. Edebiyat ve matbuat sahasında fırka ve soralar hükümetinin dayancısı proleter yazıcılarıdır. Özbekistanda proletariyet edebiyatı varmı, yokmı meselesine aid çok bahisler olup geciyor. Amma şimdiye kadar bizde proletariyet sairleri meydana çıkmadı!!!..."

(1).- L.N. Korjenevski. Orta Asiyanın tabii-coğrafi tasviri. Taskent 1929. Sahife 122.



We can read in the little book “Matters of Civilized Establishments”(1) by Abdul-Hay Taji’s son how much the Turkish poets were interested in the proletarian civilization:

“It was not too long ago that the Uzbekistan State Press published Ćolpan’s “Poems of Dawn”. This beautiful piece is taken from that book:

*So this is the age of knowledge, science and art!⁷³
This is it: the age of the sublimed human being.
Events are showing that this age
Is nothing but the age of evil—unspeakable evil!*

How can we evaluate this poem? Would such poems serve for the proletarian civilization we are searching for? Only the mad and dishonest could say “yes” to this ...

Let us study the “Poems of Dawn” carefully. First, is there any national form in the poem? There are words, a different style, a different lyric and everything thought to be this nation’s essential features.

Has a proletarian content been introduced to this national form? There is nothing of the proletarian content here. Our century is that of the imperialist’s war and proletarian’s revolution. We will not take this period of time as the “bad” period!... We should fight against the poets who consider the proletarian revolutionary period a “bad” time.”

But how does one fight? One can not fight against a nation’s soul and idea with the weapons of the Red Army. In Turkestan to look for the proletarian ideal in order to fight against the national ideal is like expecting snow during summer time.

Now being able to create a proletarian literature in Turkestan by force, the Russians want to silence the Turkish poets and destroy the realities of the Turkish culture. In Turkestan, poets like Fitret, Ćolpan and Alavi are also scholars who were well-educated and who have great knowledge. Some of their research on the Turkish culture was periodically published by Özneřr (Uzbekistan State Press).

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Türk sairlerinin proleter medeniyetile ne kadar alkadar olduğunu . . .
Abdul-Hay Tacî oğlunun "Medenî kuruluş meseleleri"(1) adındaki küçük
kitabında okuyoruz:

"Çok değil, bunden bir nice vakit evval Özbek devlet nesriyatı
Colpanin "Tang şîrleri"ni basıp çıkardı. Bu kitapden biz nefis
edebiyatden sul parçaya bakalım:

Bu emiş Bigî, fen, hüner asrı

Bu emiş: yükselen beşer asrı

Hadisat öyle göstere, ki bu asır

Yalnız şer ve şera ve şer asrı!

Biz bu siire nasıl baha verelim? Bu gibi şîirler biz isteyen
proleter medeniyetine hizmet kila alurmu? Bune yalnız deliller
yahud çok hilakâr bir kisi evet dir...

"Tang Şirleri"ni iyi araştıralım. İlkönce orada millî şekil varmı?
Söz siz var, sonra ayırım stil, ayırım lirik ve sul milletin öz husu-
siyetleriyle bellenen seylerin hepsi vardır.

Bu millî sekile proleter mündericati kirgizilmismi? Burada proletarin
mündericatine aid bir şey yokdur. Bizim asrimiz ^{Empirist} Empiristlerin
vuruşile proleter inkilabının devridir. Bu devirni biz "şer"devri
diye almayacayız!...Proleter inkilabi devrini "şer" devri dep yazan
sairlere karşı amansız güreş açmalıyız!"

Amma güreş neile acilir? Bir milletin ruhiye ve mefküresine karşı kızıl
ordunun silahlarıyla güreş acilamaz! Türkistande millî mefküreye karşı
güreşmek için proleter mefküresini aramak yaz mevsiminde katgalara in-
tizar olmak gibi bir şeydir....

Rusler, Türkistande gücle proleter edebiyatı yaratamadıktan sonra,
Türk sairlerini ^{sösdürmek} sösdürmek ve Türk harsiyeye aid tatkiatı yok etmek iste-
yömler. Türkistande Fitret, Çolpan, Alavi gibi sairler aynı zemande ^{de}
yüksek tahsil görmüş ve yüksek malumatlı alimlardır. Onların Türk har-
si sahasında tatkiatlarından bazı küçük parçaları ara sire Öznesr
(Özbekistan devlet nesriyatı) tarafından basılmakta edi. Sair Fitretin



Among the beautiful and scientific works by Fitret along these lines, "Examples of the Uzbek Literature", and "Examples of the Ancient Turkish Literature" were published in 1928 by "Özneşir". A conflict had arisen between the Russians and Turkish scholars in this scientific field. While the Russian scholars insulted the Turkestanian Turks as "native", "underdeveloped", and "uncivilized", Turkish scholars like Fitret and Polat Salih provided evidence that the Turks are a highly-civilized and glorious nation, thus aligning Uzbek communists like Atajan with them. The chief of the Uzbekistan Scientific Council, Atajan Hashim-ogly wrote in his article Proletarian and Chagatay Literature published in the journal School and Reader (April, 1928) as follows:

"In order to create proletarian literature and proletarian civilization, it is necessary to know the inheritance of the ancient civilization and to gather and investigate its essential parts. Hence, proletarian literature is fundamental in creating proletarian civilization. Here we shall talk about the Chagatay literature that has a significant place in the history of Uzbek literature and that has raised great poets and writers. Chagatay literature is the most brilliant period of our literature. This period, alive until the *jadid* literature, is a heavier version of the Chagatay literature."

After Bay Bolat came to the conclusion that Atajan, under the influence of Fitret, had been poisoned about nationalism and Chagataysm, he stated that the TURKIC CULTURE and CIVILIZATION are nothing more than "RAGS". According to Bay Bolat, the basis of the Uzbek literature is not the "ragged" Turkish literature, but the great Russian proletarian literature. A supporter of Chagatay literature not for national but proletarian civilization, Atajan comments in his article Literary Inheritance and the Chagatay Literature, published in the newspaper Red Uzbekistan, No. 163-164:

"According to some points of view, the Uzbek literature starts after the October Revolution; the times prior to the Revolution are being denied. They are even afraid to mention the

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bu yolda meydana attığı çok güzel ve ilmi eserleri arasından 1928 de "Özbek edebiyatı n^üm^üneleri" ve "En eski Türk edebiyatı n^üm^üneleri" adında kitapları "Öznesr" tarafından basılmış edi... İşte bu ilmi sahada ruslarla Türk alimleri arasında ayrılık başlamışdı. Rus alimleri Türkistanlı Türkleri "Yerli", "Kalak(geri kalmış) ve "medeniyetsiz" milletler diye tahkir kılar eken, Fitret ve Bolat Salih gibi Türk alimleri Türklerin şanlı, istitaklı, ve en yüksek medeniyetli bir millet olduklarını isbat ediyor ve yanlarına Ata can gibi Özbek komunistleri toplayurlardı... Özbekistan ilmi ş^urasinin reisi Ata can Hasim Oğlu "Maarif ve okuguci"(Nisan 1928) mecmu^sünde "Proletar ve Cagatay edebiyatı togrusunda"adlanan makalasında diyor, ki:

"Proliter edebiyatı ,proliter medenietini kurmak için eski edebiyatı, eski medeniyeti çok iyi biliş, sonra onu yeniden işlemek lazim. İşte yalnız bu ş^uskilde proliter edebiyatı, proliter medeniyeti meselesini hal etmek mümkün olur. Eski medeniyet miras'ını iyi bilmek ve onun lüzümlü yerlerini alup toplamak ve bu toplananları araştırmak lazımdır. İşte proliter edebiyatı, proliter medeniyeti kurmak için bu en büyük esastır. Biz burada "Özbek" edebiyatı tarihinde büyük yer tutan ve büyük sairler, edipler yetistirmiş olan "Cagatay" edebiyatı üzerinde konuşacağız. Cagatay edebiyatı edbiya timizin en güğremiş devridir. Cedit edebiyatine kadar yaşayan bu devir cagatay edbiyatının ağırbaşlı bir seçkidir."

Bay Bolat Atacanin Fitret tesiri altında milliyetçilik ve Cagataycılık ile zehirlendiğine hükmettikten sonra, TÜRK HARSİ ve MEDENİYETİ "PACAV-RAZAR"dan ibarettir diyor. Bay Bolatca Özbek proliter edebiyatının temelini "SÜPRÜTÜ"den ibaret Türk edebiyatı değil büyük rusiya proliter edebiyatındadır. Milli değil, fakat Ptoliter medeniyeti için cagatay edebiyatı taraftarı olan Atacan "Kızıl Özbekistan" gazitesinin 163, 164 sayılarında "Edebi miras ve Cagatay edbiyatı" makalasında diyor ki:

"Bazı yoldaşların görüşlerine göre Özbek edebiyatı 1. tesrin inkilabından sonra baslıyor, ve birinci Testin (Oktobir) den evvalki deviler inkar ediliyor. Hatta cagatay edebiyatının adını ağızlarına

name of Chagatay literature. They all choose to deny the literary inheritance, however, as has been stated by Lenin, it is not right to deny literature.”

Atajan defends himself as a Marxist and even says in his article in School and Reader:

“Central Asia and the East in general have more in characteristics in the economic and social fields than the West in general; that is alright. However, some scientists induce from these characteristics that “Marxism cannot be practiced in the East.”

Being obliged to respond to the long article by Bay Bolat written by the command of Zelinsky, the general secretary of the Central Asian Communist Bureaus, i.e. Moscow’s governor of Turkestan, Fitret states in his article Yapişmagan Gecekler (“Unconnected Fathoms”) written on the 15th of September 1929, published in Red Uzbekistan:

“My dear, Central Asia had a civilization that is recognized by everyone. Many works remain from this civilization. For you to refer to all of these works as ‘rags’ is just your own dirty evaluation.

....You have developed a strange attitude towards the word “Chagatay”. You swear at every individual you do not like “Chagatay”.

Another man-servant of Moscow similar to Bay Bolat is Ziya Said. He, too, wrote in Red Uzbekistan on the 15th and 18th of September 1930 in his long articles “History Speaks” as follows:

The Chagatay Forum Organization has been spreading the poison of Turkism among the people through plays such as Oghuz Khan, Chenggiz Khan, and Timur’s Saga which show the heroism of their past Turkish rulers and thus campaign against bolshevism. Our journals and books with titles like “All the Proletarians of the World, Unite!” remained in the hands of *jadids*. They published their articles on Chagatay-Turkish ideals with the permission of those writers who were not affiliated with the communist bureau, and their articles that were even more alien to the proletarian ideal,

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"almaktan korkuluyor. Bunlerin hepsi edebi mirası inkâr etmedî yoluna gediıyorler; halbuki Lenin edebi mirası inkâr etmenin dogru olmadigini söylemistir."

Atacan kendini Marksist olarak müdafaa ediyor, hatta yukarda "Maarif ve Okutguci" basılan makalasında diyorki:

"Orta Asiya ve ~~mx~~ umum şarkın garbe nisbetle iktisadi, ictimai hususiyetleri cokdir; bu dogru. Lakin bazı ilm kişileri bu hususiyetleri "şarkda Marksizmin tatbik edilemez" neticesini cikariyorlar."

Orta Asiya komünist firkalari bürasi mesûl kâtibi, yani Moskvanın Türkistan valisi Zeliniski emrile yazılan ~~makalatı~~ Bay Bolatın uzun makalalarına cevap vermek mecbûriyetinde kalan şair Fitret "Kizil Özbekistanın" 15. Eylül 1929 deki "Yapismagan Gecekler" adlı makalasında diyorki:

"Azizim, Orta Asiyanın alâmâ malum bir medeniyeti olmuştur. Bu medeniyetten türlü eserler kalmisdir. Bu eserlerin hepsine birden "ahlatler" (~~şark~~ süpürüntü) demeniz, sizin kirli muhakimânizden çıkmış yeni bir istilah olsa kerek.

....Sizde Çagatay sözine karşı enteresan bir hal peyda olmuş. Sevmedigimiz her kimseye "Çagatay" diye sövmekdesiniz."

Moskva nin Bay Bolat gibi diger bir uşagi de Ziga Saittir. O de "Kizil Özbekitan"ın 15 ve 13 Eylül 1930 sayilarında "Tarih dile geldi" atlı uzun makalalarında diyorki:

"Çagatay Gürüngü cemiyeti geçmiş Türk hakanlarının kahramanliklerini gösterip bolşevizme karşı propaganda yapan "Oğuz han", "Cingiz han" ve "Timur Saganası (Fitretin eserleri) gibi piyeslerle Türköülüğün "zehir" gayasını halka dagitipdurdu...

Kabında "Bütün dünya proliterleri birlesiniz!" diye yazili mecmualrimiz, kitaplerimiz ceditler çinde kaldı. Onlar çagataycı Türklük idialini komünist firkasile alakasi olmayan, proliter idialine bûsbütün yabancı makalalarını "komünist" muharirlerin



under the permission of the “communist writers. If you take a look at the issues of the journal *School and Reader* published within the last 5-6 years, you will see that they are full of poems and articles promoting the idealism of Turkism and Chagatayism as expressed by professors such as Fitret, Čolpan and Alavi.”

He produced many serious and scientific articles about the culture of the Turks, published in the monthly journal of Uzbekistan Educational Commissary. This journal has been passed onto Russians after the publication of the article by Ziya Said who insistently wanted to tie Turkish culture to Moscow. Since then, the issues of the journal contain only the articles of Bolshevik Russians. As an example, let us take a look at the issue published in April 1930. In this, there are long articles by 10 Russians. Only on insignificant issues do we come across some Turkish names.

The points of view of Turkish intellectuals concerning the discussions between Bay Bolat, Ziya Said and Atajan are very interesting. We find out about this again in the article by Ziya Said.

Said Esan, one of the graduates of the School of Philosophy of Istanbul University, is reported to have said the following to the followers of Atajan:

“When you shoot an arrow, the arrow goes much further when you pull the bow tighter. Similar to this, the more you lean on your history, the more you support your history, the further and faster you will make headway.”

A teacher named Hatibzade is claimed to have said to Bay Bolat and Ziya Said:

“In the shape of a human being, you do the work of an animal!” Today, in Turkestan, the whole youth support and follow Čolpan. Even some of the young Turkestanis who want to become communist poets cannot shield themselves from Čolpan’s influence. In his article “The Fight for Idealism in the School of Social Education” published in *School and Reader* in January 1939, Altay (Abdulvahid Kariogli) states:

“There are still articles by Čolpan or his followers in the newspapers pasted on the walls of the schools. Now the time has come to fight against them.”

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"izinile basdilar.Bu vakita kadar ^çıkmiş "Maarif ve Okutgucu" mecmuesin 5-6yillik toplamini gözden geçirirseniz,başdan sonuna kadar Fitret,Çolpan,Alavi gibi Profesörlerin Türkoilik,çagataycilik idialini ileri süren şiir ve makalalarine rastgelirsiniz: Özbekistan Maarif komisarliginin aylık mecmuesinde basan Türk harsine aitçok ilmi ve ciddi makalalar çıkardı.Bu mecmue,Türk harsini zorla Moskva'ya baglamak isteyen Ziya Saidin makalasından sonra rusların eline geçdi,mecmuenin bunden sonra nomuralari yalnız rus bolseviklerinin makalalarile dolip çıkmaktadır. Netekim bir örnek için mecmuenin nisan-mâis 1930 sayısına bakalım.Bu sayıda 10 rusun uzun makalasi vardır. Yalnız küçük ehemiyetsiz mevzulêrde Türk atına rast gelinir. Bay Bolat,Ziya Said ile Atacan münakısalari münasibatile Türk okumuş-~~ı~~larınin bu meselye ~~xxxx~~ bakışlarımçok enteresandır.Biz buni gene Ziya Saidin makalasından öğreniyoruz. İstanbul Darülfünunı Felsefe Fakültesi mezunlerinden Sahit Esan bey atacancilre böyle demis:

"Yayı çekip ok atarken yayın ipini ne kadar çok gerip sonra bırakırsanız,ok o kadar çok uzaga gider.Bunun gibi tekamül ve tarakki yolunda mazinize ne kadar çok yaslanır,tarihinize ne kadar çok arka veriy sonra ileriye atlarsanız,o kadar çok ve süratle yol ala bilirsiniz!"

Hatip Zade atında bir Okutgucu(Muallim)Bay Bolat ve Ziya Saide demiski:

"Kişi şeklinde hayvan işini görmekte sen!\$\$\$!"

Bu gün Türkistande bütün genc bogun(nasıl) Çolpan arkasındadır.

Hatta,Komunist sairleri olmak isteyen bazı Türkistanli gencler bile kendilerini Colpanin tesirinden kurtaramıyorlar.Altay(Abdul Vahit kari oglı)Maarif Ve Okutgucu'nin Kanunsani 1930 de cikan (İctimai terbiye mekteplerinde mefkûrevi gürüş" atli makalasinda diyor,ki:

"Mekteplerde divarlêre yapıstrilmiş olan gazitelerde bile Colpanin ve yahut Colpani taklid eden şairlerin yazilari hala okuniyur. İşte bunlere karşı atışgli hücum açmanın sırası gelmişdir.."



One of the German journalists who had been able to come to Turkestan for the opening of the Turk-Sib railway, Wilhelm Stein, wrote a long article for the newspaper *Vossische Zeitung* on the 14th of April 1930. In this, he says

“In Turkestan the subject of the future is nationalism.”

In Samarkand, a few years ago, there was an attempt to establish an Uzbek school in Baku. Because the Russians believed Azerbaijan to be the home of Turkish nationalists, they had opened this school in Moscow. They wanted to make Turks proletarian in the center of the proletarian civilization. However, the Turkish youth did not fall in this Russian trap. Uzbeki Turkish young people sang this poem by Čolpan in front of the Kremlin:

*“To expect mercy from wolves
Is fools’ business.
To overcome any difficulty
This is a most adequate method in life!”⁷⁴*

W. Stein says:

“The Soviet government had brought the Uzbek youth whom they believed to be “converted” to schools in Moscow. After some time, a literary “corner” had been discovered of these young people who were carrying young-communist notebooks in their pockets. After investigations, it was found out that this “corner” is a NATIONAL FRATERNITY carrying great hatred against the Russian dominance in Turkestan. Here, nationalistic poems of Čolpan were being secretly read by everyone. In his poems, Čolpan describes the Russians as the biggest enemy of Turkestani people and as being wild and blood-thirsty. He is supposed to have advised the youth to fight against the Russian dominance. We can read about the fact that Čolpan had an influence on the youth and the fact that the Russian attempt was unsuccessful in the following poem of a 17-year-old young communist Matluba Muhabet Hanim:

*To my people!
My nation, who is terribly squashed in the hands of the cursed Tsar!
My nation, who has become ruined for the sake of freedom!*

-99-

"Türk-Sib"demir ~~ya~~ yolu açılışı münasibetile Türkistane seyahat yapan Alman muharrirlerinden Wilm Stein 14.4.1930 tarihli "Vossische Zeitung"e uzun bir makala yazdı.Stein bey diyor ki;

"Türkistande istikbal meselesi milletcilikdir!..."

Semerkentde bunden bir kaç yıllar evval Bakûde "Özbek mektebi" açmak teşebbüsü var edi. Ruslar azarbaycannı Türk milletcileri ocagı ^azen ettikleri için bu Özbek orta mektebini Moskva'da açmışlardı. Proliter medeniyetinin merkezinde Türkistan Türlerini proliterlestirmek istiyorlardı... Amma Türk ^(Gençleridir) yaşlarından kimse bu rus tuzagina ilinmedi. Özbekistanlı Türk gençleri krimel önünde sair Çolpanın:

"Borilerdeñ aman kütme,
Tenteklerning işidir ul!
Her manigni hatlap ötmek,
Turmuşda eng toğri bir yol!"

türküsünü çağırdılar. W.Stein bey diyorki:

"Sovyet hükümeti "kazanılmış" diye düşündükleri Özbek ^{gençlerini} yaşlarını Moskva Darülfünun ve mekteblerine getirmişlerdi. Uzun bir vakt geçtikden sonra ceplerinde Genc-Komunist defterlerini taşıyan bu Özbek gençlerinin bir edebi "Köşe"si meydana çıkabilmiştir.Tahkikat neticesinde bu edebi köşenin Türkistandeg^{iki}i rus hakimiyetine karşı büyük düşmanlık hissini taşıyan bir M I L L I O C A K olduğunu anlamışlardır. Burada atışli milletci şair Çolpanın şiirleri gözli sürette elden-ele geçip her kesin tarafından okunmakda ~~em~~is. Çolpan şiirlerinde Ruslari Türkistanlıların en büyük düşmanı ve vahşi, kan içici diye tasvir eder, bütün gençlere ~~xxx~~ Rus boyunturugundan kurtulusni hitap edermiş!...Gençlerin Çolpan tesirinde olduklarını ve Moskva terbiyesini muvaffakiyetsizliğini, 17 yaşli genckomunist Matluba Muhamet Hainin su şiirinden okuyabiliriz:

H A L K I M G A !
=====

Melun Çarning kol astida köp ezilgen Milletim!
Azadlik yolunda vayran bolgan Milletim!



*My nation, who has been subdued in a bloody war with the tsar!
 Now that other tyrants have taken the place of the Tsar,
 Why don't you stir, my nation?*

*Stir, now, do not let yourself be squashed in merciless hands!
 Turn your blood into poison and spray it about! Raise your head, my nation!
 How long will the strangers, those Russians who emigrate from Russia,
 Keep on squashing us, MY NATION?*

The beautiful poem of this brave Turkish woman has been published in Europe several times ... That event angered the Russians so much that after a few months they closed the Uzbek school in Moscow! ... It is apparent that today Turkish literature raises many Çolpans. During this Çolpan period, even though Turkish literature was under the pressure of the Moscow proletarians, it did not surrender even in Moscow. ... The roots of this literature with faith lie in Turkestan. ... Turkestan with this faith is in the cradle of the future.

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Çar bilen kanli uruşde yıkkın Milletim!
 Çar orniga başka zımlar kelgen çakda,
 Nege sen kozgalmaysen Milletim?!...

Kozgal, hazır, marhamatsız kol astida ezelmel!
 Kaningni zeher kilip saç! baş köter Milletim!
 Rusiyeden sürülip kelgen çet Ruslar....
 Kacangaca bizni ezer, M I L L E T I M !...

Metlube Muhemet Hanimin, bu kahraman Türk kızinin bu güzel siiri
 Avrupada bir kaç kerre basıldı... Bu vaka ruslari okadar kızdırdı, ki
 bir kaç hafta sonra Moskvade^{aki} Özbek orta mektebini kapadılar!...
 Göriliyör, ki bu gün Türk edebiyati Colpanlar yetistirmektedir.
 Bu Colpan devrinde Türk edebiyati Moskva-Proleterleri baskinina ogra-
 misse de Moskvade bile taslim olmamıştır!... Bu imanli edebiyatin
 köki Türkistandedir!... Bu imande olan Türkistan istikbal beşikindedir!..



*On New Year's Day*⁷⁵

*New Year's Day, which gives light, brightness and life
 To murky, withered, filthy and weak hearts,
 Does not give a trace of pleasure to the Uzbek girl.
 Must she really stay in the black night forever?
 It grants freedom to the deprived, poor and imprisoned,
 Who have been tormented in the dungeons for oh so many centuries.
 But what does it say if the Uzbek girl asks:
 "It gives freedom to others, but what is your freedom to me?"
 Do all the stars that are spread out on the firmament one by one
 Applaud the time of suppression?
 Who is hit by the bitter curses, imprecations and maledictions
 That are sent out from the star-like eye?
 Gülay, Tuti, Kumru, Ayhan and Yarkin
 Stare at the walls on New Year's Day.
 Streams of boys and girls on the streets
 Do not go in to the prisoners.
 They do not admit them to their file and rank,
 They do not even take the prisoners for human beings.
 The tears of the prisoners moisten
 Spring's milk-coloured beauty.
 The free ones, who say "I love beauty!",
 Are not ashamed to stand there staring, for they do not die!
 New Year's Day gives freedom to the unfree,
 But the Uzbek girl cannot walk in the sun of freedom,
 She cannot leave her house which is narrow as a prison,
 She can not tear down the thick, heavy walls,
 She cannot throw herself out into the big wide world,
 But she stares with ardent longing for true freedom...*

Tashkent, April 27, 1921
 (Uyganiš)



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Nevruz künide.

"Hire, öcken, kirlik, kücsiz dillerge
Yarug, yagdu, turmus sepken yengi kün,
Sire sevinç bermes Özbek kiziga.
Yoksa unge mengulik mi kara tün?

Nece yüz yıl kisenlerde intikken
kassak, yoksul, tutkunlarga erk bere;
Özbek kizi; "baskalarga erk bergen,
Menge kani erking?" dese, nediye?

Köklerdegi dane-dane sacilgan
Yulduzlarni ezgi künni alkislar?
Kimga teger yulduz közden atilgan
Accig, gine, malenetler, kargislar?

Güay, totı, kumri, ayhan, yarkinlar
Nevruz küni devatlarga karaylar:
Köcelerde er-lizöardan akinlar
Tutkunlarning yamllariga kirmeyler,
Katarlarga ularni hem almaylar,
Tutkunlarni kisige hem saymalar...

Tutkunlarning köz yaslari baharning
Südringidik gözellikni hölleyler;
"Gözellikni sevdim" degen erkinler,
Korup turup uyalmaylar, ölmeyler!...

Nevruz küni erksizlerge erk berer,
Özbek kizi erkli künde bosalmay,
Zindan kebi tar üyinden cikalmay,
Kalin, ağır devarlarni yikalmay,
Barligini keng dünyage atalmay,
Cin erk künin küte-küte telmirer...

Taskent, 27.4.1921.

(Uyganis).



*Oriental girl*⁷⁶*(To my younger sister)*

*They say that cold, sad, dark winter
 Has passed by and beautiful spring has arrived.
 It is said that the bird has fallen in love with the rose, and sings,
 And that the rose and him are throwing coquettish glances at the other birds.
 They say that on the field the face of the earth is entirely
 Dressed in deep-blue velvet shirts.
 The roosters crow, and you open up your eyes to the daybreak.
 The lovers are licking the lips of the zephyr...
 Everyone is full of joy, everyone is inspired,
 Everyone laughs in the face of the world,
 Even the old people say:
 "Oh, we ought to take a walk out in the summer air!"
 Only I, alone by myself, an oriental girl,
 I can see no spring coming.
 Though the last trace of the long and dark winter is just gone,
 I am waiting for his "friend" autumn.
 For me, the happiness of the bright world
 Means to roll my eyes inside four walls.
 For me, the supreme hour of mirth
 Is to "play with thoughts" in my mad breast.
 I am an oriental girl, and like the Orient itself,
 My whole body and soul is centered on illusion.
 My black eye is like the eye of a wild animal
 Aim of the arrow of an ignorant hunter.
 They say that in summer all beings with a living soul
 Breathe freely, rejoice and fare well.
 But they do not say when the enslaved women of the Orient
 Will step out in this bright world.*

Tashkent, April 23, 1920

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S a r k k i z i.

(Singlinge)

Eyteler, kim savik, gamli kara kis
otub-ketib, kelmis ciraylik bahar,
Gülge asik bolib sayrar emis kus,
Gül hem ul kuslarga nazlanib karar...

Eyteler talada yerbeti tamam
Kömkük duhabeden köylekler kimis;
Horazlar cakirib, yüzün acsa tang,
"Seba"ning lebinis asiklar emmis...

Her kimde bir sadlik, her kimde bir ruh,
Her kim külüp karar emis dünyaga,
Hatta, cal babaylar eytelermis: "uh,
Cikib yürsek edi yazgi hevage!"

Fakat men bir özüm, sarkning bir kizi
Bahar kelgenini körmey kalamen;
Uzun, kara kisning ketmesden izi
Uning "Dosti" küzni kütüp alamen.

Menim üçün yarug dünya rahati-
Tört devar icinde közler oynatmak,
Menim üçün ulug sadlik saati-
Telbe kökregimde "oyler" oynatmak.

Men bir sark kizi men, sarkning özidek
Bütün tenim, canim "hayal" üyesi
Menim kara közim kik közidek
Bilgisiz avcining okun körgüsü...

Eyteler, kim yazda her bir cani bar,
Erkin nefes alar, sadlanar, yayrar....
Eytmeyr, kim sarkda baglik hatunlar
Ul yaruk dunyaga ne zeman kirer?...

Taskent, 23.4.1920.



Berlin. 28.9.1930

My Answer

*Having lost your way like Botalak
 You are looking around suspiciously
 Having drifted into idiotic confusion
 You keep sputtering out what is not meant to be spoken.*

*Chattering without interruption you have spread enticement
 On my pure consciousness.
 Shamelessly, you have called me spy
 Amongst my own compatriotes!*

*But I live for the juvenile force of my country
 For Turkicness!
 And the sole purpose of all my wishes
 Is to send the enemy's soul to hell.*

*You have laid soft traps,
 If you name my spy
 You are depraved from your head down to your toes
 If you think in such a heinous way.*

*The arm of truthfullness cannot be bent
 The life of the liar will not be long.*

Ertay

(1) "Botalak" is a name taken from a play of Ahmedjan Ibrahim.

C E V A B I M.

Berlin, 28.9.1930.

„Botalak“ dey adaşip (1)
 Şubhe bilen bakar sen,
 Tenteklerdey yanglışıp
 Boş bogazlık satar sen !...

—
 Igva saqding cım turmay
 Pak vıodanıñ ustinde,
 Şıpyon diding otanmay
 Yurtdaşlarım içinde!....

—
 Men yurtımñing yaş küçi
 Türklik açın yaşar men!
 Tilekianing bar öçi,
 Yav canını yakar men!...

—
 Namad tuzak koygan sen
 Meni „Şıpyon“ atasang,
 Başdan ayak azgan sen
 Şunday çirkin oylasang!...

—
 Hakning koli bukılmes,
 Yalğan umrı çüzilmes!...

Ertay.

—
 (1).-„Botalak“ Ahmedcan İbrahimning bir oyunda alğan atidir.



Translator's notes

- 1 For a German translation by Subutay 1930/31 see appendix p. (p. 391). There, Subutay mentions that the poem was written (or published—that does not become clear from Subutay's words) in the year 1892.
- 2 The meaning of these lines is doubtful.
- 3 For a German translation by Subutay 1930/31 see appendix p. (p. 392). However, his translation is not very close to the original, and there seems to be one line which differs from the version given in the manuscript under examination here.
- 4 For a German translation by Subutay 1930/31 see appendix p. (p. 392).
- 5 For a German translation by Subutay 1930/31 see appendix p. (p. 393).
- 6 A part of this poem (until *rus askaridimiz* in the manuscript) was translated into German by Subutay 1930/31, see appendix p. (p. 393).
- 7 According to the explanations Subutay 1930/31 p. 394 gives about this line "the Turkish singers" used to cover their faces with a tin tray while singing. Thus, a tin tray would be a mark of traditionalism and backwardness. The word *fetnus* for "tin tray" in the poem's text is an Usbek form of Russian *podnos* "tray".
- 8 The same portion of Tevalla's poem as quoted here has been translated by Subutay. See appendix p. (p. 394).
- 9 Another transcription of this poem in Latin letters, together with a translation into modern Turkish, is given in Yarkın 1975, p. 47. A German translation by Subutay can be found in the appendix p. (p. 395).
- 10 The meaning of *cügüt* could not be established.
- 11 Another transcription of this poem in Latin letters, together with a translation into modern Turkish, is given in Yarkın 1975, p. 47f.
- 12 Fitret's play "Timur's grave" (*Temür Sağanası*), is mentioned in: Togan 1981, p. 520.
- 13 The exact meaning of the word *töge* could not be established. The word preliminarily has been translated by "grave" because this seems to be fitting in this context.
- 14 The meaning of the word *orha* could not be established.
- 15 For a German translation by Subutay see appendix p. (p. 397). According to op. cit., (p. 396), this poem was written in Tashkent in December 1921.
- 16 For a German translation by Subutay see appendix p. (p. 398).
- 17 A somewhat selective translation of this poem by Subutay can be found in the appendix p. (p. 400).
- 18 The word *cicit* could not be found in the dictionaries.
- 19 For a German translation by Subutay see appendix p. (p. 400), where it bears the subtitle "Dedicated to the belligerent Uzbek youth", which is absent in our manuscript.
- 20 According to Baldauf 1991, p. 70, the anthology "Üzbek yoş şoirleri" was published by "Turkestan davlat našrijoti" (Turkestan state publishing house) at Tashkent in 1922.
- 21 The word *yimtilmis* could not be discovered in any of the dictionaries.
- 22 These verses are from the poem "Ferghana", see below.
- 23 The poem is given under the title *Ey gözel Fergane* "Oh beautiful Ferghana" in Özbay 1994, p. 532. Özbay does not state whether this poem was ever published in the lifetime of Çolpan. Another edition, together with a modern Turkish translation, is given in Yarkın 1970, p. 50f. under the title *Güzel Fergâna* (Beautiful Ferghana), placed over both the Uzbek and the Turkish text. For a German translation by Subutay see appendix p. (p. 401).
- 24 According to Özbay 1994, p. 288, this poem (*Halq* in Uzbek) first appeared 1922 in the

- anthology *Uyganiş* (Awakening). Togan 1981, p. 570, mentions that the poem was written in September 1921 in Bukhara. The poem is reprinted in a transcription different from the one in our manuscript in Yarkin 1975, p.46. Another transcription in Latin letters, together with a translation into modern Turkish, can be found in Togan 1981, p. 570f.
- 25 This must be the date of composing, not the date of publication, which is 1922, as we have seen above. The reference of the date “1921” in the edition of Özbay 1994, p. 288 to this poem further supports this view.
- 26 For a German translation by Subutay see appendix p. (p. 402f).
- 27 According to Özbay 1994, p. 482-486, this poem first appeared in the anthology *Özbek Yash Sâ'irleri* (Young Uzbek poets) in 1922 in Tashkent. It contained poems by Çolpan as well as other Uzbek poets of those days (Özbay 1994, p. 469, 482 etc.). Hayit 1981, p. 10 confirms Özbay's assertions and specifies that the poem stood between pages 25 and 60 of the Tashkent 1922 edition.
- 28 The word *yag* (Subutay, p. 49) might be a rendering of Uzbek *yog* ‘fat’ or *yoq* ‘side’, both of which seem to be not very fitting in this context. Moreover, the suffixes appearing at this word are not Uzbek but Turkish. Therefore, it was impossible to decide over the meaning of that word.
- 29 The literature does not mention Çolpan's ‘Golden books’ (*altun defterleri*) from which Subutay claims to have taken this poem.
- 30 According to Özbay 1994, p. 292f., this poem (*Küras* in Uzbek), dedicated to events in the war of resistance against the Russians in Turkestan, first appeared 1922 in the anthology *Uyganiş* (Awakening). A transcription in Latin letters, together with a translation into modern Turkish, can be found in Togan 1981, p. 570.
- 31 This poem could not be identified using the scientific literature and the accessible Çolpan editions
- 32 This poem could not be identified.
- 33 Subutay 1930/31, p. 407 gives a poem by Çolpan in German translation, entitled “Tod Envers” (Enver's death). Despite the similarity in subject, it is not the same poem as in our manuscript.
- 34 The meaning of this line is obscure. Whereas Subutay gives it in the form *Toptolug galbalar koynuga aldi* (Manuscript, p. 51), we read *Toptolug elbeler qoyniga aldi* in Özbay 1994, p. 528. Neither *galbalar* nor *elbeler* could be found in Uzbek dictionaries, the remaining words of the verse being known without betraying any coherent meaning. In his edition of the poem, Yarkin 1973 has *toptolug galbalari* in his Uzbek version of the text (p.37), which is translated by *dopdolu galbalari* in the Turkish part. However, I was unable to find a noun **galba* neither in Ottoman (Redhouse) nor modern Turkish (Steuerwald, Püsküllüoğlu), dictionaries.
- 35 This poem was published, together with a Turkish translation, in Yarkin 1970, p. 51f.
- 36 Özbay 1994, p. 300f. confirms the information given by Subutay that this poem first appeared in 1922 in the anthology *Uyganiş*. For a German translation by Subutay see appendix p. (p. 403).
- 37 The poem was not found in the editions and literature available.
- 38 According to Özbay 1994, p. 364, this poem is taken from Çolpan's book of poetry *Bulaqlar* (Fountains). Tashkent 1924.
- 39 According to Özbay 1994, p. 370f., this poem is also taken from Çolpan's *Bulaqlar* (Fountains). Tashkent 1924.
- 40 In a footnote to another poem, *Navruz Künide* (see below in the main text), Çolpan ties the “New Day” with the ‘world holiday of First May’ (*Birinçi May dünya bayramı*)

in the edition of Özbay 1994, p. 300).

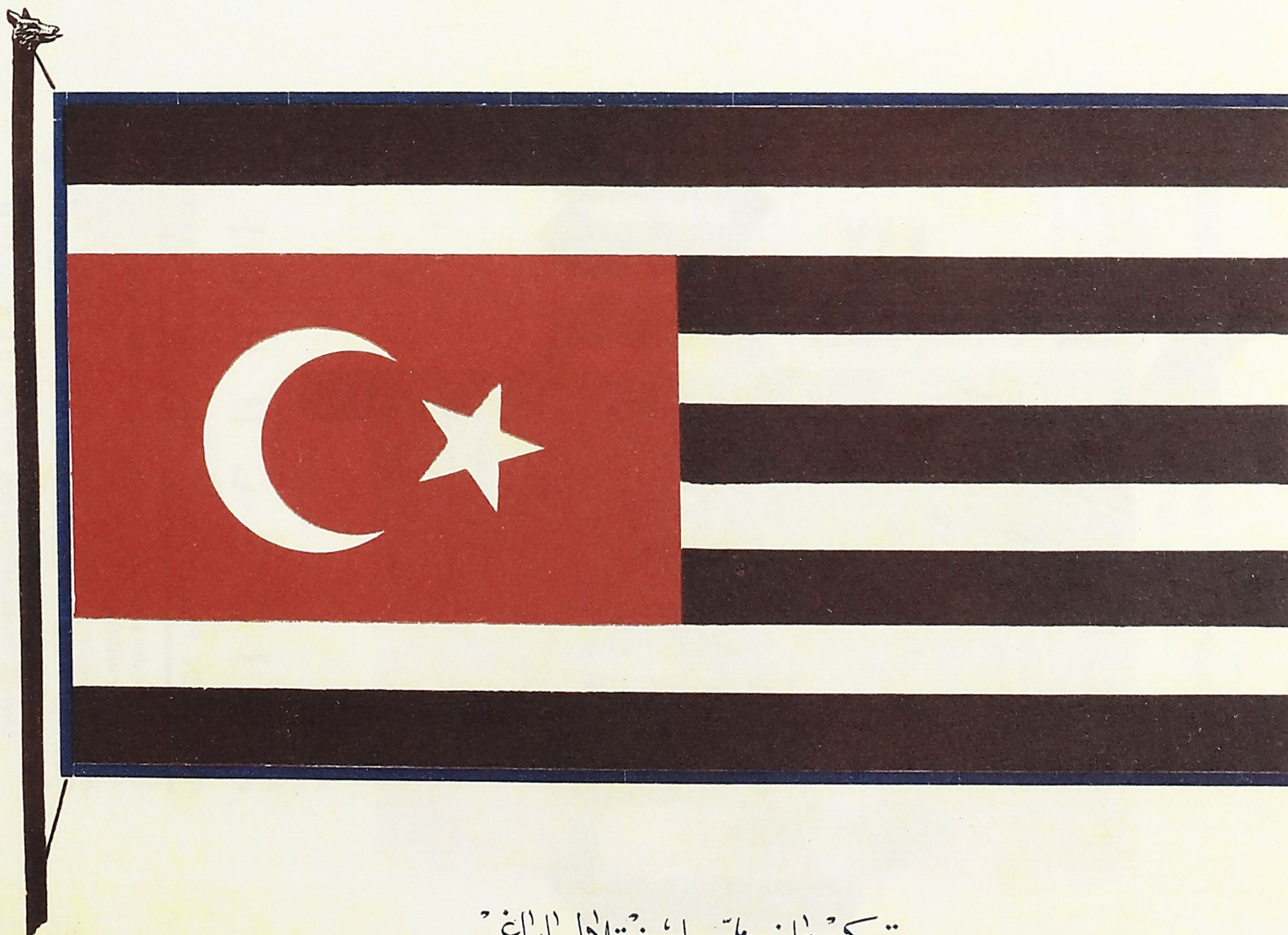
- 41 It was not possible to obtain more exact bibliographical data on this work by Fitret. Yarkın 1975, p. 186 mentions a work of his entitled *Özbek klâsik edebiyatı nûmuneleri* (Examples from the classical Uzbek literature). Although this title is somewhat similar to “edebiyat parçaları” (Pieces of literature), as given by Subutay, Yarkın does not use words in the title which fully correspond to those used by Subutay. Moreover, the year of publication given by Subutay (1926) is not the same as that given by Yarkın (1928). There is another work by Fitret quoted by Yarkın, *ibid.*, which shows a distant similitude to the title mentioned here by Subutay: “Divanü Luğat-it-Türk’t-e eski Türk edebiyatı nûmuneleri” (Examples of Old Turkic literature in the Dîwân luğâtî’t-türk). But we do not know if either of these two works are indeed identical.
- 42 This poem appears in Özbay 1994, p. 526f. in the section “additional poems” without a statement that it had ever been published during the lifetime of Çolpan. The poems collected by Özbay under this section were drawn from unnamed “various sources” (*muhtelif kaynaklardan*, [Özbay 1994, 7f.]). The title given to the poem in Özbay’s edition is the same as in Subutay’s manuscript (*Vicdan erkî*). On the other hand Yarkın 1975, p. 44 claims that the name of the poem was *Zâlimler* (The tyrants). A transcription of the poem into Latin letters, together with a translation into modern Turkish, can be found in Togan 1981, p. 570.
- 43 According to Özbay 1994, p. 318f., this poem was part of the book “Awakening” (*Uyganış*) by Çolpan. In Özbay’s edition it bears the title *Kétkeniñde* (*Kileopatra’ga*) “As you left (To Cleopatra)”. A translation of this poem into German can be found in the appendix p. (p. 405f).
- 44 Whereas the second part of the nature-poems by Çolpan that Subutay gives can be identified through the Çolpan edition of Özbay (see below), this was not possible for the first part. Especially because the poem quoted by Subutay is different from the first part of Çolpan’s “nature book” as given in Özbay 1994, p. 502-506.
- 45 It is unclear whether this poem was ever published by Çolpan. It appears in Özbay 1994, p. 506-511 in the section “additional poems” without a statement that it was ever published during the lifetime of the poet. The poems collected by Özbay under this section were drawn from unnamed “various sources” (*muhtelif kaynaklardan*, [Özbay 1994, p. 7f.]).
- 46 As Subutay states, these two lines are again taken from Çolpan’s “Golden books”, see also fn. 29.
- 47 Magcan Cumabay (1894-1937) was a Kazakh poet. Extracts of his poem *Türkistan*, among which are the ones quoted by Subutay, can be found, with a translation into modern Turkish, in Togan 1981, pp. 564-566. Note, however, that these two editions are not congruent.
- 48 Namely, this world and the other world, according to Togan 1981, pp. 564.
- 49 The word *kiyeli* in this verse could not be found in the dictionaries.
- 50 The word which has been translated by “wolves”, *Bori*, shows an initial capital letter, so it might have been intended to indicate a proper name by Subutay. All the other proper names enumerated in the line before (Chagatay, Uguday, Juji, Tuluy) belong to sons of Chenggiz Khan. However, *Bori* (or *Böri*, *Büri* etc.) was not a son of Chenggiz Khan. See Lech 1968, second genealogic table (Çağatây-Khanat) after p.475. Since Chengghiz is named “father” in our text (*ata*, p. 67, l. 22), this denomination would not be appropriate, then, if *Bori* was to be understood as a proper name. And even if *ata* were to be interpreted as meaning “ancestor” (a meaning it can have), the striking difference in genealogical rank between *Bori* and the rest of the listed names would

- remain. Therefore, we have chosen to translate *Bori* according to its literal meaning “wolf, wolves”. The lines discussed here are missing in the quotation which Togan makes of the poem (Togan, 1981, p. 565), so no clarity can be obtained from this side neither.
- 51 Subutay and Jebe were two Mongolian generals who took part in Chenggiz Khan’s campaign against the Central Asian principality of Khwarazm (later Khiva) in 1220. See Lech 1968, p. 195.
 - 52 Probably the name of the ruler is given incorrectly here. Tarbagatay is the name of a mountain range in Turkestan, and the word is used in this sense by Subutay some lines above. In the Togan 1981, p. 565 edition of the poem, the name Turagayday stands at this place, but it has not been possible to get further information on this personage.
 - 53 The word *tukkali* seems to be a misprint.
 - 54 A khan of this name, who ruled AD 1500-1519, is mentioned in Togan 1981, p. 124.
 - 55 *Alach* (*Alaš, Alač*) was the name of a Kazakh tribal confederation. See Togan 1981, p. 338-340 and the other places given in the index on p. 621. According to Togan, op. cit., p. 340 the name *Alach* could also be used as a synonym for Kazakhs in general.
 - 56 Tevke, grandson of Eshim Khan, was a famous Kazakh Khan. He ruled 1685-1718. See Togan 1981, p. 166f.
 - 57 Abilay Khan was another Kazakh Khan, ruling from 1771-1781; see Togan 1981, p. 210 etc. (see index p. 619).
 - 58 The meaning of *kibe* could not be established.
 - 59 According to Togan 1981, p. 350, the “Six Alach” (*Altı Alaç*) can be synonymous with “all nomad Turks of Middle Asia” (*bütün Orta Asya göçebe Türkleri*). Otherwise, it is the name of a Kazakh tribal confederation (see Togan, op. cit., p. 247).
 - 60 Kine Sarı was a famous Kazakh tribal leader in the first half of the 19th century. See Togan 1981, p. 312-320, etc.
 - 61 See footnote 57.
 - 62 According to Saray 1996, p. 150, this poem was written at the end of 1920. A Latinized transcription of this poem, together with a translation into modern Turkish can be found in Togan 1981, p. 566f. The Turkish translation is reprinted in Saray 1996, p. 150f.
 - 63 This probably is the meaning of *alali* (Subutay, p. 68, l. 26)
 - 64 The horse that the prophet Muhammad used at his ascension to heaven, according to Islamic legend.
 - 65 A transcription of this poet in Latin letters, together with a translation into modern Turkish, can be found in: Togan 1981, p. 565f.
 - 66 Although Subutay gives the name of the poem from which these verses were taken as “Türkistan”, he does not mention the author. Therefore, it was not possible to identify the original edition of the poem.
 - 67 This lunar year began on November 19, 1914 and ended on November 8, 1915.
 - 68 A *korbaşı* (or *qorbaşı* in scientific transcription) was a high police officer. See Togan 1981, p. 389, footnote 194 on this subject.
 - 69 This lunar year began on October 28, 1916 and ended on October 16, 1917.
 - 70 The original text of Şir Mehmed Bek’s memoirs could not be recovered. In Togan 1981, p. 388 Togan claims that the memoirs were “written” on Togan’s personal initiative by a certain Nezir İsmail Kubağı and that the only copy was kept in Togan’s private library. From the words of Togan it does not become clear whether the copy made by Nezir İsmail Kubağı was the only issue ever existing or if it was itself a copy (of the original by idenŞir Mehmed Bek). During our research, it was impossible to find the leftovers of Togan’s private library, but officials at Istanbul University let us know that

- there had been a special working room of Togan with some of his books at that university. Most of the books are to be found in the possession of Togan's legal heirs now.
- 71 Mīm and Nūn are two letters of the Arabic alphabet.
- 72 The meaning of the words translated as "pass the mining place" (*keçip kanni*, Subutay, p. 92, l. 4) is doubtful, but no other plausible alternative could be established.
- 73 As Subutay states, this poem is contained in Çolpan's third book of poems, *Tağ sırları* (The secrets of dawn). It is part of the edition of Özbay 1994, p. 442f.). There, it has the title "20' asır "The 20th century" and is marked as "Ottoman", whereas Subutay's text contains non-Ottoman forms (and some other differences with the version in Özbay's book).
- 74 Cf. p. 57.
- 75 According to Özbay 1994, p. 300f., this poem (*Navruz Künide* in Uzbek) first appeared 1922 in the anthology *Uyğaniş* (Awakening).
- 76 According to Özbay 1994, p. 298f., this poem first appeared 1922 in the anthology *Uyğaniş* (Awakening).

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تۈركىستان مىللى اىنىقلال بايراغى



FÜR DIE

GESAMTEN FRAGEN DES EUROPÄISCHEN OSTENS

*Im Auftrage der Deutschen Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas in
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Dichter und Dichtung in Turkistan.

Von Arslan Subutay.

Turkistan, „Land der Türken“, wird von verschiedenen fremden Staaten beherrscht. Dieses Land ist, wie schon der Name besagt, die eigentliche Wiege der Türken. Noch heute sind 95 v. H. aller Bewohner Türken. Kultur und Zivilisation in diesem Lande schwankten zwischen den Einflüssen verschiedener Völker hin und her. Doch Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts leitete Timür ein Zeitalter nationalen, kulturell hochentwickelten Lebens ein. Kunst und Wissenschaften blühten wieder auf. Ihre Krönung erfuhren sie im „türkischen Goethe“ Ali-Schir-Newayi. Newayi, 1440 geboren, stammte aus einem alten Adelsgeschlecht. Er war sehr vielseitig begabt, war Staatsmann, Historiker, Wissenschaftler, Musiker, Sprachforscher, vor allem aber Dichter. Von ihm lernten und lernen alle, die nach ihm kamen. Die Sowjetregierung trifft jetzt schon Vorbereitungen, um den 500. Geburtstag (1940) dieses Meisters der Dichtkunst gebührend zu feiern. Die bald auf Newayi folgende politische Zersplitterung Turkistans in einzelne Fürstentümer ermöglichte den Russen, sich Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in Turkistan festzusetzen. Die russische Herrschaft lähmte fast alle schöpferischen Kräfte der Nation, die wertvolle türkische Literatur verflachte, ein tendenziöses, charakterloses Literatentum entstand.

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Die Pflegestätten klassischer türkischer Literatur waren seit jeher die Hochschulen — Medresse —, an denen die heimische Dichtkunst — neben der persischen und arabischen — eifrig studiert wurde.

Die Medresse war auch der Boden, auf dem der 1898 verstorbene Dichter Muhammed Atschil-Murad Oglı Miri aus Kette-Kurgan aufwuchs. Miri studierte anfänglich in Buchara und Samarkand die islamische Rechtswissenschaft des Fikh-Systems und wurde bald ein sehr geschätzter Kadi (Richter) in Samarkand. Er war wohl der hervorragendste Kenner der — vor allem durch Newayi verkörpert — klassischen Literatur und ein so begeisterter Anhänger des großen Dichters Newayi, daß ihm sein Ideal stets vor Augen stand. In allen Werken tritt diese Verehrung für Newayi hervor; sie beginnen immer mit den Versen:

Wenn Newayi seine Hand über mir hält
Und mir hilft, . . .

In seiner Eigenschaft als Kadi erkannte Miri bald die ungeheuren Nachteile des religiösen Fanatismus für den Fortschritt der Kultur und Zivilisation. In aufrichtiger Empörung machte er Front gegen das sich immer mehr und mehr erpresserisch auswirkende religiöse Richtertum:

Ich will nicht länger Kadi sein,
Mit diesem Sünden-Gesicht.
Und wie ein Todesengel würgen,
Da die Nation rücklings erstickt.

Doch nicht nur Gedichte religiösen Inhalts gingen aus seiner Feder hervor: mit weisem Vorausblick erkannte er schon damals (1892), daß allmählich eine Epoche technischer Kultur herandämmerte. In diesbezüglichen Gedichten forderte er seine Landsleute auf, sich technischen Errungenschaften wie Telephon und Eisenbahn nicht zu verschließen. Damit wurde er zum Vater der Djeviden, der jungtürkischen Bewegung in Turan, die die Erfolge abendländischer Zivilisation ihrem Volke nutzbar machen will.

Sein Nachfolger war Said-Ahmed Hodja Sidiki aus der Stadt Turkistan, der Miris Bekanntschaft in der Medresse zu Buchara 1895 gemacht hatte. Auch Sidiki sah in Buchara das jedes neue Leben erstickende Treiben der Medresse und zog gegen diese in flammenden Gedichten zu Felde. Mit dem Tode bedroht, mußte er 1898 nach der Türkei fliehen, wo er seine Werke in osmanisch-türkischer Sprache an die Öffentlichkeit brachte. Sidiki ist nicht nur Dichter; er ist auch Schriftsteller und Organisator; denn er weiß, was seinem Volke fehlt. Mangelnde Bildung, wirtschaftliche Abhängigkeit und technische Unkenntnis sind seiner Meinung nach die Faktoren, die zur Unterjochung Turkistans durch die Russen führten. Im Jahre 1901 kehrte er nach Samarkand zurück und verstand es, dem Volke

die Vorzüge der abendländischen Zivilisation anschaulich zu machen; er gründete eine Verlagsbuchhandlung und konnte auf diese Weise seine Lehren in türkischer und persischer Sprache verbreiten. Packend ist seine Schilderung Samarkands, der „Stadt der blauen Moscheen“, des großen Timur, die alle Turkistaner an ihre große Vergangenheit erinnert. Die Russifizierung seitens der Eroberer wurde mit Hilfe einer geschickt betriebenen Einwanderungs- und Ansiedlungspolitik durchgeführt, die — besonders in Samarkand — darauf hinausging, neben der „blauen“ Altstadt ein neues Russenviertel zu schaffen:

Begeistert baut man Kirchen statt Moscheen,
Ein herrliches Häusermeer entsteht,
Bewohnt von vielen Menschen. —
Doch keinen Moslim konnte man mehr sehen.
Ich wollte weinen über diese Erscheinung, tief betrübt,
Doch mein Männerherz hat sich geschämt.

Diese wenigen Zeilen zeigen, daß Sidiki sich gegen die russische Kolonisationspolitik wendete. Während der Balkankriege und des russisch-japanischen Krieges hat er in ähnlicher Weise geschrieben. Er wünscht, daß sein Volk umfangreicheren Handel treibe, um den Anschluß nach Osten und Westen zu erreichen. Vier Gebote gibt er seinen Landsleuten mit auf den Weg:

Wenn ihr ein glückliches Volk wollt werden,
Müssen euch vier Dinge vor Augen stehen:
Die Sprache des Reichs beherrschen, Technik üben,
Wissenschaft erlernen, Rechtskunde verstehen.

Diese Gedanken des Dichters bilden einen Wertmesser für die damalige Zeitauffassung.

Noch während des Aufstandes 1916 und der Freiheitskämpfe der Jahre 1916—1923 ist Sidiki der Mentor seines Volkes gewesen. Aber als er nach der Niederlage 1924 erkennen mußte, daß jeder weitere Kampf zunächst nutzlos sei, zog er sich gänzlich vom öffentlichen Leben zurück — und so starb er 1927, der geliebte und verehrte Dichter, einsam als Bauer, fern von aller Welt.

Der Schule Miris und damit auch dem unsterblichen Sidiki schließen sich als Epigonen Suphi-Zade und Hamsa Hakim-Zade aus Fergana an. Suphi-Zade war ein schon vor dem Weltkrieg bekannter Dichter. Seine Gedichte waren von außerordentlicher Schärfe. Deshalb sah er sich bald genötigt, sein Dorf und seine moderne Schule, an der er als Lehrer wirkte, für immer zu verlassen, denn die fanatischen Ulemas (mohammedanische Religionsgelehrte) bedrohten ihn, den Fortschrittler, mit dem Tode. Seine Gedichte sind aus politischen Gründen bisher unveröffentlicht geblieben. Sein Ruf drang über die Grenzen seines Landes, und so wurde er Serail-Dichter (Hofdichter) am Hofe in Kabul. Nach der Revolution kehrte er wieder in die ge-

liebte Heimat zurück, wo er, gleich seinem Lehrer Sidiki, als Bauer noch heute lebt.

Hamsa Hakim-Zade ist ein Außenseiter der türkischen Literatur. Vor dem Ausbruch des Februar-Aufstandes im Jahre 1916 schildert er den Zustand seiner Heimat in folgender Weise:

Gleich regnet es Tyrannen vom Himmel,
Doch mein Volk wird noch nicht wach.
Es ist ein seelenloser Körper:
Erdolcht, fließt nicht einmal sein Blut!

Dieses Gedicht wirkte damals derart, daß man dieses Lied „Turkistan“ auf allen Straßen, Plätzen, im Theater und bei sonstigen öffentlichen Veranstaltungen sang. Doch war die Volksseele noch nicht so erstorben, wie er dachte, denn Turkistans alte Lebenskraft erwachte aufs neue: die nationale Revolution entflammte die Geister und hatte zunächst großen Erfolg. Doch dann hatte sich der Dichter durch leninistische Propaganda beeinflussen lassen und kämpfte fortan an russischer Seite gegen seine ehemaligen Freunde. Später wurde er darin führend und stand 1926 an der Spitze des ösbekischen „Bundes der Gottlosen“. 1928 starb er: bei der Zerstörung eines heiligen Grabes in Fergana wurde er von türkischen Bauern gelyncht. Hakim-Zade war auch ein sehr angesehener Komponist und hat zahlreiche Opern in türkischer Sprache geschrieben.

Während des Weltkrieges wurde durch die zaristische Regierung die türkische Dichtung in Turan unter Androhung von Strafen mundtot gemacht. So ist es erklärlich, daß wir in dieser Zeit keine großen Dichter finden. Nur wenige Epigonen schreiben von ihren großen Vorgängern ab. In diesen kläglichen Versen kommt jedoch nicht das Empfinden der Volksseele zum Ausdruck. Es genügt daher, zwei Namen, Abdullah A v l a n i und T a v a l a, zu nennen. Der bedeutendere von beiden, einander sehr ähnlichen Dichtern ist Tavalala. Er gab 1916 in Taschkent während des Aufstandes eine Gedichtsammlung „Glanz des Islam“ heraus. Als Beweis seines immerhin unausgeglichene[n], schwankenden Charakters mögen folgende Zeilen dienen:

Warum schämen und ängstigen sich die Deutschen nicht ob ihrer
Kriegserklärung?

Darum sollen sie bestraft werden, auf daß sie es bedauern!

O, slawische Landsleute (!), seid mutig und siegreich,

Zeigt eure Kriegskunst, daß der Feind keinen Raum zur Flucht
finde!

Trennt den Kopf vom Körper, damit die Schlachtfelder voll wer-
den,

Auf daß Ihr mit dem Blute eure Mühlen treibt!

Alte und Junge, wir wollen dauernd beten:

Möge unseren russischen (!) Soldaten Sieg und Ruhm verliehen
sein!

Während sein Volk in fieberhafter Spannung auf die im Osten an deutscher Seite kämpfenden türkischen Brüder sah und den Sieg des gesamten Türkentums ersehnte, bot Tavala dem Zaren solche Ovationen dar. Als später Sowjetrußland sich Turkistan unterwarf, verbrüdete sich Tavala sofort mit den russischen Kommunisten und wurde ein gefürchteter Tschekistenführer, der sogar mehrere Todesurteile persönlich vollstreckte und für völlige Ausplünderung der Türken eintrat.

So nimmt Tavala in der türkischen Literatur eine Sonderstellung ein: er dreht den Mantel nach dem Winde. Jedoch sind seine Dichtungen ein wertvoller Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte, da er in glänzender Weise die verschiedenen Typen des Landes zu schildern versteht:

Siehst Du die Flugzeuge am Himmel ihre Bahn ziehen?
Warum seht Ihr es nicht, nur mit des Lebens Notdurft Beschäftigte?

Während der Telegraph die Volksnot verbreitet,
Schämt Ihr Euch nicht, von Toy zu Toy¹⁾ zu taumeln?
Mit nur einer Nadel zaubert des Grammophons Teller tausend
Melodien hervor,
Aber Ihr, Unverbesserliche, könnt ohne Blechteller²⁾ nicht
schlafen!

Viele gehen auf das Seminar und Gymnasium, um zu studieren,
Ihr aber flechtet nur Tragekörbe, könnt nicht einmal Euren
Namen schreiben!

Andere steigen mit dem Flugzeug in die Lüfte,
Ihr seid nicht imstande, eine Trambahn zu besteigen!
O, Taschkenter Bevölkerung, beginne Wissenschaft zu lernen und
Technik zu üben,
Denn der Unwissende geht zugrunde, wißt Ihr das nicht?

Schon oben sahen wir, daß mit dem Auftreten Miris eine neue Epoche in der türkischen Literatur anbrach. Nach dem Untergang im 18. Jahrhundert finden sich in der Lyrik als dichterisch behandelte Stoffe — dem abendländischen Rokokozeitalter verwandt — Nachtigall, Rose, Liebe, Wein usw. Miri war der erste, der mit Newayi und Babur³⁾ wieder an die große Vergangenheit des Türkenvolkes, seine tapferen Kämpfe und ruhmvollen Siege, erinnerte und dies in der Dichtung zum Ausdruck brachte. Damit erreichte er den Anschluß an die alten Volksgesänge, die — ähnlich wie im deutschen Nibelungen- und Gudrunlied — von den Heldentaten der Nation, aber auch von ihren Nöten und Leiden erzählen. Durch Miris Einfluß wurde die türkische Dichtung

¹⁾ Große Festlichkeiten wie Beschneidung, Hochzeit usw.

²⁾ Die türkischen Sänger halten sich beim Singen einen Blechteller vor das Gesicht.

³⁾ Enkel des großen Timur, Herrscher von Turkistan, Kaiser von Indien, bedeutender Dichter und Gelehrter (16. Jahrh.).

wieder originell und in der Darstellung objektiver, wie das bereits bei Sidiki festzustellen ist. Turkistan hatte aus eigener Kraft schon zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts seine Theater, Schulen und die nationale Presse modernisiert. Dadurch wuchsen automatisch die an die Literatur gestellten Anforderungen. Während des Weltkrieges war die nationale literarische Betätigung unterbunden, und die wenigen in dieser Zeit entstandenen Gedichte wurden nur von Mund zu Mund in aller Heimlichkeit weitergegeben. Nach dem Sturz des Zarismus entfaltete sich die Volksseele und damit auch die bis dahin unterdrückte Dichtkunst. Obwohl die turkistanische Revolution 1916 mit einer Niederlage endete, gab das Volk seine Freiheitsideen nicht auf, und die allgemeine Begeisterung für ein souveränes Turkistan ließ sich nicht auslöschen.

Ein Beispiel hierfür sind die Gedichte von Abdul-Rauf Fitret aus Buchara:

Türkisches Volk, o großes Volk, mach' Deine Augen auf!
 Die Augen öffne und sieh Dir erst mal die Welt an!
 Die glimmenden Feuer zur Flamme entfache:
 Kein Tyrann in Turkistan!
 Wessen Sohn Du bist, bedenke!
 Kannst Du ertragen so viel Schmach?
 Vergiß nicht Deinen im Staub liegenden Namen!
 Türk' bist Du, kannst Du Knechtschaft dulden?
 Deine Ehre, Deine Freiheit, wo sind sie hin?
 Schon geknechtet und gekettet bist Du durch Fremde!
 Vorwärts, mit vollen Waffen aufs Pferd,
 Kein Tyrann in Turkistan!

Wohl alle Schuljungen haben dieses schöne Lied mit Enthusiasmus gesungen. Ja, noch mehr: es wurde zur Nationalhymne! Wenn die Taschkenter Jugend diesen Hymnus sang, sah man die Alten tränenden Auges zuhören. Wirklich ist das Lied ein Zeugnis für den Lebenswillen eines Volkes, das nicht untergehen will.

Schon das Wenige, was wir bis jetzt von Fitret lasen, zeigt uns ein gänzlich anderes Bild. Dies macht sich schon rein äußerlich in der Form bemerkbar: während Miri und Sidiki in ihren Gedichten ausschließlich den Aruz-Stil⁴⁾ verwenden, dichtet Fitret allein, in dem seiner Sprache angemessenen Barmak-Stil⁵⁾. Miris Gedichte zeigen das erwachende Nationalgefühl; aus Fitrets Gedichten bricht der schon erwachte Nationalismus hervor. Während Miri nie die Grenzen seines Landes überschritten hatte, ist Fitret

⁴⁾ Gedichtstil der persischen Literatur: die Verse werden nach Wörtern abgezählt. Die türkische Sprache ist für dieses Versmaß nicht geeignet.

⁵⁾ Türkisches Volksdichtungsversmaß: die Verse werden hierbei nach Silben abgezählt.

in der Welt recht weit herumgekommen: er kennt die Türkei, Rußland, Persien, Indien und Afghanistan und hat auch in Istanbul studiert.

Fitret ist in Buchara als Sohn reicher Eltern im Jahre 1884 geboren. Schon als junger Student war er als sehr begabt und ehrgeizig über die Hochschule hinaus bekannt. Da er anfänglich zum religiösen Fanatismus neigte, kämpfte er in diesen Jugendjahren gegen die in die Medresse eingedrungene jungtürkische Bewegung. Bald aber wandelte er sich und wurde begeisterter Anhänger des Djedidismus. Mit Hilfe der Jungtürken studierte er in Istanbul. 1908 erschien bereits sein erstes Buch, dessen Druck durch Unterstützung der Djediden ermöglicht wurde. Hier kritisiert er die bucharische Regierung und Verwaltung sowie das gesamte Schulwesen und sogar den Minister rat sehr scharf. Fitret sprach persisch und arabisch wie seine türkische Muttersprache. Mit der klassischen Literatur der drei Völker sowie der modernen türkischen Literatur war er wohlvertraut. Seine persischen Gedichte sind auch in Persien und Afghanistan sehr geschätzt. Als er 1917 aus Istanbul nach Turkistan zurückkehrte, untersagte ihm sein Lehrer Muphti Mehmed-Hodja Bedbudi^{a)} die Veröffentlichung persischer Dichtungen. Fitret hat dreißig eigene Werke veröffentlicht, von denen vier in persischer Sprache erschienen sind. 1921 schrieb Fitret sein wohl bestes Werk, ein fünftaktiges Drama „Indische Revolutionäre“, das 1923 in Berlin gedruckt wurde. Dieses Stück hat für Turkistan eine ähnliche Bedeutung wie seinerzeit Schillers „Wilhelm Tell“ für Deutschland hatte. Turkistan stand 1921 in erbittertem Kampfe mit Sowjetrußland. Die Türken kämpften unter Enver Pascha. Die Russen belegten ihre Gegner mit dem türkischen Wort „Basmatschi“, d. h. „Banditen“. Fitret will zeigen, daß seine Landsleute keine „Banditen“, sondern Freiheitskämpfer sind. Bei aufmerksamer Lektüre des Stückes „Indische Revolutionäre“ erkennt man bald, daß es sich hier nicht um Indien, sondern um Turkistan handelt. Das Drama nahm einen Siegeszug durch alle türkisch sprechenden Länder und wurde unter ungeheurer Begeisterung auch in Baku und Kasan aufgeführt, bis die Moskauer Regierung das Aufführungs- und Druckverbot erließ; die bereits gedruckten Exemplare mußten nach Möglichkeit vernichtet werden.

Fitrets Stellung zum turkistanisch-bucharischen Problem gipfelt in der Idee des politischen Pantürkismus in monarchischer Staatsform. Sie findet ihren dichterischen Niederschlag in zwei im Jahre 1920 entstandenen — Opern: „Oghuz-Khan“ und „Timur“, die die ganze turkistanische Bühne eroberten. Beide Werke sind bis jetzt nur handschriftlich überliefert worden. Bald nach der Sowjetisierung Turkistans, im Dezember 1921,

^{a)} Bedbudi war Begründer der türkischen Presse und Djedidenführer.

schrieb Fitret in Taschkent sein letztes Gedicht, „Die Schneeflocke“:

Schwach, zitternd, weiße kleine Tupfen,
Schneien sie ununterbrochen auf die Erde.
Ich weiß nicht, warum wird sie vom Winde gepeitscht?
Gibt es auch im Himmel von der Trennung geblendete Augen.
Die ihre Tränen auf den Schoß unserer Erde.
Die voll des Kummers und des Todes ist, tropfen lassen?
Diese kleine Waise, weiße Puppe,

Die fliegend, fliegend ihre Hoffnung nicht erreicht,
Ergibt sich den Händen des sausenden Windes
Und vergift ihr Dasein.
Sie trennt ihre Augen nicht von oben,
Und zitternd, zitternd fällt sie auf die schwarze Erde.
Die Hufe, die ihre ausgetretenen Wege nicht sehen.
Machen ihr weißes Gesicht schmutzig.
Die Schritte, die ihren zertretenden Weg nicht kennen:
Tapp, Tapp . . . Ach, das Ende kann ich überhaupt nicht sagen!

Wenn wieder einmal der Himmel sein Antlitz zeigt,
Und lächelnd, lächelnd auf sie schaut;
Wenn die wieder mädchenähnliche Natur
Ihren goldenen Ohrring anhängt,
Werden sie wieder frei vom Schmutz,
Werden sie wieder gen Himmel fliegen.
Wieder Flug, wieder Spiel, wieder Freiheit!
Ach, diese Tage . . . !

Kurze Zeit darauf ging Fitret nach seiner Geburtsstadt Buchara, um die Überreste der türkischen Kulturwerke in Sicherheit zu bringen. Dort gewann er an Einfluß und wurde beinahe über Nacht der ungekrönte König, d. h. Diktator von Buchara. Er benutzte diese Gelegenheit sofort, die türkische Jugend mit abendländischer Kultur und Zivilisation bekanntzumachen und schickte 60 Studenten nach Deutschland. Wie vorausszusehen war, konnten die Russen ihn in Buchara nicht lange dulden; sie verhafteten ihn und brachten ihn als politischen Gefangenen nach Moskau. Seit 1925 aber ist Fitret wieder in Turkistan, als Professor für türkische Literatur am ösbekischen Pädagogischen Seminar in Samarkand. Er zählt ohne Zweifel zu den bedeutendsten osttürkischen Dichtern und wird in der Geschichte Turans immer einen ehrenvollen Platz behalten. Über die Grenzen seines Landes hinaus bekannt geworden ist er durch das Gedicht „Die Schneeflocke“. Es ist sein literarischer Schwanengesang.

1918 hatte Fitret in Taschkent die „Tschagataische Vereinigung“ begründet, die bis zum Jahre 1922 für die nationale Kultur

sehr fruchtbare Arbeit leistete. In diesem Bund, in dem jedes Mitglied von Zeit zu Zeit ein Referat halten mußte, wurde in vorbildlicher Weise die klassische und moderne türkische Literatur systematisch gelehrt. Es entstand ein Kreis von jungen Dichtern, die — mit Ausnahme Tscholpans — von dem großen Meister in maßgebender Weise beeinflusst wurden. Als Beispiel möge Mehmed Maksud Batu aus Taschkent, der ehemalige Schriftführer des Bundes, dienen.

Batus Gedichte wurden 1923 vom turkistanischen Staatsverlag erstmalig in einer Anthologie „Junge ösbekische Dichter“ veröffentlicht. Diese Sammlung enthielt Gedichte von Fitret, Tscholpan, Elbek und Batu. Solange Batu mit dem großen Fitret eng befreundet war, wurden die Gedichte dieses talentiertesten Schülers des Meisters allenthalben mit großer Begeisterung aufgenommen. Allerdings weiß man nicht, wie groß sein Anteil an den hervorragenden Dichtungen ist, da des Meisters Einfluß an allen Stellen zu spüren ist. 1926 entschloß sich der ösbekische Staatsverlag, Batus gesammelte Gedichte unter dem Titel „Funken der Begierde“ herauszugeben.

Sein bestes Werk ist das folgende Gedicht:

Ösbekisches Mädchen.

Spielendes Mägdlein, laß deinem Spieltrieb freien Lauf,
Morgen oder übermorgen schon wirst du deine Freiheit verlieren!
Spiele noch ein paar fröhliche Tage!
Dann wird dein zartes Herz vor Sehnsucht zerfließen.

Deine leuchtenden und lebhaften Augen, sie werden
Morgen oder übermorgen der Kummertränen voll!
Dein noch vor Freude strahlendes Antlitz wird
Vor Herzeleid leichenblaß werden.

Die Rose der Freiheit, die du in deiner Brust trägst,
Wirst du in Kürze aufs Spiel setzen,
Und schon morgen oder übermorgen
Wirst du die Rose der Trauer tragen.

Den noch mit deiner Hand festumklammerten Glücksstab
Wirst du zerbrechen
Und ihn in dem Feuer der Qual dann verbrennen.
Noch strahlt dein Antlitz frei in der Natur.

Doch morgen oder übermorgen schon
Sitzt du im dunklen Gefängnis
Und erwartest weinend den Tod.
Nutze noch aus, spielendes Mägdlein, deine goldene Freiheit.

Den Gedanken zu diesen Versen gab des Dichters junges spielen-
des Schwesterlein und dessen trauriges Zukunftsschicksal hinter
Haremsmauern. Mit dieser harten Sitte will Batu brechen⁷⁾. Eine
andere Probe von Batus Lyrik ist das Gedicht „Herbsttag“:

Diese schwach zitternden, von Frühlingstagen träumenden
Blätter sind bleich
Und erwarten wie durch Trennung leidende Herzen den Tod.
Als der Sommerwind noch leise wehte
Und die Zweige der Bäume lächelnd grüßten,
Als noch die Sonne warme Strahlen freundlich sandte
Und Schönheitsgöttinnen bei ihnen saßen,
Da kannten sie nicht diese Trauer.

Diese verwelkten Blätter, die ihre eigene Farbe verloren,
Schauen trüb und traurig jetzt umher,
Wie manches matte Auge, das des Geliebten Antlitz nicht genug
sehen durfte.

Diese Rosen da, die herrlich blühend ihren Duft verbreiteten,
Hätten der Liebesnachtigall Sehnsucht bereitet.
Ja, diese einst wie Sterne der Leidenschaft blühenden Rosen
Zogen alle Augen unwillkürlich auf sich.
Diese Ereignisse aber hatte niemand bemerkt.

Batu ist jetzt etwa 30 Jahre alt. Er ist der Sohn einer be-
güterten Kaufmannsfamilie in Taschkent. Dank seinen großen
Beziehungen zu führenden Persönlichkeiten ging er nach Moskau,
um Volkswirtschaft zu studieren. Der noch jugendliche Patriot
vergaß seine Ideale, seine Heimat, als er sich in eine kommu-
nistische Jüdin verliebte. Unmerklich, unbewußt trat er bald in
die Spuren dieser Studentin. Sein Ziel war nun, als „proletari-
scher“ Dichter zu schaffen, und auch die Sowjets hegten die größ-
ten Hoffnungen, einen zähen literarischen Kämpfer ihrer Ideen
an ihm zu haben. Doch die Begeisterung für jene Ideen fehlte
ihm und er scheiterte. 1926 kehrte er als „Theoretiker“ der kom-
munistischen Ideen nach Turkistan zurück, und bis vor kurzem
bekleidete er den Posten eines Sowjetkommissars für Volks-
bildung. Sein Wirken aber hat den Russen wohl nicht sehr zu-
gesagt, denn man hat ihn jetzt als Nationalisten angeklagt⁸⁾.

Maschrik Junus Elbek ist im Gegensatz zu den anderen
großen Dichtern der modernen türkischen Literatur vor allen

⁷⁾ Siehe meine Artikel in „Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung“ vom 16. No-
vember 1930. Sowjetrußland und die Frauen von Turkistan.

⁸⁾ Batu und sein Freund Mannan Ramiz, der ebenfalls bis 1928 Kom-
missar für Volksbildung in Osbekistan war, sind beide vor einigen Monaten
verhaftet worden. Wie die Zeitung „Kizil Osbekistan“, d. h. „Rotes Osbekistan“,
das offizielle Organ der ösbekischen Kommunistischen Partei, am 16. De-
zember 1930 schreibt, sei Batu Führer des Geheimen Komitees der ösbeki-
schen „Nationalen Unabhängigkeit“.

Dingen Volksdichter und glühender Patriot. Er stammt aus einem kleinen Dorfe bei Taschkent. Vorwiegend behandelt er das Leben und Treiben seiner Heimatgenossen. Kein großer Lyriker wie Fitret, doch bedeutender als sein gleichaltriger Freund Batu. Als Wissenschaftler und Forscher aber hat Elbek Bedeutendes für die Volks- und klassische Literatur geleistet. Als Anhänger von Newayi hat er seine Begeisterung in einem Gedicht kundgetan, von dem der kleine folgende Auszug Zeugnis ablegt:

Du, unser großer Vater, Emir Newayi,
Wegweiser Du unserer türkischen Laute,
Hast unsere schönen lieblichen Töne errettet.
Und nach Dir — ach —
Haben die Fremden unsere
Wundervoll klingende Sprache gekettet.

Das folgende Gedicht Elbeks zeugt von einer nach Befreiung von Rußland neigenden Tendenz:

Waffe.

(Gewidmet der ösbekischen wehrhaften Jugend.)

Waffe, wie schön klingt dieses Wort,
Jugend nimm sie, greif zu.
Sie ist dein Schutz und auch dein Hort,
Unglücklich geknechtet bist du, greif zu, greif zu.

Bewahre deine Existenz,
Willst du beleidigt dulden!?
Willst du, daß man nach dir tritt!?
Warte nicht, greif zu.

Sie ist das Glück, sie ist das Leben.
Sie ist der Helfer aller Pein.
Sie ist der Führer aller Schwachen,
Erretter aus dem dunklen Sein.

Willst du frei und glücklich leben,
Greife zu und laß sie nicht.
Heldensohn, sei tapfer, blutig
Nimm doch begeistert sie!

Befreie dich und deine Heimat
Dein starker Arm soll nicht mehr ohne Waffe sein.
Die ganze Welt sollst du umkreisen,
Geknechtet sollst du nicht mehr sein.

Dein Gewehr soll immer jubeln,
Und dein Schwert soll blutig sein.

Elbek hat sich auch viel mit Politik beschäftigt. Für die Ideen des Kommunismus allerdings hat er nicht viel übrig.

Einer der größten und populärsten Vertreter der gegenwärtigen Dichtung ist Tscholpan. Er ist fast der einzige Freiheitsdichter, der, den Kommunisten zum Trotz, seine Gedichte veröffentlicht. Er war schon vor dem Weltkrieg unter dem Namen Abdul Hamit Suleiman bekannt. Geboren ist er in Andischan, einer der berühmtesten Handelsstädte in Turkistan, als Sohn eines reichen und angesehenen Gutsbesitzers. Andischan spielt in der türkischen Literatur eine bedeutende Rolle (ungefähr wie Weimar in der deutschen).

Tscholpan ist auch in Europa schon bekannt. Er ist wie Fitret ein genauer Kenner der alttürkischen sowie der modernen Literatur. Seine Sprache gilt als die feinste und modernste. Eines seiner schönsten Gedichte nennt sich „Fergana“ und hat als Volkslied Geltung.

O, mein schönes Land Fergana,
Wer liebt nicht dein blutiges Kleid,
Dein verwildert schwarzes Haar?!
Wem tust du nicht leid?!

Deine Brüste, einst so üppig,
Sind mit Unkraut nun bewachsen.
Deine Augen, einst so feurig,
Schauen trüb und traurig.

Deine weit und breiten Felder
Stehen jetzt dem Feinde offen.
Deine dunkle Todesmaske
Schaut so traurig, so betroffen.

Auch du wirst einmal doch
Befreit von diesem harten Joch!
Deine hohen und gewaltigen Berge,
Können sie dem Feind den Weg nicht sperren!?

Gibt es denn kein scharfes Schwert,
Das sich deines Feindes wehrt!?
Jetzt sind wir machtlos und geknechtet,
Unser Herz betrübt für dich.
Aber nicht umsonst geflossen
Ist das Blut doch sicherlich.

Weine nicht, mein Land Fergana,
Wenn du keinen Frühling hast.
Auch für dich wird einst doch leuchten
Unser Stern der Macht.

Fergana, eine der reichsten und landschaftlich eine der schönsten Provinzen Turkistans, wurde durch die Russen zerstört und sank fast bis zur Bedeutungslosigkeit herab. Hier spielten sich die Befreiungsbewegungen der Türken ab, in diesem Gedicht spiegelt die Seele des Volkes wider.

Turkistan ist seit altersher ein Land der Baumwolle. Zweifelloso war für Rußland die turkistanische Baumwolle einer der bedeutendsten Gründe zur Inbesitznahme dieses Landes. Die Russen hoben den Anbau der Baumwolle von Jahr zu Jahr. Das geschah auf Kosten der Getreide- und Reisfelder. So mußte nach und nach Turkistan auf eigenes Brot verzichten und wurde auch wirtschaftlich von Rußland abhängig. Nach Ausbruch der russischen Revolution geriet die Zufuhr des Brotgetreides aus Rußland ins Stocken und hörte bald ganz auf. Fast 3 Millionen turkistanischer Bauern starben innerhalb von fünf Jahren. Diesen Zustand nun schildert Tscholpan in seinem Gedicht:

„Opfer.“

Man kann die Augen fast nicht öffnen,
Denn die Straße liegt voll Staub.
Der Atem wird genommen durch die Hitze,
Denn die Sonne brennt so heiß.

Und die Straße ist so eng,
Nicht leicht, den Weg zu suchen,
Und so findet man Empörung nur
Im Herzen gegen die Natur.

Tiere ohne Schuld und Sprache
Opfert man zu hunderttausend,
Um die Heiligen zu mästen,
Wo das Volk muß darben.

Ist nicht Blut genug geflossen,
Daß man auch die Tiere opfert,
Wo der Sohn den Vater würgt,
Um das bißchen täglich Brot!

Unser Volk ist ausgeplündert
Von den Feinden bis aufs Blut.
Unsere Kinder schrei'n vor Hunger
Nach ein Stückchen trocken Brot.

Täglich erntet dieser Tod
Tausende aus unsern Reihen.
Und das schon fünf Jahre lang.
Armes Volk, was mußt du leiden!

Und dennoch gibt es einige,
Die tausend Opferschafe haben,
Doch nicht ein kleines Stückchen Brot,
Den Hungernden zu laben.

Tscholpan wendet sich scharf gegen innere mißliche Umstände, deren Abschaffung in den Händen seines eigenen Volkes liegt. Ein fruchtbares Betätigungsfeld sieht er in der Befreiung der Frau von den alten traditionellen Lebensanschauungen. Eines seiner besten Werke ist das kurze Gedicht „Ich und die anderen“.

Die anderen sind fröhlich, und traurig bin ich.
Spielen können andere und jammern muß ich.
Das Märchen der Freiheit hören nur sie:
Das Lied der Versklavung ist meine Melodie.

Flügel haben andere und fliegen umher.
Tollen im Garten, was wollen sie mehr?
Sie singen dem Volk, sie preisen die Welt
In sprudelnder Weise, die wie Flötenspiel gelte.

Gebunden sind meine Flügel mit einer Schnur,
Keinen Garten, keinen Zweig kenne ich, dicke Mauern nur!
Wie Flötenspiel auch klingen meine Lieder,
Doch nur die Mauern hallen's wider.

Die andern sind frei, gefangen bin ich,
Den Tieren gleich behandelt man mich.

Das nächste Gedicht, „Als Du weggingst“, zeigt die zarten Seiten seines tiefen Gemüts.

Für immer hast du mich verlassen,
Traurig bleib ich ganz allein zurück.
Lasse weinend nun erschallen
Meine schmerzvolle Musik.

Die Hoffnung meines Herzens,
Die die reinste war,
Bist du in die Klauen schon gefallen
Eines Feindes gar?

Nun, du bist so weit von mir
An einer andern Stelle,
Läßt deine Äuglein leuchtend kreisen
Und sangst aus einer andern Quelle.

In anderen Gärten wandelst du,
Läßt andere Herzen schneller schlagen.
Und ich, ich bin allein geblieben,
Muß mich mit dunklen Gedanken plagen.

Alle Menschen schlafen ruhig,
 Nichts stört mich in dieser Nacht.
 Wäre es für mich nicht besser,
 Wenn der Tod mich hätt' schon hingerafft!?

Hast du mich denn schon vergessen,
 Läßt du mich denn wirklich ganz allein.
 Muß ich denn nun ewig,
 Immer traurig und verlassen sein?

Tscholpan ist nicht nur Lyriker, — er hat auch eine Anzahl Bühnenstücke geschrieben. Seit mehreren Jahren ist er in Samarkand wissenschaftlicher Berater für Theater und Musik.

Magdschan Dschumabay, den wir als nächsten Dichter behandeln wollen, ist Nomade. Zu den letzteren rechnet man Kirgisen, Kasaken, teilweise auch die Turkmenen und andere. Die Dichter, die wir bisher behandelt haben, sind alle ansässige Türken. Dschumabay nun gehört zum Stamme der Kasaken. Alle Dichter haben vorwiegend in der osttürkischen Schriftsprache, im sogenannten Tschagateischen, geschrieben. Magdschan Dschumabay schrieb im Dialekt seines Stammes. Dieser kasakische Dialekt ist bedeutend reiner und freier von Fremdwörtern, weil er den fremden, d. h. arabisch-persischen Einflüssen niemals unterworfen war. Dschumabay hat und wird wohl auch noch sehr viel dazu beitragen, in der modernen türkischen Schriftsprache, dem sogenannten „Ösbekischen“, die Fremdwörter durch türkische Wörter zu ersetzen.

Der Kasake Dschumabay fühlt sich als ein echter Sohn der Türken. Sein Stamm ist eigentlich noch türkischer als seine ansässigen Blutsbrüder. Bei ihnen sind noch die uralten türkischen Sitten und Gebräuche lebendig geblieben. Trotz des nationalen Zeitalters hat man sich im Abendlande vielfach durch die russische Provokation daran gewöhnt, das türkische Volk in Rußland als „russische Mohammedaner, Türktataren, Sarten oder Eingeborene“ zu bezeichnen. Ausnahme bilden die aufrichtigen Forscher des Abendlandes, wie z. B. Professor von Lecoque, die von „Türken“ sprechen. Das häßliche Wort „Eingeborener“ darf unter Umständen nur für den unzivilisierten Bewohner eines noch unvollkommen erschlossenen Landes gelten, nicht aber für den Bewohner von Turkistan, Indien oder China schlechthin. Diese Länder und Völker haben in der Geschichte der Zivilisation je eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt. Das Wort „Eingeborener“ wirkt beleidigend. Die Russen versuchen heute darzulegen, daß sämtliche türkischen Stämme alle in sich geschlossene, selbständige Völker darstellen. Das Gegenteil behauptet gerade Magdschan Dschumabay. Eines seiner schönsten Werke, das von dem Türken in Turkistan gern gelesen wird, heißt „Turkistan“. Hier schildert er die Wiege, das Heimatland seiner Väter: „Uralt ist

deine Geschichte und uralt ist deine Kultur und Zivilisation. Du meine Heimat Turkistan, dein Schicksal war je wellenartig. Einmal standest du auf der Höhe deiner Macht, einmal, als wir alle Stämme noch unter Timur vereinigt waren. Du Mutter Altay, du unser goldenes Gebirge. Glückliche waren wir, als wir alle, Osbeken, Kirkisen, Kasaken, Turkmenen und alle anderen unter deinem Schutze gemeinsam spielten. Kein Land der Erde kommt unserem Turan gleich. Kein Volk der Erde kann den Türken erreichen. Du, Türke, bist je mutig, lebhaft und feurig gewesen. Du mein Turkistan bist die Wiege aller großen Heldensohne gewesen. Welches Land hat wohl so einen großen Helden hervorgebracht wie Tschingiskhan und vor allen Dingen Timur. Allein der Name Timur läßt jedem das Herz vor Freude erzittern. Aber nicht Eroberer, sondern auch Gelehrte und Philosophen, die ihresgleichen in der ganzen Welt suchen, hast du, mein Turan, hervorgebracht.

Das edle Blut ist Türkenblut.
 Von diesem Blut ist „Ali-Sino“.
 Gibt es in der Welt irgendwo
 Solchen Forscher und großen Denker!?

Unser Dichter fordert alle Nomaden auf, sesshaft und ein einzig Volk zu werden und ein starkes Bollwerk zu bilden gegen die kommunistischen russischen Unterdrücker. Ein anderes Beispiel seiner Liebe für das Türkentum ist das folgende Gedicht „Meinem fern weilenden Bruder!“. Es sind die anatolischen Türken gemeint, die nach dem Weltkrieg für ihre Unabhängigkeit kämpften.

Mein in der Ferne schwer gequälter Bruder,
 Der du wie eine verblaßte Rose aussiehst,
 Du, von den Feinden geknechteter Bruder,
 Auch aus deinen Augen fließen so viel Tränen.

Auch dein Schicksal ist so traurig,
 Wie lange schon wirst du von den Feinden gequält!
 O erhöre mich, du, Mutter Altai.
 Bei dir hatten wir gemeinsam gespielt wie die Füllen.
 Du gabst uns alles, was wir wollten
 Und glücklich waren wir in jener goldenen Zeit.

Bruder, mich hast du verlassen
 Und suchtest eine neue Heimat in den Ländern des Schwarzen
 und Mittelmeers.

Ich verlor meinen Führer
 Und so hat der Feind mich überfallen.
 Mein unschuldiges Blut ist geflossen wie Wasser,
 Ins dunkle Gefängnis bin ich geworfen,

Kein Tal, kein Feld nenn ich mehr mein
 Und in der Nacht kann ich nicht einmal den Mondschein mehr
 sehen.

O Gott, sind wir denn wirklich voneinander so weit,
 Daß der unerschrockene Türke ängstlich werden kann,
 Der Türkegeist, stets bereit, für die Freiheit sich aufzuopfern.

Ist er denn heute ängstlich und feig geworden?
 Ist denn wirklich seine Kraft krank und am Ende?
 Ist das kochende Väterblut in den Adern vertrocknet?

Mein Bruder, du bist dort, ich bin hier.
 Sollen wir denn immer dulden.
 Daß unser Name Sklavengeltung hat!?

Komm, wir wollen nach dem Altai gehen,
 Zum Erbe der Väter, zum goldenen Gebirge.

Dschumabay ist ein eifriger Vertreter des großtürkischen Gedankens. Sein Ziel ist die Vereinigung aller Türken zu einem einzigen Staatsgebilde.

Was heißt „Basmatschi“? — „Basmatschi“ heißt wörtlich „Räuber“. Die Russen haben dieses Wort geprägt, und zwar nannten sie so die türkischen Freiheitskämpfer, um dem Auslande von der Freiheitsbewegung ein falsches Bild zu geben. Heute hat das Wort Basmatschi bei den Türken keinen beleidigenden Sinn mehr, sondern bedeutet einfach Freiheitskämpfer. Noch heute gärt es in Turkistan. Und es ist nicht so, daß das, was ein Volk in den Zeiten tiefer nationaler Erregung in seinem Innersten empfindet, am klarsten und deutlichsten hervorquillt in seinen Volksliedern?

Die Dichter dieser Volkslieder sind meistens unbekannt geblieben, aber ihre Werke, die das Gefühl, die Empfindungen des Volkes selbst sind, leben frisch und ewig lebendig im Volke fort. In jedem Haus, ja sogar öffentlich auf der Straße hört man allenthalben Volkslieder, die den Freiheitskampf als Tendenz haben. So etwa dieses:

Hoch sind diese Berge,
 Versperren den Einsamen den Weg.
 Wenn nicht Einsame für Einsame weinen,
 Wer soll denn uns beweinern!

Von wem sind diese Berge bewohnt!?
 Von jungen Türkensoldaten,
 Die auf dem Felsen kauern und liegen
 Und auf die Russenfeinde schießen.

Unsere Soldaten sind junges Blut
 Und unsere Arbeit ist hart.
 Daß der Führer die Hoffnung der Freiheit ist,
 Das schürt allein unseren Mut.

Der junge Soldat hat das Tal durchschritten,
 Hat seinen seidenen Rock beiseite gelegt
 Und für die Freiheit Turkistans
 Opfert er sich, hat er gelitten.

Schon Tscholpan hat Enver Paschas Tätigkeit und Ende besungen.
 Envers Name und Geist lebt immer noch im Volke. Seinem tra-
 gischen Ende gilt das folgende Gedicht:

T o d E n v e r s.

(14. Sülhedsche 1340, d. i. Anfang August 1922.)

Wo ist der Retter Enver Pascha geblieben!? —
 Er ist heute aus dieser Welt geschieden. —
 Wenn ich daran denke, daß dieser edle Held gefallen,
 Was kann ich denn mehr tun als weinen und die Fäuste ballen.

Dieser große, heilige Mann
 Ist nun gefallen in Belidschivan.
 Die Grausamkeit des Geschickes Macht
 Hat mich so plötzlich überrascht.

Samstag um zehn Uhr hörten wir,
 Daß man die heilige Leiche hergebracht.
 Sofort gingen wir Soldaten und Muslime klagend,
 Den Heiligen im Dorfe Trezeggen zu begraben.

Bei der Beerdigung predigte man uns aus dem Koran
 Und am selben Tage noch begaben wir uns zur Stadt Gurram.
 Und viele Beys versammelten sich dort,
 Gedachten seiner, beklagten den Mord.

Weine und schreie laut, o Muselman
 Damit Gott deine Sünden vergeben kann.

Die Russen haben die Wörter „Türke“ und „Turkistan“ offiziell abgeschafft. Wenn sie von Turkistan und von den Türken reden, so gebrauchen sie einfach „Mittelasien“ und „mittelasiatische Völker“. Die russischen Gelehrten haben in Turkistan ungefähr 27 verschiedene Völker „entdeckt“. Und alle diese „27 verschiedenen mittelasiatischen Völker“ haben nach diesen Professoren jedes eine eigene Nationalsprache, eigene Kultur und nationale Literatur. Es ist den „Völkern“ gestattet, in ihrer

„Nationalsprache“ zu dichten, verlangt wird aber, daß die Dichtungen inhaltlich und dem Wesen nach proletarische Tendenzen enthalten. Die Sowjetregierung hat in Moskau Schulen für die turkistanische Jugend errichtet. Sie hoffte, daß diese Schüler nach Abschluß des Studiums in ihrer Heimat für die Sowjets Propaganda machen würden. Doch gerade in Moskau erwachte bei diesen kommunistischen Studenten und Schülern das nationale Empfinden. Und bald bildeten sie einen geheimen nationalen und literarischen Zirkel. Die Regierung schöpfte Verdacht. Und als sie noch eines Tages ein Freiheitsgedicht fand, verfaßt von einer damals siebzehnjährigen Schülerin, mußte sie einsehen, daß sie nichts erreicht hatte.

Die türkische nationale Literatur steht heute in hoher Blüte. Sie beginnt sogar auf die kommunistische Literatur Einfluß auszuüben. Es besteht in Ösbekistan eine Vereinigung kommunistischer Dichter, die sich ‚Rote Feder‘ nennt. Der Einfluß der türkisch-nationalen Literatur geht so weit, daß sogar die Führer dieser Vereinigung Nationalisten geworden sind. Ein kommunistischer Journalist schrieb im September vorigen Jahres in einer Zeitung folgendes: „Der Verein der ‚Roten Feder‘, der die ösbekischen Sowjetdichter eigentlich vereinigen und ihnen die proletarische Erziehung geben sollte, besteht fast nur aus Nationalisten. Wir haben bisher noch kein Werk eines Kommunisten auf der Bühne gesehen. Es ist eine Frage, ob es überhaupt in Ösbekistan proletarische Dichter gibt.“ Ein anderer kommunistischer Journalist schrieb: „Wenn man ein Buch kauft, so findet man, wenn man es aufschlägt, mit großen Buchstaben das kommunistische Motto ‚Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt euch‘. Der Inhalt dieses Buches aber behandelt den Pantürkismus, niemals beschäftigen sich diese Bücher mit kommunistischen Ideen.“ In allen Nummern der letzten fünf Jahrgänge der Zeitschrift „Bildung und Lehrer“ (die offizielle Monatsschrift des Kommissariats für Volksbildung) findet man nur Gedichte und Schriften von bekannten Nationalisten, wie Fitret, Tscholpan und Alavi.“

Die Bücher Fitrets haben in den kommunistischen Ösbeken eine Spaltung hervorgerufen. Die einen behaupten, daß sie ihre proletarische Literatur auf der alten, türkischen aufbauen müßten; die anderen wieder wollen von der alten Literatur nichts wissen, sie nennen sie „abgetragenes Zeug“. Nur die neue proletarisch-russische Literatur wäre für sie maßgebend. Die letzteren werden noch dadurch unterstützt, daß führende russische Gelehrte behaupten, Zivilisation und Kultur in Turkistan seien „tadschikisch“. Und neuerdings hat man die Förderung der alten türkischen Kultur untersagt, während man in Moskau für die Förderung Tolstojs und Puschkins Millionen Rubel ausgibt.



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